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Barbara Hagg  
& Frédéric Billiet (dir.)

# *Ars musica septentrionalis*

De l'interprétation du patrimoine musical  
à l'historiographie

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*ARS MUSICA SEPTENTRIONALIS*  
DE L'INTERPRÉTATION DU PATRIMOINE MUSICAL  
À L'HISTORIOGRAPHIE

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avec la collaboration  
de Claire Chamiyé et Sandrine Dumont

*Ars musica septentrionalis*

De l'interprétation du patrimoine musical  
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## INTRODUCTION

Les bibliothèques du Nord de la France conservent d'incalculables témoignages d'une vie musicale remarquable et remarquable durant tout le Moyen Âge. Les grands centres intellectuels de cette région ont largement participé à l'élaboration des répertoires monodiques et polyphoniques, à l'évolution du langage musical, de la théorie et de la notation entre le IX<sup>e</sup> et le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Des études musicologiques ont été menées pour montrer le rôle des théoriciens, poètes-chanteurs ou compositeurs durant cette période, mais une histoire de la musique du Nord de la France reste à faire<sup>1</sup>. Ce travail se heurte à la difficulté de cerner la région sur une si longue période. Les frontières changent, les invasions sont fréquentes, l'aire linguistique fluctue et les dénominations ne correspondent pas toujours aux réalités du territoire : Flandre septentrionale, Provinces-Unies. « C'est pourtant de cette région que proviennent les premiers spécimens de notations musicales pour le chant et la polyphonie (IX<sup>e</sup> siècle) – notations paléofranques, messine, Laon », écrivait Sandrine Dumont en préambule aux manifestations de « Cantus 21 – Patrimoine musical du Nord de la France »<sup>2</sup>. « Dès le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, les monastères du nord, déjà réputés pour leurs fabuleuses bibliothèques, sont connus notamment pour la copie des livres, dont on mesure l'efficacité à la vue des richesses bibliographiques actuelles (sans compter les pertes) ; ce résultat est particulièrement visible à la bibliothèque de Douai (collections provenant essentiellement des abbayes d'Anchin, Marchiennes et Saint-Amand). C'est aussi dans cette région que se développa, autour d'Hucbald, moine de Saint-Amand, la pratique, étendue ensuite à toute l'Europe médiévale, qui consiste à composer des offices spécifiques pour les saints en suivant l'ordre des tons ». Sandrine Dumont rappelle aussi l'importance des maîtrises du Nord (Saint-Quentin, Arras, Lille, Théroüanne, Cambrai, etc.), fondées sur le modèle bourguignon et au sein desquelles ont été formés les principaux musiciens de la Renaissance dont Guillaume du Fay et Josquin Desprez ainsi que de nombreux chantres recrutés pour élever le niveau musical des chapelles italiennes. Enfin il ne faut pas oublier que la ville d'Arras fut le centre d'une école de trouvères actifs dans toute la région, dont l'illustre Guillaume de Machaut fut l'un des derniers représentants<sup>3</sup>.

1 L'ouvrage d'Ignace Bossuyt est limité aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles, *De Guillaume Dufay à Roland de Lassus : les très riches heures de la polyphonie franco-flamande*, Paris, Le Cerf ; Bruxelles, Racine, 1996.

2 Voir le site <[www.adfugam.net](http://www.adfugam.net)>.

3 Extrait de l'introduction au colloque sur <[www.adfugam.net](http://www.adfugam.net)>.

L'euro-région Nord-Pas de Calais – Picardie – Belgique est donc en quelque sorte le centre européen de la création musicale comme en témoignent les manuscrits retrouvés et réunis au XIX<sup>e</sup> par le musicologue Edmond de Coussemaker auquel il est rendu un hommage particulier dans cet ouvrage. C'est dans son sillage qu'une équipe de chercheurs a pu récemment établir un inventaire des manuscrits conservés dans une partie des bibliothèques du Nord de la France, produire un catalogue<sup>4</sup> et favoriser de nouvelles recherches regroupées dans le présent ouvrage.

L'étude du patrimoine de l'*ars musica septentrionalis* est envisagée dans quatre directions : le patrimoine musical du Nord de la France, l'héritage d'Edmond de Coussemaker, les polyphonies et polyphonistes, et les chansonniers français de la deuxième moitié du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

8 La première partie est conçue comme une approche de la vie musicale dans le Nord de la France et résulte du travail d'inventaire des bibliothèques du Nord réalisé par Barbara Hagg et Michel Huglo. Leur connaissance des manuscrits a permis de présenter des aspects de la vie musicale – composition locale, dévotion privée – de la production intellectuelle – *musica speculativa* et *musica practica* dans le Nord avant Guillaume Du Fay – ou de focaliser l'attention du lecteur sur un répertoire précis comme les chants du processionnal de Cambrai. Dans cet article, Michel Huglo se concentre sur la cathédrale de Cambrai, véritable épiscentre culturel pour la région Nord. La collection des processionnaires de Cambrai constitue un patrimoine inestimable des chants dont certains parmi les plus anciens sont probablement gallicans et d'autres témoignent d'une influence de l'aire germanique – cas unique pour les processionnaires français contemporains. Par cette analyse minutieuse des rituels de la ville dont les manuscrits révèlent la cartographie, les gestes particuliers, les déplacements et les fêtes, Michel Huglo dresse un portrait saisissant de la vie quotidienne à Cambrai à cette époque.

Une grande partie de ces manuscrits avait été réunie dans la collection exceptionnelle de Coussemaker, le grand musicologue du Nord, présentée dans la deuxième partie. Michel Huglo explique la démarche historiographique fondatrice de ce musicologue et les conséquences dues à la dispersion en 1877 des manuscrits de sa collection. Ses travaux de premier ordre ont permis de faire avancer la musicologie sur des concepts nouveaux à l'époque, tel le « drame liturgique » dont Nils Holger Petersen cerne les contours à partir

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4 B. Bouckaert (dir.), *Mémoires du chant. Le livre de musique d'Isidore de Séville à Edmond de Coussemaker*, Neerpelt, Alamire ; Lille, Ad fugam, 2007.

de l'ouvrage *Drames liturgiques du Moyen Âge*, publié en 1860<sup>5</sup>. Nils Holger Petersen explique comment la terminologie employée par Coussemaker dans sa tentative d'appréhender les particularités du genre a généré des discussions musicologiques pendant plus d'un siècle. Par ailleurs, l'intérêt de Coussemaker pour les manuscrits de théorie musicale a suscité l'étude de Shin Nishimagi, plus particulièrement sur le manuscrit F-Pn Rés. 359 contenant le *Dialogus de musica* de Guido d'Arezzo, copié au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle à l'abbaye de Saint-Hubert dans les Ardennes. Cet article met en lumière la transmission de l'œuvre du maître italien dans la France septentrionale.

C'est à un autre théoricien du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle que Ronald Woodley consacre son article, montrant comment la redécouverte de Tinctoris, théoricien brabantin majeur du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, a pu faire l'objet de querelles politiques. Coussemaker et Fétis, entre autres, ont contribué à lui façonner une renommée internationale. Cette troisième partie aborde aussi d'autres aspects de la polyphonie à la Renaissance européenne. Lisa Urkevich présente le manuscrit 1070 du Royal College of Music de Londres ayant appartenu à Anne Boleyn. Par des comparaisons précises et une connaissance approfondie du contexte, elle apporte des conclusions déterminantes sur le manuscrit lui-même, et sur la destinataire de ce cadeau royal. Johan Guiton nous fait découvrir le compositeur Vincenzo Misonne, *Clerico Cameracensis Diocesis* qui n'échappe pas au déplacement en Italie comme la plupart de ses contemporains. Cambrésien d'origine, il bénéficie de nombreuses prébendes comme chanoine, chantre et compositeur. Mais il est remarqué par le grand « protecteur des arts » Léon X et s'installe à Rome.

L'ouvrage se clôt par une approche interdisciplinaire consacrée au chansonnier comme témoignage de la monodie profane. Les chansonniers français de la deuxième moitié du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle n'ont cessé de fasciner musicologues et historiens d'art. Alison Stones nous dévoile des enluminures exceptionnelles et mesure avec finesse leur évolution sur le plan des thématiques abordées, de la structuration au sein même des manuscrits ou des préoccupations contemporaines. Helen Deeming traite des rapports texte/musique dans un autre chansonnier du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ainsi, considérer le manuscrit Egerton 274 comme une entité à part entière lui permet de proposer un éclairage nouveau sur le contexte culturel de l'épanouissement de la chanson à la fin du siècle.

Le fonctionnement des traditions d'interprétation musicale est au centre des travaux de recherche de Claire Chamisyé. En étudiant les variantes manuscrites

5 E. de Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du Moyen Âge (texte et musique)*, Rennes, Vatar, 1860 ; Paris, V. Didron, 1861.



des *Miracles de Notre-Dame* de Gautier de Coinci, elle met en évidence des « manières de chanter » ce répertoire spécifique qu'est la chanson profane à sujet religieux dans le contexte culturel de la deuxième moitié du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ce dernier article sert de conclusion à l'ensemble des contributions consacrées à la mise en valeur du patrimoine musical du Nord de la France. Il répond aux problématiques de recherche développées par l'équipe Patrimoines et langages musicaux de l'université Paris-Sorbonne qui étudie parallèlement les sources et les problèmes d'interprétation qu'elles soulèvent.

Pour terminer, il convient de remercier Barbara Haggh, co-directrice de l'ouvrage, Claire Chamiyé, doctorante à l'université Paris-Sorbonne, et Sandrine Dumont, présidente de l'association Ad fugam, pour leur collaboration essentielle dans la réalisation de cet ouvrage.

Quatrième partie

Le chansonnier :  
approche interdisciplinaire

SOME NORTHERN FRENCH CHANSONNIERS  
AND THEIR CULTURAL CONTEXT

*Alison Stones*

Manuscripts notable for the extent and quality of their illumination and those whose musical content is distinguished are not always the same, with the result that the foci of musicologists and art historians are often far removed from each other. In northern France in the second half of the thirteenth century, however, several clusters of books offer material to interest and draw together specialists in both disciplines. In this paper I examine the cultural context of the illustrated music books comprising the *chansonniers* of Arras and Cambrai. A comparative analysis of related material shows that the core manuscripts stand at the centre of wide-ranging book-producing activities encompassing a large variety of different types of book, made for lay patrons as well as for religious houses and members of the clergy.

**CHANSONNIERS A AND a**

The Arras *Chansonnier* (Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 675(139), ms. A) is now bound in the middle of a well-known and copiously illustrated literary *compendium*.<sup>1</sup> The compilation comprises Alart de Cambrai, *Moralités aux philosophes* (fols. 1-32v),<sup>2</sup> illustrated with historiated initials showing a master addressing an audience of one or two men; *Le Roman de saint Fanuel* (fols. 32v-52v),<sup>3</sup> beginning with an initial showing a master addressing students, followed by historiated initials of the Adoration of the Magi, the

1 A description and the quire structure of the entire manuscript is given in C. Segre, *Li Bestiaires d'amours di Maistre Richart de Fornival e li response du bestiaire* (Documenti di filologia 2) (Milano/Napoli, Ricciardi, 1957), but there is no list of the illustrations. Arras 675(139) is Segre's MS. J.

2 J. Morawski, *Les Diz et proverbes de sages* (Paris, PUF, 1924).

3 Ed. from Montpellier Bibliothèque interuniversitaire Faculté de Médecine 305 by M. Chabaneau, "Le romanz de saint Fanuel et de sainte Anne et de Nostre Dame et de Nostre Segnor et de ses apostres," *Revue des langues romanes*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series 14 (1885), 18-23, 157-258; R. Schroeder, *Handschriften und Text der altfranzösischen Achtsilbnerredaktionen der 'Heirat Mariae'* (Inauguraldissertation der Universität Greifswald, 2 vols, 1908), ms. E.

Massacre of the Innocents, and Angels at the Sepulchre of Christ. After a lacuna comes a *Vies des saints* in French prose,<sup>4</sup> beginning and ending incomplete (fols. 53-100v fig. 1), illustrated with single-column miniatures, many of which have been cut out; and the *Bestiaire d'amour* of Richard de Fournival,<sup>5</sup> beginning and ending incomplete (fols. 101-114v), also illustrated with single-column miniatures; Prayers to the Virgin in French, beginning incomplete (fols. 115-126), with historiated initials of the Virgin and Child for the *Aves*; a short treatise on the Mass in French (fols. 126-127v), with a miniature of a priest elevating a host and blessing men and women; a Miracle of the Virgin, *Del pouvre clerc qui disoit Ave Maria* (fols. 127v-128v, no. 14 in the *Vies des pères*),<sup>6</sup> illustrated with a historiated initial of the clerk kneeling before the Virgin and Child. Then follows *Chansonnier A* (fols. 129-160), illustrated with the famous portraits of the poets, to which I return below. Finally there are *Le Roman des sept sages* (fols. 161-68, ending incomplete, unillustrated)<sup>7</sup> and *Marques de Rome* (fols. 169-212v),<sup>8</sup> with a miniature illustrating the Marriage of Emperor Diocletian and the daughter of the Duke of Lombardy (fol. 169, fig. 2). The text ends with an explicit and a colophon giving the name of the scribe, 'Cis livres fu escrits en l'an que l'incarnation coroit sour mil. et .ii.c. et soissante dis et .viii. as octaves de le mi aoust. Si l'escrist Jehans d'Amiens li petis.'<sup>9</sup> (fig. 3)

4 P. Meyer, "Légendes hagiographiques en français, 2 : légendes en prose", *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 33 (1906), 378-458.

5 See n. 1.

6 E. Schwan, "La vie des anciens pères," *Romania*, 13 (1884), 233-263; F. Lecoy, *La Vie des Pères*, 3 vols, Société des anciens textes français (Paris, Picard, 1993-1999); A.P. Tudor, *Tales of Vice and Virtue: The First Old French 'Vie des Pères* (Amsterdam, Atlanta, GA, Rodopi, 2005); id., "Telling the Same Tale? Gautier de Coinci's Miracles de Nostre Dame and the First Vie des Pères," in *Gautier de Coinci: Texts, Music, Manuscripts*, K.M. Krause and A. Stones (eds) (Turnhout, Brepols, 2006), 301-30 (305), *no siglum*.

7 H.R. Runte, "Édition critique du Roman de sept sages de Rome: la tradition manuscrite de la Version A," *Presentazioni di lavori in progetto o in corso: XIV Congresso internazionale di linguistica e filologia romanza* (Napoli, Macchiaroli, 1976), 120-30.

8 B. Panvini, *Marques, li senechaus de Rome, romanzo francese del XIII secolo* (Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 1993), ms. A.

9 Bénédictins du Bouveret, *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Spicilegii Friburgensis subsidia 2-7), 6 vols (Fribourg, Éditions universitaires, 1965-1982), III, 1973, no. 8634 (incorrectly stating that the folio with this colophon has disappeared). A man of the same name signed, as illuminator, Paris, École des Beaux-Arts, Masson, 13, a Breviary of Froidmont (O. Cist., Dioc. Beauvais) written by Eurardus, monk of Froidmont, in 1316, and illustrated by Jean d'Amiens: '... Quod illuminavit magister Iohannes Amb[lianensis] commorans Beluaci tunc temporis.' This suggests he did not normally work in Beauvais (C. Samaran and R. Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de lieu, de date ou de copiste, I, Musée Condé et bibliothèques parisiennes* (Paris, CNRS éditions, 1959), 205, pl. 30-31.

It has long been recognized that *Chansonnier A* fits poorly with the other components of the manuscript.<sup>10</sup> Whereas the other texts might well have all been written by Jean d'Amiens, and the illustrations are mostly by the same artist (despite differences in the choice of format—historiated initials or miniatures) neither the scribe nor the artist of *Chansonnier A* appear elsewhere in the manuscript (fig. 4).<sup>11</sup> The script is written at a larger scale than the rest of the book and is distinctly back-sloping. The illustrations are surmounted by architectural frames with pinnacles and finials, a decorative *repertoire* not unlike the framing devices used by the other two artists of the manuscript—but the arch frames have precisely drawn lines with bud finials rather than the sketchier leaf motifs found in the work of hand 1, and pinnacles of fleur de lis motifs with ink-drawn lines protruding from them and extending well above the miniature frames; faces are highly modelled drawn with a harder line than in the work of hand 1 (compare figs. 1 and 4).<sup>12</sup> Unlike hand 1, who was a prolific artist easily traceable in other books—several missals and a breviaries of Arras, a fragmentary missal of uncertain use in Saint-Etienne, and a number of literary and hagiographical manuscripts,<sup>13</sup> *Chansonnier A*'s artist is not easy to find elsewhere. In this respect he resembles hand 3, the artist of the *Marques* miniature (fig. 2) which is also difficult to parallel.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, *Chansonnier A*'s artist does reappear, I suggest, in three

10 S. Huot, *From Song to Book, The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, London, Cornell University Press, 1987), 55-61, noting that the portraits represent not just the poets but designate the types of song the books contain. The most recent analysis of *Chansonnier A* in relation to the other northern chansonniers of the thirteenth century is K. Wilson Ruffo, "The Illustration of Noted Compendia of Courtly Poetry in Late Thirteenth-Century Northern France" (PhD, University of Toronto, 2000).

11 The last miniature, on fol. 169, is by another artist, see note 14 below.

12 For related Arras manuscripts, see A. Stones, "The Manuscript, Paris, BnF fr. 1588, and its Illustrations," in P. de Remi, *Le Roman de la Manekine*, ed. from Paris, BnF fr. 1588 and tr. by B.N. Sargent-Baur with contributions by A. Stones and R. Middleton (Amsterdam, Atlanta GA, Rodopi, 1999), 1-40 (31, 38).

13 Arras, Bibliothèque municipale 729(639), Breviary of Saint-Vaast before 1297; Arras BM 412(717), Breviary of Arras; Arras BM 297(848), Missal of Arras; Arras BM 278(933), Missal of Saint-Vaast; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Add. 290, Cistercian Diurnal after 1300; Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale 867(772), Lives of saints in French; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 2542, *Roman de Tristan*; Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek 2534, *Estoire, Merlin, Lancelot* (with two badly rubbed historiated initials); and possibly also the Lives of saints, Chantilly, Musée Condé 456/735, written in 1312 (A. Stones, *Manekine*, op. cit., 37-38). The *Livre des philosophes Salomon*, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert 1<sup>er</sup>, 11220-11221, is probably an early work by the Arras artist.

14 The *Marques* miniature has a gold background with pouncing, a technique also found in Paris, BnF, fr. 350 (A. Stones, *Manekine*, op. cit., as n. 12, fig. 59), but its figure style is unrelated. I have suggested (*ibid.*, 39 n. 144) that the figures may have more to do with a group of manuscripts associated some with Arras, some with Amiens: notably the psalter with a calendar of Amiens (c. 1260-1270) formerly in the Guy de Boisrouvray Collection and now in private hands (most recently Sotheby's 6.vii.00 lot 77); the hours of Arras use, Baltimore,

other books: a devotional miscellany for Cistercian nuns and later owned by the Cistercian monks of Loos (Diocese of Tournai), Lille, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 607(92), where a Crucifixion frontispiece includes nuns in white standing in the arch frame surrounding the Crucifixion group (fig. 5),<sup>15</sup> and the figures in the missal of Saint-Vaast, OSB, Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 278(933), are quite likely a later work by his hand, probably before 1297 because Saint Louis is absent (fig. 6).<sup>16</sup> There, the border treatment on the Crucifixion page anticipates the work of later Arras artists. To an early stage in the career of *Chansonnier A's* artist belong the illustrations in *Chansonnier a* (Città del Vaticano, ms. Reg. Lat. 1490, fig. 7), where the simpler format and arch frames have much in common with those in Lille 607(92), with the exception of the portrait of Guillaume le paigneur d'Amiens, done by another artist (fig. 8).<sup>17</sup>

Walters Art Museum (formerly Gallery), ms. W. 86; the missal of Arras, Arras BM 303(960); the psalter part of the psalter-hours of Amiens use written before 1297, Philadelphia Free Library, ms. Widener 9 (the hours part is by another artist); a Lives of the Saints, Paris, BnF, fr. 422; the Chrétien de Troyes and Judas Machabé, Princeton University, ms. Garrett 125, on which see A. Stones, "The Illustrated Chrétien Manuscripts and their Artistic Context," in *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes: The Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes*, K. Busby, T. Nixon, A. Stones, L. Walters (eds) introduction by A. Stones, 2 vols (Amsterdam, Atlanta, GA, Rodopi, 1993), 227-322 at 251-52; to this list may be added part of the Crusading miscellany, Paris, BnF fr. 795 (with the same artist as in Widener 9); one miniature in the Gautier de Coinci, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 3517, and the Pontifical of Amiens, Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale 195. It may also be that this artist is also a participant in the *Chansonnier du roi*, Paris, BnF, fr. 844, on which see below.

- 15 Apart from a reference in the *Catalogue général*, the only mention of this manuscript is a reproduction of the Crucifixion miniature on the cover of *Miracles et mystères: La littérature religieuse au Nord de la France* (Trésors littéraires du Nord de la France, Corps 9), ed. and tr. by F.-J. Beaussart, M. de Combarieu du Grés, J. Subrenat (Troisnes, Imprimerie du Limonaire, 1989), but the manuscript is not mentioned in the text. The miniature is a singleton attached at the beginning of the Dialogues of Gregory the Great (unillustrated, fols. 1-99v), followed by a Passionary (separately numbered, fols. 1-70v), in which the only illustration, to the *Transitus* of the Virgin is a historiated initial *M* by the frontispiece artist, showing the Coronation of the Virgin with a trumpeting angel and an Atlas figure in the border.
- 16 Numerous liturgical books of Arras use are attributed to the fourteenth century by Victor Leroquais, but lack a commemoration for St Louis, so his absence may not be a determinant of date. See V. Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols (Paris, s.n., 1924); *Les Pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 vols (Paris, s.n., 1937); *Les Psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 2 vols (Mâcon, Protat, 1940-41); *Les Livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 2 vols (Paris, s.n., 1927); *Supplément* (Acquisitions récentes et donation Smith-Lesouëf) (Mâcon, Protat, 1943); Paris, BnF, n.a.lat. 3159-3164, unpublished notebooks.
- 17 The exuberant foliage and prolific border elements, together with the lighter colours, set this page apart from the rest of *Chansonnier a's* illustrations, and I have not found compelling parallels (A. Stones, *Manekine, op. cit.*, as n. 12, p. 28 n. 89 and p. 38 n. 141).

Both *Chansonniers A* and *a* illustrate the songs with portraits of the poets. Seven survive in each manuscript. Those in *A* comprise three equestrian knights with their arms: Le Sire de Coucy, shield and housing *or a fess azur a leopard gules in chief* (fol. 130, fig. 4); Gautier de Dargies, shield and housing *or a bordure of martlets gules* (pink) (fol. 133); and Ugon de Bregi (Hugues de Berzé), shield and housing *or lozengy gules* [pink], *fretty argent* [white] (fol. 135); two poets are shown at their desks: Maistres Ricars de Fournival, wearing an academic hat, seated, gesturing with both hands (fol. 140, fig. 9); and Adans li Bocu (Adam de la Halle) seated writing (fol. 142v); and finally Maistre Simon d'Authie and Giles le Vinier (?) as clerics, standing and singing the *jeux-parti* which follows (fol. 145).<sup>18</sup> *Chansonnier a* has not well withstood the ravages of mutilation and many illustrations have been cut out.<sup>19</sup> The seven that survive include two equestrian portraits with heraldry: Gace Brulé, shield and housing *barruly argent and gules* (fol. 18, fig. 10); Le Vidames de Chartres (Guillaume de Ferrières), shield *or three fesses sable, six martlets sable overall*, housing Navarre (fol. 21, fig. 11); two poets playing musical instruments: Perrin d'Agincourt holding a portable organ, a trumpeting ape on the border (fol. 94), and Martin le Béguin playing bagpipes (fol. 100, fig. 7); three standing figures: Colart le Bouteillier holding a falcon on his wrist, a bald youth raising a club on the border (fol. 69); Jean de Grivelier standing, hands raised (in surprise, seeing an antlered youth on the border?) (fol. 82); and Guillaume le paigneur d'Amiens holding a bat-shaped palette, painting a shield (*or*), with border figures of a dancing man and woman, a hooded man playing a rebec, a hunter blowing a horn, a dog chasing a rabbit (fol. 86, fig. 8).<sup>20</sup> Thus there are no exact matches between the two manuscripts but the equestrian figure type is common to both.

#### CHANSONNIER M AND ITS LINKS TO THE SOUTH

The equestrian poet motif is also paralleled in the *Chansonnier du roi* (*Chansonnier M*), Paris, BnF, fr. 844, containing poetry both in French and in Occitan.<sup>21</sup> Its complexities are well-known and variously interpreted,

<sup>18</sup> K. Ruffo, "The Illustrations," *op. cit.*, as n. 10, 254-55 (no mention of the heraldry).

<sup>19</sup> K. Ruffo, "The Illustrations," *op. cit.*, as n. 10, 255-57 (no mention of the heraldry).

<sup>20</sup> For this page see n. 17.

<sup>21</sup> J.-B. Beck and L. Beck (eds.), *Le Manuscrit du roi, fonds français no. 844 de la Bibliothèque nationale (Corpus Cantilenarum Medii Aevi)*, 2 vols (London, Oxford, Philadelphia, Champion, 1938); J. Longnon, "Le Prince de Morée Chansonnier," *Romania*, 65 (1939), 95-100; H. Spanke, "Der Chansonnier du roi," *Romanische Forschungen*, 57 (1943), 38-104; G. Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music, 11th-Early 14th c. (RISM)* (München, Henle, 1966), 374-79 (ms. R); M. Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France* (New York, Garland, 1989), 184-85; E. Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington, Indiana University

most recently by John Haines, whose careful reconstruction of the quire structure greatly clarifies the effect on the manuscript of the priorities and preferences of its many owners. As a compilation drawing together trouvère and troubadour songs, as well as motets and lais, the *Chansonnier du roi* stands apart from the other *chansonniers* discussed here.<sup>22</sup> Yet the textual contents of the trouvère component and the illustrations have much in common with the northern *chansonniers*. Eleven of *M*'s fifteen surviving portraits are equestrian and heraldic:<sup>23</sup> the Count of Anjou (Charles d'Anjou) (fol. 4),<sup>24</sup> the Count of Bar (Thibaut de Bar) (fol. 5, fig. 12); the Duke of Brabant (Jean de Brabant) (fol. 6, fig. 13); the Vidame de Chartres (Guillaume de Ferrières) (fol. 7, fig. 14, *cf. a*, fol. 21); me sire Morisses de Creon (fol. 49), me sire Gilles de Beaumont (fol. 49v); me sire Jehans de Louvois (fol. 51v); me sire Bouchart de Mailli (fol. 57); mon signeur Gilon de Vies Maisons (fol. 80); me sire Pieres de Creon (fol. 86); mon signeur Gautier d'Argies (fol. 87, *cf. A*, fol. 133). There would no doubt have been more, as forty-seven initials have been cut out. Of those that survive, Gautier d'Argies is also in *A* (fol. 133) and the Vidame de Chartres is also in *a* (fol. 21); but Ruffo's comparative tables (272-278) indicate that the ratio of song to portrait varies among the three copies, so that there are correspondences of song without portrait, while the treatment of the portraits may link different persons.<sup>25</sup> The four remaining portraits in *Chansonnier M* are non-equestrian: the initial for Maistre Willaumes li Vaniers shows a standing man wearing gloves and holding a scroll and a crowned figure seated holding a sceptre (fol. 105); for Colars li Boutelliers a woman holding the cord of her cloak and a man kneeling before her (fol. 126v); for Robert de le Piere, a figure holding a scroll

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Press, 1996), 37-38, M.C. Battelli, "Il codice Parigi, Bibl. nat. f. fr. 844: Un canzoniere disordinato?", *La Filologia romanza e i codici* (Atti del convegno Messina Università degli studi, 19-22 Dicembre 1991), i, 1993, 273-308; J. Haines, "The Transformations of the Manuscript du Roi," *Musica disciplina*, 52 (1998-2002), 181-220. There is also a single equestrian portrait at the opening of *Chansonnier T*, the Noailles *Chansonnier*, Paris, BnF, fr. 12615, for le Roi de Navarre (fol. 1). Motets in *Chansonnier M* were thought to have been copied from *Chansonnier T* (Reaney, 374), while the works of Artesian poets in gatherings 15-19 also show correspondences between the two manuscripts (J. Haines, 18, citing M. Everist, "The Rondeau Motet: Paris and Artois in the Thirteenth Century," *Music and Letters*, 69 (1988), 1-22 and id., *Polyphonic*, *op. cit.*, 186, n. 42).

22 Sigla of *W* for the troubadour repertoire and *R* for the motets have been assigned, see Haines "The Transformations of the Manuscript du Roi," art. cit., 6 n. 8.

23 K. Ruffo, "The Illustrations," *op. cit.*, as n. 10, 257-60. For the heraldry, see M. Prinnet, "L'illustration héraldique du chansonnier du Roi," in *Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature offerts à M. Alfred Jeanroy* (Paris, Droz, 1928), 523-25.

24 The foliation given here is that of the manuscript in its present state; see J. Haines, as n. 21, Appendix, Gathering Diagram.

25 K. Ruffo, "The Illustrations," *op. cit.*, as n. 10, 272-78.



(fol. 160); and for Pierekins de le Coupele, a king sitting playing a vielle, similar to the King David as musician so common in the *Beatus* initials of illustrated psalters (fol. 163, fig. 15).<sup>26</sup> These portraits are by a second artist, who also painted the equestrian figures from fol. 49 onwards.

The structure of manuscript is difficult to follow, because of numerous additions and excisions. The edition by Jean and Louise Beck is based on their reconstruction of the manuscript. Haines has established what the actual quire structure is, and has analyzed the scripts;<sup>27</sup> but the minor decoration and illustrations still await a thorough study. There are numerous spaces left blank, some no doubt for illustrations that were never added, while illustrations have been cut out on many pages. Poems were added on fols. 1v, 2v-3, 4v, 5, 5v, 13v, 44v, 215, the last two additions containing poems by Charles d'Anjou. For Longnon, this *chansonnier* was made for Guillaume de Villehardouin, prince of Morea (1248-1278), most likely the 'Prince de Morée' whose poem opens the volume; and then came into the possession of Charles d'Anjou, either in 1267 when the Morea was ceded to him by Guillaume in exchange for protection, or at Guillaume's death in 1278.<sup>28</sup> The assumption is that it was in the hands of Charles in time to have been reworked before his death in 1285—although this, too, is supposition, as the manuscript lacks an explicit mention of his ownership, as others have pointed out.<sup>29</sup> It is not impossible that the addition of Charles' poems was a commemorative gesture on the part of someone in his entourage or one of his descendants. What is certain is the *terminus post* provided by the presence of a poem by Thibaud Count of Bar composed during his exile in Germany in 1253; and a date between then and 1267 or 1285 would be reasonable by comparison with the Arras *Chansonniers A* and *a*, both roughly datable to the third quarter of the thirteenth century on stylistic grounds.

The manuscript contains the work of at least two artists, accompanied by at least three types of minor initials—champies and foliate initials, the distribution of which does not altogether correlate with that of the main illuminators. The first artist did the few remaining historiated initials in quires 1 and 2 (fols. 1-13), the second did the historiated initials from fol. 49 to the end; but the distribution of the foliate and champie initials is such that champie initials by hand 1 are found,

26 For the most comprehensive set of studies of psalter illustration in this period see ed. F.O. Büttner, *The Illuminated Psalter: Studies in the Content, Purpose and Placement of its Images* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2004).

27 J. Haines, "The Transformations of the Manuscrit du Roi," art. cit., Appendix.

28 J. Longnon, "Le Prince de Morée Chansonnier," art. cit.

29 J. Haines, "The Transformations of the Manuscrit du Roi," art. cit., 11, n. 22, lists reviewers who disagree with the claim made by the Becks that Charles d'Anjou commissioned the manuscript; critics include Longnon.

for instance, in quires 13 (fols. 79-90), 18 (fols. 121-126), and 23 (fols. 162-168), alongside historiated initials by artist 2. This suggests a production set-up that was collaborative rather than successive—assuming that the first champie initial painter was also hand 1 of the historiated initials. Establishing the artistic context of the two illuminators is not a straightforward task. Everist,<sup>30</sup> followed by Ruffo, has suggested Arras, and the use of equestrian portraits for many of the poets is an obvious link with *Chansonniers A* and *a*, but the borders and foliage motifs of hand 1's work (fols. 4-7) find better parallels, I suggest, among the group clustered around the literary miscellany in Princeton, mentioned above, Garrett ms. 125, containing Chrétien's *Lancelot* and *Judas Machabé*, for which stylistic parallels in Amiens have been proposed, among which is part of the psalter-hours in Philadelphia Free Library, ms. Widener 9 (fig. 16).<sup>31</sup> It is probable that this part of the *Chansonnier du roi* was either made there too or was produced elsewhere (in the Morea?) by craftsmen from that region of France.<sup>32</sup> The work of the second hand, characterized by the use of border motifs above the historiated initials, including wrestlers (fols. 49, 49v, 51v), a hare chasing a man (fol. 52, partially preserved), a centaur shooting a bird (fol. 126v), together with a different foliage repertoire, is difficult to parallel. Perhaps a connection with Cambrai illustration, as in the bible Cambrai BM 354 or the Aldebrandinus of Siena medical manuscript, London, British Library Sloane 2435 (fig. 17) might be appropriate stylistic sources. At all events, the 1253 *terminus post* for *Chansonnier M* provides a useful marker in the otherwise nebulous chronology of late thirteenth-century trouvère *chansonniers*.

This is not the place for a full analysis of the relations between the Occitan *chansonniers* and their relations to *A*, *a* and *M*. Suffice it to note the presence of equestrian portraits in the two closely related Occitan *Chansonniers I* and *K*, Paris, BnF, fr. 854 and 12473, attributed to Padua or Venice in the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>33</sup> Of the ninety-three portraits in fr. 854, twenty-eight

<sup>30</sup> As n. 21.

<sup>31</sup> See n. 14.

<sup>32</sup> Parallels in Champagne, a region favoured by Haines because of a predominance of Champenois poets, are not forthcoming; and close connections between Lille and Arras are illustrated by the participation of the *Chansonnier A* painter in the Loos manuscript mentioned above (See n. 15).

<sup>33</sup> F. Avril and M.T. Gousset, with C. Rabel, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne*, 2, XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Paris, BnF, 1984), nos. 14 and 15. The authors note that the *Chansonnier Città del Vaticano*, Vat. lat. 5232, is related. See also F. Viellard and J.L. Lemaître, *Portraits de troubadours. Initiales des chansonniers provençaux I et K* (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 854 et 12473), *Mémoires et documents sur le Bas-Limousin* 26 (Paris, Boccard, 2006), where all the portraits in both manuscripts are reproduced in colour, on facing pages; a facsimile of Vat. lat. 5232, Occitan *Chansonnier A*, by the same authors with L. Duval-Arnould, is entitled *Portraits de troubadours: Initiales du chansonnier provençal A (Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5232)*, *Studi e testi* 444 (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, 2008).

depict poets on horseback, twenty-three of them as knights; of the seventy-eight portraits in fr. 12473, twenty-three are equestrian, of which six are armed as knights. Was it here that the type first found favour? Or in Arras? A further interesting case is Paris, BnF, fr. 12474, troubadour *Chansonnier M* (not to be confused with the other *Chansonnier M*, Paris, BnF fr. 844),<sup>34</sup> which has been attributed to the Angevin court in Aix or Naples and is possibly also based on a model from Arras. Of the twenty-two portraits, eighteen depict horsemen, of which only two (Pere Uidal and Bertrand de Born, on fols. 21 and 227) are knights; and only two miniatures depict other subjects (Girard de Borneilh seated at his desk, on fol. 1 (fig. 18), and Jofroi Rudel dying in the arms of the Countess of Tripoli on fol. 165—a subject also found in *Chansonnier I*, but not in *K*). The equestrian portraits which lack heraldry are highly repetitious (fig. 19). Stylistic parallels are not forthcoming and none of the Neapolitan parallels proposed in the literature is apt.<sup>35</sup> A clue may be provided by a comparison between the penflourishing of the addition made on fol. 269 (fig. 20), a highly contrasted initial with very large frogspawn motifs and a delicate border encircling the text block (fig. 13). While the tightly drawn

- 34 A.-C. Lamur, *Recherches sur le chansonnier de troubadours M* (Paris, BnF, fr. 12474), Thèse de l'École des chartes, Paris, 1987; A.-C. Lamur-Baudreu, "Aux origines du *Chansonnier de troubadours M* (Paris, BnF, fr. 12474)," *Romania*, 108 (1988), 183-98; F. Zufferey, "À propos du *Chansonnier provençal M* (Paris, Bibl. nat. fr. 12474)," *Lyrique romane médiévale: La tradition des chansonniers* (Actes du Colloque de Liège 1990), ed. M. Tyssens (Genève, Droz, 1991), 221-242; S. Asperti, *Carlo I d'Angiò e i trovatori: Componenti 'provenzali' e angionine nella tradizione manoscritta della lirica trobadorica* (Ravenna, Longo, 1995), 43-88; K. Ruffo, "The Illustrations," *op. cit.*, 33, 50, 257-58 (See n. 10).
- 35 F. Zufferey, "À propos du *Chansonnier provençal M*," *art. cit.*, thinks *M*'s model was put together from different sources at the court of Aix, under Raimond Bérenger (1209-1245) then under Charles d'Anjou before 1266; but that would be too early for *M* itself. For A.C. Lamur (*Recherches sur le chansonnier de troubadours M*, *op. cit.*, 1987, 214-15), the scribe followed two models, one a manuscript, the other a series of fragments, and worked in Naples. Asperti compares *M* with the manuscripts made in Naples during the reign of Robert I between 1315 and 1340 and illustrated by Picard illuminators, citing F. Avril, "Un atelier 'picard' à la cour des Angevins de Naples," in *Nobile claret opus: Festgabe für Frau Prof. Dr. Ellen Judith Beer zum 60. Geburtstag, Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, 43 (1986), 76-85. Another manuscript whose text, the *Jeu de Robin et de Marion*, is associated with Naples is Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanes 166, see M. Cruse, G. Parussa, I. Ragnard, "The Aix *Jeu de Robin et de Marion*: Images, Text, Music," *Studies in Iconography*, 25 (2004), 1-46, and A. Butterfield, "Historicizing Performance: The Case of the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*," in *Cultural Performances in Medieval France, Essays in Honor of Nancy Freeman Regalado*, E. Doss-Quinby, R.L. Krueger, E.J. Burns (ed.) (Cambridge, Brewer, 2007), 99-107. However the remarkable illustrations—a series of single-column miniatures interspersed in the text and music, poorly preserved, and without parallel—would appear to be the work of a Parisian painter working in the orbit of 'Honoré' c. 1300 or shortly thereafter.

curls of this border may perhaps be matched in Neapolitan books,<sup>36</sup> the initial recalls the pen-decoration accompanying the work of the second scribe (writing between 1325? and 1329) in Petrarch's copy of Livy's *Historia*, London, BL Harley 2493, fol. 263, produced in Avignon. Other parts of the manuscript were written by Petrarch himself.<sup>37</sup> This does not preclude the manuscript being copied at the court of Aix, but suggests that its subsequent history was more complex<sup>38</sup> than a simple transmission from Aix to Naples, and it also suggests a relatively late date, possibly in the early fourteenth century.

#### CHANSONNIER W

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Against this background, the other *chansonnier* of Arras, *W*, Paris, BnF, fr. 25566, looks very different. Like *Chansonnier A*, the *chansonnier* component is part of a literary miscellany, with the difference that it is intrinsic to the carefully structured compilation and is heavily concentrated on the works of Adam de la Halle (fols. 2-9v and 10-59/68), making it notable as one of the earliest surviving single-author manuscripts (although works by others follow).<sup>39</sup> An equestrian portrait opens the *Dit du roi de Sicile*, Adam's poem about the life of Charles d'Anjou, interrupted by Charles's death in 1285 (fol. 50v/59v) and a mounted knight opens the *Tournoiement Anticrist* by Huon de Méri (fol. 174v/182v), linking both to the portraits of the poets in *Chansonniers A, a, M* and Occitan *M*, and in each case depicting the subjects of the poems. The entire manuscript is copiously illustrated with single-column miniatures relating closely to the various texts, notably Adam himself, reading or singing before an audience (fig. 21). The most distinctive aspect of the manuscript's decoration however comprises the three dramatic full-page miniatures which accompany three of the later texts: *Renard le nouvel*, depicting Fortuna (fol. 167/175); the Triumph of Ecclesia, accompanying a verse poem on the Four Evangelists (fol. 170v-178v); and *La Chasse au cerf*, illustrated by

36 Such as the bible, Napoli, Biblioteca nazionale I.B.24, fol. 142v (F. Avril, "Atelier 'picard'," art. cit., fig. 1).

37 N. Mann, *Petrarch Manuscripts in the British Isles* (Padova, Antenore, 1975), 491-92; A. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 700-1600 in the Department of Manuscripts, The British Library*, 2 vols (London, British Library, 1979), no. 654, pl. 203d.

38 On the added leaf, see F. Avril and M.-T. Gousset, with J.-P. Aniel, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne*, 3, *XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, I, Lombardie-Ligurie* (Paris, BnF, 2005), 134.

39 A description of the contents is given in C. Segre, *Li Bestiaire d'amours*, *op. cit.*, xxiii-xl; and the structure of the volume is analysed by S. Huot, *Song to Book*, *op. cit.*, 66-74; see also K. Ruffo, "The Illustrations," *op. cit.*, 57-58, 117-233. The manuscripts of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* are comparable single-author compilations, and some are most likely earlier than MS. *W*, see *Gautier de Coinci: Texts, Music, Manuscripts*, K.M. Krause and A. Stones (ed.) (Turnhout, Brepols, 2006), Appendix I.

a winged man riding through a forest accompanied by dogs, chasing a stag with a female head (fol. 212v/220v, fig. 22). These fully-painted leaves are of thicker parchment than the rest of the volume, and they are now all singletons; but the position of fols. 167/175 and 170/178 as second to the centre of the quire of 10 leaves formed by fols. 164/175-173v/181v suggests these two were originally a bifolium; both leaves are sewn in with tabs. It is likely that a now-missing miniature similarly formed a pair with fol. 212v/220v, and the careful and balanced structure of the manuscript further suggests there may have been more such leaves accompanying the other components of the manuscript.

Full-page illustration is not a feature of *chansonniers*, whether from Arras or elsewhere, but other literary manuscripts made in the Arras-Amiens region provide parallels for these once-impressive miniatures in *W*.<sup>40</sup> Another (also poorly preserved) Fortuna miniature is found in Paris BnF fr. 372,<sup>41</sup> another copy of *Renart*, written after 1292 and illustrated by an Amiénois artist who painted an important cluster of liturgical and literary books centred upon the missal of Corbie, Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale 157, most likely made before 1297.<sup>42</sup> Fortuna also makes a well-known appearance among the

<sup>40</sup> Literary manuscripts with full-page illustration are listed in A. Stones, "Notes on Three Illustrated Alexander Manuscripts," in *Alexander and the Medieval Romance Epic: Essays in Honour of D.J.A. Ross*, P. Noble, L. Polak, C. Isoz (eds) (New York, London, Nendeln, Kraus, 1982), 193-254, at 202 n. 7. They include the *Roman de Troie*, Paris, BnF, ms. français 1610 and 's-Heerenberg, Huis Berg, 66 (inv. no. 216) (M.-R. Jung, *La Légende de Troie en France au Moyen Âge. Analyse des versions françaises et bibliographie raisonnée des manuscrits* (Romania helvetica, 114) (Basel, Tübingen, Francke, 1996), 215-17, 219-20; E. Morrison, "Illuminations of the Roman de Troie and French Royal Dynastic Ambition (1260-1340)," PhD, Cornell University, 2002, 83-105; *Praal, ernst et emotie, de wereld van het franse middeleeuwse handschrift*, ed. A.S. Korteweg (Zwolle, Waanders, 2002), 70-73, 206, no. 30, pl. 52 (f. 2), 53 (f. 1v); and four copies of the *Roman d'Alexandre* in prose (A. Stones and † D.J.A. Ross, "The *Roman d'Alexandre* in French Prose: Another Illustrated Manuscript from Champagne or Flanders c. 1300," *Scriptorium*, 56 (2002), 151-62). These manuscripts are broadly distributed: fr. 1610 is to my mind a Burgundian product, closely connected to the Burgundian hagiographical *compendium* Paris, BnF, fr. 818 (pace Morrison), while the *Alexanders* find their best stylistic parallels in Théroouanne and Reims.

<sup>41</sup> J. Wirth, "L'iconographie médiévale de la roue de fortune," in *La Fortune: thèmes, représentations, discours*, Y. Foehr-Janssens and E. Metry (eds) (Genève, Droz, 2003), 105-27 at 112 and cover illustration.

<sup>42</sup> A very large number of books may be attributed to this artist, whose activities extend to 1311 in the *Somme le Roi* of Jeanne d'Eu et de Guines, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 6329. See *L'Art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils*, ed. D. Gaborit-Chopin (Paris, Musées nationaux, 1998), no. 205; the group includes several copies of the *Vœux du paon* and the *Roman de Sidrach*, the *Roman d'Alexandre*, *Roman de Troie*, and books for private individuals like the psalter of the Clary and Mailly families, Paris, BnF, lat. 10435 (*L'Art au temps des rois maudits*, no. 203), for an English patron (Amiens, BM 124), for Comtesse de la Table then Yolande de Soissons (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. M.729, *Rois maudits*, no. 202), for Amiens Cathedral (Amiens, BM 158; New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. M.796), more books made for Corbie (Amiens 156; Amiens 360; BnF lat. 17770), and numerous leaves detached from missals.

full-page prefatory miniatures in the *Roman de la Poire*, Paris, BnF, fr. 2186.<sup>43</sup> These Fortuna miniatures devote the whole page to a single subject,<sup>44</sup> unlike the strip-narrative approach to the full-page picture such as is found in two copies of the Crusade cycle, Paris, BnF, fr. 12569 and 12558, where the story is played out in three registers. These are most likely also products or Arras or its region: Myers drew attention to similarities in the architectural framing-devices on fol. 1 in Paris, BnF, fr. 12569 and *Chansonniers A* and *a*,<sup>45</sup> while Paris, BnF, fr. 12558, most likely made a generation earlier and more difficult to place stylistically, shows some affinities in its tall thin figures to the *Vrighet de Solas*, Paris, BnF, fr. 9220,<sup>46</sup> one of several didactic compilations also illustrated with full-page miniatures and perhaps another product of Arras.<sup>47</sup>

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- 43 Opinions as to the date of the manuscript have varied between c. 1250 and later. As Marchello-Nizia and others have shown, Thibaut's text contains numerous echos of other texts such as Guillaume de Lorris's *Roman de la rose*, and refrains also found in Richard de Fournival and other writers. Literary scholars have been unable to establish a firm sequence of borrowing that would allow an absolute placing of Thibaut's romance in relation to these other works, however. Marchello-Nizia opts for a probable date of composition in the mid-thirteenth century, but in a re-reading of the preface, unique to this manuscript, Hans-Erich Keller proposed that references to Paris in the days of 'good king Louis' refer to the reign of Louis IX, situating it in the past—and therefore 'some time' after his death in 1270. G. von Vitzthum, *Die Pariser Miniaturmalerei von der Zeit des hl. Ludwig bis zu Philipp von Valois und ihr Verhältnis zur Malerei in Nordwesteuropa* (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1907), 97-99, pl. XXI (fol. 71); J. Porcher (ed.), *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, BnF, 1955, 17-18, no. 20; R. Branner, *Miniature Painting in Paris During the Reign of St Louis* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1977), 102-06; C. Marchello-Nizia, *Le Roman de la Poire par Tibaut* (Paris, Société des anciens textes français, 1984); S. Huot, *From Song*, *op. cit.*, 174-193; V. Guilhaume, "Le manuscrit illustré du *Roman de la Poire*, XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Histoire de l'art* (1993), 3-14; H.-E. Keller, "La structure du *Roman de la Poire*," in *Conjunctures: Medieval Studies in Honor of Douglas Kelly*, K. Busby and N.J. Lacy (eds) (Amsterdam, Atlanta, GA, Rodopi, 1994), 205-17, at 213.
- 44 Single-column Fortuna miniatures are to be found in several copies of Brunetto Latini's *Trésor*, see A. Stones, "A Note on the North French Manuscripts of Brunetto Latini's *Trésor*," in *Tributes to Lucy Freeman Sandler: Studies in Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. K.A. Smith and C. Krinsky (Turnhout, Brepols, 2007), 67-89.
- 45 J.A. Nelson and E.J. Michel, with G.M. Myers, *The Old French Crusade Cycle*, 2 vols (Alabama, University of Alabama Press, 1985), ms. E; Myers, xxxix.
- 46 See C. Lynn Ransom, "Cultivating the Orchard: A Franciscan Program of Devotion and Penance in the Verger de Soulas (Paris, BnF fr. 9220)," PhD, University of Texas, Austin, 2001; *ead.*, "Innovation and Identity: A Franciscan Program of Illumination in the Verger de soulas (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 9220)," in *Insights and Interpretations*, ed. C. Hourihane (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2002), 85-105.
- 47 The literary and devotional compilations Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal 3516, with a calendar of Saint-Omer written in 1268 (C. Guggenbühl, *Recherches sur la composition et la structure du ms. Arsenal 3516* (Basel, Tübingen, Francke, 1998), and Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève 2200, parts of which were written in 1277 (description in A. Boinet, "Les Manuscrits à peintures de la bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève de Paris," *Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures*, 5[1921], 47-59), which can also be attributed to Saint-Omer, both also include full-page illustration. Scientific and pseudo-scientific works are another category of book where full-page illustration is encountered.

The battered state of the manuscript *W* makes it hard to be sure whether the painter of the full-page miniatures is the same as the artist who did the smaller miniatures and historiated initials: there is some variation in quality of execution and there may be more than one artist, but the variations are of quality not style. The small miniatures and historiated initials have Arrageois leaf motifs on the corners, often with architectural frames drawn in black ink on unburnished gold, and gold backgrounds or, less frequently, gold and diaper or pink or blue diaper backgrounds. The figure style overall is similar to, and probably derives from, hand 1 of Arras 657(139) (the painter of the first section of the manuscript, not *Chansonnier A*) but with more modelling on draperies, especially on the full-page miniatures. There is also some similarity to the frontispiece of the chess manuscript Paris, BnF, fr. 10286,<sup>48</sup> and perhaps to the opening miniature of the literary miscellany, Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 2621.<sup>49</sup> None of these is by the same artist, however. More compelling parallels may be found among one of the main groups of liturgical devotional books made in Arras in the 1290s and 1300s, centred around the hours, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 104 (fig. 23).<sup>50</sup> Decorative motifs in black on unburnished gold, clusters of 'Arras' leaves, and figures with round faces and curly hair are features of this group which reappear in *Chansonnier W*.

*Chansonnier W* was presumably ordered by members of the Hangest and Flanders/Hainaut families whose arms are prominent in the full-page miniatures: Hangest: *argent a cross gules charged with 5 shells or*; Flanders/Hainaut: *or a lion sable*. Unfortunately no appropriate alliance between these families appears to be documented so it is at the moment not possible to say exactly who the patrons were.<sup>51</sup> Another manuscript containing the same pair of shields is the

48 Reproduced in A. Bräm, *Das Andachtsbuch der Marie de Gavre* (Paris, BnF, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 16251), *Buchmalerei in der Diözese Cambrai im letzten Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, Reichert, 1997), 179, 224, fig. 69-70.

49 H.J. Hermann, *Die westeuropäischen Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Gotik und der Renaissance* (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich, N.F.) 8 vols in 22 (Leipzig, Hiersemann, 1936), VII, 2. *Englische und Französische Handschriften des XIV. Jahrhunderts*, 62-66, no. 14.

50 L.M.C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, I, France 875-1420 (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 113-15, no. 47; A. Stones, *Manekine*, *op. cit.*, 36-37 (See n. 12).

51 The only members of the Hangest family listed in *Europäische Stammtafeln* appear to be N, a relative of Yolande de Soissons (*Europäische Stammtafeln: Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der europäischen Staaten, neue Folge*, ed. D. Schwennicke, 21 vols (Marburg, Stargardt, 1978-), VII-16; and Aubert de Hangest, seigneur de Genlis, married at an uncertain date to Beatrice, sister of Hugues I Comte de Blois, seigneur de Châtillon-sur-Marne (d. 1248), VII-17.

fragmentary Cistercian missal in Kraków, Czartoriski Library 3204,<sup>52</sup> whose illustration is by the primary artist of the book of hours, Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale 87.<sup>53</sup> Termini for the production of *W* are after 1285 for the *Dit du Roi de Sicile* as noted above (fols. 50v/59v-55v/64v), and in or after 1288 for *Renart le nouvel*, whose colophon says that Jaquemar Gielee wrote it in Lille in that year (fol. 166v/174v and fol. 168/176). Stylistic cognates suggest a date in the following decade for the production of this manuscript, however. At all events it must have been spectacular in its original state and its present worn and used condition is evidence that it was much appreciated by its owners.

#### CHANSONNIER F

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That Arras held pride of place for the production of trouvère *chansonnier* manuscripts is hardly surprising given what is known about literary activity in the city, centred on the Confrérie des jongleurs.<sup>54</sup> *Chansonnier F*, London, British Library, ms. Egerton 274, stands outside the Arras group.<sup>55</sup> Its historiated initials link it rather with artistic activity centred upon Tournai and Cambrai in the orbit of the scribe Johannes Phylomena and his collaborators. However its decoration is unrelated to that of the *Chansonnier du roi M*, which I suggest above may also have Cambrai associations. Their major clients were prominent members of the clergy, notably the bishops of Tournai Jean d'Enghien (1267-1274) and of Cambrai Nicolas de Fontaines (1248-1273) and Enguerrand de Créquy (1273-1285), and the religious houses in the dioceses of Cambrai, Tournai, and (to a lesser extent)

52 This manuscript was kindly drawn to my attention by the late Alicija Karlowska-Kamzowa.

53 *L'Art au temps des rois maudits*, *op. cit.*, no. 210, by François Avril, reproducing the frontispiece which is by another artist. For the iconography of this unusual devotional book see A. Bennett, "A Woman's Power of Prayer versus the Devil in a Book of Hours ca. 1300," *Image and Belief: Studies in Celebration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, ed. C. Hourihane, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1999), 89-108; *ead.* "Commemoration of Saints in Suffrages: From Public Liturgy to Private Devotion," in *Objects, Images, and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy*, ed. C. Hourihane, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2003), 54-78 (68-70); *ead.*, "Devotional Literacy of a Noblewoman in a Book of Hours of c. 1300 in Cambrai," in *Manuscripts in Transition: Recycling Manuscripts, Text and Images* (Proceedings of the International Congress held in Brussels 5-9 November 2002), B. DeKeyser and J. Van Der Stock eds. (Leuven, Peeters, 2005), 149-157 and A. Stones, in *Gautier de Coinci*, *op. cit.*, Appendix IV, 381-82 n. 13.

54 R. Berger, *Le Nécrologe de la Confrérie des Jongleurs et des Bourgeois d'Arras, 1194-1361* (Mémoires de la Commission départementale des Monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 11), 2 vols (Arras, Commission départementale, 1963, 1970). See also C. Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2007.

55 The most recent study, kindly drawn to my attention by Helen Deeming, is P.K. Whitcomb, "The Manuscript London, BL, Egerton 274: A Study of its Origin, Purpose, and Musical Repertory in Thirteenth-Century France," (PhD, University of Texas at Austin, 2000).



Arras. Under Jean d'Enghien or one of his predecessors, Walter Croix (1251-1261) or Jean Buci (1261-1266) was produced the missal of Tournai still housed in the Cathedral, ms. 11.<sup>56</sup> For Nicolas de Fontaines was made the Epistle and Gospel Book, Cambrai Médiathèque municipale 189-190, written by Johannes Phylomena in 1266; and the pontifical of Cambrai now in Toledo, Archivo de la Catedral 56. 19, was most likely made for his successor Enguerrand de Créquy c. 1275. Numerous other manuscripts may be clustered around these pivotal books, including a missal for Saint-Aubert, Cambrai (Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale 233), a psalter for Marchiennes or Hamage-lès-Marchiennes (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert 1<sup>er</sup> 14682) and the antiphony of Cambron (O. Cist.), now cut up and dispersed (fig. 24).<sup>57</sup> Several devotional, literary, historical, and philosophical manuscripts are also related to these liturgical books including works by Boethius (Brussels, BR II 1012), Vincent de Beauvais (Brussels, BR II 1396), Raymond de Peñafort (San Marino, Huntington HM 57), Chrétien de Troyes (Mons, BIU 331/206), among many others.<sup>58</sup> Several artists participated, often in close collaboration with each other.

Egerton 274 is composed of several parts: polyphonic songs in Latin by or attributed to Philip the Chancellor (d. 1231) (Fasc. I, fols. 2-57v); a compendium of liturgical sequences in Latin (Fasc. II and III, fols. 58-97v); *Chansonnier F*, where the first strophes have been erased in the fifteenth century except for the opening initials, and replaced by Latin responsories (Fasc. IV, fols. 98-118v); miscellaneous texts in Latin and French: Dialogue between Dives and Lazarus in Latin; *Philomena praeuia temporis ameni* (often attributed to John Peckham), a song by le Roi de Navarre, '*Ensi com unicorne sui...*' erased and replaced by a

56 It has been dated c. 1267 in relation to the rule for canons issued by the Cathedral Chapter in that year by J. Voisin, "Recherches sur les petits clercs, *clericuli*, les enfants de chœur et les musiciens de la cathédrale de Tournai," *Bulletin de la Société historique et littéraire de Tournai*, 8 (1862), 69-99.

57 For a reconstruction see E. Teviotdale, "A Pair of Franco-Flemish Cistercian Antiphonals of the Thirteenth Century and Their Programs of Illumination," in *Interpreting and Collecting Fragments of Medieval Books*, L.L. Brownrigg and M.M. Smith (eds), Proceedings of the Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500, Oxford, 1998 (London, Los Altos Hills, Anderson-Lovelace and The Red Gull Press, 2000), 230-58.

58 Lists of the related manuscripts are given in A. Stones, "Le missel de Tournai," in *Trésors sacrés*, J. Dumoulin and J. Pycke (eds), (Tournai, 1971), no. 53; *ead.*, "The Illustrated Chrétien Manuscripts and their Artistic Context," art. cit., 243-50, figs. 28-64; *ead.*, "Stylistic Associations, Evolution and Collaboration: Charting the Bute Painter's Career," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 23 (1995), 11-29; *ead.*, "The *Terrier de l'Évêque* and some Reflections of Daily Life in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century," in *Tributes to Jonathan J.G. Alexander*, S. L'Engle and G. Guest (eds), (London, Turnhout, Harvey Miller and Brepols, 2006), 371-84. Some of the Tournaisian material is surveyed in the introductory chapter in D. Vanwijnsbergue, "*De fin or et d'azur*," (Leuven, Peeters, 2002), but there is more to be said about Tournai-Cambrai links and stylistic subdivisions in this early period.

*responsorium*, and a liturgical sequence (Fasc. V, fols. 119-132v); and further liturgical sequences written in the fifteenth century (Fasc. VI, fols. 132v-159v).<sup>59</sup> The script in Fasc. I-IV is by the same hand, and that of Fasc. V up to fol. 132 is closely similar. The pen flourishing, in gold with blue flourishing and blue with red flourishing, is consistent in these fascicules, if done at a larger scale in Fasc. III and IV, where some also have party bars. However the foliate initials and eleven historiated initials occur only in Fasc. I and II (figs. 25, 26). They are badly rubbed, but the spiky gold frames, extending into the borders, the naturalistic foliage motifs coupling trefoils and spiky sycamore with seaweed-like acanthus and red 'fruit' are among the hallmarks of the artistic repertoire of the major painter of Cambrai 189-190 and the major artist of the Pontifical (the same person?). Further motifs typical of the work of this artist are the winged dragon found in the border of fol. 3 and the occasional trefoil projection at the corner of initials (as on fol. 7v). The figures are too badly rubbed for a certain attribution to a particular artist. The extreme elongation of the Virgin on fol. 3 and of Saint Katherine on fol. 45 (fig. 26) is reminiscent of the some of the figures in the bible owned by the Cistercian nuns of Marquette near Lille (Dioc. Tournai), Brussels, BR II 2523 and other collections,<sup>60</sup> while the standing Virgin and Child motif is one that appears in the *Libellus* of the Virgin, Paris, BnF, Latin 18134 (fig. 27), owned by Saint Martin's, Tournai (OSB).<sup>61</sup> A related Virgin and Child image, on a larger scale, is the frontispiece to the Richard de Sancto Lauretio, *De Virtutibus* and Sermons, Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 174, of 1255-1264, where the kneeling donor, identified by inscription as Robert de Béthune, abbot of Clairmarais (O. Cist., Dioc. Thérouanne) is shown wearing a black habit (though a Cistercian), kneeling before the Virgin and Child. However the much livelier treatment of the Child in Egerton 274—holding the Virgin's chin with one hand and

<sup>59</sup> A. Stones in *Gautier de Coinci*, *op. cit.*, 374 and n. 28.

<sup>60</sup> C. Gaspar and F. Lyna, *Les Principaux manuscrits à peinture de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique* (Paris, Société française de reproduction de manuscrits à peintures, 1937 and Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale Albert 1<sup>er</sup>, 19984); A. Von Euw and J.M. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, 4 vols (Köln, Das Museum, 1979-1985), I, 93-98; A. Bondéelle-Souchier, "Les moniales cisterciennes et leurs livres manuscrits dans la France de l'Ancien Régime," Cîteaux, *Commentarii Cistercienses*, 43 (1994), 193-336 at 297-99; A. Bennett, "Continuity and Change in the Religious Book Culture of the Lowlands in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *Medieval Mastery; Book Illumination from Charlemagne to Charles the Bold 800-1475*, ed. K. Callens, (Leuven, Peeters, 2003), 167-79 at 171.

<sup>61</sup> Dolbeau identifies it with Sanderus, *Bibliotheca*, *op. cit.*, I, 27: see F. Dolbeau, "Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques latins conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris," *Bulletin de l'IRHT*, 9 (1979), 183-238. Its damaged state suggests it was the victim of iconoclasm.

pointing to Chancellor Philip with the other, suggests the influence of the more sophisticated first painter in the Cambrai Pontifical, and probably a date closer to 1275 than to 1265; this would also accord well with the *terminus post* of 1274 that has been suggested for *Venditores labiorum*.

For Aubry the composition of *Venditores labiorum* reflects the decree of the Council of Lyon and the royal decree of 1274 concerning legal fees.<sup>62</sup> The poem is the last *item* in Fasc. I and concludes a series of *conducti* that Ludwig dates later than the compositions by Philip the Chancellor (d. 1236) that comprise the body of Fasc. I, because they are absent from the major song compilations of the mid-thirteenth century, W1 (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog Augustbibliothek 677), W2 (Wolfenbüttel 1206), and Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1 (also known by the siglum *F*).<sup>63</sup> In my view *Venditores labiorum* is an integral part of Fasc. I in Egerton 274, as it is written by the same scribe and illuminated by the same illuminator as the rest of Fasc. I. The historiated initial, showing a lawyer addressing a group of people, in fact serves to emphasize the prominence of the song in the compilation, since it is one of relatively few items that are singled out for illumination. This emphasis would seem to me to lend weight to the idea that the topic was of recent contemporary interest and can indeed be taken as an important factor in estimating the date of Fasc. I as a whole. It might well have had particular appeal for a prominent member of the clergy such as Enguerrand de Créquy, bishop of Cambrai, or Jean d'Enghien, bishop of Tournai, who had actually attended the Council of Lyon, one of whom or a member of his entourage is also likely to be the patron of the Decretals in French, Paris, BnF, fr. 491 (fig. 29) (illustrated by the major artist of the Cambrai Pontifical), whose text ends with mention of the same Council.<sup>64</sup>

The similarity of script and minor decoration between Fasc. I and Fasc. II-V seem to me sufficient to conclude that Fasc. II-V were produced at the same time and in the same workshop as Fasc. I, although the lack of historiated

62 P. Aubry, *Cent motets du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 3 vols (Paris, Rouart, Lerolle et C<sup>ie</sup>, 1908), III, 110.

63 F. Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, ed. L. Dittmer, (New York, Hildesheim, Olms, 1910/1964), I, i, 249-63, ii, 606 and G. Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music, 11th-Early 14th c. (RISM BIV/2)* (München, Henle, 1966), 496-98.

64 A. Stones, "The Illustrated Chrétien Manuscripts and their Artistic Context," art. cit., 1993, 248-50; *ead.*, "Stylistic Associations," art. cit., 27 n. 27; *ead.*, *Le Livre d'images de Madame Marie (Paris, BnF n.a.fr. 16251)* (Paris, BnF and Cerf, 1997), 21, fig. 17; J.F. van der Meulen, "Avesnes en Dampierre of 'De kunst der fiefde' Over boeken, bisschoppen en Henegouwse ambities," in 1299: *Een Graaf, drie graafschappen. De vereniging van Holland, Zeeland en Henegouwen*, D.E.H. de Boer, E.H.P. Cordfunke, H. Sarfatij (eds), (Hilversum, Verloren, 2000), 47-72, at 70; A. Stones, "The *Terrier de l'Évêque* and some Reflections of Daily Life in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century," *Tributes to Jonathan J.G. Alexander*, S. L'Engle and G. Guest (eds), (London, Turnhout, Harvey Miller and Brepols), 371-84, at 372-73.

initials in these fascicles argues against their being planned as part of the same compilation. There is a division of scribal hand at the beginning of Fasc. V (fol. 119), but the second scribe does not seem later than the first, and the pen-flourished initials mark no radical departure from those used in Fasc. I-IV. Two poems in Fasc. II-V are of relatively recent date, although neither bear as directly on the dating question as *Venditores labiorum*. *Amours k'el cuer m'est entree...* is by Henri III, duc de Brabant, and was composed between 1247 and 1251 or between 1252 and 1253.<sup>65</sup> *Philomena praevia temporis ameni* is undated, but if Kingsford is right to follow ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 368 in attributing it to John Peckham (or Pecham), Franciscan, student and teacher at the University of Paris between the 1250s and 1270, and at Oxford from c. 1270 to his appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury (1279-1292), then Egerton 274 is a copy made certainly within the author's lifetime; the attribution of the poem to Bonaventura among the latter's printed works probably argues for its composition during the third quarter of the century when Bonaventura and Peckham were contemporaries in Paris.<sup>66</sup> A cleric of the cathedral of Cambrai or Tournai, returned from study in Paris, might be a likely patron. On the basis of an initial on fol. 27v showing an ape riding a horse with housing *gules a lion rampant argent* [white], Whitcomb identifies the patron as a member of the Torote or Thourotte family, among whom were the prominent members of the clergy, Robert de Thourotte, bishop of Langres (1232) then Liège (d. 1247) and Robert, bishop of Laon (1285-1297); as patron for the *chansonnier* she proposes Jean de Torote, holder of Chair of Flanders at Faculty of Theology of University of Paris c. 1263-76.<sup>67</sup> But there are other contenders for these arms, and their placement on the housing of a horse ridden by an ape surely suggests satirical overtones, as I have suggested elsewhere.<sup>68</sup> The ape-carpenter on fol. 37v is surely meant in the same satirical spirit (fig. 25).

Thus the northern *chansonniers* of the late thirteenth century comprise a varied cluster of luxury books of music, poetry and painting, that were much used by their respective owners. The Arras (and possibly Amiens) cluster

65 A. Henry, *L'Œuvre lyrique d'Henry III, duc de Brabant* (Université de Gand, Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 103) (Bruges, De Tempel, 1948), 55-56; F. Gennrich, "Die altfranzösische Liederhandschrift London, British Museum, Egerton 274," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 45 (1925), 402-44.

66 C.L. Kingsford, "John Peckham," *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Leslie Stephen (London, Smith, Elder & Co, 1885-1901, with later revisions), *sub nomine*.

67 P.K. Whitcomb, "The Manuscript," *op. cit.*, 192.

68 A. Stones, *Gautier de Coinci*, *op. cit.*, Appendices, 385-86.

comprises two groups: *A*, *a*, and their likely derivatives, the *Chansonnier du roi M*, Occitan *M* and the Occitan sub-group *I*, *K*, and Vat. Lat. 5232 on the one hand—a group that shares a predilection for equestrian portraits of the poets; and *W* on the other hand, made a generation later, more closely focused on the works of a single poet, whose illustrations stand outside the ‘equestrian’ group to present a no less extensive but much more text-derived set of pictures in which, for other texts, full-page miniatures were chosen. Against these two patterns stands *F*, apart both geographically, iconographically, and in terms of repertoire, containing only a riding ape as its equestrian portrait and linking to other pictorial traditions altogether. Yet all these *chansonniers* find a place amidst flourishing manuscript production and illumination, linking to liturgical and secular manuscripts alike. They add a particular dimension of interest to the book-producing activities of northern and southern patrons and makers and invite further investigation of their still hidden secrets.

## TABLE DES ABRÉVIATIONS

- ADN** : Archives départementales du Nord, Lille  
**AGR** : Archives générales du Royaume, Bruxelles  
**AIM** : American Institute of Musicology  
**AMS** : American Musicological Society  
**BAV** : Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana  
**BM** : Bibliothèque municipale  
**BnF** : Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris  
**BrB** : Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Bruxelles  
**CAO** : *Corpus antiphonarium officii*  
**CCB** : *Corpus catalogorum belgii*  
**CMM** : *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*  
**EMH** : *Early Music History*  
**EPHE** : École pratique des hautes études, Paris  
**IM** : Institute for Musicology  
**IMM** : Institute of Mediaeval Music  
**IMS** : International Musicological Society  
**IRHT** : Institut de recherche sur l'histoire des textes, Paris  
**JAMS** : *Journal of the American Musicological Society*  
**JoM** : *Journal of Musicology*  
**MGG** : *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*  
**MI** : Medieval Institute  
**Pal.Mus.** : Paléographie musicale  
**PUF** : Presses universitaires de France  
**RdM** : *Revue de musicologie*  
**RISM** : *Répertoire international des sources musicales*  
**RMN** : Réunion des musées nationaux

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## Ars musica septentrionalis

### De l'interprétation du patrimoine musical à l'historiographie

Les manuscrits musicaux du Moyen Âge conservés dans le nord de la France méritent l'intérêt porté sur eux par les plus grands musicologues. Au <sup>xix</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle, Charles-Edmond de Coussemaker réunissait les plus beaux exemplaires des livres de chant et des traités musicaux qui témoignent encore de l'intense activité des abbayes d'Anchin et de Saint-Amand : le présent ouvrage lui rend hommage. Cet héritage a permis aux spécialistes de poursuivre les recherches, de cataloguer les manuscrits, et d'étudier les notations musicales, les enluminures, les œuvres polyphoniques profanes et sacrées, les textes des chansonniers et les traditions d'interprétation.

Cet ouvrage est un complément indispensable au magnifique catalogue des manuscrits qui ont été exposés lors du colloque international organisé par l'université Paris-Sorbonne et *Ad Fugam* dans le cadre du projet européen *Cantus 21* de valorisation du patrimoine musical régional.

Couverture : Graduel de Robert de Croÿ, 1540, Médiathèque municipale de Cambrai, Ms D12, fol. 2v



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