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City University of New York, Ph.D.,
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THE ICONOLOGY OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND MUSICAL PERFORMANCE
IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATIONS

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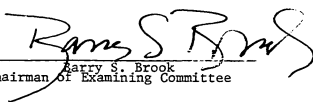
A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1977

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Music in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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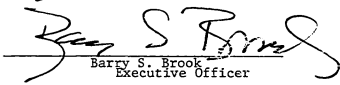
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ABSTRACT

THE ICONOLOGY OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND MUSICAL PERFORMANCE
IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATIONS

by

Genette Foster

Advisor: Emanuel Winternitz

Representations of musical instruments and musical performance in the visual arts can provide an important tool for the study of performance practice. In the Middle Ages, however, such representations of music were largely determined by intentional Christian symbolism or by an unconscious symbolism which was maintained along with picture subjects which had been copied from Greek and Roman art. Thirteenth-century French manuscript illuminations are particularly interesting because early in the century there was a deliberate change of illustration subjects for Bibles and Psalters, as well as the development of new vernacular literary genres. Both sacred and secular illustrations show great reliance on models derived from Graeco-Roman art.

Bibles and Psalters constitute the most numerous manuscripts from this period. Their formal illustration subjects and the placement of these illustrations were rigidly prescribed; they appeared in the form of historiated initials at the beginning of important text divisions. Three of the eight illustrations for the Book of Psalms show symbolic musical performance: Psalm 1 "Beatus vir,"

King David playing a harp; Psalm 80 "Cantate Domino," singing clerics; and Psalm 97 "Exultate Domino," King David striking a set of bells with mallets. Both depictions of King David share symbolism as well as visual elements with other figures. David playing the harp is derived from the triadic association of David - Orpheus - Christ. David playing the bells shares features with the figures of Jubal, Pythagoras, and Musica. The symbolism and meaning of the singing clerics has not yet been satisfactorily explained. An exceptional style of sacred illustration is found in the picture narrations of the Bible Moralisée and the Old Testament now at the Pierpont-Morgan Library.

Whereas Bible and Psalter illustrations are primarily symbolic, the Anglo-Norman style of Apocalypse illustration was narrative as well as symbolic. Secularization of these illustrations resulted in a proliferation of many different kinds of instruments in depictions of the Twenty-four Elders and of the Elect although only vielles or rebecs had been depicted in the older Beatus style. Musical instruments were also added to scenes where their presence is not suggested by the text.

Margin illustration, an important new mode of decoration, appears quite suddenly in the Channel Region about the middle of the thirteenth century. This phenomenon is related to the rise of a prosperous trading community which commissioned profusely illustrated Psalters and Books of Hours for their personal use. Although these margin illustrations may appear to be completely random genre scenes, there

is a loosely-structured repertoire of fables, parody, and scenes from daily life. These illustrations often appear on the same page as the formal sacred illustration which is contained in the body of an initial. In some manuscripts, these two modes of illustration depict a deliberate contrast between the sacred and the secular.

The only secular literary genre which developed a coherent set of illustration subjects was the bestiary. Early French versions of this text are derived from the Latin Physiologus. Fournival's Bestiaire d'Amour transformed these animal stories from Christian moral lessons to a lover's plea for his lady's attention. The increasingly secularized versions of these texts add more frequent and elaborate references to music. The accompanying illustrations show the same tendency, preserving all the while certain Greek and Latin legends about music. Thirteenth-century French illustrations of these stories show strong reliance on subjects found in Roman sarcophagus sculpture.

Some chansonnier manuscripts are decorated with portraits of the poet-musicians whose works they contain. Although the texts of romans are full of musical references, they did not develop an accompanying set of illustration subjects.

The instrumentarium of thirteenth-century France is quite modest. String instruments are often depicted with great care and detail which is rather rare for corresponding depictions of wind instruments. The groups of instruments found in Bible, Psalter, and bestiary illustrations is symbolic and derived from older models. Therefore, it

does not usually reflect contemporary performance practice. Combinations of instruments found in margin illustrations are more likely to reflect contemporary practice. However, the thirteenth century still belongs to a period for which we cannot learn from iconographic evidence, exactly how music was performed.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

It is generally believed that medieval artists copied from existing models, revered the wisdom and authority of the past, and shared a common picture language. Yet it is easily observed that both the style and content of manuscript decoration changed greatly during the course of the Middle Ages. The musical instruments seen in tenth-century manuscript painting are markedly different from those of the fourteenth century. Musical illustrations in medieval art pose two basic questions with regard to their applicability to performance practice: 1) the extent to which individual instruments reflect those used by contemporary musicians; and 2) the extent to which groupings of instruments reflect contemporary ensemble practice.

Before attempting to answer these practical questions, one must first examine the context in which musical instruments were depicted in medieval art. Until the thirteenth century, this context was almost exclusively religious. I chose thirteenth-century French manuscript paintings for this study because they manifest both a conscious change in certain elements of Bible and Psalter illustration, and the possibility to observe the development of new illustrations for the emerging vernacular literature.

The pictorial context in which musical performance appears in medieval art is highly symbolic. Even the seemingly whimsical depictions found in margin illustrations contain an element of symbolism,

if only the element of contrast to the formalized religious illustrations found on the same pages. With the exception of instruments used for dancing or entertainment at a banquet, thirteenth-century French illustrations show ensembles grouped according to three criteria: 1) the instruments mentioned in the Old Testament, particularly in the Psalms, and found in earlier Bible and Psalter illustrations; 2) adaptation of scenes found in Roman art, especially those seen on sarcophagus sculpture and exemplified by bestiary illustrations; 3) the representation of a kind of catalogue of musical instruments as found in Apocalypse illustrations. It can be further observed that most representations of musical performance depict either religious praise ("The New Song," and "The Heavenly Liturgy") or the sinful nature of secular life ("Temptation," and "The Hellish Liturgy").

Despite these seemingly narrow restrictions, the ever-increasing depiction of musical scenes in thirteenth-century manuscript illustrations reflects a lively appreciation of music as an important means for finding at least momentary happiness in earthly life. The formal symbolism served as a justification and a vehicle for depicting the rich musical culture of the thirteenth century. Increased secularization is apparent in the musical enrichment of Apocalypse illustrations, the margin decoration of Psalters and Books of Hours, and in the greater role of music in secularized bestiary stories.

The most remarkable aspect of thirteenth-century French sacred depictions of music is the manner in which King David assumed the characteristics of the great secular and sacred musicians of the past:

Orpheus, Jubal, Pythagoras, and Musica. David, the Old Testament King and prefiguration of Christ the New King, thus reconciles the elements of pagan and Judeo-Christian tradition in much the same way that medieval scholars sought to reconcile Christian theology with ancient classical learning.

In the realm of secular literature, bestiary manuscripts containing collections of animal stories are unique for the coherent illustration cycle which they present. Certain of the representations of music in these manuscripts reflect a knowledge and adaptation of Roman art. Thus, we find that for both sacred and secular depictions, some ancient authority is used as a model.

The symbolic element dominates all other considerations in the musical illustrations found in both sacred and secular manuscripts, and reliance on the past was very great. However, while the composition and subject matter of the illustrations are largely determined by older models and symbolic considerations, individual instruments may nevertheless be depicted with great care and accuracy. By the end of the thirteenth century, secular considerations and taste had made significant inroads on the hegemony of religious symbolism.

In their somewhat complementary studies, Kathi Meyer-Baer and Reinhold Hammerstein¹ have both concluded that artists found musical instruments and dance to be an easily understood and visually feasible means to depict praise and blessedness on the one hand, and temptation and sin on the other. One of the most confusing aspects of the

¹Meyer-Baer, K. Music of the Spheres. Hammerstein, R. Diabolus in Musica.

symbolism of musical instruments in the Middle Ages is the fact that the same instrument such as the vielle or the frame drum, may be used to convey both positive and negative symbolism, both blessedness and sin. The exact meaning can be determined only by the context in which the instrument is found. A sharp visual memory of the type described by Emanuel Winternitz in his article "Images as records for the history of music"² is absolutely essential in dealing with this material.

Because the thirteenth century has been strangely neglected in studies of musical iconography, this dissertation will discuss both the visual image and the symbolism implied therein. The documentary basis for this study is a group of about 270 manuscripts which contain significant illustrations of musical activity. These illustrations are all described in the "Catalogue of Musical Illustrations" found in Appendix II. These manuscripts include essentially all relevant thirteenth-century manuscripts in the public libraries of Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Bibliothèque Mazarine, and Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève) and all of the thirteenth-century French manuscripts in the collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. I also examined the most important holdings (i.e. those manuscripts listed in secondary sources) at the British Museum in London and the Bodleian Library at Oxford. While many other collections of thirteenth-century French manuscripts were not examined, I don't believe that the additional material would substantially alter the conclusions of this study.

²Winternitz, E. London Times Literary Supplement (June 21, 1974): 659.

MANUSCRIPT DECORATION

Decoration of manuscripts occurs in three different formats. A whole page or part of a page may be painted with a scene much like a mural is painted on a wall but reduced in size. Another style of decoration involves certain initials from the body of the text which are significantly enlarged and more ornate than the rest of the text. These initials usually stand at the beginning of an important section. If the body of the initial contains a painted scene with human figures such as King David or a prophet or a saint, it is called a "historiated initial."

The third type of manuscript decoration consists of plants, animals and genre scenes found in the margins of the page. This format for decoration does not occur until the mid-thirteenth century. Although these figures often seem totally unrelated to the rest of the manuscript, margin illustrations do exhibit a peculiar kind of logic which will be discussed in Part II.

The form of decoration most frequently employed in thirteenth-century French manuscripts is the historiated initial. This is partly due to the fact that such initials were used to decorate important text divisions of Bibles, Psalters, Books of Hours, and even secular chansonniers. The repertoire of subjects for historiated initials found in sacred manuscripts was rather rigidly prescribed and often highly symbolic in meaning. Apocalypse manuscripts, however, were usually

decorated, and one could say truly illustrated, with painted scenes filling part of the page. One can in fact differentiate between the relatively static and primarily symbolic scenes found in the body of historiated initials and the more illustrative style of painted scenes.

The illustrative painted scene is found in several other contexts. A rather exceptional style is found in picture Bibles such as the Bible Moralisée and the Morgan Library's Old Testament (NYpm 638) where narrow columns or bands of condensed text are less important than the series of illustrations enclosed in medallions or frames. Another variant of the illustrative style is found in bestiary manuscripts where text divisions are decorated with framed scenes the same width as the column of text. All of these framed scenes are generally referred to as "miniatures."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS: THEIR SHAPE, DECORATION, MANNER OF
PLAYING, AND GROUPINGS IN ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS
UP TO THE EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY

French manuscript painting changed from the ornamental style of the Merovingians to the pictorial and illustrative style which was to continue, under the Graeco-Roman influence so prominent in the Carolingian Renaissance. The influence of classical models on medieval art is frequently alluded to, but difficult to define precisely. In his study "Classical Inspiration in Medieval Art," Walter Oakeshott associates classical influence less with picture schemes or iconography than with a revival of Graeco-Roman painting and sculptural style and technique.¹ Since it is virtually impossible to determine the exact models used by medieval artists, we must accept that so-called classical models belong to the Graeco-Roman tradition which itself represents hundreds of years of development. It is nevertheless likely that this tradition was transmitted to medieval craftsmen and artists through late Roman examples.

Carolingian manuscripts depict the musical instruments mentioned in Psalm texts with illustrations whose style ranges from the rich painting of the "Palace School" as exemplified in the Bible of Charles the Bald (Pn lat. 1)² to the dramatic and expressive line drawings of

¹Oakeshott, W. Classical Inspiration in Medieval Art, 1.

²A beautiful color plate giving some idea of the splendor of this illustration, can be found in Bragard and DeHen, Musical Instruments in Art and History, plate II.

the Utrecht Psalter (University Library Ms. 32).³ Each of these manuscripts had been copied from much older models, and the instruments seen in these ninth-century manuscripts generally reflect the instrumentarium of their models rather than the instruments of contemporary usage. The problem for a music historian studying these illustrations is that "classical" or "antique" influence often results in the depiction of instruments which antedate by hundreds of years the actual manuscript where they appear. Thus the instruments depicted were no longer in use at the time the manuscript was made.

Patristic writers, most notable of whom was St. Augustine, created detailed Christian allegories to explain the musical instruments of the Psalms. In the ninth and tenth centuries, illustrators of the apocryphal "Dardanus letter" said to have been written by St. Jerome, creator of the Vulgate Bible, invented imaginary musical instruments which correspond to the details described in patristic Psalm commentaries.⁴ Generally, however, medieval artists depicted real instruments, whether they were the instruments of late antiquity as found in Roman models, or the instruments of contemporary usage. In the late Carolingian period, as contact with the Latin models waned, illustrators no longer understood the shape and construction of "antique" instruments which

³See Dewald, E. T. The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter. Many of the illustrations with musical instruments can be found in Winternitz, Musical Instruments and their Symbolism, pl. 16, 17.

⁴Hammerstein, R. "Instrumenta Hieronymi," AfMw XVI (1959):117-34.

were not in actual use. As a result of this confusion, they created hybrid instruments of mixed antique and contemporary design.⁵ Such hybrids represent a kind of historical anachronism and are an exception to the usual style of realistic depiction of musical instruments in medieval illustration. Finally, by about the year 1000, it can be observed in manuscript illustrations that contemporary instruments completely replaced those based on antique models.⁶ Since the names of musical instruments found in the Vulgate text did not correspond to those in contemporary usage, one finds a variety of medieval instruments as interpretations for any particular name. This is especially true for the cithara.

Until the thirteenth century, when an increased demand for books gave rise to secular copy and paintshops,⁷ manuscripts had been copied and decorated in monastic centers. The first great task of the University of Paris, founded around 1208, was to revise the by then corrupt Bible and Psalter texts. Although there had been few richly ornamented manuscripts produced in twelfth-century France, typical subjects for the illustrations introducing each book of the Bible had nonetheless evolved.⁸ Early in the thirteenth century, a set of picture types for

⁵The pioneering study of such hybrid characteristics is Winter-nitz's article "The Survival of the Kithara . . ." which is reprinted in the author's anthology Musical Instruments and their Symbolism, 57-65.

⁶Bühle, E. Die musikalischen Instrumente, 3.

⁷Branner, R. "Manuscript Makers . . . , " Art Bull. XLVIII (1966): 65-7; and "The Soisson Bible Paintshop . . . , " Speculum XLIV (1969): 13-34.

⁸Haseloff, G. Die Psalterillustration, 22.

each of the eight Psalms which begin the Offices of Matins and Sunday Vespers (Ps. 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97 and 109) had evolved.⁹ By about 1230, the corrected Paris University Bible and Psalm texts combined with these sets of illustration subjects, had become a well-established format for copyists.¹⁰ Among these formal illustrations appearing in the body of historiated initials at the beginning of each book of the Bible and at the beginning of each of the eight Psalms listed above, musical subjects appear in the initials for Psalm 1, 80 and 97, and occasionally as part of the "Tree of Jesse" illustration which may be used to decorate the beginning of the Gospel of St. Matthew.

⁹Ibid., 2. Following the ancient Irish tradition, English and German Psalters used a three-part text division while French and Italian Psalters generally used an eight-part text division. Historiated or ornamented initials were placed at the beginning of each division and the number of divisions therefore determined the number of illustrations used in the manuscript. Haseloff publishes tables of the illustration subjects found in Psalters. A brief glance at these indicates the great uniformity of illustration subjects.

¹⁰Ibid., 22.

PART I: THE ICONOLOGY OF SACRED IMAGES

I. HISTORIATED INITIALS

A. The Image: Musical illustration types found in thirteenth-century French Bibles and Psalters

Illustrations of the "Beatus" initial for Psalm 1 are based on one of two picture formats:

- 1) King David with his harp (above in the upper register of the initial "B").
David and Goliath (below in the lower register of the initial "B").
- 2) King David with his harp occupying the entire initial.

The depiction of David with his harp is tradition-bound and exhibits the same characteristics whether presented in the context of a single or double subject in the initial. David is seated on a bench or chair and faces slightly to the right in a semi-profile. In many examples, his left leg is crossed over the right. He is depicted as a mature but not grey-haired man, dressed in a long robe with the sleeves of an undergarment showing. His harp has a "romanesque" frame.¹ The strings of the harp are painted sometimes on an opaque ground which fills the entire frame (PLATE 1) and sometimes in a more realistic manner so that one sees the rest of his body through

¹Sachs, C. History of Musical Instruments, 264. According to Sachs, the romanesque harp was used till about 1430. He characterizes it in the following manner: "The stout romanesque harp had a curving pillar, and the distinction between the three parts, body, neck and pillar, was emphasized by ornamental design."

the strings (PLATE 2). Ornamentation of the harp frame varies both in the addition of carved ornaments such as scrolls or animal heads, and in painted or cut-out designs which may appear on the soundboard. Although most artists do not detail the pegs on top of the harp frame, some illustrations exaggerate this detail, making it a decorative motive so that the instrument fairly bristles with pegs (PLATE 14).

The manner in which David plays his harp is also highly tradition-bound. He plucks the strings with his right hand; his left hand is placed on top of the harp frame. In half of the examples which I examined, David is clearly tuning the harp with his left hand; the tuning bar is explicitly represented, often in disproportionately large size. One can assume that for examples in which David's hand is placed on top of the frame as it would be in order to tune the instrument, the artist copied a model in which the tuning bar was not clearly depicted, or that he did not understand its function in the model and therefore copied the pose but omitted the tuning bar in his own version. The convention of portraying this manner of holding and "playing" the harp was so strong that one finds bestiary illustrations and animal musicians adhering to this model (PLATE 44).

The manner in which the artist depicts the position of the hand plucking the string is one detail which does vary greatly. The position of the hand ranges from being laid flat against the strings in a very imprecise manner, to plucking a single string with the thumb and index-finger or with the thumb and first two fingers. In examples where the tuning bar is present, the hand plucking the string is sometimes directly below the tuning bar, thereby demonstrating the

artist's understanding of the tuning process. (The musician must test the tuning by plucking the string as the tension is being adjusted with the tuning bar.) There are other examples where the artist clearly misunderstands musical necessities and places the tuning bar and plucking hand at opposite ends of the instrument.

There are also illustrations in which David plucks the harp with both hands, but these are relatively rare (PLATES 2 and 4). One last detail which appears occasionally is the cloth cover for the harp which rests on the player's lap and provides a support for the instrument as he plays.

King David playing the bells is the standard illustration subject for the "Exultate" initial of the 80th Psalm. It occupies the whole initial and David's pose is essentially the same as for the "Beatus" illustration. He is seated on a bench or chair, turned slightly to the right. With two mallets, King David strikes a carillon of three to four bells that are suspended from a rod above his left shoulder.² The number of bells varies from two to as many as seven. Their size is fairly uniform with all of the bells in any one illustration of a single size. The color of the bells varies and they are sometimes painted in alternating colors. Clappers are often but not always depicted hanging in the bells. The use of two mallets is almost without exception although the size and shape of the mallets vary. The illustration for this Psalm found in Pn lat. 1076 (PLATE 5) is typical in

²In some examples, the bells are tied to the frame of the letter "E" thus making the initial a functional part of the illustration.

all respects except for the unusually large number of bells depicted—seven rather than three or four.

The pictorial subject for the "Cantate" initial of the 97th Psalm is the simplest but also the most problematical of this picture cycle. Its meaning and interpretation will be discussed in Part I-B, which deals with the symbolism implied in these subjects. This is the only musical Psalm illustration which does not depict King David.³ The normal illustration of this subject depicts three men, usually tonsured clerics, facing a lectern on the right that holds an open book. Often, these men stand looking straight ahead with their mouths closed; it is not at all clear that they are supposed to be singing. In certain illustrations, all the figures have their mouths open as if to sing, while in other illustrations, one person may be singing but his colleagues clearly are not (PLATES 6 and 7).

B. The Symbol: Interpretation of the musical illustration types found in thirteenth-century French Bibles and Psalters

1. King David - Orpheus - Christ

Medieval Christian symbolism was strongly influenced by both Jewish and pagan Greek traditions. The symbols had many levels of

³Haseloff, G. Psalterillustration, 26, suggests that early versions of the subject "Singing Clerics" included King David and that he was later omitted. However, I have not found any such evidence.

meaning as well as many sources of derivation. An individual figure such as that of King David carried multiple concurrent meanings. Old Testament figures were particularly rich in associations since they represented not only the Hebrew personage, but foreshadowed a New Testament figure or event.⁴ King David himself is an especially complicated figure whose early artistic representation is derived from the Greek Orpheus⁵ and whose later depictions also assume certain characteristics of two other classical pagan figures: Pythagoras and Musica.⁶ As a favorite subject in both graphic and plastic Christian art of the Middle Ages, David fills three primary and often concurrent theological roles in addition to his historical role as a Hebrew king: he is the Old Testament prefiguration of Christ, a founder of the liturgy, and an inventor of the art of music.⁷

In his role as a prefiguration of Christ and founder of the liturgy, David is portrayed as the Royal Psalmist holding or playing an instrument which represents in contemporary terms the cithara named in the Latin Psalms.⁸ From late antiquity through the twelfth

⁴ Mâle, E. Gothic Image, 9.

⁵ Goodenough, E. R. Symbolism in the Dura Synagogue, 89-102, discusses the Jewish associations of David and Orpheus from the point of view of art, philosophy and literature. Friedman, J. B., in Orpheus in the Middle Ages, discusses the later Christian associations of David and Orpheus.

⁶ Hammerstein, R. "Freiburger Münster," AFMw IX (1952):213.

⁷ For a more detailed discussion of the symbolic roles of David, see Hammerstein, AFMw (1952):212-13; Mâle, Gothic Image, 157; and Seebass, Musikdarstellung und Psalterillustration, 96-8.

⁸ In addition to the places cited above, see Goodenough, Symbolism, 93 and Friedman, Orpheus, 40.

century, the instrument played by David is variously depicted by artists as a lyre, psaltery, rotta or harp.⁹ However, all of these instruments are constructed of strings stretched by arms, a frame, or a soundboard. At least some of the medieval interpretations of David's instrument were determined by commentators who attributed allegorical meaning to the physical characteristics of the actual musical instrument.

Starting with the ten strings on David's instrument as it was described in verse 9 of Psalm 144 ("God, I have made a new song for you to be played on the ten-string lyre"), Augustine associated the number of strings with the five Laws of Moses and the Ten Commandments.¹⁰ Other writers saw in the strings spanning the instrument, a symbol of the outstretched body of Christ on the cross.¹¹

From the ninth through the twelfth centuries, King David is usually shown surrounded by his musicians rather than alone. While

⁹Hammerstein, R. "Instrumenta Hieronymi," AfMw XVI (1959):126 traces the successive translations of the instrument name from Hebrew to Greek and Latin; the Vulgate version of the Psalms used the word "psaltery."

¹⁰Augustine, Sermo XXXII, cap. v and vi as translated in Mâle, Gothic Image, 137. Goodenough, Symbolism, 96, points out that the number ten was a symbol of cosmic perfection in Pythagorean philosophy and cites (102) a Coptic Christian magical incantation in which David "sings psalms in the church-of-the-first-born in heaven" and "plays his lyre (kitharē) of ten strings behind the veil of the altar of joy."

¹¹Hammerstein, R. "Freiburger Münster," AfMw IX (1952):212. The same author discusses the separate tradition of imaginary allegorical instruments which illustrate the 'Dardanus Letter' manuscripts in "Instrumenta Hieronymi," AfMw XVI (1959):117-34.

this composite subject is essentially an illustration of Psalm 150, it often appears at the beginning of the Psalter. It is the 150th Psalm combined with the account of the Israelites celebrating their victory over the Philistines found in I Chronicles 15:16-29 which Seebass cites as the source of David's identity as a founder of the liturgy.¹² The resultant illustration of David and his musicians combines the musicians named in I Chronicles: Heman, Asaph, Ethan and Jeduthan (the latter is named at the beginning of certain Psalm texts rather than in Chronicles) with the instruments enumerated in Psalm 150.¹³

One of the earliest and best-known illustrations of this subject is the first page of the Book of Psalms found in the Bible of Charles the Bald (Pn lat. 1, f. 215v). This magnificent painting portrays King David playing a triangular delta-shaped harp (or perhaps a harp-shaped psaltery), surrounded by his four musicians each of whom is named, and two soldiers.¹⁴ The instruments as well as the costumes show a close relationship to classical Graeco-Roman models. The wind

¹²Seebass, T. Musikdarstellung und Psalterillustration, 98.

¹³The Vulgate text for Psalm 150 cites instruments in the following manner: . . . laudate eum in sono tubae,
 laudate eum in psalterio et cithara;
 laudate eum in tympano et choro,
 laudate eum in chordis et organo;
 laudate eum in cymbalis besonantibus,
 laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis . . .

¹⁴Bragard, R. and Detten, F. Musical Instruments, Plate II, is a color reproduction of this illustration. Seebass, Musikdarstellung Pl. 98 reproduces it in black-white along with three similar ninth-century illustrations, all exhibiting strong antique influence (Pl. 94, 95, 99).

and percussion instruments of Asaph, Ethan and Jeduthan faithfully depict the antique instruments of some older model while David's harp and the "cithara" of Ethan reflect certain contemporary changes.¹⁵

The theme of David and his musicians was common in the Romanesque sculpture of Southern France and Spain¹⁶ and continued to be a favorite subject of Psalter illustrations in French and English manuscripts through the end of the twelfth century. Then in the thirteenth century, David and his musicians suddenly disappeared from the illustration repertory of French Bibles and Psalters. With the new illustration scheme of the Paris University Bible and Psalter, we find King David alone. In these thirteenth-century French illustrations for the "Beatus" initial, the harp has been universally accepted as the appropriate interpretation of David's cithara.

The seated figure of Orpheus playing his cithara had already been adapted from Hellenic art to represent David at the Jewish Synagogue of Dura-Europa.¹⁷ Orpheus continued to serve as a model for Christian representations of David, and I would like to suggest that the soldiers in the illustration of David and his musicians found in the Bible of Charles the Bald may be related to depictions of Orpheus playing for the Thracian warriors as seen on the vase painting preserved in Berlin (PLATE 10).

¹⁵Seebass, T. Musikdarstellung, reproduces another series of four plates which demonstrate the changing instrumentarium found in illustrations of David and his musicians, Pl. 100-103.

¹⁶Pope, I. "King David and His Musicians," 693-703.

¹⁷Goodenough, E. R. Symbolism in the Dura Synagogue.

The extensive article on Orpheus in Paulys Real-encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft states that a typical pose for Orpheus shows him seated and holding his cithara with one hand and a plectrum with the other,¹⁸ as seen in the Berlin vase painting. It is quite likely that this plectrum was transformed into the tuning bar which is typical of medieval depictions of King David.¹⁹ The similarity between the pose of King David in the twelfth-thirteenth century Lambertus Treatise (Pn lat. 6755 (2), f. Av), and the Orpheus figure in the fourth century Roman fresco at the Cemetery of the Two Laurels, is striking indeed (PLATES 8 and 9). The cithara and plectrum of Orpheus have become the harp and tuning bar of King David.

Pauly points out that Servius, a Latin grammarian active ca. 400 A.D. identifies Orpheus as the discoverer of the harmony of the spheres.²⁰ Friedman quotes relevant material from the fourth-century treatise De Musica by Aristides Quintilianus: "instruments made of tuned strings are somewhat similar to the ethereal, dry, and simple part of the cosmos and to the soul itself."²¹ Winternitz cites Plato's use of "the lyre and its incorporeal divine Harmony as a metaphor of the soul."²² With such ideas and images current at the time when Christian iconography was developing, it is quite certain that the

¹⁸ Paulys Real-encyclopädie, 1253.

¹⁹ Among the manuscripts which were examined, 85 out of 151 illustrations of this subject show David tuning his harp.

²⁰ Paulys Real-encyclopädie, 1253.

²¹ Friedman, J. B. Orpheus, 81.

²² Winternitz, E. Symbolism, 180.

figure of David tuning his harp represents the harmony of the spheres now interpreted as the new law of Christ. The Christianized figure of David has thus assumed the loftiest characteristics of Orpheus, in whose image he was fashioned by early artists.

The importance of tuning instruments was also apparent in manuscript depictions of David and his musicians. The most notable example of this phenomenon is found in a mid-eleventh-century Catalan Psalter illustration (Pn lat. 11550, f. 7v: PLATE 12) in which David holds a nine-string lyre and one of the other musicians plucks an eleven-string harp. Both instruments have prominent tuning bars attached to them and wavy lines clearly indicate that the strings are vibrating. The strings of a rebec played by another of the four musicians are likewise seen to vibrate and the fingered horn (cornetto?) played by yet another musician sends forth "arrows" of sound. The instrument played by the fourth of David's musicians is a seven-holed panpipe. This instrument is extremely rare in thirteenth-century French manuscript illustrations but is prominently played by the shepherd adjacent to the figure of Musica at Chartres Cathedral (PLATE 13).

The most common illustration formula, however, is the depiction of David and his musicians in which David alone is engaged in the act of tuning his harp while the others play or simply hold their instruments. As was mentioned above, French thirteenth-century manuscript paintings reduced the scene of David and his musicians to King David alone, seated and tuning his harp. This is the first of several examples to be discussed where the figure of King David assumes the

symbolism formerly carried by other figures and scenes, both pagan and Christian.

2. King David - Jubal - Pythagoras - Musica

A set of bells struck with hammers was one of the instruments found in eleventh and twelfth century depictions of King David and his musicians.²³ In these illustrations, it was one of David's retinue but never King David himself who played the bells. The transfer of this instrument to King David first occurs in illustrations of Psalm 80 in thirteenth-century French Bibles and Psalters. One must ask why French theologians and artists chose the bells as the musical instrument for this "new" depiction of King David. Evidence points to the fact that such a choice reflects the attribution of Pythagorean harmony to the figure of King David. Since Pythagoras was believed to have discovered cosmic harmony, medieval artists had used him as a symbol of proportion and cosmic harmony. As we shall see, King David assumes these attributes in thirteenth-century French illustrations.

The legend of Pythagoras' discovery of the principles of harmony and proportion by observing the sound produced by blacksmiths' hammers²⁴ is not without its Biblical equivalent. The Old Testament

²³ Böhle, E. "Die Glockenspiel in den Miniaturen" deals with depictions and iconography while Waesberghe, J. S. v. *Cymbala* deals with literary sources and the physical properties of bells in the Middle Ages.

²⁴ Ponte, J., trans. Aurelian of Reome, Musica Disciplina, 9, and Mâle, E., Gothic Image, 86.

(Genesis 4:21-22) mentions two descendents of Cain. One is "father of all such as handle the harp and organ" (Iubal: ipse fuit pater canentium cithara et organo) and the other is "instructor of every artificer in brass and iron." The two brothers, Jubal and Tubalcain, were combined into a single figure by Isidore of Seville.²⁵ This medieval Christian fusion of the two biblical characters, the inventor of music and the first blacksmith, into a single entity may have been prompted by the story of Pythagoras. During the Middle Ages, both Jubal (or Tubalcain) and Pythagoras were called inventores musicae.²⁶ In his account of the discovery of music, Aurelian names three inventors of music: Pythagoras, Jubal and David.²⁷

Although in the original legend Pythagoras discovered the principle of proportion by observing the sound produced by different sized hammers, medieval artists transformed the hammers into the bells (cymbala) so frequently mentioned in the Bible. This transfer of the pagan story to a Biblical context seems to have occurred at the same time that the clapper-like instruments found in the Bible of Charles the Bald were replaced by contemporary instruments, bells.²⁸ It should be mentioned again that until the thirteenth century, all

²⁵ Lindsey, W. M. Isidore of Seville, Etymologiarum III, 16 and 22.

²⁶ Büschen, H. "Musik," MGG IX, 973.

²⁷ Ponte, J., trans. Aurelian, 7.

²⁸ Bühle, E. "Die Glockenspiel," 55.

illustrations of cymbala, both the archaic clappers of the ninth- and tenth-century examples, and the bells (cymbala) found in eleventh- and twelfth-century illustrations, occurred as part of the depiction of David and his musicians.

The implied association of King David with the theoretical aspects of music, number, and harmony becomes more explicit during the course of the twelfth century. Seebass reproduces two manuscript illustrations which show Pythagoras observing blacksmiths at work. The first of these (Wolfenbüttel, Herzogl. B. Gud. lat. 8^o 344, f. 3 and 3v) from Augsburg ca. 1100, places Pythagoras and a group of five blacksmiths in separate but obviously related frames. Also depicted are Gregory and Musica, the latter plucking a monochord. There is no question of identity since each figure is labelled with its name. The second manuscript (Munich St. B. clm. 2599, f. 96v and f. 103) from Aldersbach/Salzburg thirteenth century, depicts Pythagoras observing four blacksmiths in the upper register of a double illustration, a man plucking a monochord, and an uncrowned David playing a harp on f. 96v. The other folio (f. 103) depicts two standing figures: Musica holding a monochord and Pythagoras holding a scroll. Musica, one of the Seven Liberal Arts, is another personification of harmony and proportion. Of the Seven Arts, only Music was able to symbolize the harmony of the entire universe.²⁹ In this depiction, the monochord which Musica holds also represents the laws of proportion and cosmic harmony.

²⁹ Hammerstein, R. "Freiburger Münster," AfMw IX (1952):210-11.

A twelfth-century French Psalter illustration (Cambridge, St. John's College B 18, f. 1) from St. Remy de Reims depicts both sacred and profane music in the upper and lower registers of a divided page.³⁰ In the depiction of sacred music, one of David's musicians is set off by himself in the upper left corner. He plucks a monochord with one hand and strikes a set of six bells showing slight gradation in size, with a mallet held in his other hand. The symbolic value of these instruments is apparent from the fact that both monochord and bells were used as didactic instruments to demonstrate the laws of harmony and proportion.

Another example of the association of these two instruments is found on the left portal of the Porch at Vézelay where the two faces of a door-jamb depict a figure holding a monochord and a figure wearing a yoke of bells. This new depiction of bells—attached to a yoke carried on the shoulders—is not well understood, but can be found in two artistic prototypes: Tonaria illustrations, and sculpture following the model of Cluny.³¹ Such yokes of bells were apparently carried by jongleurs.

The twelfth-century sculptured depiction of Musica on the west façade (right portal) of Chartres Cathedral portrays her seated and

³⁰ Hammerstein, R. Diabolus in Musica, Pl. 64, and Seebass, T., Musikdarstellung, Pl. 111.

³¹ Seebass, T. Musikdarstellung, Pl. 67 (Lbm Harl. 4951: Tonaria illustration), and Pl. 69 (Cluny capital, the Fourth Mode). Similar sculptures can be found on capitals at Vézelay and Autun.

striking a set of three bells which hang from a horizontal rod above her left shoulder (PLATE 13). Her physical attitude is exactly the same as that found in later thirteenth-century manuscript depictions of David playing bells and may even have served as a model. Balanced on Musica's lap is a psaltery.³² The substitution of a contemporary instrument, the psaltery, for the monochord is the only real difference between the Chartres Musica and the figure playing bells with a monochord balanced on his lap, found in the Munich depiction of Sacred Music. Both figures symbolize the harmony of the universe as discovered by Pythagoras and embodied in the Art of Music. In the Chartres sculpture, the small male figure supporting Musica is thought to represent Pythagoras.³³

In addition to the two instruments already mentioned (bells and psaltery), there is one more musical instrument in the Chartres sculpture. A vielle floats in space to the right of Musica and directly underneath the bells. This detail too appears in later manuscript illustrations. A small but significant number of "Exultate" illustrations have additional instruments which are not being played, and seemed to function as reinforcing musical attributes for King David. In one group of these variants, a harp is placed on the ground next to David, floats in space, or hangs from the crossbar of the letter

³² Mâle, E. *Gothic Image*, 86 fig. 43, a stained glass window at Laon Cathedral shows Musica seated and striking three bells with no other instruments depicted. In a footnote on the same page, Mâle points out that two exceptional portrayals of Musica, the sculpture on the porch of Auxerre and the bronze candelabrum in the cathedral of Milan (13th c.) show her playing a cither (sic. psaltery).

³³ Mâle, E., *idem*, 88.

"E".³⁴ Such reinforcement of David's identity by the presence of his more customary instrument, the harp, seemed to be a natural association. In still other examples the additional instrument was a *vielle* rather than a harp, and in yet another a gittern is the attributive instrument. There is also an illustration in which a psaltery hangs from the crossbar of the letter "E".³⁵ Although all of these instruments are associated both with King David and his musicians, I believe that these additions to the standard "Exultate" illustration, which shows only King David playing the bells, are derived from the prototype of the Chartres Musica.

The magnificent "Exultate" illustration in the St. Louis Psalter (Pn lat. 10525, f. 175: PLATE 11) seems to be the key to this iconographic problem. The initial "E" is divided into an upper and a lower register. In the upper one, we see David crowned and kneeling before Christ. In the lower register, a lovely Musica with long blond hair plucks a psaltery which rests on her lap, using two plectra. Both a harp and a *vielle* float in space and above her head are two sets of

³⁴The extra harp is on the ground in Pn lat. 33 and lat. 203, Pa 5056, Pm 18, Lbm Add. 17868, Lbm Royal 2 B ii, Ob D. 5. 17, and Ob C. C. C. i. The harp floats in space beneath the bells in Pn lat. 1075 and hangs from the crossbar of the letter "E" in Pa 25, Ob Canon. liturg. 105, and NYpm 98.

³⁵A *vielle* is found in Pa 595 and Pm 15; a gittern in Pm 27; and a psaltery in Pm 211. Both a harp and *vielle* are found in Pn lat. 11931 and Lbm Add. 30045. Psg 1273 depicts both a psaltery and a *vielle* floating beneath the bells. A similar phenomenon is found in the "Beatus" initial of two manuscripts at the Pierpont Morgan Library, NYpm 110 and 153 where David plays a harp but balanced on the edge of his seat and behind his back, is a *vielle*.

four bells, one on each side. Here then, are both King David and Musica, illustrating praise through prayer and praise through music. The Old Testament king representing the Old Law and the Old Worship kneels before Christ, his fulfillment and the embodiment of the New Law. The harmony of the Old and New Laws is represented by Musica with her symbolic instruments. At the same time, she also represents the Pythagorean harmony of the cosmos. It is this author's contention that the "short form" Exultate illustration showing King David playing the bells (with or without attributive instruments) represents the same symbols as this very complete statement found in the depiction of both David and Musica (PLATE 11). The principle of adding extra instruments to demonstrate the harmony of the cosmos as exemplified by stringed instruments, is occasionally extended to the "Beatus" illustration of King David as we find in the illustration NYpm 153, f. 26 (PLATE 1).

We have seen, then, that the two instruments played by King David in thirteenth-century French Psalter illustrations represent a synthesis of classical learning and Christian theology. David tuning or playing his harp is derived from the Orphic tradition. The instrument itself (cithara) was symbolic to both pagan Greek and Christian writers. Considering the fact that in Christian iconology David symbolizes Christ the Redeemer, it is even possible that David's harp (sic, cithara in the Vulgate Bible) is somehow related to the Neoplatonic association of the lyre (sic, cithara in the Vulgate) with the

soul's journey to heaven.³⁶ The image of David striking a set of bells draws upon the concept of Pythagorean harmony and also incorporates visual elements from depictions of Musica. By isolating King David from his musicians, the new illustration avoids any mistaken association of David's musicians with common jongleurs. At the same time, all of the elements of cosmic harmony have been concentrated in the figure of David the Old King, just as theologians taught that they were more perfectly focused in Christ the New King whose teachings supersede all of the learning of the ancients.

3. Young David playing before Saul - The Tree of Jesse

The story of young David trying to cure Saul's madness with music, or, more particularly, the episode where Saul hurls a javelin at David, is occasionally depicted in the historiated initial for the first Psalm, or as a miniature on the page which begins that Psalm³⁷ (PLATE 14). The events of the story are recounted in I Samuel, chapters 16-19. The magical healing power of music as performed by young David with his harp associates him with the magic powers of music in the Orphic tradition where the youthful Orpheus tamed wild beasts and charmed stones with his music. David's attempt to cure Saul's madness

³⁶Friedman, J. B. Orpheus, 80.

³⁷David and Saul are found in the initial of Pn lat. 16260, f. 263v; the subject appears in a miniature in Pn lat. 770, f. 38v (PLATE 14), Pn fr. 938, f. 82, Pa 5059, f. 227v, and Pa 6329, f. 112v.

is also linked to the New Testament as a prefiguration of the healing power and the miracles of Christ. Thus the same Old Testament event was seen both in relationship to its Greek predecessor and to its Christian successor.

The illustration of the Tree of Jesse is based on the prophecy of Isaiah which foretells the Peaceable Kingdom (Isaiah 11:1). The Tree of Jesse illustration appears, however, on the first page of the Gospel of St. Matthew, the beginning of the New Testament. Since this illustration depicts the genealogy of Christ, it serves to demonstrate the connection between the Old and the New Testaments. It appears rather infrequently and is usually included only in the more elaborately painted Bibles. The illustration, even when used, does not necessarily include musical instruments.

The basic design consists of the sleeping figure of Jesse, from whose head grows a vine or tree which contains a minimum of four figures: David, Solomon, the Virgin, and Christ. David always appears directly above Jesse, and the Virgin and Christ must appear as the last two figures, but any number of royal ancestors can be included between them. David is often (but not always) identified by a harp which he holds purely as an attribute. Arthur Watson calls attention to a late twelfth-century English illustration where David as depicted in the Tree of Jesse holds a harp, and David as portrayed a second time in a medallion, tunes a harp, thus indicating a

distinction between the harp used as an identifying attribute for David and the harp whose music symbolizes cosmic harmony.³⁸

There are a few manuscripts in which all the ancestors of Christ are depicted playing musical instruments.³⁹ Regarding such an illustration (Pn lat. 16722, f. 41) which places musical instruments in the hands of all six ancestors (a harp, a carillon of nine bells, a table organ, a vielle, a psaltery, and a vertical lap fiddle), Mme. Braun-Ricci poses the following question: Did the artist wish to portray all of the kings in the genealogy as musicians, or has the artist reproduced King David the Royal Musician six times?⁴⁰ The British Museum illustration (Lbm Add. 17341, f. 6v: PLATE 15) is very similar in design but this time there are only four royal ancestors with

³⁸Watson, A. The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse, Pl. XXII, reproduces f. 33v of the Huntington Psalter, NYpm 43. This is a "Beatus" initial containing the Tree of Jesse. Although I did not find any French examples of the subject contained in an initial, I include Mr. Watson's comments because of their pertinence to the symbolism of the harp. (p. 109) "David and Solomon, next above him, can be identified by their attributes, the harp and the sword respectively . . . In the middle of the upright of the initial B [the body of the initial contains the Tree of Jesse] within a medallion David appears for a second time. [n.b. David as depicted in the Tree of Jesse holds a harp as a static attribute while David as depicted in the medallion tunes his harp with a tuning bar.] He is thus represented both as being in the direct line from Jesse to Christ and as the creator of the Psalms."

³⁹I know of three examples of the Tree of Jesse in which there is more than one instrument: Pn lat. 16722, f. 41; Lbm Add. 17341, f. 6v; Chantilly, Musée Condé Ms. 9, f. 14v. The last example is reproduced in Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art, Pl. 33. There are two musicians—King David playing a figure-eight fiddle held vertically on his lap, and King Solomon plucking a harp with both hands.

⁴⁰Braun-Ricci, J. "Catalogue raisonné de l'iconographie," 115.

instruments in addition to Christ and the Virgin. David plays a small positive organ rather than a harp, and the other instruments depicted are vielle, psaltery and bells.

The organ is an instrument less frequently associated with King David in thirteenth-century French manuscripts, although there are occasional illustrations of Psalm 80 which show David playing the organ rather than the "singing clerics."⁴¹ In addition to the liturgical associations of the organ and the many commentaries and religious allegories which mention this instrument, David playing the organ is at least partially derived from David's identity with Jubal, "father of those who handle the harp and the organ."

4. The "Singing Clerics": illustrations for Psalm 97

Although both art history and musicology studies refer to the subject illustrating the "Cantate" initial of the 97th Psalm as "The Singing Clerics," more than half of the thirteenth-century French examples depict several clerics facing a lectern, but with their mouths clearly closed. One might guess that particularly in view of the first word of the Psalm, the artist surely intended to represent singing. Yet there are a number of examples where one cleric clearly sings whereas the others have their mouths closed. In these cases, the cleric who sings is usually behind the others and farthest from the open book. There are even illustrations in which the silent

⁴¹I found the following "Cantate" initials with illustrations of King David playing an organ: Pn lat. 11931, f. 137v; Pn lat. 16260, f. 282; Pm 12 (non-pagin ); Lbm Add. 15253, f. 159v; NYpm 313, f. 84v.

colleagues turn around and look disapprovingly at the singer (PLATE 7). It is intriguing to speculate on the theological or political implications of this illustration.

Continuing to seek an explanation for this curious illustration, let us first consider the view of Nicetas, Bishop of Remesiana (c. 400 A.D.) on the proper singing of Psalms:

Let us all, as with one mouth, utter the same sound of the words of the psalms, and the same inflection of voice; but if any man cannot keep in with the rest, it is better that he should remain silent, or chant in a subdued voice, than with loud clamour to make a din in the ears of all: for thus he at the same time fulfills his duty in the service of God, and hinders not his brethren in their chanting. And indeed it is not every-one that possesses a flexible and tuneful voice.⁴²

This commentary and the illustrations in question are too far removed in time and place to suggest any direct connection, but perhaps similar exhortations were known in thirteenth-century France.

Next, I must challenge certain assumptions about the musical significance of this illustration. In his article "Musical Instruments in Medieval Psalm Commentaries and Psalters,"⁴³ McKinnon points out that with the thirteenth-century text reforms and the attendant change in the picture cycle, the 97th Psalm is suddenly illustrated by "singing clerics" instead of the instrumentalists common to earlier illustrations. Referring to the tables of illustration subjects in Haseloff's study of thirteenth-century Psalter illustrations,⁴⁴

⁴² Batiffol, P. History of the Roman Breviary, 19, note 3.

⁴³ McKinnon, J. "Musical Instruments," JAMS XXI (1968):3-20.

⁴⁴ Haseloff, G. Psalterillustration.

McKinnon assumes that the clerics in the illustrations really are singing, and furthermore, that this represents actual musical practice. As Table I of this study indicates, a significant number of the "Singende Geistliche" don't sing at all, while other illustrations of the same subject show both singers and non-singers. Although I have not seen all of the manuscripts cited by Haseloff, I am able to present additional information for a large number of representative examples. I question McKinnon's interpretation on the basis of both the visual evidence found in these illustrations and the iconographic tradition itself.

The musicians which McKinnon mentions for earlier manuscript illustrations, represented the theme "David and His Musicians." As I have already mentioned, the instruments depicted with this subject were contemporary, beginning about the eleventh century, but the ensemble was determined by Bible and Psalm text rather than by contemporary instrumental groupings. It was not intended to depict contemporary practice.

It could hardly be expected, then, that the new illustration of "singing clerics" should reflect a change in attitude towards the use of instruments in church music, or that it realistically portrays "a capella" singing. The actual Psalm text mentions both song and instruments:

TABLE I
 "SINGENDE GEISTLICHE," ILLUSTRATIONS FOR PSALM 97

HASELOFF	MANUSCRIPT	SINGING	NOT SINGING
Table 4	Mazarine 212	1	1
Table 5	B.N. lat. 14397	-	3
	St. Geneviève 1180	2 (?)	-
	St. Geneviève 2690	3 (?)	-
Table 6	B.N. lat. 15467	1	1
	B.N. lat. 15477	1	1
	B.N. lat. 33	-	3
	B.N. lat. 32	-	3
	St. Geneviève 15	1	2
	B.N. lat. 10426	2	-
	B.N. lat. 15185	2	-
	Arsenal 590	2	-
	Arsenal 25	2	1
Table 8	Morgan 98	3 (?)	-
	Arsenal 1186	-	3
Table 9	B.N. lat. 1076	1	1
Table 11	Br. Mus. Add. 30,045	1	2
	B.N. lat. 1328	2	2
Table 12	B.N. lat. 1075	3 (?)	-
	Morgan 153	2 (?)	-
	St. Geneviève 2689	1	2
	Morgan 110	3	-
	Br. Mus. Harley 1297	1	1
	Morgan 79	2	1
	Arsenal 280	3	-

(continued)

TABLE I (continued)

HASELOFF	MANUSCRIPT	SINGING	NOT SINGING
Table 13	Mazarine 13	3	-
	B.N. lat. 10435	3	-
	B.N. lat. 16260	2	-
Table 14	Morgan 101	-	3
	Br. Mus. Add. 17, 868	-	3
	Arsenal 120	-	3
Table 15	B.N. lat. 20	-	7
	Arsenal 282	-	2

Each of these tables represents a group of manuscripts; I have included only those manuscripts which I have examined and for which I can supply the missing data. There is no significant correlation between the regional, period, and stylistic groups, and the question of whether the clerics depicted actually sing.

Table 4 Paris Psalter illustration 1200-1230

Table 5 Paris Psalter illustration from the introduction of the University Bible to the mature Gothic 1230-60

Table 6 Paris Psalter illustration of the high Gothic 1260-1300

Table 8 The Blancapsalter group

Table 9 The Jakobpsalter group

Table 11 A group of Psalters with eight divisions

Table 12 The Psalters with nine divisions

Table 13 Picardie (Amiens - Corbie)

Table 14 The Ile de France and surrounding region

Table 15 Southern France

Cantate Domino canticum novum,
 Quia mirabilia fecit.

4 Jubilate Deo, omnis terra;
 Cantate et exsultate, et psallite.

5 Psallite Domino in cithara;
 In cithara et voce psalmi;

6 In tubis ductilibus, et voce
 tubae cornae . . .

Furthermore, this new illustration of singers was probably not a literal interpretation of the first line of the Psalm text.

The illustration subject seems rather to be a more explicit version of the earlier representations of "Sacred and Profane Music." Just as the profane jongleur element had been eliminated by depicting David alone rather than with his musicians for the illustrations of Psalms 1 and 80, so the ambiguity of depicting both sacred and profane music with instrumentalists was avoided by using singing clerics to represent the "New Song" of Psalm 97. The didactic clarity achieved with these new Psalm illustrations is quite obvious. The need for such a change was generated by new theological ideas in reaction to the excessive "humanism" and "secularism" of abbeys such as Cluny, which had been the dominant religious, intellectual and political centers for more than a century.

The antique influence traced by Adh  mar in his study of French medieval art, had been preserved and promoted by the great abbeys where humanism flourished in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. He points out that the resistance of theologians to such a proliferation of classical pagan learning was inevitable, and that in the thirteenth

century, "Theology" triumphed over "Grammar" and the Liberal Arts to such a degree that surviving Greek and Latin literature was transformed into moralized lessons in the service of theology.⁴⁵

The Abbey of Cluny had been the greatest center of such classical art, literature and philosophy, as well as being one of the most important spiritual, intellectual and political forces in all of Europe during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The only sculptures of musical subjects which have survived the destruction of Cluny are the two famous capitals depicting the Eight Church Modes. Cluniacs, however, were very influential in Southern France and Northern Spain, the location of the important sculptures of "David and His Musicians" discussed by Isabel Pope.⁴⁶ One might even speculate that the proliferation of the subject "David and His Musicians" in Romanesque sculpture was partially due to the influence of the Cluniacs who were well known for their love of music.

The Benedictines of Cluny had been invited to introduce their rule in Spanish religious centers. Cluniac reform was first carried out at the monastery of San Juan de Peña near Jaca in northern Aragon. "King David and His Musicians" are found in the façade sculpture of the Cathedral of Jaca. There is also an important group of figures on the large relief adorning the Panteón de los Reyes at San Isidoro of Leon, and David appears with his musicians on a capital from La Daurade at Toulouse. Cluniac influence had been strong at all of these centers.

⁴⁵Adhémar, J. Influences antiques, 34.

⁴⁶Pope, I. "King David and His Musicians."

The theme of "David and His Musicians" which had been so frequently depicted in French manuscript painting and sculpture from the ninth through the twelfth century disappeared rather suddenly with the thirteenth-century "triumph" of theology over humanism.⁴⁷ Perhaps, then, the new and simplified depictions of music in Psalm illustrations are but an external symptom of the great religious and political changes which were taking place in France.

⁴⁷ Adhémar, J. Influences antiques. The author points out that the humanism which had flourished in the great abbéys during the eleventh and twelfth-century revival of classical studies, was virtually buried by the new strictly theological attitude of the Paris University.

II. NARRATIVE ILLUSTRATION

A. Picture Bibles

A small number of luxury-manuscripts constitutes the group called picture Bibles. These were ambitious projects more closely resembling the type of decoration found in stained glass windows of the great thirteenth-century cathedrals than the usual manuscript decoration of this period. In these manuscripts, the visual image dominates the text and most of the scenes contain a profusion of human figures. The illustrations draw upon but are still separate from the formalized iconography found in the historiated initials of Bibles and Psalters.

1. The Bible Moralisée

The Bible Moralisée,¹ made in the second half of the thirteenth century and thought to have been dedicated to St. Louis² is a lavishly

¹The Bible Moralisée, originally a single manuscript, is now preserved in three different libraries: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 270b; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale latin 11560; and British Museum, Harley 1526 and 1527. This manuscript and the fragment in Toledo, Spain, are considered to be the originals. Sometime in the late 13th or early 14th century when these manuscripts were still intact, they were copied, not with painted miniatures in the medallions as are found in the originals, but in pen and ink drawings which appear in columns of square frames rather than circles. This manuscript is also preserved at the British Museum as Add. 18, 719. Most of the illustrations of musical instruments in this copy correspond to those in the Oxford-Paris-London "original." However, there are some interesting changes and variants which I shall note later. See Hausherr, R., for a new monograph and facsimile of another manuscript of this type. I have not yet examined his study.

²Verdier, P. "Bible Moralisée," New Catholic Encycl., II, 534.

illustrated manuscript of the entire Bible. Each page has two columns of four picture medallions. In addition to these medallions, there are two columns of abbreviated and moralized Bible text at the left of each column of pictures. This text is a pastiche of quotes and paraphrases from the Vulgate following the Bible Concordance of Hugh of Saint-Cher and the Dominicans (second quarter of the thirteenth century), and moralizations similar to those found in Hugh's Postilla.³ Réau cites the enormous repertoire of Bible themes illustrated in this manuscript as the most colossal enterprise planned and executed by medieval illuminators.⁴ Several writers have noted the similarity in both style and subject of this illustrated Bible and the windows of the Saint-Chapelle in Paris which was built by St. Louis.⁵

The Bible scenes in this manuscript generally illustrate the Old Testament ("type") as the prefiguration of the New Testament ("antitype") in a literal manner, word for word and image for image.⁶ Thus in the pages of the Old Testament we find both illustrations of the story presented in the text and scenes from the life of Christ: the type and the antitype. Since most of the textual references to music occur in the Old Testament, one will expect to find most illustrations of musical scenes in this portion of the manuscript. One might then

³Laborde, A., ed. La Bible Moralisée conservée à Oxford, Paris et Londres. Reproduction intégrale du manuscrit du XIIIe siècle (Paris, 1911-1927), Vol. V, 181; Verdier, P., "Bible Moralisée," New Catholic Encyclopedia, II, 535.

⁴Réau, L. Iconographie de l'art chrétien, I, 37.

⁵Laborde, A. op. cit., 178; Verdier, P., op. cit., 533.

⁶Verdier, P., idem., 533.

ask if musical instruments are mechanically illustrated each time the name of the instrument appears in the text. The answer to these questions is that all but two of the scenes depicting musical instruments do indeed correspond to Old Testament text.⁷ However, a check of Hugh's textual concordance for the words "cithara," "lyra" and "tympanum" demonstrates that these instruments were not illustrated every time the name occurred in the text.

a. King David iconography in the Bible Moralisée

(1) The established Old Testament scenes

The largest single illustration type corresponds to the traditional King David iconography. Four of these scenes show David with Saul.⁸ Another six show David playing the harp but in a variety of different situations: a) seated alone playing the harp with two vielles and a large ball⁹ floating in space. (See the discussion of David--Musica iconography p. 25); b) David seated playing the harp with a suppliant approaching; c) David seated among six men, tuning his harp;

⁷ Both of these New Testament illustrations show banquet scenes. They illustrate the texts of Matt. XIV, 6 and Luke XIII, 10-13. In addition to these, there are a few illustrations of musical instruments for the text of the Apocalypse, but since this portion of the New Testament exists as a separate artistic genre, I will not consider it here. I might add that the musical illustrations of the Apocalypse text in the Bible Moralisée are very rudimentary and consist entirely of a few harps and trumpets.

⁸ The illustration for I Regum XIX, 9 shows David playing a pair of large cymbals, "David Coram Saul tympani . . ." while the others show him playing the harp.

⁹ Whereas I feel quite sure that this instrument is a large bell in the original version (Pn lat. 11560, f. 14) its somewhat triangular shape has been transformed into a psaltery in the copy Lbm Add. 18, 719, f. 119v.

d) David standing to the left of the ark containing the Torah, tuning his harp with a prominent tuning bar while a man standing to the right of the ark plays an oliphant.

Four musicians who obviously represent King David's musicians appear playing a *vielle*, an oliphant, a harp and a psaltery to illustrate Psalm 80: "Sumite psalmum, et date tympanum, psalterium jocundum cum cithara. Buccinate in neomenia tuba . . ." (PLATE 16). The instruments depicted are those which thirteenth-century tradition had assigned to David's musicians rather than an exact representation of the instruments mentioned in the corresponding text.

In this manuscript David himself is depicted playing a variety of instruments. In one case, David plucks a psaltery while a young man dances. In another, David plays a vertical *vielle*. Although in these illustrations David usually plays the three-sided pre-gothic (i.e. romanesque—see p. 12) harp, there is one illustration in which he plays a harp of the old square form.

(2) New iconographic scenes for King David:
combining Old and New Testament elements

Among the most interesting of all the David illustrations are two which depict him playing the harp before the Virgin Mary and Christ Child.¹⁰ The medallion accompanying Psalm 44:2 "Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum" (PLATE 17) shows King David seated on the left, and the Virgin holding the Christ Child on the right, with the two main figures placed under architectural arches in a manner very similar to the

¹⁰ It is interesting to note that these illustrations do not appear in the copy Lbm Add. 18719.

iconography of the "Coronation of the Virgin" (PLATE 18). Emile Mâle has cited the words of Psalm 45:9, "Upon thy right hand did stand the queen in vesture of gold" as one of the sources for this scene as it is found in Gothic cathedral sculpture.¹¹ Notice that the Bible Moralisée illustration has adapted this text slightly by placing Mary at the left hand of David the Royal Psalmist and prefiguration of Christ, while in the Coronation of the Virgin iconography, Mary is crowned and sits at the right hand of Christ, her royal son. (Compare this illustration to the scene at Chartres Cathedral: PLATE 18.) The second of the Mary-David illustrations (not reproduced) shows King David playing the harp, seated at the foot of a bed on which Mary reclines, holding the infant Christ.

A third illustration which combines Old and New Testament subjects shows King David crowned and playing a vertical *vielle*, two other musicians who play harp and psaltery, and two dancers who clap their hands above their heads, all "praising" a haloed Christ who sits slightly apart on the right, holding a book (PLATE 20). This clearly demonstrates how praise as described in the Psalms, with instruments and dancing, is transferred to the context of the New Testament.

b. Musical instruments as literal illustration of text

Whereas the figure of King David unified the first type of illustration depicting musical instruments in the Bible Moralisée, another group, though it is not unified by subject, is composed of those illustrations for which the instrument is a concrete visualization of the text.

¹¹ Mâle, E. The Gothic Image, 255.

An amusing example of this technique is found in the illustration for the last verses from Chapter 30 of the Book of Job, "I am a brother to dragons and companion to owls . . . My harp also is turned to mourning . . ." (Frater fui draconum, et socius struthionum . . . versa est in luctum cithara mea, et organum meum in vocem filentium.) Job is seated on the dung-hill with his three human visitors standing behind him. Two large birdlike creatures, one with a harp tied around its neck, sit on the right.

The opening lines of Psalm 136, "By the rivers of Babylon," is similarly illustrated in a naive and amusing literal interpretation of the text: "Super flumina Babylonis illic sedimus et flevimus, cum recordaremur Sion. In salicibus in medio ejus suspendimus organa nostra." A crowned figure probably representing King David, holds a portative organ above his head. Directly behind him is a tree upon which he apparently will hang the organ.¹²

The short pithy text of Proverbs 17:23 is illustrated by a man playing a vielle who represents a "merry heart" and a pensive man with no instrument who represents the "broken spirit." (Animus gaudens aetatem floridam facit; spiritus tristis exsiccat ossa : PLATE 21.) The corresponding illustration in Lbm Add. 18719 is found on f. 138 and shows a man seated on the left who plays a vielle (animus gaudens)

¹²Panofsky, D. "The Textual Basis," Art Bulletin XXV (1943) 53-7. The instruments mentioned in this psalm vary with different versions of the Psalter. The Gallican version of verse 2 is: ". . . in salicibus in medio ejus suspendimus organa nostra" while the Hebraicum version is: ". . . super salices in medio ejus suspendimus citharas nostras." Panofsky points out that since both texts would have appeared in a double psalter, the artist was presented with a choice between "adorn-ing his willow trees with harps (citharae) or pipe-organs (organa)," p. 53.

while his opposite (spiritus tristis) is seated at a banquet table. The copyist seems to have confused the dichotomy of the original illustration by portraying both figures as being happy.

The illustration for Proverbs 31:26 is less easily understood. A man plays a vielle before a group of women, and the torso of Christ is visible in the sky above them. This musician apparently represents the temptation resisted by the virtuous woman mentioned earlier in verse 10 and still referred to by the text corresponding to the actual illustration: "She openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue is the law of kindness." This is a case where the illustration does not correspond to the text actually placed next to it.

The Lamentation of Jeremiah 2:6 in which "the Lord hath caused his feasts and sabbaths to be forgotten in the land of Zion" is interpreted as the worship of the Golden Calf. One of the most naive of these literal illustrations appears with the text of Isaiah 24:8 where "mirth ceases." There are four men with sad faces, one of whom holds a broken three-sided harp while another holds a broken square harp. Isaiah 66:10, "Rejoice with Jerusalem and be glad with her" is illustrated by three men holding instruments: busine, vielle, and square timbrel. Again, these are the instruments of the Psalms.

c. Secular music as a symbol of temptation

One finds the counterpart of King David and the "Sacred Music" depictions in a third group of illustrations where the presence of instruments represents "Secular Music" as a symbol for earthly temptation. The themes of secular and sacred music are, of course, the two principles around which almost all thirteenth-century representations

of music-making can be grouped.

The illustration for the Eighth Commandment, Deuteronomy 5:20, "Neither shall thou bear false witness against thy neighbor," shows a man wearing the particolor slashed tunic of a jongleur who plays a vielle, a king seated to the left of this musician, and a group of four men on the right (not illustrated). We are apparently to understand that the "false witness" is a jongleur who persuades the king to make a false judgment against the others. The harlot who, in Isaiah 24:16, is commanded to take her cithara and go about the city making sweet melody and singing many songs, is represented by a scene in which a man hands harps to two ladies. This is, of course, a literal interpretation of the text, but it nevertheless illustrates the base qualities associated with secular music. A similarly literal interpretation of secular music is found for the text of Isaiah 5:12, "Cithara, et lyra, et tympanum, et tibia, et vinum conviviis vestris" (PLATE 22). Only three of the four instruments mentioned in the text appear in the illustration: a double pipe (tibia), a square timbrel (tympanum) and a vielle which represents either the cithara or the lyra, but probably the latter. A fourth man taps a wine-keg, filling his pitcher, while a seated observer raises a hand in a warning gesture.

There are yet other instances where secular music is depicted for text which apparently forms part of the moralization. (These texts cannot be found in the Vulgate Bible.) Three women, a man playing a vielle and wearing the particolored tunic of a jongleur, and four kings who appear in the sky, illustrate Chapter 67 of Genesis. The "Vanitas" of I Ecclesiastices is illustrated by two secular musicians who play a

vielle and a wind instrument, a man holding a book, and yet another figure pointing with a warning gesture towards the sky where Christ appears in the clouds.

The most enigmatic of these illustrations accompanies text relating to Jeremiah 31:8-9 and depicts a scene from the life of St. Nicholas who is shown resuscitating the young men in a vat of brine after they had been cut into pieces and pickled by a wicked butcher from whom they requested lodging.¹³ Leaning against the pickling vat is a vielle with a clearly depicted open (unstoppable) string (PLATE 19). Here the instrument is used as a symbol for sin and wickedness. The version of this subject found in Lbm Add. 18719, f. 188v, places a vielle (without an open unstoppable string) and a frame drum next to the vat of brine. Perhaps the drum was added to clarify the relationship of the vielle to dancing and thus to secular music and sin.

Among these secular music illustrations, the only truly recurrent motif is that of a banquet for which a musician provides entertainment. This type of illustration is found for three Old Testament and two New Testament texts. Proverbs 23:34 is accompanied by a banquet scene illustrating the opening phrase of the chapter, "When thou sittest to eat with a ruler . . ." rather than by a scene based on the 34th verse itself: "Thou shalt be as he that lieth down in the midst of the sea." The scene shows a man and a woman seated at a banquet table with a serving boy on the right and a musician playing a vielle on the left. A similar scene is depicted in a more sinister manner for the text

¹³Réau, L. Iconographie de l'art chrétien, III, 977.

based on Jeremiah 1:15-18. In this illustration, a man and woman are again seated at a banquet table with the servant and vielle player attending them. This musician wears the slashed particolor tunic of a jongleur, and behind the couple stands a leering black devil.

The illustration for I Maccabees 7:20-21 clearly indicates that entertainment by secular musicians was one of the luxuries enjoyed by high clergy in thirteenth-century France. The scene depicted translates the Biblical story into a contemporary setting: "Then he put Alcimus in charge of the province, leaving an army to support him; Bacchides himself returned to the king."¹⁴ A man wearing the mitred cap of a bishop (Alcimus) is seated at a banquet table and holds a large chalice (he had been put in charge). A musician in front of the table entertains him by playing a vielle. To the right of the table is another man wearing a mitred cap (i.e. Bacchides who returned to the King after putting Alcimus in charge of the province). This figure converses with the King who wears a crown and holds a falcon on his wrist.

The famous banquet of Herod's feast¹⁵ is depicted for the text of the fourteenth chapter of Matthew. Whereas the scene is often represented by Salome dancing to the accompaniment of one musician, the musician playing a vielle appears in the next medallion. The version in Lbm Add. 18719 (PLATE 23) has two musicians and two little dogs in front of the banquet table.

¹⁴ The Jerusalem Bible, edited by Alexander Jones. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1966.

¹⁵ Hammerstein, R. Diabolus in Musica, 53-57.

2. Old Testament Miniatures

The Morgan Library manuscript NYpm 638 is an illustrated version of the Old Testament from Genesis to II Samuel, 20:22. It was illuminated in Paris c. 1240-60 and thus antedates slightly the Bible *Moralisée*. Each page is divided into four quadrants which contain illustrations of the events in the Old Testament. Below each scene is explanatory Biblical reference text in Latin which was added after the illuminations were painted.¹⁶ These painted scenes are the work of highly skilled artists and reflect a more sophisticated style than the medallions of the Bible *Moralisée*. The musical scenes are also less dependent on iconographic clichés than the scenes found in the Bible *Moralisée*.

The predominant theme in the Morgan manuscript is the praise of God through both dance and instrumental music. On f. 9, Miriam plays a round timbrel and dances with two other women to celebrate the passage of the Hebrews through the Red Sea. An illustration on f. 17 shows three daughters of Shiloh dancing to the music of a *vielle* and a pipe and tabor. They are about to be led away by three Benjamites. The daughters of Jerusalem sing and dance to celebrate David's victory over Goliath, on f. 29. One of them has a square timbrel, another a frame drum with two beaters, and a third plays clappers. They are accompanied by a *jongleur* wearing a slashed particolored tunic who plays a *vielle*. The illustrations on f. 39 and f. 39v both depict King David dancing before the procession of the ark. There are six musicians who

¹⁶James, M. R. A Book of Old Testament Illustrations (facsimile edition of NYpm 638).

play straight trumpet, vielle, square timbrel, pipe and bell, and clappers.

Two illustrations following standard iconography depict young David playing before Saul (f. 26v and f. 29). A thoroughly delightful depiction of David the Shepherd portrays him sitting on a grassy hillock with a dog, seven sheep and three goats. He plays a pipe with one hand and rings a handbell with the other; his harp leans against a tree.

B. Apocalypse Illustration

The text of the Apocalypse or the Revelation According to Saint John is part of the complete Bible. Like the Psalter, it also occurs as a separate manuscript genre. Unlike the Psalter which even as part of the Bible exhibits its characteristic illustration scheme, the Apocalypse as part of the Bible is unillustrated while separate Apocalypse manuscripts were often profusely decorated with large painted scenes.

A characteristic set of scenes developed for the Apocalypse manuscript as a distinct artistic genre. These scenes were truly illustrative of the text, often depicting the smallest details of St. John's visions. Musical imagery was important in the Apocalypse text and corresponding illustrations as it had been for the Psalms. The symbolism of the citharas in the Apocalypse is similar to that of the instruments mentioned in Psalm 150 and associated with King David's musicians. In both cases, musical instruments are symbols and expressions of the "new song."

The Apocalypse scenes in which musical instruments are depicted vary greatly as can be seen in Table II. There are no illustration

TABLE II
 APOCALYPSE SUBJECTS DEPICTING MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

	nearly identical copies				
	*Pn lat. 688	*Pn lat. 10474	*Pn lat. 14410	Lbm Add. 17333	New York Cloisters
IV:1 The City of Heaven and the Talking Trumpet		f. 1v			
IV:4-8 The Throne (Christ in Majesty) The Four Beasts The 24 Elders	f. 5	f. 7	p. 4	f. 3v	f. 5v
V:6 The Lamb with 7 horns, 7 eyes The Throne and the Four Beasts The 24 Elders			p. 6	f. 4v	
V:7 The Lamb taking the Book			p. 7	f. 5	f. 7
V:8-14 The Beasts and Elders (with citharas and vials of perfume) fall down before the Lamb	f. 5v	f. 11v			
VII:11 The angels, Elders and Beasts around the Throne					
VIII:2-4 The Seven Angels re- ceiving their trumpets	f. 10		p. 16		f. 11v
VIII:12-13 The Fourth Angel sounds his trumpet; Woe to inhabitants of earth!			p. 21		f. 14
XI:8-10 The bodies of the 2 prophets rejoicing and merry-making	f. 17v	f. 19			
XIV:1-3 The Lamb on Mt. Sion The voice of "harpers harping"					
XV:1-3 The Sea of Glass mingled with Fire; men with "harps of God"	f. 30v	f. 31	p. 52	f. 28v	f. 29v
XIX:9 The Marriage Supper of the Lamb		f. 39	p. 70	f. 38v	
*Gle relates all of these mss. to Pn fr. 403, <u>Gothic Image</u> , p. 360, note 1.					

TABLE II (continued)

*Pn fr.	*Pn fr.	*Pa	Pn fr.	Pn n.a.	Pn lat.	Pn lat.
9574	403	5214	13096	lat. 2290	8878	8865
f. 6v					f. 121v- 122	
f. 13v	f. 7	f. 56			f. 35	
f. 6v						
f. 14						
f. 11v f. 10v f. 21v						
f. 41 f. 126						
f. 39v	f. 29v	f. 19v	f. 46	f. 131	f. 177	
f. 67						

subjects for which the presence of musical instruments was virtually obligatory as it was for illustrations of the "Beatus" and "Exultate" initials of the Psalter. However, musical instruments are customarily depicted with the Twenty-four Elders and the Throng of the Elect.

Apocalypse illustrations are one of the earliest Western European sources for depictions of bowed string instruments.¹ In his article "The Visual Arts and the Historian of Music," Winternitz lists Apocalyptic scenes which usually include musical instruments.² The subjects which he enumerates are typical of Spanish Beatus Manuscripts and of twelfth-century Spanish and French cathedral sculpture. The stringed instruments so prominently displayed by the Twenty-four Elders on Romanesque Last Judgement tympana³ seem to have developed from the musical scenes found in illustrated manuscripts of the Beatus Commentary on the Apocalypse.

The Beatus group of manuscripts is the earlier of two distinct schools of illustration for the Apocalypse. Centered in Spain, this style flourished from the ninth through the twelfth centuries and was characterized by brightly colored, fantastic paintings accompanying the commentary of Beatus, Abbot of Liébana.⁴ It was this manuscript

¹ Bachmann, W. The Origins of Bowing, Plates 1 and 3.

² Winternitz, E. Musical Instruments and their Symbolism, 29.

³ Moissac and Santiago da Compostela are among the earliest and best examples of this phenomenon. They are mentioned in almost every study of musical instruments in medieval sculpture. Winternitz points out that the vielles of Moissac differ in shape and in number of strings, and that at Compostella the term cithara found in the Apocalypse text is expanded to include vielles, harps and organistras.

⁴ A list of manuscripts of the Beatus type can be found in Delisle, Mélanges de paléographie (1880), 177 ff.

tradition which established the close association between The Elders and musical instruments (see PLATE 24). In the text of the Apocalypse, the first mention of the Elders (IV:2-7) does not include any mention of musical instruments. Early illustrations portrayed this text faithfully showing the figure on the throne, the four beasts, and the Elders without instruments. The Elders then appeared with their instruments in the illustration for Chapter V:8-14 where citharas are specifically mentioned in the text. Somewhat later, Beatus manuscripts added the citharas mentioned in Chapter Five to the depiction of the fourth chapter, thereby combining all the features of both passages: the Elders are clothed in white robes, wear crowns of gold, and hold citharas and vials of perfume. It is with these citharas that the Elders play the "new song."

The singing of the "new song" is again the occasion for depicting musical instruments in illustrations for Chapters XIV and XV. The four hundred and forty thousand of the Elect who surround the Lamb which stands on Mount Zion also use citharas to sing the "new song" (PLATES 24 and 30). Sometimes, instead of attempting to depict the throng of the Elect, the artist portrays citharists playing their instruments to represent this vision. In the fifteenth chapter, the text describes those standing on the sea of glass mingled with fire as having citharas of God. They sing the song of Moses and the song of the Lamb.

The second and later school of Apocalypse illustration is represented by the Anglo-Norman group of manuscripts.⁵ The text for most of

⁵ A list of manuscripts of the Anglo-Norman type can be found in Didot, Des Apocalypses figurées and in the preface to Delisle and Meyer L'apocalypse en français au XIIIe siècle which is a facsimile edition of Pn fr. 403.

these manuscripts was written in French although the characteristic illustration style was also extended to some manuscripts with Latin text. One of the finest examples of this type of manuscript is Pn fr. 403 (early thirteenth century) whose inscription "Apocalypsis in pictura facta Carolo Magno" suggests that this tradition may date back to the eighth-century Carolingian style. Although these manuscripts usually depict the Elders and the Elect with musical instruments as do the Beatus manuscripts, the manner in which the Anglo-Norman illustrations are rendered contrasts sharply with the Beatus style. While the illustrations of the Beatus group are characterized by a mystic grandeur (PLATE 24), the Anglo-Norman illustrations depict each passage of the text very literally and are actually colored drawings on a white background rather than true paintings. The scenes which developed in the Anglo-Norman manuscripts were very influential and continued to be copied in all artistic mediums until new types were created by Albrecht Dürer.⁶

Although the origins of the Anglo-Norman style may ultimately be older than the Beatus tradition, the extant examples of this group are primarily from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. French cathedral sculpture of the twelfth century had exhibited two different interpretations of the Last Judgment: the Apocalyptic figure surrounded by the Four Beasts and the Twenty-four Elders as described in the fourth chapter of the Apocalypse, and the Judgment of Souls as described in Chapters Fourteen and Fifteen of the Gospel according to St. Matthew.

⁶Male, E. The Gothic Image, 363.

It is, however, only the scene from the Apocalypse itself which appears in thirteenth-century French manuscript illustrations of this genre.

The grandeur and awesome detachment of early Apocalypse representations gradually gave way to depiction in more human terms. Mâle discusses this development in terms of the sculpture found on the west façades of the great French cathedrals.⁷ Similarly, Sanfaçon points out that the divinity of old depictions was being profoundly humanized and individualized.⁸ It is this humanization and individualization which accounts for the growing presence of musical instruments in new, varied, and even whimsical illustration of the text in thirteenth-century French Apocalypse manuscripts.

One of the most obvious signs of the humanization of Apocalypse illustrations is the transformation of the citharas of the Twenty-four Elders into a veritable catalogue of instruments. Whereas in the illustrations of the Beatus manuscripts the citharas of the Elders had been represented only as vielles (PLATE 24), the illustrations of later manuscripts contain a variety of instruments. In the manuscript Lob 17333, f. 3 (PLATE 25) we find a portative organ with no visible bellows, a psaltery, a horn, a harp, three differently shaped vielles but no bows, and a straight trumpet. The Elders in the Anglo-Norman manuscript Pn fr. 403, f. 6v (PLATE 26) hold two harps, an organistrum for which one Elder clearly turns the crank, two vielles (one with and one without a bow), a psaltery, two straight trumpets, and standing on the ground is a large positive organ with two ranks of pipes.

⁷ Idem., 365-83.

⁸ Sanfaçon, R. "La Tradition symbolique," 1001.

Although some writers use the term orchestra to describe the collection of instruments found in these illustrations,⁹ it is better to avoid the misleading connotation of a meaningful musical ensemble. The instruments found in these illustrations are depicted with varying degrees of accuracy, but the groups are symbolic rather than real.¹⁰ Musical instruments had become identifying characteristics for the Elders in much the same way that the harp characterized King David. In many manuscripts, a few token instruments appear for each representation of the Elders.

In much the same way that the citharas of the Elders were expanded to include a variety of instruments, the citharas of God held by the Elect were also represented by diverse instruments. In the manuscript Pn lat. 10474, f. 31 (PLATE 30) we find the citharists of God representing the throng of the Elect. They stand on the sea of glass and

⁹Bridgman, N. "Les themes musicaux de l'apocalypse," 214. Ms. Bridgman is the most recent writer to use the term 'orchestra'. Her article, however, makes many other important points among which is the fact that cithara is translated as harpe in the Old French Apocalypse text, thus accounting for the very literal depiction of harps in some Anglo-Norman manuscripts. She also quotes Monléon ("Le sens mystique," p. 220) who says that in the context of Apocalypse illustrations as well as for King David, the cithara is a symbol of the cross and the crucifixion.

¹⁰Winternitz discusses a similar problem in the article "On Angel Concerts in the 15th c." (Musical Instruments, 140). Here he distinguishes between paintings where the instruments are grouped in a meaningful way and the depiction of "all the instruments the artist knew, giving an allegory of the loudest and richest possible sound." In the recent article "Secular Musical Practice in Sacred Art," he points out that "while the shape of the instruments and their playing manner are portrayed with such precision as to please the eye of every historian of instrumental music, the grouping of the musicians and their combination into ensembles is often far from being true to real practice." (p. 230).

face the Lamb. Four of them play instruments: a gittern with frets which is plucked with a large plectrum, a four-string *vielle* played with a long bow, a harp which has no strings, and a *busine*.

With both of these types of illustrations, depictions of the Elders and of the Elect, the great variety of instruments is the result of an enrichment of sacred scenes with types of instruments taken from the secular sphere. In both of these instances, however, there is a textual basis for the presence of musical instruments. Another sign of the humanization of Apocalypse illustrations is the incursion of elements of secular music into sacred scenes for which there is no specific textual reference either to music or musical instruments. The manuscripts Pn lat. 688 and Pn lat. 10474 both add a group of instrumentalists to the scene of rejoicing and merry-making at the death of the two prophets (Rev. XI:8-10). The scene appears to be more symbolic than real and the choice of instruments is not necessarily related to actual performance of dance music. Rather, it seems to be derived from religious depictions of secular music, particularly the type found in twelfth-century manuscripts¹¹ where secular music was systematically contrasted to sacred music.

The illustration in Pn lat. 688, f. 17v (PLATE 27) depicts four musicians and a female dancer behind the bodies of the two prophets. The instruments which they play are a *vielle*, a trumpet (*shawm*?), a pipe and tabor, and a pair of cymbals. The details of these instruments

¹¹ See the illustrations of "Profane Music" in Seebass, *Musikdarstellung*, Plates 121-28. Sculptured examples of the same subject can be found on capitals at Vezelay and at the Church of Pirmil, in France.

are not carefully depicted and all of the drawings found in this particular manuscript are rather crude. However, the illustrations in the manuscript Pn lat. 10474 are uncolored ink drawings of great detail and realism. The scene of merry-making depicted on f. 19 (PLATE 28) is very lively indeed. Behind the dead prophets are several groups of people engaged in animated conversation, and four musicians. One musician plays a recorder with clearly depicted finger holes and flue opening. The second and third musicians, with plucked and bowed fiddles, lean towards each other listening. The last musician plays a double pipe similar to the ancient aulos. This instrument had been associated with intemperate behavior by the Greeks, and then adopted for medieval depictions of carnal music.

A blind musician is added to the depiction of the Sounding of the Fourth Trumpet (Rev. VIII:12-13) in a group of three manuscripts closely related in style and illustration scheme and all distinguished by the numerous and fanciful instruments of the Twenty-four Elders: Pn lat. 14410, Lbm Add. 17333 (see PLATE 25), and the New York Cloisters Apocalypse. This whimsical scene (PLATE 31) is very beautifully described in the notes to the facsimile edition of the Cloisters Apocalypse where the author points out that the artist has depicted two activities for which light is essential: reading and falconry. The blind musician carrying a rebec (or vielle) over his shoulder and led by a young boy would not be aware of the sudden darkness.¹² Even at this time there seems to have been a tradition of blind musicians. The

¹² New York Metropolitan Museum, *The Cloisters Apocalypse*, II, 51. In her thesis, Mme. Braun-Ricci mistakenly refers to the blind musician and boy as "a man and his wife."

instrument was depicted to help clarify the fact that the man is blind,¹³ thus enhancing the distinction between light and darkness.

Another Apocalypse scene which is occasionally embellished with musical instruments is the Marriage Supper of the Lamb (Rev. XIX:9). The illustration in Pn lat. 10474, f. 39v (not illustrated) simply depicts an angel blowing a trumpet above the scene of the supper. The scene in Cambridge Trinity College Ms. Royal 16.2, f. 22 is secularized by the addition of two musicians.¹⁴ To the left of the table, a man stands and plays a vielle. A harpist sitting in front of the table plucks his instrument with both hands. The vielle and the harp are the two instruments most frequently found in depictions of banquets. (See for example PLATE 23, a banquet scene from the Bible Moralisée which shows a gittern and vielle.) In the fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman manuscript Pn fr. 13096, the Marriage Supper of the Lamb is embellished by two angels playing straight trumpets, a haloed figure which plays a vielle and a woman who dances (not illustrated). Although the manuscript is later than the material covered in this study, it is interesting to note that the number of scenes including musical instruments has been further increased. These include the addition of secular musicians and of musical angels playing instruments other than the trumpet. This manuscript has even been "invaded" by secular subjects which appear in

¹³A lavishly illustrated Bible in Amiens depicts the blind Samson with a vielle. Similarly, a blind harpist led by a little dog is depicted in three manuscripts of the "Roman de Merlin" by Robert de Borron: Pn fr. 749, f. 319 and f. 321v; Pn fr. 19162, f. 346; and Pn fr. 24394, f. 264v.

¹⁴This illustration is reproduced in Skira, Peinture Gothique, 21.

the margins—a phenomenon I did not find in thirteenth-century Apocalypse manuscripts. There are two Bestiary subjects (the lioness licking her cub, and the aspic sitting under a tree) and grotesques playing musical instruments.

A unique example of secular music incorporated into Apocalypse scenes is found on f. 13v of the manuscript Pn fr. 9574 (PLATE 32). The religious elements of the illustration are the Lamb, the Four Beasts and the Elders as described in Chapter V of Revelation. The Elders are stereotyped profiles rather than individual figures, and only twenty-two are actually depicted. The element of visual pattern extends to the depiction of seven harps which are symmetrically distributed among the Elders. Between the two groups of Elders and directly below the Lamb, a smiling jongleur dressed in a slashed tunic plays a *vielle*. This charming figure adds a touch of personal piety to the otherwise formal scheme and may be derived from the legend of the *Volto Santo* according to which a poor fiddler played before Christ's portrait and produced a miracle.¹⁵ Similar figures of a

¹⁵Kos, K. "The Symbolism of Musical Instruments in the Crucifixion Scene." The following quotation is taken from the abstract of her paper which appeared in the *RidIM / RCMi Newsletter* 1/1 (August, 1975) 8. "The *Volto Santo* (Holy Face) is the name of a large wooden crucifix in the cathedral of Lucca. It was brought, as a 12th century legend has it, to this Italian town from Palestine in the 8th century. The icon actually dates from the third quarter of the 11th century. The monument represents a crucified, robed Christ, linking the idea of the death on the cross with the notion of Christ the ruler. This presentation, copied and imitated many times, was expanded in the late middle ages by the legend of the fiddler. . . . The legend of the fiddler, dating from the 12th century, describes how a poor fiddler among the pilgrims who came to Lucca to worship the miraculous picture, having no other gift to give, praised Christ with his music and was rewarded with a silver shoe. The moral of the legend carried by several medieval sources is: even the poorest and least deserving will not be

jongleur playing a vielle in an act of piety are found in Pn lat. 13260, f. 116v where a fiddler plays directly below an initial containing the Trinity (PLATE 33) and in Pn fr. 1533, f. 198v where a fiddler plays before the Virgin and Child (PLATE 29).

It was the manuscripts of the Anglo-Norman group which exhibited the progressive style and eventually supplanted the Beatus style. The most important elements of this development were the humanization, secularization and expansion of pictorial material. Similar artistic trends from about the same geographic area, the so-called "Channel Region" of England, Northwestern France and Belgium gave rise to the most important vehicle for the development of secular iconography: margin illustration.

refused mercy if he approaches the Savior with an open heart. The choice of a musician as the outcast from society is interesting from a sociological point of view."

PART II: THE ICONOLOGY OF SECULAR IMAGES

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN MARGIN ILLUSTRATIONS

In her excellent study, Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts, Lilian Randall has pointed out that in addition to the formal illustrations contained in historiated initials or framed in miniatures, there suddenly appeared around the middle of the thirteenth century a profusion of images in the margins of both sacred and secular manuscripts.¹ These margin illustrations were called curiositates in medieval texts, and post-medieval generic designations include grotesques, vignettes, drôleries, and bas-de-page.² Randall points out that these marginalia were long considered to be inferior art work (somewhat justifiably) and to be haphazard and spontaneous both with respect to subject matter and placement.³ She demonstrates that the subject matter of these margin illustrations is, however, "derived from four major iconographic categories: religious sources, secular literature, daily life, and parody."⁴ Depictions of musical performance

¹ Randall, L. Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts, 8. "The emergence of this mode of decoration as a fait accompli has proved somewhat disconcerting. A partial explanation generally cited in this connection is the increased feeling for realism and appreciation of nature characteristic of the Gothic period. Another relevant consideration is that the profuse ornamentation which filled the initials of Romanesque and early Gothic manuscripts to the bursting point would of necessity spill over into the margins. One stimulus for this transferral was the enrichment of illustrative subject matter. Another was the increased demand for books from the middle of the thirteenth century on by a growing lay audience."

² Ibid., 11.

³ Ibid., 12.

⁴ Ibid., 15.

are found in the last three of these categories, notably in illustrations derived from the Bestiary, in genre scenes of musicians, acrobats and dancers,⁵ and in parody which is carried to such an extent that the very act of playing a musical instrument is itself parodied.

The manuscript genres which most frequently display marginalia are Psalters and Books of Hours.⁶ It should be noted that these were generally for the personal use of the lay public, and that the "ownership of these profusely illustrated manuscript[s] meant prestige as well as aesthetic pleasure."⁷ Randall further points out that the Channel Region (England, Northern France, and Belgium), where most of the lavishly decorated manuscripts originated, was one of the most active trading areas in northern Europe, thus giving rise to the prosperous middle class which bought such manuscripts.⁸

A rather well-defined group of instruments is typical of margin illustrations: the hunting horn, the vielle and rebec, the gittern, the pipe and tabor, the bagpipe, and the portative organ. With the exception of the hunting horn and the portative organ, these instruments

⁵Ibid., 18. "The prevailing emphasis in marginal 'genre' scenes, however, is not on the arduous aspects of daily life but on the diversions which relieved its tedium. Musicians, acrobats, and animal trainers abound in a lively array of actions."

⁶See the table in Randall, Ibid., 12-13, where the 226 manuscripts forming the basis of her study are classified according to text. The manuscripts which I examined followed the same groupings.

⁷Ibid., 9.

⁸Idem.

are generally associated with dancing and the lower strata of society. The hunting horn appears in margin scenes with the greatest frequency and is found in both real and parodied scenes of the chase. Although the *vielle* also occurs in formal depictions of King David where it represents sacred music, the changed context indicates its secular meaning. Similarly, the bagpipe had sometimes been depicted as one of the instruments of David's musicians. The psaltery and the harp, two other instruments associated with King David iconography, occasionally appear in margin illustrations.

One can observe a stratification which loosely separates those instruments found in the formal King David iconography from the instruments found in margin illustrations. This separation corresponds to the distinction between "sacred" and "profane" instruments as determined by the Church Fathers and later commentators. This distinction is based at least in principle, on Old Testament text. However, while the instruments of the "Heavenly Liturgy" are those described in the Psalms, the instruments of "Hellish Liturgy" come not from an analogous religious text, but from the lowest spheres of contemporary society, the instruments of peasants and jongleurs.⁹

In thirteenth-century French margin illustrations, there seems to be little distinction between human, hybrid (grotesque), animal or even angel musicians, as being more appropriate performers for a particular instrument. For example, the portative organ, which might seem more

⁹ Hammerstein, R. Diabolus in Musica, 22-35.

complex and refined than the bagpipe, is played by all four types of performer. It should be emphasized that angel musicians are relatively rare in thirteenth-century French illustrations.¹⁰ I could find them in only a few manuscripts.¹¹

Ms. Randall points out that when a single individual executes all of the margin decoration, one finds not only a stylistic uniformity, but a repetition of idiosyncratic motifs.¹² On examining many manuscripts filled with marginalia, it becomes apparent that some artists particularly liked to draw figures playing musical instruments while other artists, although they filled the margins with animals and people, included no musicians.

A predilection for musical instruments was especially noticeable in the border illustrations for the Psalter Lob Add. 17868 where several easily differentiated hands decorated the margins of different portions of the manuscript. Between folios 32v and 41v, there are hybrids playing primarily wind instruments. The style of decoration then changes and between folios 68v and 105v, the musical grotesques play wind instruments exclusively. These wind instruments (often

¹⁰Winternitz, E. "Bagpipes for the Lord," Musical Instruments and their Symbolism, 136. Meyer-Baer, K., Music of the Spheres, 156. According to Meyer-Baer, most representations of musical angels appeared in Italy and their appearance was rather unusual in French works of art.

¹¹There are many musical angels in the margins of Lbm Stowe 17; one on f. 340v of Pn fr. 95; one on f. 13 of Pn fr. 1161; and two musical angels appear with King David, Pn lat. 1076, f. 7 (see PLATE 4).

¹²Randall, L., op. cit., 20.

crudely drawn and not identifiable as any particular type) continue to appear, but between f. 143 and f. 165v, there is a large number of vielles and gitterns, apparently reflecting the preference of that artist for the shape of these stringed instruments.

The manuscript Lbm Stowe 17 is remarkable for its beauty and for the interest of the many animated genre scenes found in its margins. This tiny but profusely illustrated Book of Hours was obviously made for personal devotional use. Its unusually small format makes it easy to hold in the hand or tuck into a pocket. Several of the musical scenes depict unusual subjects. At the bottom of f. 129 (PLATE 34), a cowed cleric plays an accurately depicted positive organ with two ranks of metal pipes, a keyboard and pedals, while an angel strikes a tambourine. This manuscript is the only French thirteenth-century example I know which depicts a significant number of musical angels. On f. 112 we find a woman seated on the ground who plays a vielle while a young man and a dog wearing a hooded cape dance (PLATE 35). The vielle is a favorite instrument in the margins of this manuscript and on f. 134 we find a music lesson in which a jongleur teaches a boy to play the vielle (PLATE 36). Biting satire appears on f. 273 (PLATE 37) where Cupid, seated in a tree with a musician on each side, holds his arrows above an amorous couple one of whom is a cowed and tonsured cleric!

One of the difficult problems in a study of margin illustrations is to determine the extent to which a scene represents parody of or contrast to the sacred illustration subjects found on the same page.

The lion, monkey and hunting scene with dog and stag and a man blowing a horn which appear in the lower margin of NYpm 98, f. 1, seem to have no particular relationship to the Beatus initial above it (PLATE 3). The relationship in Pn lat. 1076, f. 7 (PLATE 4) of the young man carrying a portative organ to the harp-playing King David and angel musicians seems closer. The young man in the margin faces and almost seems to step into the Beatus initial containing the sacred figures. On f. 102 (PLATE 5) of the same manuscript, a hybrid figure playing a pipe and tabor hangs directly above King David who, in the characteristic manner of an Exultate initial, strikes a set of bells. In this case, we see rather clearly the contrast between sacred and secular music. This contrast is emphasized by the dichotomy between the kneeling man who prays in the lower right corner of the page and the seated man who plays a vielle in the upper right corner.

The Beatus initial on f. 16 of NYpm 729 (PLATE 38) demonstrates an unusually complex relationship between figures inside the initial and figures in the margin. In the upper register of the initial, an uncrowned King David plays a positive organ while a young man operates the bellows from behind. In the lower register, young David the Shepherd with his dog and sheep, aims a slingshot at Goliath who appears in the margin. Below Goliath is an old man playing a vielle. Perhaps this figure represents Solomon. There is a mocking procession in which a man riding a lion and a costumed monkey play straight trumpets. Just to the left of the Beatus initial and knocking on it (as if it were a door) is Renard the Fox. This Psalter and Book of Hours

was made for Yolande, dame de Coeuvres, Vicomtesse de Soissons. To what extent are the margin illustrations designed for her entertainment and to what extent do they contain moral lessons? We are not likely to find a simple answer.

In the discussion of Apocalypse illustrations (see p. 62) I suggested that there might be a connection between the fiddler in the margin and the Christ figure in the initial of Pn lat. 13260, f. 116v (PLATE 33). I compared this to other examples of similar illustrations and cited the legend of the Volto Santo. However, this might be a case in which the two figures are contrasted rather than associated. The *vielle* player is grouped with an acrobat and a bird who appear in the same margin. One might instead interpret this page as meaning the contrast between the passion of Christ and the frivolity of the jongleurs.

Apes or monkeys engaged in all kinds of activity were a popular theme in Gothic margin illustration.¹³ While these simians frequently mimic human activity, thus representing an element of parody, Janson, in his monograph Apes and Ape Lore, states that "playing a musical instrument must be regarded as one of the acts of simian vaudeville, not as a parody of human musicianship."¹⁴ Hammerstein, however, identifies animal musicians as imitators whose music represents usus rather than ars, the music of cosmic order which is symbolized by David and his musicians. Furthermore, he specifically identifies the musical ape as

¹³ Ibid., Plates III-XIII.

¹⁴ Janson, H. W. Apes and Ape Lore, 170.

the figura diaboli par excellence of medieval art.¹⁵ Whereas the ass is associated almost exclusively with the harp,¹⁶ the monkey plays any and all of the instruments. Another animal frequently found playing musical instruments is the goat, a symbol of lechery and lasciviousness.

Musical parody carried to its extreme is found in illustrations where the figures "play" upon kitchen utensils, bones, or even live animals, sometimes in obscene or suggestive ways.¹⁷ Hammerstein refers to these as "perverted instruments" which represent the reversed world of Hell where music is uncontrolled and senseless noise.¹⁸ In the manuscripts which I examined, humans, hybrids and animals "play" jawbones¹⁹ as lutes, perform on a vielle using a rake for a bow, a frying pan and spoon used as a vielle and bow, or bellows and rake "played" in a similar manner. An even greater variety of such depictions is found on Plates CVI-CVII of Randall's book. Several of the parodies reproduced there include satire of clerics. Hammerstein attaches great importance to Randall's observation that such perversions of musical instruments

¹⁵ Hammerstein, R. Diabolus in Musica, 170.

¹⁶ Ibid., 75. See also, Adolf, H. "The Ass and the Harp," Speculum XXV (1950), 49 ff.

¹⁷ See also Winternitz, E. Musical Instruments and their Symbolism, 132.

¹⁸ Hammerstein, R. Diabolus in Musica, 37.

¹⁹ Shapiro, M. "Cain's Jawbone . . . , " Art Bulletin XXIX (1942), 205-12.

and music making appear in sacred manuscripts where the contrast between the formal iconography representing God's heavenly harmony, and the discord of the hellish music in the margins, is abundantly clear.²⁰

Musical parody sometimes replaces the figures of sacred iconographic schemes with animal musicians. Two monkeys dressed as clerics sing from an open book in a parody of the illustration usually found in the "Cantate" initial of Psalm 80. King David iconography is parodied by a monkey seated on a bench in the typical attitude of the Royal Psalmist, and playing the harp, and seated under a tree playing a harp in a parody of David as a young shepherd. Similarly, in the reversed world of hellish music, a bishop plays a vielle.

In the margins of thirteenth-century French manuscripts, I found only two bestiary illustrations with musical instruments. These illustrations were apes carrying babies on their backs and playing a bagpipe in Pn fr. 95, f. 237, and a man playing a harp before a large swan in Ob Douce 118, f. 65. Randall shows several musical sirens on Plates CIII and CIV. (She refers to them as mermaids rather than as sirens.)

Although the episodes from secular literature which appear in margin illustrations generally do not include musical instruments, the references to music found in other portions of these secular texts correspond to the instruments found in margin illustrations. Some texts present a veritable catalogue of musical instruments:

²⁰ Hammerstein, R. Diabolus in Musica, 91.

Cleomades, par Adenet le Roi v. 17270 and ff.

Se vous a ce point fussiez
Plente d'estrumens oyssies:
Vieles et sauterions,
Harpes et giges et canons,
Leüs, rubebes et kitaires,
Et ot en plusieurs lieus nacaires
Qui moult tres grant noise faisoient,
Mais fors des routes mis estoient.
Cymbales, rotes, timpanons
Et mandoires et micanons
I ot, et cornes et douçaines,
Cors sarrazinois et tabours.²¹

Le Roman d'Erec et Enide v. 2042 and ff.

Li uns conte, li autre chante
Li uns siffle, li autre note,
Cil sert de harpe, cil de rote,
Cil de gigue, cil de viele,
Cil flaüte, cil chalemele . . .
Sonent timbre, sonent tabor,
Muses, estives et fretel
Et buisines et chalumel . . .²²

Margin illustrations with a comparable number and variety of musical instruments are not found until the mid-fourteenth century with the magnificent copy of the Romance of Alexander (Ob 264), illuminated by Jehan de Grise, Bruges, 1338-1344.

Less elaborate literary descriptions of musical performance usually describe the music of popular song and dance, mentioning those very instruments typical of thirteenth-century French margin illustration.

²¹ Gérold, T. La Musique au Moyen Age, 371.

²² Idem., 370.

Tournoi de Chauvency

Menestrels font menestrandie
de tabors et de vieles (v. 2374-75)

Et en mi leu dance a viele
Chevaliers contre demoiselles (v. 3090-91)²³

Roman de la Rose

Orgues i r'a bien maniables
A une sole main portables,
Ou il meismes souffle et touche
Et chante avec a pleine bouche. (v. 21819-22)²⁴

Bueve de Hantone v. 12069 and ff.

Li vius Soybaus, qui moult sot bel harper,
A commenchie sa harpe a atemper,
Et Josienne, la bele od le vis cler,
Prist sa viele, si vont a court jouer . . .
Lors commencha Josienne a chanter,
Notes et lais moult bien a vieler,
Li vius Soybaus commencha a harper,
Bien se commencent lor son a acorder . . .²⁵

Emphasis is often given to the act of carefully tuning the instruments
as was seen in the previous example, and in the following examples:

Roman de Gilles de Chin

Li vieleur I son d'amour
A haute vois moult cler cantoient
Et o les vieles s'acordoient . . .²⁶

²³Idem., 416.

²⁴Idem., 421.

²⁵Dick, F. "Bezeichnungen für Saiten- und Schlaginstrumente . . ." Giessener Beiträge zur Romanischen Philologie XXV (1932), 22.

²⁶Gérolde, T. La Musique au Moyen Age, 384.

Fabliau del Harpur

De la forel ad sa harpe sake
 Et son plectrun ad empyne
 Ses cordes a ben atemprez.²⁷
 Si ke ben se sunt acordez.

Whereas the groups of instruments found in sacred scenes correspond to those instruments mentioned in the Bible and are portrayed for symbolic reasons, the instruments combined in the secular genre scenes of margin illustration do seem to reflect real contemporary instrumental practice. Margin illustrations are one of the few contexts in which musical instruments are likely to be depicted in groups which reflect contemporary usage.

²⁷ Dick, F. "Bezeichnungen . . ." Giessener Beiträge zur Romanischen Philologie XXV (1932), 20.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN BESTIARY ILLUSTRATIONS

Next to the Bible, one of the most popular and widely translated books was the Physiologus, a text whose author is unknown and which dates back to second century Alexandria.¹ The Physiologus is a collection of animal stories each of which ends in a Christian moral. It draws upon both classical Greek legends and the pagan tradition of moralized stories.² In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Latin Physiologus was used as a basis for the French texts known as Bes-tiaires.³

The oldest French Bestiary is that of Philippe de Thaon, thought to have been written about 1121.⁴ A short Bestiary written by Ger-vaise dates from the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁵ The longest of the French Bestiary texts is the version by Guillaume LeClerc of Normandy. According to the prologue, this work can be dated around

¹ Ives, S. and Lehman-Haupt, H. An English 13th-century bestiary, 6.

² Weitzmann, K. Ancient Book Illumination, 17.

³ McCulloch, F. Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries, 45. "The word 'bestiary' is not precisely the correct one to apply to these compositions, since with one exception, all were translated not from the larger bestiarius with its extensive borrowings from Isidore, but rather from the older Physiologus of thirty-seven chapters with fixed Isidorean additions. However, the word bestiaire is the only term that has long been used to describe the French works."

⁴ Ibid., 48.

⁵ Ibid., 55.

1210 or 1211.⁶ There are twenty-three extant manuscripts of the LeClerc version and many of them are carefully illustrated. Two of the three extant Philippe de Thaon manuscripts are illustrated as is the one known example of the Gervaise text. However, it is only with the LeClerc version that we can really begin to speak of a tradition of French Bestiary illustration.

The thirteenth-century French Bestiary is the only secular text which has a well-established set of illustration subjects. Among the Bestiary illustrations are certain subjects which frequently depict musical instruments. Most notable for their textual references to music and the corresponding illustrations with musical instruments are the stories of the swan, the siren and the aspic. In the following comparison of the text and illustrations, we shall see that the prominent place given to music in these stories is characteristic of a growing secularization of all aspects of literature and manuscript illustration.

The stories of the swan, the sirens and the aspic are all found in Isidore of Seville's Etymologia⁷ although only the latter two occur in the Physiologus. Although the Physiologus was the basic source for the French Bestiaries, certain details nevertheless seem to have been taken from Isidore. Four different families of Latin Physiologus

⁶Ibid., 57.

⁷Lindsay, W. M., ed. Isidore Hispalensis Episcopi. See Appendix I.

texts have been identified.⁸ Versions B and Y have both been edited by Carmody and are available in modern editions. A comparison of the accounts of "Sirenae et Onocentauri" found in these two versions shows a great deal of difference with respect to musical description. Version B of the Latin Physiologus describes the melody of the sirens without mentioning musical instruments: "et musicum quoddam ac dulcissimum melodiae carmen canunt."⁹ The description in version Y does not mention music at all: "dicens de sirenis, quoniam animalia mortifera sunt in mari, clamitantia vocibus aliis."¹⁰ Thus even within the Latin Physiologus tradition there were wide differences in the treatment of the musical element of the story. There was nothing, however, to account for the prominence of musical instruments in later French texts.

It seems that Isidore was the source for the very specific description of the music of the sirens ("una voce, altera tibiis, tertia lyra caneant") which is found in an extended family of thirteenth-century French Bestiaries.¹¹ Isidore's account of the sirens is particularly interesting because it corresponds to the manner in which

⁸Carmody, F. J., ed. Physiologus Latinus Éditions préliminaires versio B. The sigla for these manuscripts are given on page 10.

⁹Ibid., 25.

¹⁰Carmody, F. J., ed. Physiologus latinus versio Y, 113.

¹¹Isidore's description of the music of the sirens is found in the texts of Pierre of Beauvais, Richard de Fournival, and the anonymous Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé. The latter two are not actually part of the Physiologus tradition, but are derived from the long version of Pierre's text.

sirens were depicted on Roman sarcophagi and ivories.

The New York Metropolitan Museum Roman Sarcophagus (Acc. No. 10.104, PLATE 39) depicts superbly the Contest of the Muses and the Sirens. Although medieval artists usually depict sirens as half-woman, half-fish,¹² the sirens on this sarcophagus are depicted in the old Greek manner and can be identified by their bird feet. The siren playing the aulos is opposed to Euterpe, the one with a cithara struggles with Erato, and the third who sings opposes Polyhymnia.¹³ In his description of the sirens which does not involve the contest of the muses and the sirens, Isidore has merely assigned Latin names to the instruments found in this scene.

The French Bestiary texts which draw upon Isidore's precise description of the instruments of the sirens have once again assigned contemporary names to the instruments. According to Pierre de Beauvais, one siren plays a busine, the second plays a harp and the third sings: "Et chantent totes III, les unes en buisines, et les autres en herpes, et les autres en droit vois . . ."¹⁴ (PLATE 40). The description in Richard de Fournival's Bestiaire d'Amour is almost identical: "Et cantant toutes III, les unes en buisines, les autres en harpes et les tierces en droites vois . . ."¹⁵ The text of the Bestiaire

¹² Deonna, W. "La Sirène femme-poisson," *Revue Archéologique* XXVII (1928), 18-25; Faral, Edmond. "La queue de poisson des sirènes," *Romania* LXXIV (1953), 433-506; Jalabert, Denise. "Les Sirènes," Bulletin Monumental LXXXV (1936), 433-71.

¹³ Kastner, J.-G. Les Sirènes, 13.

¹⁴ Cahier, C. and Martin, A. Mélanges d'archéologie, d'histoire et de littérature, II, 172.

¹⁵ Segre, C. Li Bestiaires d'amours, 29.

d'Amour Rimé (B.N. fr. 1951) embroiders the general description but changes none of the essentials: "Et toutes chantent plaisamment et mout melodieusement, l'une en herpe, l'autre en buisine, l'autre en droite vois femeline . . ." ¹⁶ (PLATE 45). The story of the sirens is also contained in two important non-bestiary texts: the Livre du Trésor, a kind of medieval encyclopedia by Brunetto Latini, and the Hortus deliciarum by Herrad von Landsperg.

Brunetto Latini's Livre du Trésor contains an interesting variation of this basic scheme: "La première chantoit merveilleusement de sa bouche comme vois de feme, l'autre en vois de flaüte et de canon, la tierce de citole."¹⁷ Latini not only introduces the names of different instruments (although they still follow the same general plan) but he also seems to assume that the music of the sirens was purely vocal and that the names of instruments were introduced as a kind of literary simile. Just to be on the safe side, however, he has combined the purely vocal description of the Latin Physiologus tradition with the instruments of the Etymologia tradition.

The twelfth-century Hortus deliciarum by the Abbess Herrad von Landsperg ¹⁸ contains a very explicitly moralized version of the story of Ulysses and the Sirens. The accompanying illustration depicts three

¹⁶Thordstein, A. "Le Bestiaire d'amour rimé . . .," Études Romanes de Lund II (1941), line 741 ff.

¹⁷Carmody, F. J., ed. "Brunetto Latini," California University Publications in Modern Philology XXII (1938), 132.

¹⁸Engelhardt, C. M. Herrad von Landsperg.

sirens (one sings, another plays a transverse flute while the third plays a harp) and a boat with four sleeping sailors. Hammerstein publishes a drawing of a third-century Roman sarcophagus with an almost identical depiction of the scene.¹⁹ Not only has the illustrator of the Hortus deliciarum manuscript followed the classical model exactly--including the depiction of the sirens with bird feet rather than the fish tail--but the inscription for the illustration is almost a direct quote from Isidore: "Tres syrenae, una voce, altera tybia, tertia canit."

In the text of the Hortus deliciarum, the religious moral clearly dominates the element of musical description. The three sirens who charm the sailors by their songs and put them to sleep are three temptresses who turn the hearts of men to vice and lead them to the sleep of death. The siren which sings with a human voice is Avarice singing the poems of the world to her listeners. The siren which plays the flute is a symbol of pride. The third siren which plays the harp is a symbol of luxury. Ulysses represents the wise man. He navigates close to the sirens without letting them seduce him just as the truly wise Christian crosses the sea of the ages in the Ship the Church.²⁰

The sirens of thirteenth-century French Bestiaries have acquired their characteristics from several sources: their role as seducers from the story of Ulysses, their association with death and their specific instruments from Roman funeral sculpture, and their

¹⁹ Hammerstein, R. Diabolus in Musica, Plates 128-9.

²⁰ Bastard d'Estang, A. Études de symbolique chretienne, 404.

personification of vice from writings such as the Hortus deliciarum. Instrumental music is a symbol of temptation and sin as it is also in depictions of "secular music." In the bestiary stories of both the sirens and the aspic, music is a means of inducing enchantment. The end to which this enchantment is turned, however, is quite different in the two stories. Whereas moral men must forcefully resist the enchantment of the sirens, the roles are changed so that men are the enchanterers and the aspic the enchanted creature in that story.

The story of the aspic (aspis, adder, asp, serpent) has undergone many changes and exists in many different versions. McCulloch points to the transformations of this story as an example of the way in which the medieval mind treats material of a fabulous nature.²¹ Psalm 58:5-6 says that the adder is deaf and associates it with enchanterers: ". . . they are like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear; which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never so wisely." In a sermon on the feast of St. Stephen, St. Augustine quotes this Psalm and goes on to explain how the aspic can plug both ears at once to avoid being enchanted.²² Version B of the Latin Physiologus relates how the aspic stops both ears to avoid being lured from its cave by the man who sings to it.²³ Thus this version of the story assumes that music is a tool of the enchanter. In his Bestiaire, Pierre de Beauvais states

²¹McCulloch, F. "The Metamorphoses of the Asp," North Carolina University Studies in Philology LXI (1959), 7.

²²Ibid., 8.

²³Carmody, F. J., ed. Physiologus latinus versio B, 47.

that the aspic is guarding the tree from which balm drips. The man who wishes to obtain this balm must first enchant the aspic by playing instruments. "Et li veneor portent estrumens avoec els, de mainte maniere, et les font soner por lui endormir."²⁴ Thus the means for inducing enchantment has become more specific in Pierre's account of the aspic (PLATE 42).

McCulloch cites Pierre's version (composed before 1218) as the most interesting and puzzling of the French Bestiaries.²⁵ It exists in two forms, a short version based on the Latin Physiologus, and a second version nearly twice as long which has additional stories drawn from other sources. While Pierre's short version marks the end of the French Physiologus tradition, the long version seems to have served as a model for Richard de Fournival's totally secularized Bestiaire d'Amour.²⁶

Fournival's text was composed in the middle of the thirteenth century and "replaced the habitually ponderous Christian moralization by a light and clever lover's plea for his lady's attentions."²⁷ As we have already seen in the account of the sirens, musical instruments play a much more prominent role in both the text and illustrations than they had in French versions of the Physiologus. Fournival first relates the stories in the text called the "Bestiaire d'Amour" where they are

²⁴Cahier, C. and Martin, A. Mélanges d'archéologie . . . , II, 148.

²⁵McCulloch, F. Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries, 62.

²⁶Ibid., 69.

²⁷Ibid., 46.

accompanied by illustrations. Then the most important of the stories are cited again but more briefly in the "Reponse du Bestiaire." Here they may also be accompanied by illustrations.

Fournival first relates the story of the aspic in much the same manner as it is found in the long version of Pierre de Beauvais. "Et quant on velt del basme avoir, si convient c'on endorme a harpes et a autres estruments."²⁸ Notice that Fournival specifically mentions the harp. It is possible that the harp was considered appropriate for this situation because of its associations with the story of Orpheus charming the animals with his cithara (i.e. harp). Fournival himself relates the story of the aspic to the song of the sirens: "Mais toutes voies i alai jou et m'endormi au cant de la seraine, ce fu a le douchour de vostre acointance et de vostre biel parler a qui oir je fu pris."²⁹ These two stories are again linked in the "Reponse du Bestiaire": "Et sans faille . . . au douch cant de le seraine . . . prendre garde a l'aspis . . . et que on ne le puet engingnier par nule forche d'estrument."³⁰

For the "Bestiaire" text of Fournival as well as for Phillipe's long version, the story of the aspic is illustrated with a man playing a harp who approaches the aspic guarding the tree from which balm drips. Sometimes the aspic is clearly depicted with one ear to the

²⁸Segre, C., ed. Li Bestiaires d'amours, 32.

²⁹Ibid., 33.

³⁰Ibid., 117.

ground and the other ear stopped with the tip of its tail as described by St. Augustine.

The manuscript Psg 2200 contains both the "Bestiaire" and the "Reponse" of Richard de Fournival. Accordingly, there are two illustrations for the story of the aspic, one in the "Bestiaire" and the other in the "Reponse." While the manuscript Pn fr. 412 containing both texts depicts a man playing a harp before the aspic in each instance, the St. Geneviève manuscript has two different illustrations each of which is unusual for this subject. For the "Bestiaire" text, a man plays a vielle before the aspic while for the text of the "Reponse," there are two men who play a trumpet and a harp.

The anonymous Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé (Pn fr. 1951) exists as a single copy of a text apparently based on Fournival. This manuscript shows a man playing a vielle to enchant the aspic as was found in the St. Geneviève manuscript of Fournival's Bestiaire d'Amour. All of the illustrations in this manuscript are very beautifully detailed and the vielle used to charm the aspic has carefully drawn frets (PLATE 46).

The early fourteenth-century Queen Mary Psalter (Lbm Royal 2B, vii) has a number of margin illustrations taken from Bestiary tales. The story of the aspic is illustrated in two of these. In the first drawing, four men play various instruments (a straight trumpet, a harp, a vielle, and a gittern) to enchant the aspic. In the second drawing, the aspic sleeps, enchanted by the music of a portative organ and a double horn, as two men gather balm from the tree. The asp before whom the four musicians perform in this elaborate depiction has changed

greatly from the simple "deaf adder" which St. Augustine commented upon. The specific musical elements of the illustrations for the story of the aspic and the two instruments associated with it (the harp and the vielle) have come from two sources: Orpheus charming the animals, and secular music as a kind of enchantment, luring the weak soul into a life of sin.

The last of the three principal bestiary stories concerning music is that of the swan (cygnus, cygne) which sings shortly before its death. This story does not appear in the Latin Physiologus but is found in many Greek and Latin sources.³¹ Because this story is not included in the Physiologus, it is likewise omitted from those French bestiaries derived solely from that source. The long version of Philippe de Beauvais' bestiary is the only one related to the Physiologus tradition which includes the story.³² Here, however, it is one of the many stories derived from other sources. It is likely that Philippe took the story of the swan from Isidore (XII, vii, 18-19) who related the following details: The name cygnus comes from the singing (canendo) of the swan, because it pours forth the sweetness of its song with a harmonious voice. The long curving neck of the swan makes its voice more pleasant. In the Hyperborean regions it is said that swans

³¹Kastner, J.-G. Les Sirènes, 133. Kastner cites the following Greek and Latin authors who mention the singing of the swan: Pausanias, 2nd-century Greek traveler and chronicler (no exact reference); Oppian, Ixentis; Aelian, De animalibus, lib. V, 34; Aristotle, Hist. anim. lib. IX, c. xii; Plato, Phaedone 85B; Ovid, Metamorphoses XIV.

³²Cahier, C. and Martin, A. Mélanges d'archéologie . . . , III, 233.

fly to the playing of citharas and that they sing together. Just before its death, the swan sings most sweetly.³³

The element of music is greatly augmented in Philippe's text. Here, we find a rather elaborate comparison of how, in the year of its death, the swan sings, tuning its voice to the harp in the same manner as the tabor is tuned to the pipe: "quant on herpe devant ax, il s'acordent à la harpe tot en tel manière comme tamburs s'acorde al flagol." Exactly the same comparison is found in Fournival's Bestaiaire d'Amour.³⁴ This description is surely drawn from contemporary musical practice in which the pipe and tabor were popular instruments for dancing.

The story of the swan is illustrated with a man playing a harp before the swan for both the Philippe de Beauvais text (Pa 3516: PLATE 41) and many examples of Fournival's text. A single exception to the customary depiction is found in the Fournival manuscript Pn fr. 412 where the illustrations for both the "Bestiaire" and the "Reponse" depict a man beating a frame drum (tambour) before the swan. This unusual illustration reflects clearly the musical allusion to the swan tuning its voice to the harp "like the tabor to the pipe."

The text of the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé (Pn fr. 1951) enumerates a veritable catalogue of string instruments in its very elaborate description of the song of the dying swan:

³³Lindsay, W. M., ed. Isidore Hispalensis Episcopi.

³⁴Segre, C., ed. Li Bestiaires d'Amours, 13.

Li cignes a la vois trop belle,
 Car il n'est harpe ne vièle,
 Slaterion ne cyphonie,
 Ne nule douce melodie
 qui tant soit plaisant a oïr,
 Ne qui tant face resjoïr
 Ceus qui l'oient comme sa vois.³⁵

Although this text does not make an analogy to tuning instruments, the illustration in this manuscript (PLATE 44) shows a man tuning rather than playing his harp before the swan. Perhaps the illustration was copied from another which followed the tuning analogy found in Philippe de Beauvais' or Fournival's text. It might also be related to the many depictions of David tuning his harp.

The Livre du Tresor of Brunetto Latini also includes the story of the swan. This account is similar to the one given by Isidore, mentioning that the swan's long neck enhances its voice but changing slightly the swan's relation to Hyperborean lands. "Et si dient li pluisor paisant que es montaignes de Iperbore en Grece, quant l'en chant et cytole, que granz torbes vienent entour lui por le delit dou chant."³⁶ In Latini's version of the story, the swans are attracted by the songs and playing of the countrymen. Notice that the word "cytole" is used again as it was used in Latini's story of the sirens. It would appear that he considered this to be equivalent to the Greek word cithara. I have not, however, found illustrations of these

³⁵Thordstein, A. "Le Bestiaire d'amour rimé . . .," Études Romanes de Lund II (1941), line 225 ff.

³⁶Carmody, F. J., ed. "Brunetto Latini," California University Publications in Modern Philology XXII (1938), 147.

bestiary subjects in the manuscripts containing Latini's text which I have examined (Pn fr. 566, fr. 567, and fr. 571). Whereas the text is related the bestiary tradition, the illustrations are not.

The classical story of Argus and Mercury appears in the long version of Philippe de Beauvais' text and then in the Fournival Bestiaire d'Amour and the anonymous Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé. According to the ancient myth, Mercury was sent by Jupiter to rescue the beautiful Io who had been changed into a heifer as a result of Juno's jealousy. In her animal form, Io was guarded by Argus who closed only two of his hundred eyes in order to sleep and was therefore ever alert. In order to lull all one hundred of Argus' eyes to sleep, Mercury tells stories and plays his shepherd's pipe. When he has at last succeeded in this task, Mercury cuts off Argus' head and leads Io away.³⁷

Again in this story, music is a means of enchanting someone to produce an unnatural sleep. The instrument which Mercury plays varies somewhat in the illustrations of several manuscripts. In Pa 3516 (Philippe de Beauvais text), Mercury plays a hunting horn (PLATE 43). The illustration accompanying the Fournival text in Pa fr. 25566 shows Mercury playing a long pipe with many holes. In the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé (Pn fr. 1951: PLATE 47) Mercury is shown in the act of beheading Argus and his instrument is a bagpipe which lies on the ground.

A discussion of bees (Latin name: apes, French name: li espes) is found in Psëudo-Hugo of St. Victor's De bestiis et aliis rebus (iii,

³⁷ Bulfinch, T. Bulfinch's Mythology, 28-30.

38) and in Isidore's Etymologia (xii, 8, 1) but does not appear in French bestiaries until Fournival's Bestiaire d'Amour. According to McCulloch's summary of the story, "although bees have no hearing, the swarm can be led by a fife and drum or by singing, not because the sound can be heard, but because the bee's nature is so orderly."³⁸ The scene is illustrated with a man playing a frame drum in Pn fr. 412, f. 231v; Pn fr. 12469, f. 8; Psg 2200, f. 180; and Pn fr. 1951, f. 231v (PLATE 50).

Several stories associated with hunting have illustrations which portray the hunter with a hunting horn. These are the accounts of the beaver or castor (PLATE 48), the story of the ape with her two babies; and that of the lion³⁹ (PLATE 49).

The Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé (Pn fr. 1951, f. 15: PLATE 51) is the only manuscript in this group to give an account of the birdcatcher who lures birds into his trap by playing upon a pipe. The charming illustration shows an early "Papageno" sitting under a tree and playing upon his pipe but ever ready to pull the string which closes the trap door on his quarry.

The presence of many musical instruments in the illustrations of secularized French bestiaries seems to be unique to this family of texts. English bestiaries for which I have seen illustrations (Ob 764; Ob Douce 88; Ob Ashmole 1511; and University College 120) show

³⁸ McCulloch, F. Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries, 95, note 33.

³⁹ For an account of these stories, see McCulloch, Ibid., 95 and 87.

occasional hunting horns but no instruments for the stories of the siren and the aspic which are included in their texts. McKenzie lists eleven fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italian bestiaries which include accounts of both these stories, but does not mention the presence or type of illustrations.⁴⁰

While a study of this manuscript genre yields relatively little practical information about music (except for Fournival's allusion to tuning the tabor to the pipe), it does reveal that music was an important part of the cultural experience and that the illustrations are based on a contemporary interpretation of Greek and Roman antiquity just as Bible and Psalter illustrations had been based on an interpretation of Hebrew musical practice as transmitted through the Old Testament. The degree of reliance on ancient authority cannot be underestimated even if the particular depiction shows contemporary instruments. We can now see that the trio of a voice, a busine and a harp found in Fournival's text is based on Isidore of Seville who in turn drew upon the illustrations found on Roman sarcophagi. It is not a real musical ensemble in the practical sense as Rokseth once stated.⁴¹

McKenzie mentions that the characteristics of animals as found in bestiary stories were used for comparisons in Italian love poetry.⁴²

⁴⁰ McKenzie, K. "Unpublished Manuscripts of Italian Bestiaries," Proceedings of the Modern Language Association XX (1905), 407-8.

⁴¹ Rokseth, Y. "The Instrumental Music of the middle ages and early sixteenth century," NOH III, 408.

⁴² McKenzie, K. "Unpublished Manuscripts . . .," Proceedings of the Modern Language Association XX (1905), 382.

We have already seen this phenomenon in Fournival's Bestiaire d'Amour and the anonymous Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé. I am aware of two other French secular poems with clear references to bestiary stories. In Anticlaudianus, Alain de Lille describes a scene analogous to the type of illustration which shows a man enchanting the aspic by playing a harp.

Une harpe ot en le senestre
 Ou elle harpe de la dextre,
 De le quel ist tel melodie
 Que li viper s'i oublie . . . 43

This same idea of music as a means for inducing enchantment or sleep is found in the Tournoiement de l'Antichrist.

Cil jogleür lor vièlerent
 Pour endormir sons poitevins . . . 44

We have thus found a whole new repertoire of musical symbolism which to my knowledge has never before been discussed. The textual and pictorial context of these examples is based on a kind of folklore or mythology of music. While it reveals certain attitudes about the power of music, it does not necessarily reflect real practical information about ensembles or performance practice.

⁴³Gérolde, T. Histoire de la Musique, 309.

⁴⁴Ibid., 355.

MUSICAL ILLUSTRATIONS IN CHANSONNIERS AND ROMANS

Musical illustrations are found somewhat infrequently in collections of chansons and poetry and accompanying the texts of romans. One type of illustration found in chansonniers is a "portrait" of the author-composer placed at the beginning of the section containing his works. However, not all such portraits include musical instruments. The manuscript Pn fr. 854 presents a short "biography" and a "portrait" for each troubadour whose works are included in the collection. All of these portraits are placed inside the initial commencing the first line of text. Perdigons plays a vielle (f. 49: PLATE 53); Aimerics de Sarlat plays a pipe and tabor (f. 123: no illustration here); Montaignaçot plays a harp (f. 124: PLATE 54); and Albertez de Gus-penses plucks a lute with a plectrum (f. 133v: PLATE 55). Of the many troubadours included in this collection, it is only these four who are depicted playing instruments. Another portrait of Perdigons, again showing him playing a vielle, is found in Pn fr. 12473, f. 36 (PLATE 52). There are similar portraits of unidentified musicians in the manuscript Lob Egerton 274 where on f. 7v a woman plays a gittern, and on f. 58 a man plays a vielle.

Two separate depictions of Adenet le Roi are found in the manuscript Pa 3142. On the first folio (PLATE 56), le Roi is among the people surrounding the bed of his crowned patroness. In this miniature, the troubadour poet wears a coweled cloak and a gold crown, and he holds a vielle. The second depiction of him occurs in the margin of f. 73

where we find a man wearing a short tunic and a gold crown who also plays a vielle. The crown and its implied play on words identify le Roi in both instances. He also wrote the texts beginning on each of these pages. A virtually identical margin illustration accompanying the same le Roi text is found in Pn fr. 12467, f. 1.

Another illustration type found in chansonniers is the depiction of a king and queen before whom a musician performs. A man plays a vielle for the royal couple on the first folio of Pn fr. 845 containing chansons by Thibaut de Navarre. Similar depictions are found in Pn fr. 24406 and Pa 5198. Although I offer only these three examples as evidence, the identical placement of similar illustrations on the opening folios of these collections suggests that there is a common model which has been copied.

Although the actual texts of romans were fairly well established in the thirteenth century, there was no coherent illustration cycle which accompanied any of these texts. If the romans were lavishly illustrated (which was in itself unusual), the decoration tended to appear in the form of margin figures and scenes as in the thirteenth-century Roman de Tristan (Pn fr. 95) and the fourteenth-century copy of the Roman de la Rose (Ob Bodl. 264). True illustrations of the story seldom depicted music although passages of these same texts often included elaborate musical descriptions. In the decoration of these manuscripts, hunting scenes and banquet scenes were favorite subjects and sometimes included musical instruments. In these instances, the banquets can be accepted as real representations of secular life rather

than a symbol for the sins of earthly life as we found in the banquets depicted in the Bible Moralisée. The instrument most frequently found in these depictions of banquets was the vielle. (See the illustrations in Pn fr. 1433, fr. 19166, and fr. 1448.)

Three virtually identical illustrations for the Roman de Merlin show a blind musician with a dog on a leash (leading him?) and playing a harp as he approaches the banquet table. (These are found in Pn fr. 749, f. 319 which is reproduced in PLATE 57; fr. 19162, f. 346; and fr. 24394, f. 264.) I have not yet identified the specific episode which is depicted in these illustrations.

A miniature in the poetry collection Pn fr. 12467, f. 53v (PLATE 58) shows couples dancing to the music of a pipe and tabor. I mentioned earlier in the discussion of musical scenes in margin illustrations that the pipe and tabor and the vielle are the instruments most closely associated with dancing. This is supported by both visual examples such as we find here, and by the many literary references to their use for dancing.

THE INSTRUMENTARIUM OF THIRTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE;
PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS OF ICONOGRAPHIC
EVIDENCE FOR MODERN SCHOLARS

The instrumentarium represented in the manuscripts examined for this study is fairly modest, especially in comparison to the collection of instruments represented in the thirteenth-century Spanish manuscript, Las cantigas de Santa Maria del Rey Alfonso el Sabio. Speaking of sources other than the Cantigas, Dagmar Droysen stated that because of the lack of variety found in the instrumentarium of the thirteenth century, this period was of little interest to the organologist.¹ It seems, however, that the instruments represent real physical entities which were used in the contemporary musical culture. The lack of variety in the shapes of instruments is apparently related to a greater realism of depiction. The groups of instruments found in the formal illustrations of both sacred and secular manuscripts are determined either by symbolic considerations (i.e. David and his musicians, the contrast between "sacred" and "secular" music, the three sirens of the bestiary illustration) or they may constitute a kind of catalogue of instruments as is typically found in the illustration of the Twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse. Despite the symbolic nature of these representations, the instruments found in such diverse contexts as those mentioned above nevertheless show a significant consistency of

¹Droysen, D. "Die Darstellungen von Saiteninstrumenten," Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Kassel 1962, 304.

formal design. We are therefore able to deduce norms of instrument size, shape, and manner of playing.

Harps exhibit little variation in shape or basic design (see PLATES 1-4). The Bible Moralisée is unusual not only for its scope and format, but for the unusual variety of instrument design found in its illustrations. The archaic square form of the harp is found in this manuscript along with the three-sided form typical of the thirteenth century. The sharp triangular shape of the harp in the Lambertus Treatise (PLATE 8) is also exceptional. Psalteries are normally of the "boar's head" configuration (PLATES 8 and 15) and are plucked both with plectra and with the bare fingers. Again, the Bible Moralisée is unusual in its depiction of a three-sided triangular psaltery (PLATE 16).

The vielle generally exhibits a large oval-shaped body. Precise depiction of specific details such as fingerboard, bridge, tailpiece or string fastener, and the number of strings and pegs varies greatly. It seems that not all artists were interested in such refinements for their representation of the instrument. The neck of the vielle ranges in length from very short to rather long. Again, we must assume that many artists were simply not interested in a precise rendering of these proportions. The pegbox appears in various shapes and one finds both side and rear placement of pegs. Frets are indicated on a significant number of examples (PLATE 46) as is the presence of a free (unstoppable) string which later characterized the "lira da braccio" (PLATE 19). Although the vielle is usually played on the shoulder, one finds

occasional examples of the vertical playing position where the instrument is held on the lap (PLATE 20). The instrument which is played vertically by King David in the Bible Moralisée exhibits a pronounced waist rather than the oval form. Instruments with this shape were also played on the shoulder (PLATES 23 and 32). The rebec, with its pear-shaped body and continuous outline, is rarely found in thirteenth-century French manuscript illustrations. The two examples found in the illustrations accompanying this dissertation both date from before the thirteenth century (PLATES 8 and 12).

The gittern is the only plucked lute-type instrument found with any frequency in these manuscript illustrations. It has a flat top and back, a pinched waist, and is often ornately carved (PLATES 23 and 30). The pegbox generally seems to be bent back; many depictions, however, are so inexact as to make this feature of design rather uncertain. Frets, however, are often clearly indicated. The gittern is played both with a plectrum and with bare fingers. In both secular and sacred illustrations, the gittern is frequently paired with a vielle (PLATES 3, 4 and 23). The combination of these two instruments is found with such regularity in various contexts that it must represent an actual musical practice. The true lute is very rare in thirteenth-century French depictions of musical scenes. A rare example of the lute is the instrument played by Albertez de Gaspenses in the Provençal chansonnier Pn fr. 854, f. 133 (PLATE 56).

The organistrum or hurdy-gurdy is rarely found in thirteenth-century French manuscript illustrations. Its appearance is limited to

archaic settings such as depictions of the Twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse and scenes from the Bible Moralisée. We can conclude that the organistrum was not generally used in thirteenth-century France, and that these illustrations are based on older models.

The depiction of wind instruments is generally much less precise than that of string instruments. Busines, hunting horns and straight trumpets are frequently but inexactly represented. Sometimes these wind instruments are indicated in such a vague manner that it is impossible to identify them as belonging to a particular type. The combination of the pipe and tabor is depicted with more exactitude than the instruments mentioned above, but the very combination of these two instruments helps to identify the pipe. An unusually well-detailed pipe with precisely indicated finger holes and fipple mouthpiece appears in the margin illustration adjacent to the Exultate initial of the Psalter Pn lat. 1076, f. 102 (PLATE 5). The tabor, a medium-sized frame drum, is frequently found with a snare attached across the drum head (PLATE 27).

Although the transverse flute is occasionally mentioned in thirteenth-century French secular literature,² the manuscripts examined for this study did not produce a single example of this instrument. The panpipe is found with some frequency in earlier depictions of musical activity, but is rarely depicted in thirteenth-century French manuscript illustrations. The very fine example of this instrument found in the Lambertus Treatise (PLATE 8) dates from the late twelfth

²Brücker, F. "Die Blasinstrumente," Giessener Beiträge XIX (1926), 31.

century. The panpipe occurs occasionally in bestiary illustrations where it may be one of the instruments played by sirens (PLATE 45). In the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé (Pn fr. 1951, f. 8v: PLATE 45), one of the sirens holds a panpipe and a frame drum. In this case, the panpipe and tabor seem to be a corruption of the comb and mirror held by Venus. Artists had apparently interchanged models and simply borrowed the attributes of Venus who was, after all, another mythological woman of the sea. (In illustrations of poor quality, it is sometimes impossible to distinguish between a panpipe and tabor, and a comb and mirror.)

A double pipe or trumpet resembling the aulos is found in the scene of merrymaking at the death of the two prophets in the Apocalypse manuscript Pn lat. 10474, f. 19 (PLATE 28) and in a similar "bacchanal" scene in the Bible Moralisée Pn lat. 11560, f. 104 (PLATE 22). Both of these illustrations are probably derived from antique models where the instrument depicted actually was an aulos.

The tabor or frame drum is the only variety of drum consistently found in these manuscripts. Square timbrels are found in the archaic setting of the Bible Moralisée and the Morgan Library Old Testament (NYpm 638). Tambourines are extremely rare (PLATE 34) and there are a few isolated examples of cymbals and triangle. Bells are frequently depicted in the "Exultate" initial of Psalters and Bibles but because of the symbolic nature of this illustration, nothing can be concluded about the function of such bells in thirteenth-century French music. Handbells are played by figures found in margin illustrations. These

bells are played singly, in pairs, and sometimes in combination with a wind instrument held in the other hand.

One finds both portative and positive organs in these manuscripts. The portative is by far the most frequently depicted and usually occurs in margin illustrations (PLATE 4). It is also found among the instruments of the Twenty-four Elders in Apocalypse illustrations (PLATE 25). Some depictions of positive organs show assistants operating bellows (PLATE 38) and bellows may be clearly detailed on portative organs as well.

We can conclude that the instrumentarium found in illustrations from thirteenth-century French manuscripts was realistically portrayed even within its symbolic context, and that the physical forms of the instruments had become relatively fixed by this time. Whereas the importance of certain instruments, notably the harp and the bells, cannot be ascertained by the frequency of their depiction since the *Beatus* and *Exultate* initials in which they most often appear are symbolic rather than illustrative, the importance of other instruments, notably the *vielle* and the *gittern*, can be surmised from the variety of contexts in which they appear. We find also that the *vielle* rather than the harp, was the primary instrument of the *troubadour* poet-musicians (PLATES 52, 53 and 56).

This dissertation is one of the first efforts to deal systematically with illustrations of musical performance taken from a single national culture and period of time. In addition to the fact that it makes a large amount of data available to other researchers (see Table

II), perhaps the most significant contribution of this study is the discussion of the symbolic nature of thirteenth-century French representations of music. Much of the symbolism of these images has already been discussed by important scholars, yet the information had not previously been focused on this particular culture and period of time. Furthermore, new ideas have been presented concerning the close symbolic association of David and Musica, the problem of the "singing clerics," and the relationship of bestiary illustrations to antique models.

It is only after we understand the symbolism of these images that we can begin to deduce just which aspects of the visual representation of music-making apply to actual performance practice. Finally, we must conclude that for the thirteenth century, it is still not possible to learn from iconographic evidence exactly how music of this period was performed, or to answer the much debated question of whether instruments were used in music for the celebration of the Mass.³ There is no way to say with certainty that the presence of secular instruments in depictions of sacred subjects reflects a musical practice of using secular instruments in the performance of liturgical music.

³McKinnon, J. W. "Musical Instruments," American Musicological Society Journal XXI (1968), 3-20.

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47. Bestiary Illustration. Argus and Mercury. Pn fr. 1951, f. 17v.
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58. Miniature. Dancing. Collection of secular poetry. Pn fr. 12467, f. 53v.

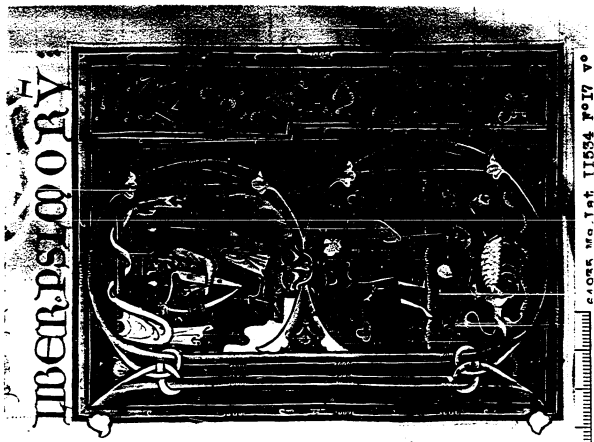


PLATE 2. Bible. Pn lat. 11534, f. 17 v.

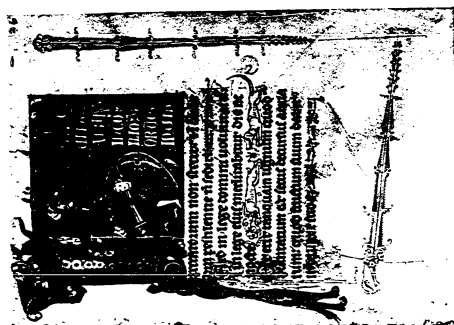


PLATE 1. Psalter. Nym 153, f. 26.

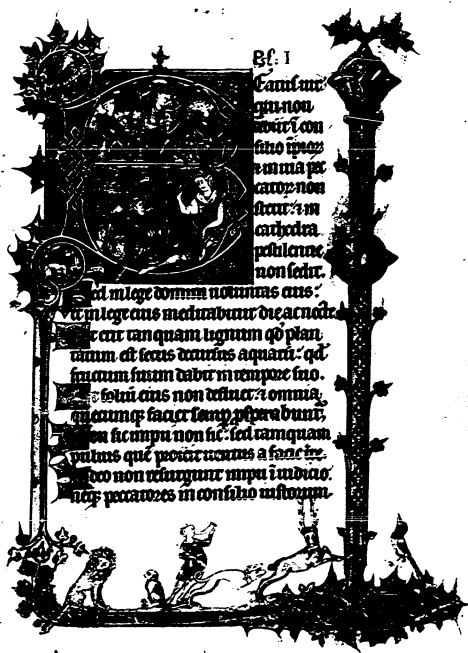


PLATE 3. Psalter. NYpm 98, f. 1.

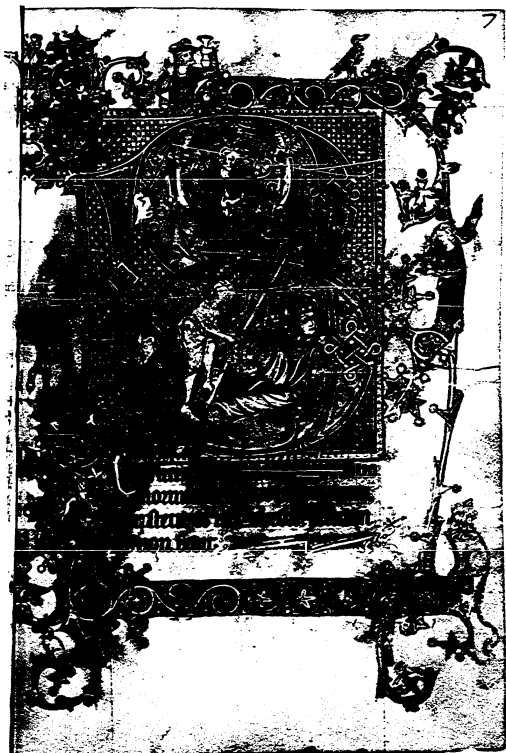
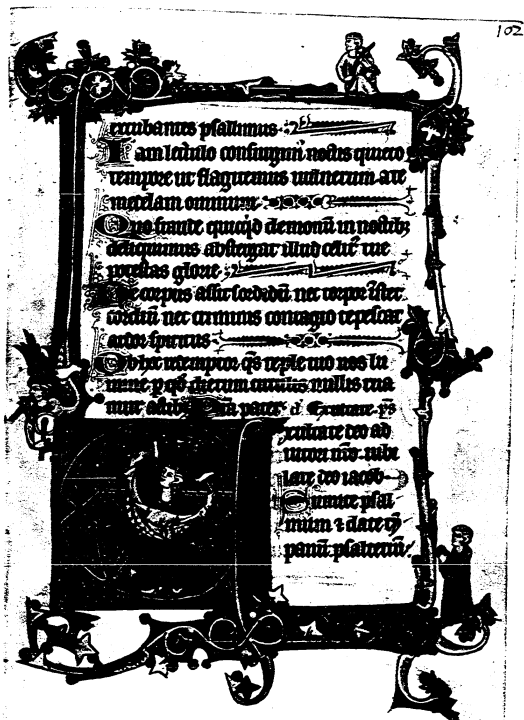
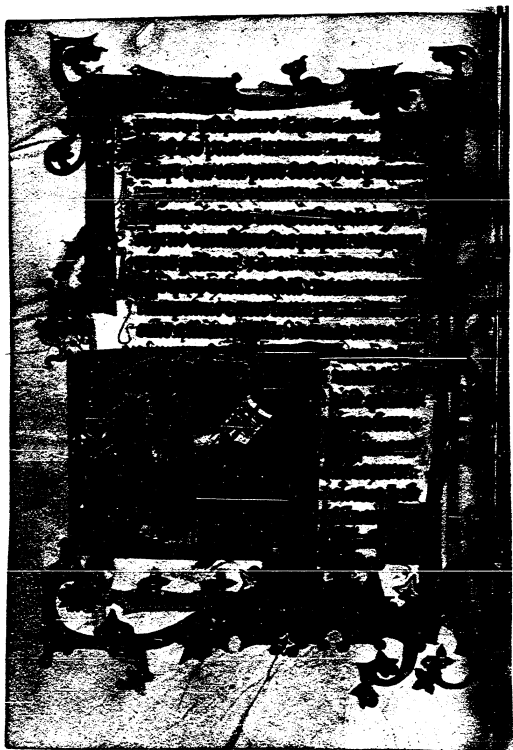


PLATE 4. Psalter. Pn. lat. 1076, f. 7.



83355 Latin 1076 Pol.102

PLATE 5. Psalter. Pn lat. 1076, f. 102.



91196 Ms Latin 1076, f. 120 v

PLATE 6. Psalter. Pn lat. 1076, f. 120v.

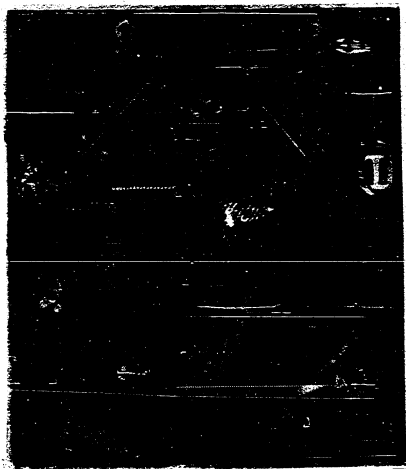


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PLATE 10. Vase Painting. Krater from Gala: Berlin.

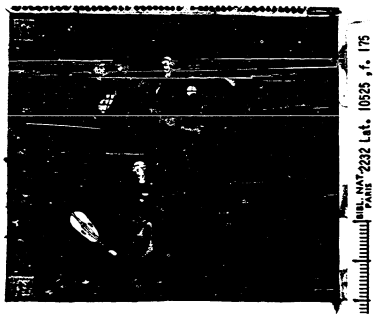


PLATE 11. St. Louis Psalter. Pn. lat. 10525, f. 175.

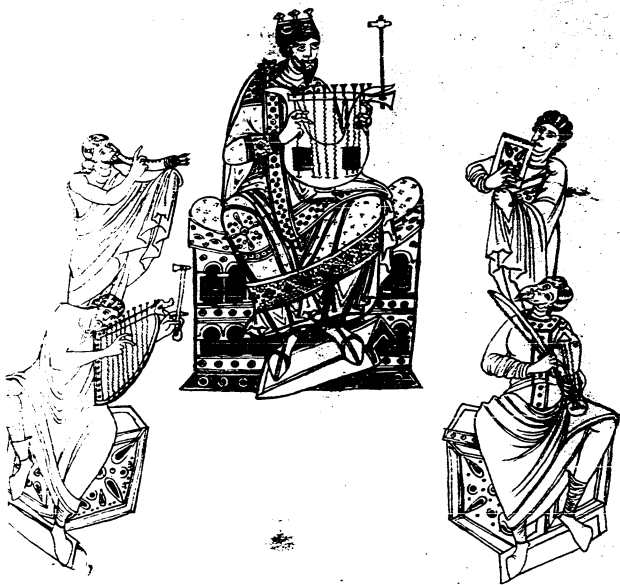


PLATE 12. Mid-11th c. Catalan Psalter. Pn lat. 11550, f. 7v.



PLATE 13. Portal of the Virgin, Chartres Cathedral. "Musica,"

misericordiam tuam
 famulis tuis sup-
 plicibus. & fac nos
 in tua uoluntate
 deuotos. ut acerbis
 in innocentiam re-
 stitutis liberari
 mereamur ab im-
 pijs. p.

In finem psalmus
 dauid. xxi. p. p.

Quod ipse illumina-
 tio precor & sa-
 lus fructum
 in se famulorum.



PLATE 14. Psalter. Pn lat. 770, f. 38v.

conuenirent. inuen-
ta est in utero habens
de spiritu sancto. Jo-
seph autem uir eius
cum esset iustus et nol-
let eam tradere no-
luit occulte dimitti-
re eam. Hec autē co-
cogitante. ecce ange-
lus dñi in somnis
apparuit ei dicens.
Ioseph fili dauid: no-
lite timere accipe ma-
riam coniugem tu-
am. Quod enim in
ea natum est. Par-
ter autem filium: et uo-
cabis nomen eius ih-
sum. Ise enim sal-
uum faciet populum su-
um a peccatis eorum.

nobilisum

am spi

tu tuo.

niuum sa

euangelij

scdm matth.

lia t dñe.

Ominus

Iher ge

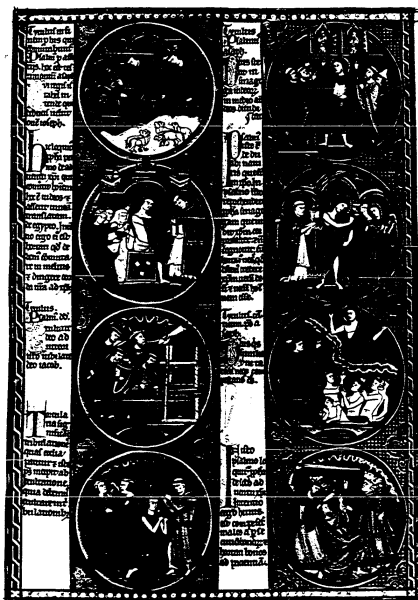


PLATE 16. Bible Moralisée. Pn lat. 11560, f. 22.



PLATE 17. Bible Moralisée.
Pn lat. 11560, f. 13v.



PLATE 18. North Portal, Chartres Cathedral.



PLATE 19. Bible Moralisée. Pn lat. 11560, f. 148.



PLATE 20. Bible Moralisée. Pn lat. 11560, f. 38.

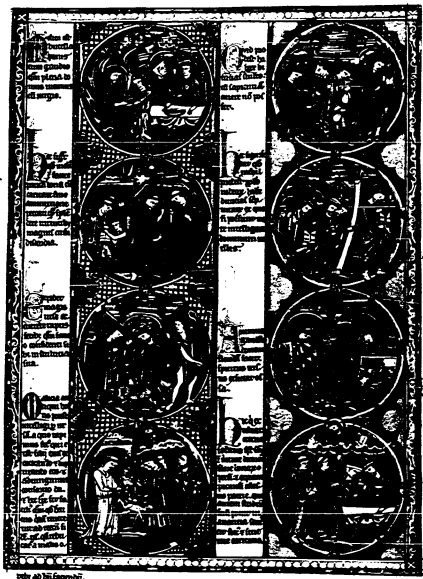


PLATE 21. Bible Moralisée. Pn lat. 11560, f. 50.



PLATE 22. Bible Moralisée. Pn lat. 11560, f. 104.



PLATE 23. Bible Moralisée. Lbm Add. 18719, f. 253v.



PLATE 24. Beatus Commentary on the Apocalypse.
Pn nouv. acq. lat. 2290, f. 126.

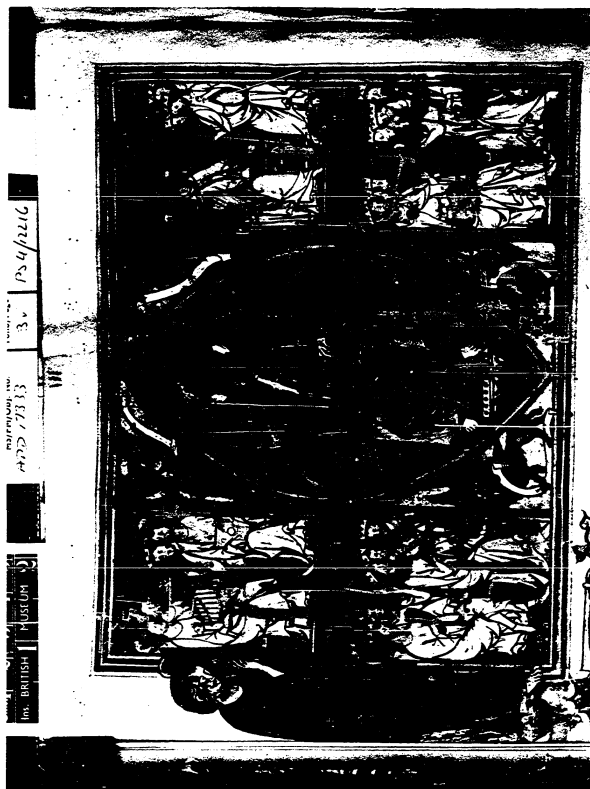


PLATE 25. Apocalypse. Lbm Add. 17333, f. 3v.

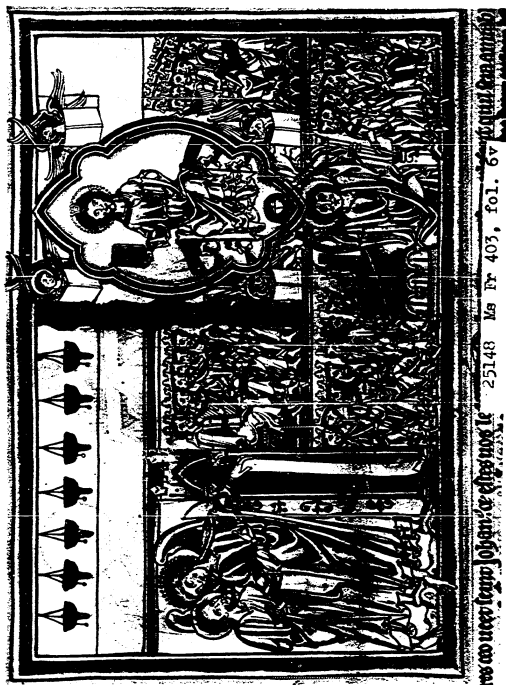


PLATE 26. Apocalypse. Pn fr. 403, f. 6v.

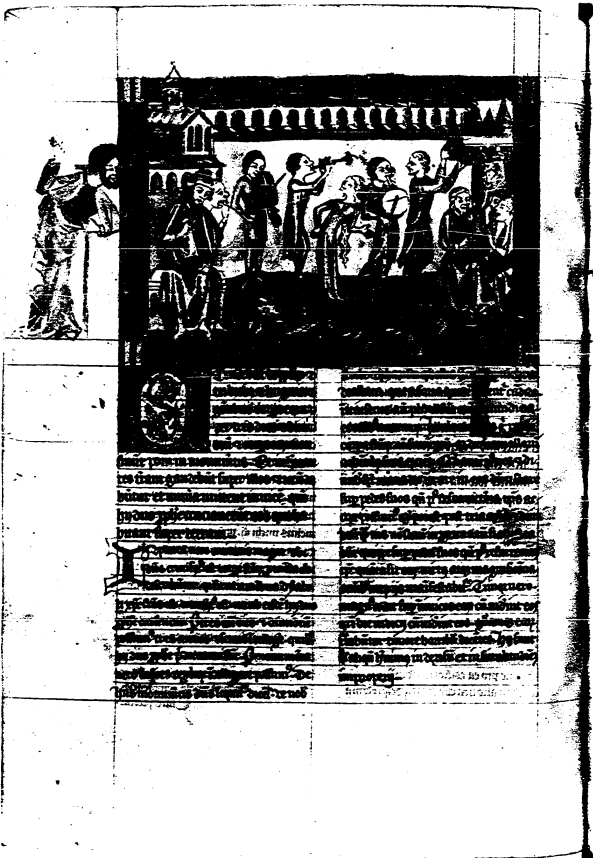


PLATE 27. Apocalypse. Pn lat. 688, f. 17v.



PLATE 28. Apocalypse. Pn lat. 10474, f. 19.



PLATE 31. Apocalypse. Pn fr. 14410, p. 21.

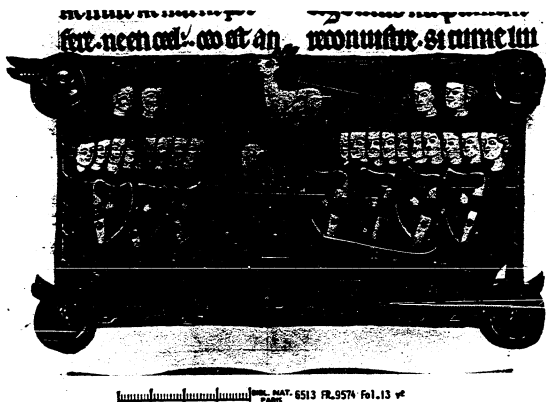


PLATE 32. Apocalypse. Pn fr. 9574, f. 13v.

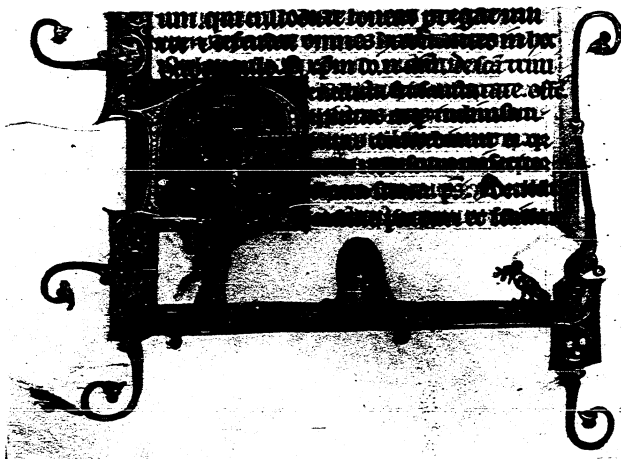


PLATE 33. Psalter and Hours. Pn lat. 13260, f. 116v.

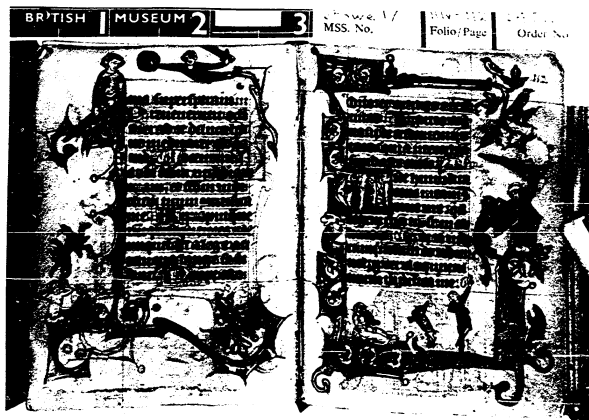


PLATE 35. Lbm Stowe 17, f. 111v - 112.

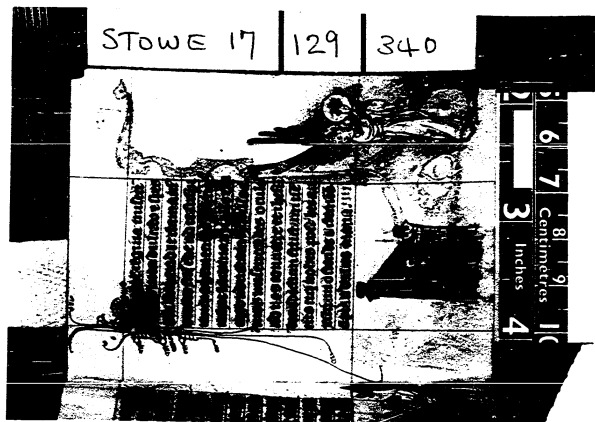


PLATE 34. Lbm Stowe 17, f. 129.

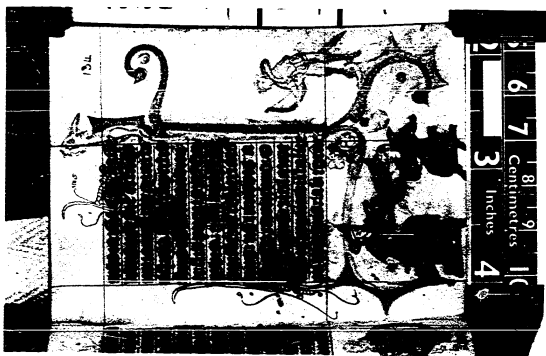


PLATE 36. Lbm Stowe 17, f. 134.



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PLATE 37. Lbm Stowe 17, f. 273.

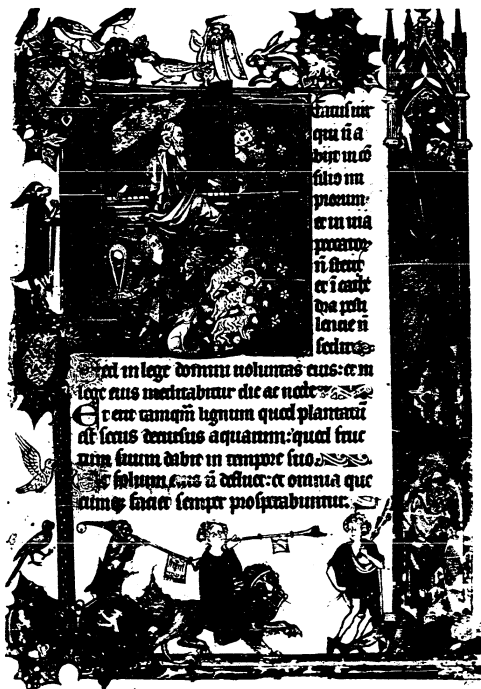


PLATE 38. Psalter and Hours. NYpm 729, f. 16.



PLATE 39. Sarcophagus Sculpture. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Acc. No. 10.104.



PLATE 40. Pa 3516, f. 202v.

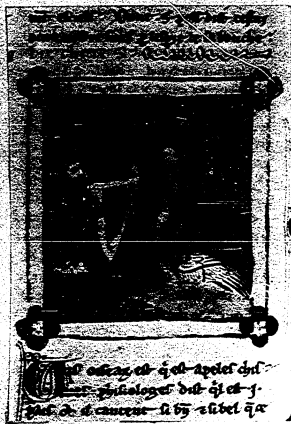


PLATE 41. Pa 3516, f. 207.

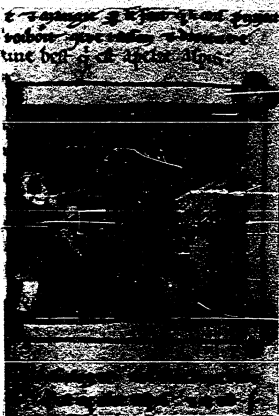


PLATE 42. Pa 3516, f. 201.



PLATE 43. Pa 3516, f. 203.



PLATE 44. Pn fr. 1951, f. 3.

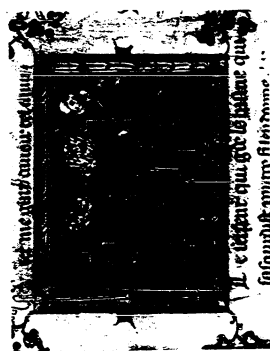


PLATE 46. Pn fr. 1951, f. 9.



PLATE 45. Pn fr. 1951, f. 8v.



PLATE 47. Pn fr. 1951, f. 17v.



PLATE 48. Pn fr. 1951, f. 21.



PLATE 49. Pn fr. 1951, f. 17.

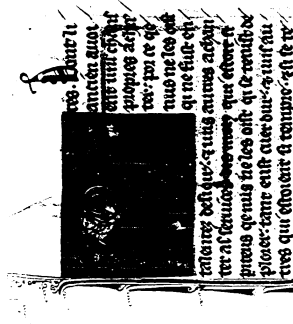


PLATE 50. Pn fr. 412, f. 231v.

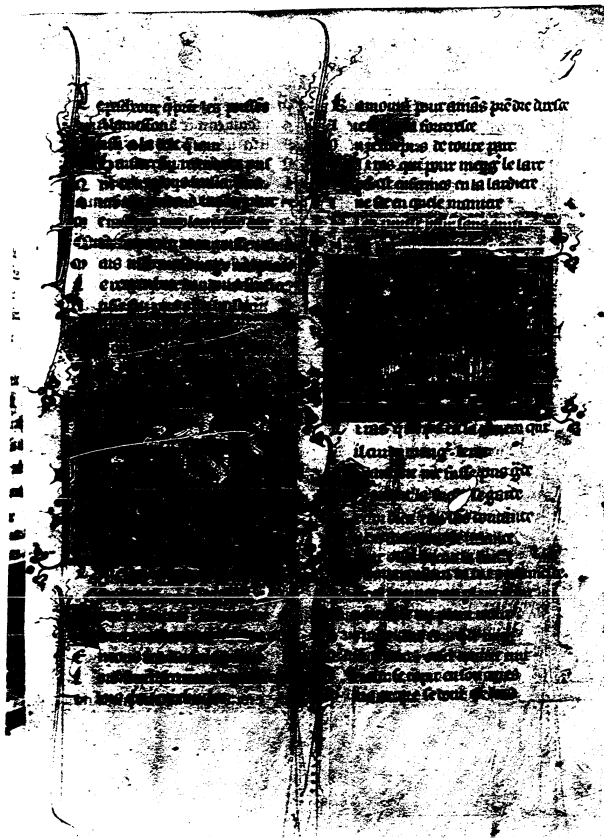


PLATE 51. Pn fr. 1951, f. 15.

BNP. NAT. 9466 FR. 1951 f. 15
BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE
PARIS
SERVICE PHOTOGRAPHIQUE

De l'isle elai murie.
Perdigon.

vij.

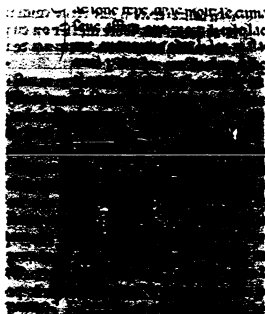


Plu playon tur bon
faber. En mais ne
ni sab ni apren. Enal
neis deuon retenir.
per mid; gardar de
fullimen. Edal re
deu son pret; enau
en. Sama ualce na
uel faire gair. Or
playon tur en son uour
enueis. Ouf sen, x



83671 Ms Fr. 12473, f. 36

PLATE 52. Pn fr. 12473, f. 36.



45969 Ms Fr 854, fol

PLATE 53. Pn fr. 854, f. 49.

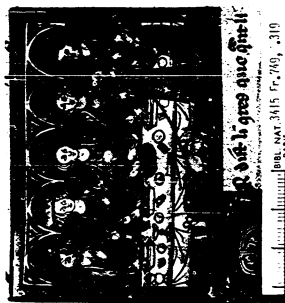


PLATE 57. Pn fr. 749, f. 319.

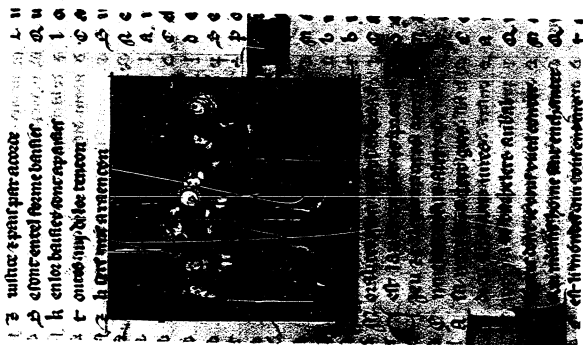


PLATE 58. Pn fr. 12467, f. 53v.

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These texts are presented here in order to make them readily available to the reader. (Several of the editions of these texts are very rare and difficult to find.) The inconsistencies of spelling found in the texts have been maintained.

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APPENDIX I

BESTIARY TEXTS FOR SUBJECTS CONCERNING MUSIC

Physiologus Latinus, versio B. Edited by Francis J. Carmody.

XII. Sirenae et Onocentauri.

Isaias propheta dicit: Sirena et daemonia saltabant in Babylonia, et herinacii et onocentauri habitabant in domibus eorum. Unius cuiusque natura Physiologus disseruit: sirenae (inquit) animalia sunt mortifera; quae a capite usque ad umbilicum figuram hominis habent, extrema uero pars usque ad pedes uolatilium habent figuram; et musicum quoddam ac dulcissimum melodiae carmen canunt, ita ut per suauitatem uocis auditus hominum a longe nauigantium mulceant et ad se trahant, ac nimia suauitate modulationis prolixae aures ac sensus eorum delinientes in somnum uertunt. Tunc deinde, cum uiderint eos grauissimo somno sopitos, inuadunt eos et dilanant carnes eorum, ac sic persuasionis uocis ignaros et insipientes homines decipiunt et mortificant sibi.

Sic igitur et illi decipiuntur qui deliciis huius saeculi et pompis et theatralibus uoluptatibus delectantur, tragediis ac diuersis musicis melodiis dissoluti, et uelut grauati somno sopiti efficiuntur aduersariorum praeda . . .

XXVI. Mustela et Aspis.

. . . Isti tales non solum mustelae comparantur, sed etiam aspidi surdae, quae obturat aures suas et non audit uocem incantantis. Physiologus dicit quoniam aspis hanc habet naturam ut si, quando aduenerit aliquis homo ad speluncam ubi habitat aspis, et praecantauerit eam omnibus carminibus suis ut exeat de cauernis suis, illa uero, ne audiat uocem incantantis, ponit caput suum ad terram, et unam quidem aurem praemit in terram, alteram uero aurem de cauda sua obturat . . .

Isidori, Etymologiarum. Edited by W. M. Lindsay.

Lib. XI. iii, 30-32. (Sirenas)

Sirenas tres fingunt fuisse ex parte virgines, ex parte volucres, habentes alas et ungulas: quarum una voca, altera tibiis, tertia lyra caneant. Quae inlectos nauigantes sub cantu in naufragium trahebant. Secundum ueritatem autem meretrices fuerunt, quae transeuntes quoniam deducebant ad egestatem, his fictae sunt inferre naufragia. Alas autem habuisse et ungulas, quia amor et uolat et vulnerat. Quae inde in fluctibus commorasse dicuntur, quia fluctus Venerem creauerunt.

Isidori, Etymologiarum (continued)

Lib. XII. iv, 12-13. (Aspis)

. . . Huius diversa genera et species, et dispares effectus ad nocendum. Fertur autem aspis, cum coeperit pati incantatorem, qui eam quibusdam carminibus propriis evocat ut eam de caverna producat: illa, cum exire noluerit, unam aurem in terram premit, alteram cauda obturat et operit, atque [ita] voces illas magicas non audiens non exit ad incantantem. Dipsas, genus aspidis, qui Latine situla dicitur, quia quem momorderit siti perit.

Lib. XII. vii, 18-19. (Cygnus)

Olor autem dictus quod sit totus plumis albus: nullus enim meminit cygnum nigrum; . . . Cygnus autem a canendo est appellatus, eo quod carminis dulcedinem modulatis vocibus fundit. Ideo autem suaviter eum canere, quia collum longum et inflexum habet, et necesse est eluctantem vocem per longum et flexuosum iter varias reddere modulationes. Ferunt in Hyperboreis partibus praecincentibus citharoedisi olores plurimos advolare, apteque admodum concinere.

Le Bestiaire de Guillaume le Clerc. Edited by Robert Reinsch.

1053 De la serein vos dirrom

Qui mult a estrange façon:
Car de la ceinture en amont
Est la plus bele ren del mont
A guise de femme formee.
L'autre partie est figuree
Comme peisson ou com oisel.
Tant chante dolcement et bel,
Que cil qui vont par mer nagant,
Si tost com il oënt cel chant,
Ne se poënt mie tenir,

1064 Que la nes covenge venir.

. . .

1071 La sereine, qui si ben chante,
Que par son chant les genz enchante,
Donne essample a cels chastier
Qui par cest mont deivent nager.
Nos qui par cest monde passom,
somes decëüz par tel son,
Par la gloire, par le delit
De cest monde, qui nos occit,
Quant le delit avom amors:

1080 La luxure, l'aise del cors,
E la glotonie et l'ivresce,
L'aise del lit e la richesce,
Les palefreiz, les chevaux gras,
La noblesce de riches dras.

Le Bestiaire de Guillaume le Clerc (continued)

- 1085 Toz jors nos treom cele part,
 De l'avenir nos est mult tart.
 Iloques tant nos delitom,
 Que a force nos endormom.
 Idonc nos occit la sereine:
 C'est li malfez, qui nos mal meine,
 Qui tant nos fet plonger es vices,
 Qu'il nos enclot dedenz ses lices.
 Donc nos assalt, donc nos cort sore,
 Donc nos occit, donc nos acore,
- 1095 Alsi com les sereines font
 Les mariners, qui par mer vont.
- 2450 Al serpent, qui a non aspis,
 Resont a comparer tels i a,
 Si vos dirrai, quel costume a
 Cele serpent, dont jeo vos di,
 Neporquant onques ne la vi.
 Mes ceo est verite provee:
 Quant el creint estre enchantee
 Par l'enchanteor, qu'ele creint,
 L'une de ses oreilles preint
 A la terre mult durement
- 2460 E od sa cue finement
 Estope l'aultre oreille si,
 Que de li ne poet estre oi
 L'enchanteor en nule guise.
 De tel manere est sa cointise
 D'altretele manere sont
 Les riches homes de cest mont.
 Tot sont encombrez e chargez
 De richescs e de pecchez.
 Quant il oient de Deu pauler,
- 2470 L'oreille n'i poënt torner.

Li livres des natures des bestes par Philippe de Beauvais.

(Long Version taken from Pa 3516, f. 198v-212v)

Edited by Charles Cahier and Arthur Martin.

f. 201 "Dune best qui est apelée aspis."

Physiologes nos dit d'une beste qui est apelée aspis, et ce est I serpens, qui garde le baume; si n'ose nus aprochier l'arbre dont li baume dégoute, tant com il veille. . . . Cis serpens garde l'arbre dont li baumes dégoute . . . Et quand on vielt aler à l'arbre por du baume avoir, si covient il que on l'endorme anchois que on i ose adeser. Et li veneor portent instrumens avoec els, de mainte manière, et les font soner por lui endormir; et tantot qu'il ot le son, se il ne li plait ben, il a tant de sens de sa nature meisme que il estoupe l'une de ses oreilles del bout de sa keue, et l'autre frote tant à la tere que il l'a emplie tote de boe. Et quant il est ensi asordis, si n'a garde que on l'endorme; car il ne puet oir la vois de l'encanteor qui le velt endormir.

f. 202v "La Seraine."

Ysayes dit: La seraine et li diable manront en Babilone; et li hérichons et li hanelon mandront en lor maisons et habiteront. III manières de seraine sont, dont les II sont moitié feme moitié poisson; et l'autre moitié feme moitié oiseaux. Et chantent totes III, les unes en buisines, et les autres en herpes, et les autres en droit vois. . . . Physiologes dist que la seraine port samblance de feme de si al nonbril, et la partie d'aval est oisel. La seraine a si dous chant qu'ele déchoit cels qui nagent en mer; et est lor mélodie tant plaisant a oïr, que nus ne les ot, tant soit loing, qu'il ne li conviegne venir.

f. 203 "Argus le vachier."

Physiologes nos raconte chi d'un home qui ot cent ex. Il dit qu'il fu une dame qui avoit une mult très bone vache, et très richement bèle de grant beauté; et la dame l'amoit tant qu'ele ne le volt perdre por nul rien. Si le bailla à garder à un vachier qui avoit à non Argus. Cis Argus si avoit C ex, si ne dormoit onques que de II ex ensamble; et tot adès se reposoient si oeil doi et doi, et tuit li autre veilloient et gaitoient. Et parmi tot che, fu la vache perdue. Car I home qui la vache avoit aimée, i envoia en sien fil qui à merveille savoit ben canter en une longe verge cruese [note 5: Creuse; une sorte de pipeau, sans dout] qu'il avoit; et ciels [cils?] avoit à non Mercurius. Cil Mercurius commencha à parler à Argus d'un et del, et à chanter à la fois en sa verge.

Mélanges d'archéologie . . .

Vol. II, 147-81.

. . . Philippe de Beauvais (continued)

f. 207 "Li chines."

Uns oiseaux est qui est apelés chisnes. Phisiologes
dist qu'il est I païs où il cantent si ben et si bel que
ce est I droite mélodie d'oïr; que quant on herpe devant
ax, il s'accordent à la harpe tot en tel manière comme tam-
burs s'acorde al flagol. Et noméement en l'an que il
doivent morir, si cantent le mieus. Si que la gent du païs
quant il en oent I bien cantant, se dient: Cist mora o an.
Tot altresi comme on dit de un joene enfant quant on le
trueve de bon engien; si dit-on: Cis enfés ne vivra pas
longement.

C'est chine qui si bien cante encontre sa mort,
sénéfie l'âme qui a joie en tribulation.

Mélanges d'archéologie . . .
Vol. III, 233.

Le bestiaire d'amour de Richard de Fournival. Edited by Cesare Segre.

p. 13 (Li cingne)

Qu'il est uns païs la ou li cingne cantent si bien et si
volontiers, ke quant on harpe devant aus il s'accordent a le
harpe tout en tel maniere comme li tambours s'acorde au
flagoil, et nommeement en l'an qu'il doit morir; si com on
dist, quant on en oit .i. bien cantant: 'Cis morra awan'.

p. 29 (Le seraine)

Dont sui je mors, c'est voirs. Et ki m'a mort? Jou ne
sai, ou vous ou jou, fors ke ambedoi i avons coupes.
Ausi com de celi cui le seraine ocist, quant elle l'a
endormi par son chant. Car il sont trois manieres de
seraines, dont les .ij. sont moitié femes et moitié
poisson, et le tierce moitié feme et moitié oseaus. Et
cantant toutes .iiij.: les unes en buisines, les autres en
harpes et les tierces en droites vois; et est lor melaudie
tant plaisans, ke nus hom ne les ot, tant soit loins, k'il
ne lui conviengne venir. Et quant il est pres, si s'endort;
et quant la seraine le trouve endormi, si l'ocist.

p. 31 (Li serpens)

Car encore fuisse je pris a vous oïr, quant vous parlastes
primes a moi, si n'eüse je eü garde se je fuisse aussi sages
comme li serpens ki garde le basme. C'est uns serpens ki
a a non aspis; si n'ose nus aprochier l'arbre dont li
basmes desgoute, tant com li veille. Et quant on velt del
basme avoir, si convient c'on l'endorme a harpes et a autres
estrumens. Mais il a tant de sens de sa nature, ke quant il
les ot, il estoupe l'une de ses oreilles del bout de se keue,
et l'autre froite tant a tere k'il l'a emplie toute de boe.

. . . Richard de Fournival (continued)

Et quant il est ensi asordis, si n'a garde c'on l'endorme. Ausi deüse jou avoir fait. Et nonporquant si qui je ke vous seüste bien com a envis jou m'en alai acointer de vous a la premiere fois. Et si ne savoie jou por quoi c'estoit, fors ke che fu ausi com une pronostike del mal ke puis me'en est avenus. Mais toutes voies i alai jou et m'endormi au cant de la seraine, ce fu a le douc[h]our de vostre acointance et de vostre biel parler a qui oïr je fu pris.

p. 50 (Argus)

Car j'ai oï conter .i. conte d'une dame ki avoit une trop bele vache, k'ele amoit tant k'ele ne le vausist avoir perdue por nule rien, si le bailla a garder a .i. vachier ki avoit a non Argus. Cil Argus avoit .c. iex, si ne dormoit onques ke de .ij. iels ensemble, et se reposoient adés si oïl doi et doi, et tout li autre veilloient et gaitoient. Et parmi tout chu fu li vache perdue. Car un homme ki le vache avoit amee i envoia .i. sien fil ki a merveille savoit bien canter en une longe verge crosee k'il avoit, et avoit cil non Mercurius. Cil Mercurius commenc[h]a a parler a Argun d'un et d'el, et a canter a le fois en sa verge, et tant li ala entour, k'en cantant qu'en parlant, ke Argus s'endormi de .ij. iels, et puis de .ij., et tant s'endormi de ses iels .ij. et .ij., k'il s'endormi de tous cent. Et lors li trenc[h]a Mercurius le teste, et en mena le vache a sen peire.

Li reponse du bestiaire par Richard de Fournival

p. 116. He Diex, gardés moi de conchoivre cose qui me soit perilleuse au faonner! Et sans faille aussi ferai je, mais que je ne soie aussi fole comme chil est qui s'endort au douc[h] cant de la seraine. Car tant me porroie bien fier, sire maistres, en vos biaux dis et en vostre bele dechevanche, que je seroie tost perie. Si me couvient prendre garde a l'aspis dont vous m'avés fait sage. Car aussi comme vous dites qu'il garde le basme qui degoute de l'arbre, et que on ne le puet engingnier par nule forche d'estrement, que tous jours n'ait une oreille pourveüe, par coi on ne le puet endormir que il n'ait l'oeil a che que il veut garder.

p. 111. Et pour cesti raison, sire et maistres, je ne prendrai mie garde au crison dont je vous ai oï parler. Car encore li plaise ses chans tant que il s'en laisse apourcachier et muire par tel defaute, ne m'est il mie grans mestiers que je prengne warda a vos paroles, qui ont sanlanche de moi mestre a vostre volenté; et me sanle que je ne m'i doi mie del tout asseürer, selonc le nature du cisme. Car vous m'avés dit que meïsme l'an qu'il doit morir il cante trop volontiers.

Le bestiaire d'amour rimé. Edited by Arvid Thordstein.

"Le cigne qui chante melodieusement devant sa mort."

- 225 Li cignes a la vois trop belle,
 Car il n'est harpe ne vièle,
 Salterion ne cyphonie,
 Ne nule douce melodie
 qui tant soit plaisant a oïr,
 Ne qui tant face resjoïr
 Ceus qui l'oient comme sa vois.
 Mais l'en ne l'ot nes une fois
 Chanter a si grant melodie
 Jusk'a lors qu'il doit perdre vie.
 Sa mort define en bien chanter,
 Si que chascuns qui l'ot chanter
 Li jugent a briés tans sa mort.
 Certes, mont m'espoënte fort
 La nature qui est ou cigne,
 240 Qui en chantant sa mort define.

"Les serainnes qui endorment l'omme a leur chant et puis l'ocient."

- 741 Trois natures sont de cerainnes,
 Dont les .II. ont fourmes humaignes
 Des le nombril jusques amont,
 Desous fourme de poissons ont.
 L'autre amont a fourme d'oiseau
 Et samblance de fame aviau,
 Et toutes chantent plaisamant
 Et mout melodieusement,
 L'une en harpe, l'autre en buisine,
 L'autre en droite vois femeline,
 Et est leur chans si agreables,
 Si plaisant et si delitables
 Que nus hons chanter ne les oït,
 Qu'il ne l'estuisse, ou que il soit,
 Plus pres des serainnes venir
 Pour miex leur melodie oïr.
 Quant pres est d'eles si s'endort
 Et ne se garde de sa mort,
 Et celle qui l'a en son chant
 Endormi l'ocist en dormant.
 Dont elle fait grant mesprison,
 Quant el l'ocist en traïson,
 Et grans coupes y a li hon,
 Quant il vait querre la choïson
 765 De sa mort.

Le bestiaire d'amour rimé (continued)

"Le serpent qui garde le basme qui s'asourdist pour ce que l'endorme."

776 Cest un serpens de si male arde
 Car on le sent si deputaire
 Que nus ne s'ose au basme traire,
 Tant com on le voie villier;
 Dont cil qui le veut aprocher
 Le fait endormir par maistrie
 A force de grant melodie;
 Mais li serpens de sa nature
 A tant sens et aperceüre,
 Quant il ot les harpes tentir,
 Dont l'en le vieut faire endormir,
 Il s'asourdist sans plus attendre,
 Pour ce qu'il ne les puisse entendre.
 Car l'une oreille emple de boe,
 Et en l'autre boute sa coe;
 Ainsi n'ot pas la melodie,
 792 Et ainsi ne s'endort il mie.

"L'oiseleur qui prent les oysiaus au brage."

1358 Li oisiaus n'est pas pri au brai
 Au doulx chant de l'oiseleur
 Com me fui pris a la dousour
 De ces tesches, de ces amours
 En tous les .V. sens par amours.

"Argus qui aciex en la teste a cui mercurius embla la vache
 et li trencha le chief."

1557 Li vachers avoit non Argus,
 Ou chief avoir .C. iex ou plus,
 Si oeil dui et dui s'endormoient,
 Et tuit li autre adés vieloient;
 Pourquant si fu la vache emblee,
 Car Jupiter, qui l'ot amee,
 .I. de ses fiex i envoia,
 Et la vache emblar li proia.
 Cis fiex merveilles bien chantoit,
 Mercurius nommés esoit;
 En guise se mit de berger
 Si vint seou lés le vachier
 Et prist a chanter d'un et d'el
 Lés le vacher a son flagel,
 Et par son chant fit le vacher
 De .II. de ces iex sommiller,
 Qui delés lui s'estoit assis,
 Et puis de .IIII. et puis de .VI.;
 Si se penoit de chanter miex,
 Tant que cil de tous ces .C. iex

Le bestiaire d'amour rimé (continued)

Au chant dou flagol s'endormi,
 Et quant il le vit endormi,
 Le chef li trencha ou s'espee;
 1580 Ainsi li fu la vache emblee.

Li Livres Dou Tresor de Brunetto Latini. Edited by Francis J. Carmody.

CXXXVI Des Sieraines.

Serene, ce dient li auctor, sont de .iii. manieres, ki avoient samblance de feme dou chief jusk'as quisses, mais de cel leu en aval avoient samblance de poisson, et avoient eles et ongles. Dont la premiere chantoit merveilleusement de sa bouche comme vois de feme, l'autre en vois de flaüt et de canon, la tierce de citole; et que par lor dous chans faisoient perir les nonsachans ki par la mer aloient.

CXXXVIII De l'aspis.

Aspis est une maniere de venimeus serpens ki ocist home de ses dens. . . . Et sachiés que aspis porte la très luisant et la precieuse pierre que l'on claime carboncle; et quant li enchanteur ki li veut oster la pierre dist ses paroles, et maintenant ke la fiere beste s'en aperchoit, fiche l'une de ses oreilles dedans la terre et l'autre clot de sa coue, en tel maniere k'ele devient sourde et non oïans des paroles conjurans.

CLXI Dou cygne.

Cygnés est .i. oisiau touz blans de plume, mais sa char est noire. Et use as fluns; et quant il noë parmi l'eüe, il porte touzjors la teste levee, et ja nule foiz ne la metra dedenz l'eüe; por coi li maronier dient que c'est bon encontre a trover. Et sa voix fait douz son, porce que son col est lonc et pleë. Et si dient li pluisor paisant que es montaignes de Iperboré en Grece, quant l'en chant et cytole, que granz torbes viennent entour lui por le delit dou chant. Dont li pluisor dient que quant il doit morir, une des pennes de son chief est fichée en sa cervelle, et donc aperçoit sa mort; lors comence a chanter si docement que merveille est a oïr, et ainsi chantant define sa vie.

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APPENDIX II

CATALOGUE OF ILLUMINATIONS DEPICTING MUSICAL
INSTRUMENTS AND MUSICAL PERFORMANCE IN
THIRTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH MANUSCRIPTS

This catalogue contains a brief description of each illumination depicting a musical instrument or musical performance found by the author in the manuscripts examined in the course of this study. Many details are included here which are not specifically discussed in the text of this dissertation. The descriptions are presented here in order to make the information available to scholars with other interests and thereby to save some duplication of effort.

The entries in this catalogue include essentially all of the illuminations of musical subjects in the thirteenth-century French manuscripts found in the public libraries of Paris, and the complete collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library. Selected manuscripts from the vast collections of the British Museum and Bodleian Library are also included. Entries are arranged alphabetically according to country and library, and numerically by reference number. The sigla established by RISM have been adopted for use here. Since the mode of illustration often affects the element of symbolism and therefore the interpretation of the visual image, each illumination is identified as being a historiated initial, margin illustration, miniature, or full-page or half-page illustration.

(F) FRANCE. Pa: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

F Pa 25 PSALM COMMENTARY by Peter Lombard. French, 13th c.

- f. 4v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over the right, plucks a harp with both hands.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
- f. 409 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over the right, plays a carillon of four lavender bells (clappers visible), with two large white mallets. The bells are tied to the arch of the letter "E" and a white harp hangs from the cross-bar of the "E".
- f. 477 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics stand one behind the other facing a lectern on the right with a large open book. The cleric closest to the book holds it open with both hands and sings with his mouth open as does the cleric directly behind him. The third cleric clearly has his mouth closed and does not sing.

F Pa 70 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 202v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and wearing an orange crown, with his left leg crossed over the right, tunes his harp with a tuning bar held in the left hand and plucks a string with the thumb and index finger of his right hand.
- f. 215v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and wearing an orange crown, strikes a carillon of three grey bells (no clappers visible), with two mallets which have grey heads and orange handles.
- f. 218 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern on the right which holds a large open book. Two of the clerics look straight ahead with their mouths closed. The third cleric tilts his upward with his mouth open (singing?) and points ahead with the index finger of his right hand.

F Pa 82 PSALTER with Gloss by Peter Lombard. French, 13th c.

- f. 1 Historiated Initial: Cum.
King David, seated and crowned, holds a harp. His legs are crossed in a peculiar fashion and the harp has no strings. The painting is very crude.

- F Pa 120 PSALTER, usage of Saint-Quentin. French, 13th c.
- f. 13 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with a tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks with his right hand.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
- f. 139v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four tan bells (no clappers visible), with two large mallets which have orange heads and tan handles.
- f. 164v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern on the right which has an open book. The cleric closest to the book holds it open with both hands. All three have their mouths closed.
- F Pa 274 BREVIARY from Saint-Benigne de Dijon. 14th c.
- f. 22 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over the right, tunes his harp with an orange tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks with his right hand.
- f. 55 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of three blue bells, with two orange mallets.
- f. 61v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face the right where there is a lectern with an open book. The cleric closest to the book holds it open with both hands and sings. The second cleric who stands behind him looks upward with his mouth closed and drawn down at the corners in a frown.
- F Pa 279 BREVIARY. Saint-Sepulcre de Caen, c. 1240-1260.
- f. 4 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above, in the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over the right, holds his harp with his left hand and plucks with the right.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.

F Pa 279 (continued)

- f. 27v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of six tan bells (clappers visible), with one green mallet which he holds in his right hand. His left hand rests in his lap.
- f. 32 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics stand facing a lectern on the right which holds a large open book. They look straight ahead with their mouths closed.
- f. 317 Historiated Initial: Salve sancta parens.
(First letter of text for music which is notated.)
Above: In the upper register of the initial "S", a tonsured cleric kneels before the Virgin and Child who are seated on a throne at the left.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "S", three tonsured clerics wearing white robes stand facing a lectern on the right which holds an open book. The cleric farthest to the left points to the book and sings with his mouth open. The other two have their mouths closed.

F Pa 280 PSALTER. Usage des Freres Mineurs, 13th c.

- f. 1 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, holds his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right hand. To the right of David is a dancer who leaps into the air with his hands above his head.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
- f. 286 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over the right, strikes a carillon of four blue bells (clappers visible), with two mallets which have gold heads and white handles. There are two musicians on the right who play a harp and a straight trumpet.
- f. 340 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics wearing elegant hooded robes face a lectern on the right which has an open book. The cleric closest to the book holds it open with both hands. All three look straight ahead and sing with their mouths open.

- F Pa 570 BOOK OF HOURS in French and Latin. Metz, 13th c.
- f. 45 Historiated Initial: Domine.
King David, seated and crowned, holds a very peculiar stylized harp.
- f. 53 Historiated Initial: Kyrieleyson.
An angel plucks a psaltery with its fingers. This is a very interesting three-dimensional representation of the psaltery showing the sides clearly.
- F Pa 595 BREVIARY. Saint-Étienne de Châlons-sur-Marne, 13th c.
- f. 6 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over the right, holds his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right. There is a vielle on the ground to David's right.
- f. 19v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over the right, strikes a carillon of three gold bells (clappers visible), with two mallets which have grey heads and orange handles. On the ground to David's right is a white vielle, the same as in f. 6 but depicted with less detail.
- f. 22 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern on the right which has an open book. The cleric closest to the book holds it with both hands. His mouth is clearly closed but the other two sing with their mouths open.
- F Pa 1170 BIBLE. French, 13th c.
- f. 200 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
- f. 212 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, with his right ankle crossed over the left, strikes a carillon of five large light blue bells (clappers visible), with two orange mallets. On the right and below the bells is a young man who plucks a harp with his left hand.

F Pa 1170 (continued)

- f. 214v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern on the right which is covered with a white cloth and holds a large book. The cleric closest to the book holds it open with his left hand and points with his right hand.

F Pa 1186 PSALTER, said to have belonged to St. Louis.

- f. 14 A pair of medallions.
Above: God giving Moses the Ten Commandments.
Below: The Israelites worshipping the Golden Calf. Among the group of men worshipping the calf which is placed on an altar, are two musicians. One plays a busine and the other strikes a frame drum which hangs from his neck, with two large drumsticks.
- f. 15v Full-page illustration: Jesse's dream.
King David, seated and crowned, holds a harp.
- f. 105v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, his left leg crossed over the right, strikes a carillon of four blue bells (clappers visible), with two mallets which have blue heads and brown handles. On the left, a young man plays a busine and on the right a small boy plays a recorder with a clearly depicted fipple mouthpiece.
- f. 120v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics stand facing a lectern with an open book. Black marks on the pages seem to represent neumes. One of the clerics holds the book open and points to the page with the index finger of his right hand. Both look straight ahead with their mouths closed. On the left and behind them is a third cleric who is seated and holds a book. On the right is an altar with a cross.
- f. 169v A pair of medallions.
Above: Two angels blow busines to awaken the dead.
Below: The weighing of the souls.
- F Pa 2510 MAISTRE ALDEBRANDINS DE SCIANE: LI LIVRES QUI DOIT IESTRE APIELES LA FLOURS ET LA ROSE DE TOUTE MEDICINE DE FISIQUE. French, 13th c.
- f. 10 Miniature: Portrait of a woman who plays a vielle.
Caption: "Li virtus mes chepitres est de soi garder de courous et de ire".

- F Pa 3139 LE CHEVALIER AU CYGNE, CHANSON DE GESTE. French, 13th c.
- f. 1v Miniature: Hunting scene with dogs chasing a stag through a forest, a woman, and a king riding a horse who plays a hunting horn.
- F Pa 3142 RECUEIL D'ANCIENNES POÉSIES FRANÇAISES. Late 13th c.
- f. 1 ADENET LE ROI: "LI ROUMANS DE CLEOMADES".
Miniature: A queen lies on a bed, propped up with pillows and with her head at the far right side of the picture. She holds a flower. Directly below and seated at her bedside is a young woman wearing a crown. In the middle, also seated at the bedside, is a young man who holds a glove. At the foot of the bed is Adenet Le Roi who wears a monk's cowl and a crown, and holds a vielle but no bow. (See PLATE 56.)
Margin: two hybrids play instruments, a pipe and tabor and a vielle.
- f. 73 ADENET LE ROI: "LES ENFANCES OGIER LE DANOIS".
Margin: A man wearing a short tunic and a gold crown plays a vielle. This figure probably represents Adenet Le Roi as does the same one found at the beginning of this poem in Pn fr. 12467, f. 1.
- F Pa 3516 COLLECTION OF TEXTS.
f. 198v - f. 212v "CHI COMMENCE LI LIVRES DES NATURES DE BESTES" by Philippe de Beauvais.
- f. 201 Miniature: "Dune best qui est apelee aspis." In the center is a tree. The aspic, on the right, is depicted with wings and a serpentine body. It stops one ear with the tip of its tail. On the left is a young man seated on a bench who plays a harp to enchant the aspic. (See PLATE 42.)
- f. 202v Miniature: "La seraine."
Three sirens are depicted. Two which are in the water have fish tails; the one on the left sings and the one on the right plays a harp. The third siren which has wings, a bird's torso and claws, hovers above the other two and plays a busine. (See PLATE 40.)
- f. 203 Miniature: "Argus le vachier."
Argus, depicted with many eyes, is seated in the center. On the right is Io who has been transformed into a cow. Mercury is seated on the left and plays a horn. (See PLATE 43.)

F Pa 3516 (continued)

- f. 207 Miniature: "Li chines."
A man seated on a bench at the left plays a harp. On the right, a swan swims in the water and faces the man.
(See PLATE 41.)

F Pa 3355 HISTOIRE DE MARKE LE SÉNÉCHAL ET DE LAURIN SON FILS.

- f. 1 "C'EST DE MARKE LE SENESCAL DE ROUME, LI FIL CATON LE SAGE."
Margin: A man on a horse plays a hunting horn and follows a dog which chases another animal.
- f. 10 Margin: A man wearing a short green tunic and a coif plays a bagpipe as he approaches a king who is seated before a fireplace.
- f. 56 "CHI COMMENCE LI LIVRES DE LAURIN, LE FIL MARKE LE SENESCAL DE ROUME, K'IL OT DE LAURINE, LE SEREUR L'EMPEREUR DE COUSTANTINOBLE."
Margin: A man wearing a brown tunic and coif plays a bagpipe. The size of the instrument is very large in comparison to that of the man.

F Pa 5056 BIBLE, VOLUME I. French, 13th c.

- f. 313v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with a tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks a string with the thumb and index finger of his right hand. Although the tuning bar is placed above the string closest to the player's body, he plucks the string which is farthest from his body.
- f. 330 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of five white bells (clappers visible), with two mallets which have green handles and stubby white heads. On the ground to the right is a green harp.
- f. 333 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern on the right which holds an open book. One cleric holds his hands in front of himself at the level of the lectern but does not touch the book.

- F Pa 5059 "LA BIBLE HYSTORIAUS, OU LES HYSTOIRES ESCOLASTRES DE GUYART DES MOULINS." French, 13th c.
- f. 84v Miniature: "Des buisines dargent selone la bible."
Moses, depicted with two horns growing out of his head, holds the two tablets containing the Ten Commandments. Two men face him and play straight trumpets.
- f. 95v Miniature: "De la feste des buisines."
Two men stand facing an empty altar and blow horns.
- f. 227v Miniature: The wrath of Saul.
King Saul, crowned and seated on a throne, with his left leg crossed over his right, is depicted as an old man with white hair and beard. He points a spear at young David who is seated on the right and plays his harp with both hands.
- f. 244 Miniature: (Exultate)
King David is crowned and seated with his left leg tucked under his right knee. He strikes a carillon of five grey bells (clappers visible), with two fine-lined and almost invisible white mallets.
- f. 247v Miniature: "Chantez a nostre seigneur nouvele chancon car il a fait merveilles."
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book. One of them holds the book with his left hand and points with his right hand. Both clerics sing. On the far right is an altar covered with a white cloth.
- F Pa 5198 CHANSONNIER. French, 13th c.
- f. 1 Les chançons le roi de Navarre (Thibaut, comte de Champagne)
Miniature directly above a chanson whose text begins: "Amors me fet commencier . . ."
A king and queen are seated in the center. On the right are three men, one of whom plays a vielle.
- F Pa 5201 RECUEIL DES POÉSIES DE ROBERT DE BLOIS ET AUTRES PIÈCES. French, 13th c.
- f. 87 Margin: A man plays a hunting horn; a dog chases a rabbit.
- f. 125 Margin: A man plays a vielle and a dog dances on its hind legs.

F Pa 5201 (continued)

- f. 136v Margin adjacent to a historiated initial: Apres.
The scene inside the initial depicts the Death of the Virgin. Just to the left, enclosed by parts of the initial, is a very jaunty man who wears a red tunic and brown cap, and plays a bagpipe.
Margin: A man plays a hunting horn; a dog barks at a rabbit.
- f. 215 Historiated Initial: Donc.
A man on the left strikes a stone pillar with a sword; a man on the right plays a busine. Both are dressed in suits of mail.
- f. 229 Margin: A hybrid plays a vielle.
- f. ____ Musical scene on top of a historiated initial: Qui est de deu.
Inside the initial, a tonsured cleric wearing a brown robe tied with a white cord, teaches a group of seven students who are seated before him. On top of the initial, a man seated on a little hillock plays a bagpipe. To his left, a dog dances on its hind legs. To the right and behind the back of the man with the bagpipe, is a horned devil that plays a horn.

F Pa 5211 BIBLE ABRÉGÉE, EN FRANCAIS. 13th c.

- f. 53 Half-page illustration: five medallions of Old Testament scenes including the Worship of the Golden Calf.
In the center is an altar with the golden calf. On the left are three men who face the calf. On the right, one man kneels and another who stands, plays a wind instrument. This instrument is clearly placed inside his mouth and may be a shawm. There is good detail of the finger-holes.
- f. 69v and f. 81 Full page illustrations with scenes from the Old Testament. Men play busines.
- f. 154v Full-page illustration with six Old Testament Scenes.
A group of five musicians includes a man who plays a harp, a man playing a busine, a man with a grey beard and gold crown (King David?) who plucks a gittern, a man wearing a white turban who strikes a frame drum with the fingers of his right hand, and a man who plays a pair of gold cymbals.

F Pa 6329 FRÈRE LAURENT, DOMINICAIN: LA SOMME LE ROI. 1311.

- f. 6 Full-page illustration: two angels play busines.
- f. 7v Full-page illustration: The Israelites worshipping the golden calf. Seven men pray to the calf which is placed on an altar. Two men play straight trumpets.
- f. 112v Full-page illustration, lower right quadrant.
The wrath of Saul: King Saul, seated and crowned, his left leg crossed over the right, points a sword at young David who holds his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right.

(F) FRANCE. Pm: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine.

F Pm 9 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

f. 202 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, plucks a harp with both hands.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.

f. 214 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, holds two white mallets.
Above his head are three orange bells.

f. 216v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book.
The cleric closest to the book holds it with both hands.

F Pm 12 BIBLE. (Non-paginated) French, 13th c.

(n. p.) Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, his left leg crossed over the right, tunes his harp with a tuning bar held in his left hand, and plucks with his right.

(n. p.) Historiated Initial: Exultate.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "E", King David, crowned, sits on the ground with his legs stretched out full-length. He tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with the thumb and middle finger of his right hand.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "E", a man kneeling between two small trees plays a busine. Four bells hang from the cross-bar of the letter "E".

(n. p.) Historiated Initial: Cantate.
King David, seated and crowned, plays a table organ by pushing one of the small levers with his right hand. The organ has eight pipes which are alternately blue and pink.

F Pm 13 BIBLE. (Non-paginated) French, 13th c.

(n. p.) Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of five large blue bells with two fine white mallets.

(n. p.) Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book.
The mouth of only one cleric is visible; he sings.

F Pm 15 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 211v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, plucks a harp with both hands.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
- f. 225v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of three brown bells, with two large yellow mallets. There is a vielle on the ground to the right of David; it has a long narrow body and one string (monochord?).
- f. 228 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face the right, looking upwards with their mouths closed. The cleric farthest to the right holds an open book with both hands; there is no lectern.

F Pm 18 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 162v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with a large tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks with the thumb and third and fourth fingers of his right hand.
- f. 172v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of six tan bells (clappers visible), with two orange mallets. At his feet to the right is a large harp.
- f. 174v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern which has a large open book. The cleric closest to the book holds it with both hands. Both have their mouths closed and look straight ahead.

F Pm 20 BIBLE. (Non-paginated) French, 13th c.

- (n. p.) Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with the right.
- (n. p.) Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four blue bells (no clappers visible), with two mallets, both of which have white handles. The head of the left mallet is green and the head of the right mallet is pink.

F Pm 20 (continued)

- (n. p.) Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern which holds an open book. The cleric closest to the book points to it with his right hand and his mouth is turned down in a dreadful frown. The other cleric stands behind him with his mouth closed also, but his expression is quizzical.

F Pm 21 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 240v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with a small tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks with the thumb and first two fingers of his right hand.
- f. 256v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, holds two white mallets, ready to strike four bells which hang above his head. Each bell is a different color: grey, orange, green, and brown.
- f. 259v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three clerics face a lectern with an open book. The cleric closest to the book gestures with his right hand. His mouth is turned down in an unpleasant frown. The mouth of the cleric behind him is open but turned down in a grimace. The mouth of the third cleric is hidden from view.

F Pm 27 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 194v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, his left leg crossed over his right, strikes a carillon of five white bells, with two slender white mallets. On the ground to David's right is a stringed instrument which appears to be a gittern.
- f. 197 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern which is covered with a white cloth and has an open book. The two clerics closest to the book point or hold the pages of it; both have their mouths open singing. The face of the third cleric is not visible.

F Pm 36 OLD TESTAMENT. French, late 12th c. - early 13th c.

- f. 214 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", King David and seven musicians. King David is seated and crowned, and tunes his harp with his left hand while plucking with the right. He is accompanied by musicians playing the following instruments: vielle, gittern, double pipe (aulos?), psaltery, a wind instrument, and a carillon of three bells.

F Pm 145 BIBLE. French, mid-13th c.

- f. 215v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with a tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks with his right.

- f. 284 Margin illustration: A monkey plays a vielle.

F Pm 211 PSALM COMMENTARY by Peter Lombard. French, 13th c.

- f. 1v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned with his left leg crossed over the right, plucks his harp with his right hand. (His left hand is not visible.)
- f. 117v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over his right, strikes a carillon of five tan bells (clappers visible), with two mallets which have tan handles and gold heads. A psaltery hangs from the cross-bar of the letter "E".
- f. 139 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a very high lectern; the open book on the lectern is above their heads. The cleric closest to the lectern touches it with his right hand.

F Pm 212 PSALM COMMENTARY by Peter Lombard. French, 13th c.

- f. 3 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", Christ in Majesty.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", King David kneels, looking up at the figure of Christ above him, and plucks a harp with both hands. He wears a decorated cap rather than a crown.

F Pm 212 (continued)

f. 136 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David is seated with his left leg crossed over the right, and wears a decorated cap. He strikes a carillon of four blue bells (no clappers visible), with two brown mallets.

f. 164v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with a large open book. One of the clerics holds the book with his left hand and points with his right hand.

F Pm 870 LA SOMME LE ROI by Frere Laurent. 1295.

f. A^{vo} Miniature: Four men kneel before an altar on which the Golden Calf is placed. Two other men stand and play busines.

f. 44v Miniature: Two angels in the sky blow busines to awaken the dead. Among the dead are a king and a bishop.

(F) FRANCE. Pn: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

F Pn fr. 95 L'ESTOIRE DEL SAINT GRAAL DE ROBERT DE BORRON.
French, 13th c.

- f. 1 Decorated Initial: C.
Inside the initial, The Trinity.
Angel Musicians stand at each of the four corners of
the frame enclosing the initial. They play: 1) portative organ 2) harp 3) gittern 4) vielle.
Margin: A man plays a bagpipe.
- The margins of this manuscript are filled with genre scenes including human, hybrid and animal musicians.
- f. 24 Two hybrids playing a harp and a vielle.
- f. 43 Two hybrids playing a harp and a gittern.
- f. 52v Two hybrids face each other holding straight trumpets in one hand and large blue handbells (clappers visible) in the other hand.
- f. 59 Two hybrids each hold a pair of large upturned handbells.
- f. 64v A cripple with a peg-leg plays a bagpipe.
- f. 66v A hybrid holds a vielle.
- f. 82v A small naked figure rides backwards on an elephant and plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 106v Two hybrids stand back to back; one plucks a harp with both hands and the other plays a gittern.
- f. 125v A hybrid playing a vielle is depicted from behind. There is excellent detail of the pegbox and the back of the instrument.
- f. 152 A dog chasing a stag is followed by a man who plays a hunting horn.
- f. 205 Two hybrids play straight trumpets and an acrobat performs.
- f. 237 Two apes, each with a basket of baby apes on its back; one plays a bagpipe and the other plays a straight trumpet.

F Pn fr. 95 (continued)

- f. 254 A man plays a pipe and tabor.
- f. 261 A hybrid plays a bagpipe; a two-faced creature plays straight trumpets from both sides of its head; a man with a bagpipe is followed by a man disguised as a stag.
- f. 262 An acrobat and a man playing a bagpipe.
- f. 270v A man plays a bagpipe.
- f. 273 A man carrying a portative organ with a clearly depicted keyboard plays with his right hand and operates the bellows underneath the instrument with his left hand.
- f. 295v A hybrid plays a bagpipe.
- f. 311 A naked figure riding backwards on a stag plays a bagpipe.
- f. 328v A man plays a bagpipe.
- f. 338v A hybrid plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 340v Two angel musicians: one plays a psalter with two plectra and the other plays a vielle but is depicted from behind so that one sees the back of his instrument.
- f. 343 A hybrid which faces forward has straight trumpets extending from each side of his mouth.
- f. 343v Two monkeys wearing ecclesiastical garments hold open books and sing with their mouths wide open. This is a parody of the "Cantate" illustration for Psalm 97.

F Pn fr. 350 GUIRON LE COURTOIS. French, 13th and 14th c.

- f. 88v Miniature: A group of five people are seated under an architectural arch (three courtly ladies and two men). One woman wears a crown and another plays a harp. She tunes with her left hand and plucks with her right.
- f. 345 Miniature: A knight dressed in a suit of mail, his servant, and his horse, stand at the entrance of a tent in which four women and a young boy are seated. The woman in the middle foreground plucks a harp with both hands. Another woman at her right holds a little dog and raises her right hand in greeting.

F Pn 375 LATIN APOCALYPSE. French, 13th c.

f. 4 and f. 7 Miniature: An angel plays a busine.

f. 12v Miniature: Four men who represent "The Elect" stand playing harps. Angels are depicted above them.

LE ROMAN DE TROIES by Beneoit de Sainte More, f. 68.
At the end of this section, a little piece gives the name of the copyist and date of the copy, 1288.

f. 72 Decorated letters; extensions of the letters appearing at the top of the page are transformed into heads of people, animals and instruments. On f. 72 a harp and on f. 86 a bell.

F Pn fr. 403 FRENCH APOCALYPSE WITH GLOSS. 13th c. (Facsimile edition)

f. 6v Miniature: Christ in Majesty and The Elders.
A total of thirty Elders are seated in two tiers. Not all of them have instruments but there is a great variety of instruments depicted.
Top row, left to right: harp, glittern, organistrum (only the handle is actually visible), a vielle held vertically on the lap, a harp and a psaltery.
Bottom row, left to right: straight trumpet, a vielle and bow, a large table organ, and a straight trumpet.
(See PLATE 26.)

f. 7 Miniature: The Lamb of God, Christ, and the Elders.
A total of twenty-four Elders are depicted, seated again in two tiers.
Top row: Sixteen Elders of whom four hold instruments: 1) a harp, 2) a vielle (without bow), 3) a harp, and 4) a vielle with a bow.
Bottom row: Eight Elders kneel before the Lamb of God which appears in the center medallion. None of them hold instruments.

f. 11v Miniature: An angel standing on the right distributes busines to seven other angels. (See PLATE 35.)

f. 29v Miniature: Top row, seven angels hold gold vases. Bottom row, a leader and five pairs of angels six of whom play harps, walk towards St. John who has a halo and staff and is seated on the left.

f. 12, 12v, 13, 13v, 14, 15, 18v, 35v Angels playing busines.

F Pn fr. 412 LI BESTIAIRES OU ARRIERE BAN DE MESTRE RICHART DE
FOURNIVAL. f. 228-235v.

- f. 229 Miniature: The Swan. A man standing on the shore strikes a frame drum with a beater while a large swan swims in the water.
- f. 230v Miniature: The Sirens. Three sirens are half-submerged in water and there is a man in a boat. The middle siren holds a small horn in her hand.
- f. 231 Miniature: The Aspic. A man plucks a harp with his right hand and holds the top of the frame with his left as he walks towards the aspic which sits under a tree.
- f. 231v Miniature: The Bees. A man wearing a protective head-cloth strikes a frame drum with his right hand. He stands facing a bee-hive, a little domelike structure with a small door at the bottom. (See PLATE 50.)
- f. 232v Miniature: The Lion. A man blows a hunting horn as he walks up behind a lion.
- f. 233 Miniature: The Beaver. A man holds a hunting horn to his lips with his left hand and points with his right hand to a large dog-like animal which turns around to look at him.

LA REPONSE POUR L'ARRIERE BAN MAISTRE RICHART DE
FURNIVAL. f. 236 (dated 1286).

- f. 238 Miniature: The Swan. A man standing on the shore strikes a frame drum with a beater while a swan swims in the water (same as f. 229).
- f. 240 Miniature: The Sirens. Two men sleep under a tree on the edge of a lake; a siren in the water plays a wind instrument.

Miniature: The Aspic. A man who is seated plucks a harp with his right hand. The aspic is curled up, sleeping under a tree.

F Pn fr. 566 LI LIVRES DEL TRESOR LEQUEL MAISTRE BRUNES LATINS
TRANSLATA DE LATIN EN FRANCHOYS. 13th c.

- f. 4 Historiated Initial: C.
There is a tree with three branches. A crowned figure sits in the center branch holding what appears to be a musical instrument (large bell? vielle?). Another

F Pn fr. 566 (continued)

- f. 4 (continued) figure sits on the left branch playing a vielle. On the ground below are two animals, one black, and one white, who gnaw at the tree. This unusual depiction is very similar to the allegorical scene from the Roman of Barlaam and Josephat.
- f. 10 Margin: A figure plays a straight trumpet. (In the margin below and to the left of an illustration of the wheel of fortune.)
- f. 26v Historiated Initial: David fil yesse.
King David, seated and crowned, holds a harp.
- f. 68 Historiated Initial: D.
A siren plays a vielle. (Bestiary illustration)
- f. 87v Historiated Initial: Singes.
A large ape carries two baby apes. A man holds a hunting horn and a club. A dog follows him. (Bestiary illustration)
- f. 218 Historiated Initial: Puis que nos.
In the center, a king, crowned and seated, holds a scepter. Standing behind him and to the left is a young man with a falcon on his wrist. Seated to the right of the king is a man who plays a vielle which has an open unstopable string, and frets.

F Pn fr. 567 TRESORS DE MAISTRE BRUNET LATIN. Late 13th c.

- f. 1 Margin: A man on foot plays a hunting horn as does another man on horseback. Facing them is a half-naked man riding backwards on a lion who plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 24v A man plays a portative organ with his right hand while operating the bellows with his left hand.
- f. 57 A hybrid with a bell hanging from his cap plays a vielle with a clearly depicted open unstopable string. There is a special peg for this string and the position of the player's thumb is also explicitly depicted. There are four pegs but only three strings on the fingerboard; the open string has its own separate peg. The bridge and tailpiece are also clearly depicted.

F Pn fr. 571 LIVRE KI EST APELÉS TREZORS DE BRUNET LATIN. 13th c.

- f. 28 A grid of twelve small rectangles.
The labors of the months?
Top row, second square from the left: Two figures with the torso of a man and tail of a fish are immersed in water up to the waist. The figure on the left plays a vielle. The figure on the right faces him wearing a coat of mail and helmet, and holding a sword and shield.

F Pn fr. 749 LE ROMAN DU ST. GRAAL DE ROBERT DE BORRON. 13th c.

- f. 36v Miniature: An angel hovers in the arches of a high building and blows a busine, presumably to awaken the people sleeping below. A king and queen, both crowned, point to the sleepers.

- f. 123 Margin: A man blows a hunting horn; two hounds chase a stag.

L'ESTOIRE DE MERLIN PAR ROBERT DE BORRON. f. 123.

- f. 319 Miniature: Five crowned figures (three kings and two queens?) are seated at a banquet table. Each person has a plate with a fish on it. Oranges and lemons are arranged on the table. A young man who also wears a crown plucks a harp with both hands. His eyes are closed apparently indicating that he is blind. A small dog on a leash is tied to the harpist's belt. Behind this musician is another young man who kneels, holding a serving dish. (See PLATE 57.)

- f. 321v Miniature: This is essentially the same as the previous scene on f. 319, but the banqueters seem to talk to each other and three of the dinner plates now contain roast fowl. The harpist and his dog have advanced closer to the center of the scene. The servant has disappeared and a knight now stands at the far left in front of the table. He seems to greet the musician.

F Pn fr. 770 LE ROMAN DU ST. GRAAL DE ROBERT DE BORRON.

- f. 110v Margin: A hybrid plays a vielle.

LI ROMANS DE MERLIN DE ROBERT DE BORRON. f. 122.

- f. 158 Margin: A hybrid plays an orange horn.

- f. 168v Margin: A hybrid wearing an orange "witch's cap" sings from a book.

F Pn fr. 770 (continued)

- f. 184 Margin: A hybrid plays a bagpipe.
- f. 192 Margin: A hybrid plays a pipe and tabor.
- f. 265 Margin: A hybrid wearing a suit of mail plays a harp.

F Pn fr. 776 LE ROMAN DE TRISTAN. 13th c.

- f. 4 Margin: A man playing a hunting horn and carrying a club chases a dog and a stag.
- f. 10v Margin: A man riding a horse holds a hunting horn to his mouth with his right hand and carries a club in his left hand. He follows a dog and a rabbit.
- f. 102 Margin: A hybrid plays a vielle.
- f. 140 v, 154, 205v, 167v Hunt scenes with hunting horn.
- f. 152 Margin: A hybrid plays a bagpipe.
- f. 230v Margin: Two men on horses blow straight trumpets while two other mounted men charge each other in a joust or combat.
- f. 231 Margin: A centaur playing a hunting horn and carrying a club chases a boar.
- f. 246 Margin: A hybrid plays a vielle.
- f. 271v Margin: A centaur plays a straight trumpet; two men on horses charge each other.
 Historiated Initial: Tant me . . .
 First letter for the text of a lay ("Lors commence son lay"). A king, crowned and holding a long scepter is seated. Behind him are three men who stand and in front of him a man sits plucking a harp with both hands.
- f. 291v Margin: A man plays a bagpipe while another dances.

F Pn fr. 783 LE ROMAN DE TROYE LA GRANT DE BENEVOIT DE SAINTE MORE.

- f. 48v Historiated Initial: C.
 Four men in a tower play straight trumpets.
- f. 69v Historiated Initial: C.
 Three men in a tower play busines. Below, two men dressed in armor ride horses.

F Pn fr. 884 CHANSONS NOTÉES ET JEUX-PARTIS. 13th c.

- f. 163 Historiated Initial: "Chancon fay, non pas viliainne.
 A mon pooir ai servi.
 Quant li tans jolis revient.
 Quant yvers et frois depart.
 Je chant en aventure."

This chanson was written by "Pierekins" or "Pieros de la Coupele." Inside the initial, a king, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over the right, plays a vielle. His pose is very similar to that of King David in the "Beatus" illustration but the setting is clearly secular, with flowing drapery behind the royal musician.

F Pn fr. 845 CHANSONS NOTÉES, JEUX-PARTIES, PASTOURELLES. 13th c.

- f. 1 Miniature: "Ce sont les chansons qui li rois Thibaut de Navarre fist."
 A king and queen, both crowned, are seated on the left. In the center, a man seated on a platform which is higher than that of the royal pair plays a vielle with the bow in his left hand and the instrument in the right. There are five more people who stand on the right.

F Pn fr. 854 RECUEIL DES POÉSIES DES TROUBADOURS, CONTENANT LEURS VIES.

- f. 49 Historiated Initial:
 "Cil cui plazon tut bon saber.
 Trop ai estat qu'en bon esper.
 Ben aiol mal e ll'afan ell cossir.
 Tot an me ten amors d'aitel faison.
 Los mals d'amor ai lu totz ben apres."
 Chanson by Perdigons.
 Inside the initial, Perdigons is depicted playing a vielle as in Pn fr. 12473, f. 36. (See PLATE 52, 53.)
- f. 123 Historiated Initial: Fins et leials e senes tot eujan.
 Chanson by Aimerics de Sarlat who is depicted inside the initial playing a pipe and tabor. The tabor is tied around his neck with a white cord and the pipe is very small and black. He strikes the tabor with a long slender black stick.
- f. 124 Historiated Initial:
 "Qui vol esser agradanz ni plazenz
 Per lo mon fan l'un dels autres rancura.
 Nulz hom non val ni deu esser presatz."
 Chanson by Montaignaot who is depicted inside the initial playing a harp. The instrument has an unusual shape and he plucks the strings with his right hand. (See PLATE 54.)

F Pn fr. 854 (continued)

- f. 133v Historiated Initial: "Ab joi comensa ma chanson.
En amor trob tanz de mals
seignoratges."
Chanson by Albertez de Gapenses who is depicted inside the initial playing a lute with a plectrum. (See PLATE 55.)

F Pn fr. 938 LA SOMME DES VICES ET DES VERTUS PAR FRÈRE LAURENT.
Copied by "Perin de Falons," October 1294.

- f. 2v Full-page illustration: Above, Moses receiving the Laws and throwing down the tablets. Below, three men play straight trumpets before the Golden Calf.
- f. 5v Small initial: A hybrid plays a vielle.
- f. 37 Half-page illustration: Four angels playing straight trumpets awaken the dead.
- f. 82 Full-page illustration: Lower right, King Saul, crowned and seated, with his left leg crossed over the right, points a spear at young David who kneels before him playing a harp (psaltery?). A crown is suspended over David's head, held by a hand in the sky. Although the instrument looks like a stylized harp, it is played with two plectra and held in the manner of a psaltery.
- f. 86 Full-page illustration: Top left, a queen holds a lion symbol with her right hand and a triangle and beater hang from her left hand. She wears white gloves.

F Pn fr. 1038 LA VIE DES SAINZ PERES, TRADUCTION COMPRENANT LI PROLOGUES, EN VERS, ADRESSÉ À BLANCHE DE NAVARRE, COMTESSE DE CHAMPAGNE. 13th c.

- f. 14v Historiated Initial: Pres.
A man with a long hooded robe and an orange halo stands on the left. Another man wearing a short tunic, black stockings and a little coif, stands on the right. He has an organistrum fastened around his neck with a green cord.

F Pn fr. 1161 LI ROUMANS DE SYNDRAK LE PHYLOZOPHE. 13th c.

- f. 13 Margin: An angel plays a vielle. The bow is held in its left hand and the instrument in its right hand.
- f. 29v Margin: A man wearing a high pointed cap plucks a harp with both hands.

F Pn fr. 1161 (continued)

- f. 28 Margin: An angel holds a straight trumpet.

F Pn fr. 1173 LE GIEU DES ESKIES PAR NICHOLAS DE S. NICHOLAI, DE LOMBARDIE. 13th c.

The following illustrations are all in the margins:

- f. 2 A man on the left plays a pipe and tabor. In the center is a large cauldron hanging from a tripod, and on the right, a man has a monkey on a leash.
- f. 3 A man plays a vielle.
- f. 129 A man plays a portative organ. There are two bellows which he operates with his left hand while playing the keyboard with his right.
- f. 138v A monkey using a large spoon as a bow, and a frying pan as an instrument, parodies playing a vielle.
- f. 153 A man holds a hunting horn to his mouth with his left hand and carries a spear in his right hand. A dog chases a stag.

F Pn fr. 1422 LANCELOT DU LAC PAR GAUTIER MAP. 13th c.

- f. 3 Margin: Two hybrids play a gittern and a vielle for a woman who dances. A man carries a portative organ.
- f. 50 Margin: A hybrid plays a vielle.

F Pn fr. 1424 LANCELOT DU LAC PAR GAUTIER MAP. 13th c.

- f. 115v Margin: An animal plays a wind instrument with a flared bell.
- f. 127v Margin: A monkey plays a gittern.

F Pn fr. 1433 YVAG, LE CHEVALIER AU LION PAR CHRESTIEN DE TROYES, f. 61.

- f. 60 Half-page illustration: Left, a group of men, a king, and a group of women. Right, a bishop wearing a mitered cap stands behind a table which is covered with a white cloth. A chalice wrapped in another white cloth stands on the table. There are two musicians at the end of the table; one holds a vielle to his chin and the other holds a portative organ.

F Pn fr. 1444 LI BESTIAIRES DEVINS PAR GUILLAUME LE NORMANT, f. 240.

- f. 245v Miniature: "De le seraune . . ."
On the left are two men in a boat with sails and oars. On the right are two sirens. One of the sirens who appears to be male, lifts a crude trumpet above his head as if in readiness to strike the men in the boat with it. The other siren, who appears to be female, plays a harp.

LE BESTIAIRE D'AMOURS PAR MAISTRE RICHART DE FURNIVAL,
f. 257.

- f. 259 Miniature: The sirens.
There are two men in a boat as on f. 245v, and two sirens who play a harp and a busine.

Miniature: (The second of three on this folio.)
The sirens. There are three men in a boat which has sails and oars, and two sirens, one on each side of the boat. The sirens strike the men with their trumpets (busines).

Miniature: The Aspic.
The aspic sleeps under a tree, on the left. A man who plays a harp approaches from the right.
- f. 262 Miniature: The Beaver.
A man playing a hunting horn and carrying a spear follows a large animal.
- f. 263v Miniature: The Ape-mother.
A man playing a hunting horn and carrying a large club follows the mother ape who carries her two children.

F Pn fr. 1448 LA CONQUÊTE D'ESPAGNE, f. 164.

- f. 164 Historiated Initial:
Or mescontes li grant et le menor,
Bone chanson de la geste francor . . .
A banquet scene with trees in the background. A king and queen are seated in the middle of a long table with one person to the right and one to the left of them. In front of the table is a young boy who sits with his left leg crossed over the right, and plays a vielle. The fingerboard and four pegs are clearly depicted on his instrument.

F Pn fr. 1463 LE ROMAN DE MELIADUS, PAR MAISTRE RUSTICIAN DE PISE.

- f. 91 Half-page illustration: A woman standing on the left plucks a large triangular harp with her right hand. A man standing in the center talks to two other men on the right, and points to the harpist. The depiction of the instrument is crude but it bristles with pegs in an amusing fashion.
- f. 99 Half-page illustration: The same woman who appeared in the previous illustration (f. 91) is seated and crowned, plucking the harp with her right hand. A man is seated opposite her and both of them are under a roof supported by arches. A man carrying a spear waits outside.

F Pn fr. 1533 LES MIRACLES DE NOSTRE DAME PAR GAUTIER DE COINSI, f. 37.

- f. 198v Historiated Initial: *La douce mere aucriator . . .* In the foreground on the left, a man plays a vielle before the Virgin and Child who are seated on a high platform in the middle. The Virgin has a halo around her head and the Christ-Child holds a book in its left hand. (See PLATE 29.)

F Pn fr. 1581 LI BRANCE DE RENART KE JAKEMARS GIELLEE, DE LISLE.

- f. 8v Miniature: The siege of a castle showing the animals battling from both sides of the walls. There is a catapult used in the assault. In the tower, an ass blows a straight trumpet.
- f. 19v Small initial: An animal riding a horse and wearing a crown, blows a hunting horn.
- f. 40v Miniature: A ship sails towards a castle tower. On board the ship, an animal blows a straight trumpet. Behind him is another animal with a crown and shield.

F Pn fr. 1589 LI CONTES DUCHEVAL DE FUST OU LE ROMAN DE MELIACIN, PAR GIRARDIN D'AMIENS.

- f. 4 Miniature: Five people are seated at a banquet table with the king and queen at the right end. A man wearing a gray cloak approaches the table, carrying a small gold statue of a man playing a straight trumpet.

F Pn fr. 1633 LI CONTES DE MELIACIN PAR GIRARDIN D'AMIENS.

- f. 4 Miniature: Six people are seated at a banquet table with the king and queen placed at the right end. A man wearing a red cloak approaches the table carrying a small gold statue of a naked man playing a white straight trumpet. This is essentially the same illustration as fr. 1589.

F Pa fr. 1951 LE BESTIAIRE D'AMOUR RIMET.

- f. 3 Miniature: "Le cigne qui chante melodieusement devant sa mort." At the left, a man stands plucking a harp with his right hand and tuning with a large tuning bar held in his left hand. Behind him are two trees and on the right is a large bird, the swan, with long legs and standing on land rather than swimming in the water. It faces the harpist. (See PLATE 44.)
- f. 8v Miniature: "Les serainnes qui endorment l'omme a leur chant et puis l'ocient." On the left are three sirens; one plucks a harp with its right hand, another holds a frame drum above its head with its right hand, and a pan-pipe in its left hand. On the right is a man who sleeps in a sailboat. The third siren, the one closest to the boat, hits the sleeping man over the head with her busine. This is definitely a wind instrument—even the mouthpiece is depicted. (See PLATE 45.)
- f. 9 Miniature: "Le serpent qui garde le basme qui s'asourdist pour ce que l'endorme." The serpent (aspic) sits under a tree in the center of the picture. Directly under the tree are two large pots of "balm" which the serpent guards. On the right is a man who plays a vielle. The detail for this instrument is excellent and there are clearly drawn frets. (See PLATE 46.)
- f. 15 Miniature: "L'oiseleur qui prent les oysiaus au brage." A man sits under a tree and plays a pipe which he holds with his left hand. With his right hand, he holds a long stick which controls the door of a bird-trap. Birds fly in the air above the trap. (See PLATE 51.)
- f. 17 Miniature: "Le lyon qui cuevre la trace de ses pies o sa queue." On the left, a man blows a hunting horn which he holds with his left hand. In his right hand, he holds a spear. There are three trees in the background and on the right is the lion who walks away from the hunter. (See PLATE 49.)
- f. 17v Miniature: "Argus qui aciex en la teste a cui mercurius embla la vache et ii trencha le chief." Mercury, who stands on the left, cuts off the many-eyed head of Argus who is seated on a bench in the center. At the feet of the executioner is a bagpipe. Io, transformed into a heifer, stands on the right and there are two trees in the background. (See PLATE 47.)

F Pn fr. 1951 (continued)

- f. 21 Miniature: "Le castor qui se chastre pour soi delivrer eu veneour qui le chace." On the left, a man holds a hunting horn near his mouth with his right hand. He holds a spear in his left hand. A large dog-like animal on the right, the "castor" or beaver, bites its testicles, castrating itself. (See PLATE 48.)

F Pn fr. 2186 LI ROMANZ DE LA POIRE.

- f. 34v Historiated Initial: "Cjusi nos mein ne limaus da amors."
A knight on horseback, his head concealed in a helmet, rides up to a castle tower where someone looks out of the window. Behind the knight are four men in secular dress. They have three instruments: a straight trumpet, a vielle, and a frame drum with a beater.

F Pn fr. 2824 HISTOIRE DE LA GUERRE SAINTE PAR GUILLAUME DE TYR.

- f. 21 Miniature: Three men stand in a tower; one plays a straight trumpet and another a pipe and tabor.
- f. 73v Miniature: A dead king is carried away on a stretcher as a new king, already seated on the throne, is being crowned. Two men play straight trumpets adorned with long red banners. Also pictured are a tonsured cleric and a noble lady.
- f. 119 Miniature: A large group of people stand in the doorway of a brightly colored tent, on the left. A king stands in front of other secular figures. Two tonsured clerics and a bishop wearing a mitred cap sing from a book held by one of the clerics. The words "Te deum laudamus te" are plainly written on the open page. At the right is a castle tower with soldiers looking out from the battlements. The tower door is open and a man walks out carrying two large keys. In the far right corner of the castle, flames are visible.

F Pn fr. 6447 RECUEIL D'HISTOIRES TIRE DE LA BIBLE.

- f. 10 Margin: On the left, a figure plays a crude vielle. Although his arm is in the appropriate position to play with a bow, the bow was never painted. On the right, a man holding a spear plays a hunting horn. There are little animals between these two figures.

F Pn fr. 6447 (continued)

- f. 233v Miniature: Christ in Majesty. Christ, seated in a mandorla, shows the wounds of the crucifixion. Angels with halos but no wings play crude trumpets from each of the four corners of the rectangle enclosing the mandorla.

F Pn fr. 9081 CHRONIQUE DE GUILLAUME DE TYR, French translation.

- f. 146 Historiated Initial: P. (Ci commence li XIII)
Above: a man wearing a suit of mail blows a busine from a tower, above a battle.
Below: the coronation of a king.
- f. 174 Historiated Initial: A. (Ci commence li XV)
Above: a bishop with a mitered cap, staff, and cross, stands in the center. Behind his back and to the left are four musicians who play a pipe and tabor, vielle, harp, and straight trumpet. To the right and facing the bishop are a king and several other men.
Below: a king sits between two men.

F Pn fr. 9082 CHRONIQUE DE GUILLAUME DE TYR ET DE SES CONTINUATEURS, JUSQU'EN 1275. French translation.

- f. 66v Historiated Initial: U.
A battle scene with men on horses shooting arrows at men on a castle wall. In the tower of the besieged castle a man blows a busine.
- f. 150v A figure playing a busine forms the initial "L".
- f. 171 Historiated Initial: N.
A king and armored knights are riding horses; one of the knights blows a hunting horn. A dog chases a rabbit. At the bottom of the illustration are a dead or wounded knight and his horse (both in the same condition!).

F Pn fr. 9220 VRIGIET DE SOLAS, OU VERGER DE CONSOLATION.

- f. 3v Miniature: King David, seated and crowned, and with a green halo, plucks his harp with his left hand while holding the top of the frame with his right hand.

F Pn fr. 9220 (continued)

- f. 10 Full page illustration: "Vita mundi."
The legend for this illustration is the same as that for Psg 2200, f. 166. The actual illustration is similar but not identical to the Ste. Geneviève manuscript. In the center, a queen with crown and scepter sits on a throne which is placed in the branches of a tree. On the ground and to the left of the tree are two musicians who play a straight trumpet and a vielle. Under them is the rubric "Gaudens in vanis quia mens tua semper inanis." On the right are a devil and a female figure who climbs a ladder. Below them is the rubric "Mors humana."
- f. 16 Medallion: The Seven Liberal Arts.
Musica is depicted as a woman playing a table organ. The pipes are blue and rather inexacty depicted, but the keyboard is very clearly detailed with alternating black and white keys. The medallion is accompanied by the following legend: "Invenire locum per me modulamina notum."

F Pn fr. 9574 APOCALYPSE in French. 13th c.

- f. 13v Miniature: The Lamb and the Twenty-four Elders.
In the center, a man wearing a grey tunic plays a vielle. The Elders are arranged in two groups to his right and left. Above his head is the Lamb surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists. On the left side are ten elders, three of whom play harps; on the right side are twelve elders, four of whom play harps. Their depiction is dominated by symmetry. Those on the left pluck with their right hands while those on the right pluck with their left hands. (See PLATE 32.)
- f. 20v and f. 21 Angels playing busines from the sky.
- f. 21v Miniature: An angel in the sky plays a busine from which liquid pours down to earth where four men drink it from chalices.
- f. 23 and f. 28v Angels playing busines from the sky.
- f. 39v Miniature: Seven angels with wings and halos play harps which they pluck with their right hands.

F Pn fr. 12467 RECEUIL D'ANCIENNES POÉSIES FRANCAISES. 13th c.

- f. 1 LES ENFANCES OGIER, POÈME DE ADENET LE ROI.
Margin: Aman dressed in a gray tunic and wearing a gold crown plays a large vielle. This is almost identical to the illustration for the same poem in Pa 3142, f. 73. The musician represents Adenet Le Roi.
- f. 53v Miniature: "Moralites sur ces vi. vers:
C'est la jus c'on dit es prés,
Jeu et bal i sont criés
Enmelos i veut aler
A sa mere en aquiert gres
per ideu fille vous nires
Trop y'a de bachelers aubal."
Two couples with hands joined, dance in a semicircle around a man who plays a pipe and tabor. The men have their mouths open singing while the women do not. A third young woman dressed in the same fashion as those who dance, stands on the right talking to her mother. (See PLATE 58.)

F Pn fr. 12469 BESTIAIRE D'AMOUR, PAR RICHARD DE FOURNIVAL, f. 1.

- f. 3 Miniature: The Swan. "Some del cysne."
Aman playing a crude harp faces the swan, a large bird which sits on the ground. They are between two trees.
- f. 6v Miniature: The Sirens.
Two sirens floating on the water play a harp and a busine. The instruments are crudely depicted.

Miniature: The Sirens.
The same two sirens lure a ship with the music of their instruments, a harp and busine.
- f. 7 Miniature: The Aspic.
A man playing a crude harp approaches the aspic which sits under a tree.
- f. 8 Miniature: The Swan. "Some del cysne."
A man plays a frame drum as he walks along. He holds the drum in his outstretched left hand and the beater in his right hand. The swan is not depicted at all.
- f. 25 BESTIAIRE, POÈME DE GUILLAUME LE CLERC.
Miniature: "Le sermim del Gopil."
In the lower right portion of this depiction, souls burn in hell. In the center, a man plays a vielle as he flirts with a woman standing at his left, who drinks from a chalice. Behind her are other people being served from a similar cup by a devil. Above this scene of debauchery are Christ (in the center) and a group of clerics on the right.

F Pn fr. 12473 CHANSONNIER PROVENÇAL (Vatican 3204). 13th c.

- f. 36 Historiated Initial: "Cil au plazon tut bon faber."
The troubadour Perdigons is depicted playing a vielle
as he is in the initial for the same chanson, Pn fr.
854, f. 49. (See PLATE 52, 53.)

F Pn fr. 19162 HISTOIRE DE MERLIN PAR ROBERT DE BORRON, f. 145.

- f. 145 Margin: A man plays a pipe and tabor while two
figures dance (paint effaced).
- f. 208v Margin: A man plays a pipe and tabor while a woman
dances.
- f. 314v Margin: A nude figure plays a wind instrument.
- f. 346 Miniature: Banquet scene with three people seated
at a table. The two figures on the right end of the
table wear crowns. To the right of the table is a
man who stands and plays a harp. A little white dog
is tied to his belt with a leash. There is another
figure to the right of the musician. This depiction
is very similar to the ones found with the same
story, Pn fr. 749.
- f. 357 Margin: A woman wearing a white headcloth and a
crown (Musica?) holds a portative organ with her
right hand. Her left hand is held as if to play the
instrument which has five pipes and two tongue-like
keys.

F Pn fr. 19166 RECUEIL DE TEXTES LITTÉRAIRES, EN PROSE ET EN VERS.
ROMAN DES SEPT SAGES, f. 1.

- f. 2 Miniature: The Seven Liberal Arts.
"Musique" is depicted as a queen who sits on a
platform and plays a carillon of four bells with two
long white mallets. Below the bells and to her right
is a portative organ.
- f. 31v MARQUÉS DE ROME, f. 31.
Miniature: Banquet scene. Two women and a king are
seated at a table. A servant kneels in front of the
table and presents a platter with a large fish. At
the left corner of the table, a musician plays a
vielle.

F Pn fr. 19166 (continued)

- f. 74 Miniature: Banquet scene. A bareheaded man sits between two women at a table which is placed under a canopy. To the left of the table is a musician who plays a vielle. The paint of this illustration is damaged.

F Pn fr. 24394 ROMAN DE MERLIN PAR ROBERT DE BORRON, f. 108.

- f. 264v Miniature: Banquet scene with three queens and two kings seated at a table. A musician plucks a boars-head psaltery with the fingers of both hands. A small white dog is tied to his arm with an orange leash. See the similar illustrations for this Roman in Pn fr. 749 and fr. 19162 where the musician plays a harp.

F Pn fr. 24406 RECUEIL DE 301 CHANSONS, JEUX-PARTIES, ETC., ANONYMES DANS CE MANUSCRIT, MAIS QUI SE TROUVENT, NÉANMOINS, GROUPÉS PAR AUTEUR.

- f. 1 Miniature: On the left is a man who plays a vielle. A king and queen sit and listen to the musician. Immediately below the miniature is a chanson which begins with the text: "Amours ma fet commencer une chanson nouvele." The vielle is clearly depicted with three strings, three pegs, a tailpiece and frets. See Pn fr. 845, f. 1 for a similar illustration of a chanson.

F Pn fr. 25532 MIRACLES NOSTRE DAME, QUE DANZ GAUTIER DE COINSI, MOINES DE S. MAART DE SOISSONS, FIST.

- f. 104v Decorated Initial: A winged hybrid plays a vielle. His torso becomes part of the interlace of the initial. Details of the instrument are well-depicted with a prominent bridge and tailpiece.
- f. 166 Historiated Initial: V. Part of this initial has been cut out, but the group of people on the left was apparently standing before the Virgin Mary. There remains the base of what must have been a pedestal, on the right. The group of people is composed of a courtly lady, a tonsured cleric, and two other men all of whom stand. In front of them is a man who kneels and plays a vielle. See the similar illustration for "Les Miracles" Pn fr. 1533, f. 198v.

F Pn fr. 25566 LI BESTIAIRES MAISTRE RICHART DE FURNIVAL, f. 83.

- f. 85 Miniature: "Li cysnee qui sacorte a le harpe."
On the left, a man plays a harp and faces a large bird, the swan, which stands on the right.
- f. 87v Miniature: "Les ay manieres de seraines."
There are three sirens. Two of them play instruments, a wind instrument with holes in it ("busine") and a harp. The third siren presumably sings.
- Miniature: "Comment li seraine ochist lomme."
There are two sirens in this depiction. One of them holds a harp while the other hits a man in the boat over the head with an object which appears to be one of his oars.
- f. 88 Miniature: "Li serpens qui ibarde le basine."
On the left is a man who plays a harp to enchant the serpent (aspic) which sits under a tree on the right.
- f. 90 Miniature: "Cest argus que on endort."
On the left, a man plays a wind instrument which is literally "decorated" with a great number of finger holes. Argus, his head covered with eyes, sits on a small hill in the center. On the right is Io who has been transformed into a heifer.
- f. 91 Miniature: "Cest li oastowes." (Beaver)
On the left, a man holds a hunting horn to his mouth with his left hand while holding a spear in his right hand. His dog stands at his side. On the right is the beaver who bites its testicles.
- f. 93v Miniature: "Oz li singelle fuit a tout ses .y. faons."
On the left, a man holds a hunting horn to his mouth with his left hand while holding a club in his right hand. His dog is at his side. They follow the ape-mother who carries her two babies.

F Pn lat. 11 BIBLE. French, late 12th - early 13th c.

- f. 174 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with a prominent tuning bar held in his left hand, and plucks with his right.

F Pn lat. 11 (continued)

- f. 181v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
A man who is bareheaded and wears a secular costume stands and holds a busine to his mouth with both hands.
- f. 183 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
A man who is bareheaded and wears a secular costume faces forward with his mouth closed. He holds a long scroll stretched between his hands.

F Pn lat. 15 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 216v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over the right, plucks a harp with both hands.
- f. 231v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
A tonsured cleric faces a lectern and holds a large book. He looks upwards and sings with his mouth wide open. Red staff lines and black neumes are clearly depicted on the open pages of the book.

F Pn lat. 16 BIBLE. French, late 12th - early 13th c.

- f. 200v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, plucks his harp with his left hand. His right hand is not visible.
- f. 213 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of three blue bells (clappers visible), with two brown mallets.
- f. 215v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with a large open book. One of the clerics holds the pages open. Both have their mouths closed.

F Pn lat. 20 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 220v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", God the Father.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right. The harp is depicted in an unusual manner with three pairs of strings and a prominent knob above each pair.

F Pn lat. 20 (continued)

f. 233v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of three grey bells, with one yellow mallet which he holds with both hands.

f. 236 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Seven tonsured clerics stand in two rows (three in front and four in back) facing a lectern. The cleric on the right end of the front row holds a piece of parchment above the lectern. The cleric standing next to him raises one hand towards heaven. All have their mouths closed.

f. 402 Tree of Jesse: King David holds a harp.

F Pn lat. 24 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

f. 209v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right.

F Pn lat. 27 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

f. 201 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right.

f. 208v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of five grey bells, with two large brown mallets.

f. 210 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with a large open book. There are marks on the pages which suggest staff and neumes. Both clerics have their mouths closed.

F Pn lat. 30 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

f. 4v Full-page initial with scenes of a hunt: rabbits, birds, wild pigs, dogs, and hunters with bows and arrows as well as three figures playing horns fill the interlace.

f. 191 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right. Although the shape and manner of playing are clearly those of a harp, there are decorated soundholes and a soundboard depicted behind the strings.

F Pn lat. 30 (continued)

- f. 201 Margin: A man playing a busine stands on top of the historiated initial "Stabunt". A rabbit sits on the lower branch of the letter.
- f. 203v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of three pink bells, with two very slender white mallets.
- f. 206 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book. The cleric who is closest to the book points to the page. All have their mouths closed.
- f. 378v Margin: A man playing a busine stands on top of the historiated initial "H".
- f. 407v Margin: A hybrid at the base of the initial "P" wears a large bell around its neck.

F Pn lat. 32 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 245 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right.
- f. 261 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four white bells, with two white mallets.
- f. 264 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics stand looking upwards. The cleric on the far right holds an open book. There is no lectern.

F Pn lat. 33 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 219v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, plucks a harp with both hands.
- f. 232v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four blue bells, with two very delicate white mallets. On the ground at David's feet is a green harp.
- f. 235 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book.

F Pn lat. 39 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 236 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, plucks a harp with his right hand and holds the frame with his left hand.
- f. 250v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four blue bells, with two tan mallets.
- f. 253 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three men wearing cowed monk's robes but with full heads of hair, face a lectern with an open book. The man closest to the lectern holds the book with both hands and looks at it with his mouth closed. The man behind him sings with his mouth open. Only the top of the head is visible for the third figure.

F Pn lat. 40 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 199v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", God the Father.
- f. 211v Historiated Initial: Laudate.
This initial becomes part of an architectural structure with three levels.
Above: A secular figure plays a lute.
Middle: A cowed monk plays a harp.
Below: There is a large group of people wearing secular clothing. Two men play straight trumpets and a third man plays a horn and frame drum. A man on the far left and four men on the right listen.
- f. 214 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a large lectern. One cleric holds an open book above the lectern while another looks on. The third cleric who stands behind them looks upwards and sings with his mouth open.
- f. 352 Historiated Initial: Liber.
A Tree of Jesse with King David who plays a harp.

- F Pn lat. 41 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.
- f. 198 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, plucks a harp with his right hand. His left hand is not visible.
 - f. 209v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, pulls a cord to ring a tiny white bell above his head.
 - f. 212 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a very high draped lectern which holds an open book. Both men appear to sing.
- F Pn lat. 108 PSALM COMMENTARY. French, late 13th - early 14th c.
- f. 2 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with a tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks with the thumb and index finger of his right hand.
 - f. 172 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
A man wearing secular clothing holds a busine.
 - f. 202v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
One tonsured cleric faces a lectern with a large book which he holds open with both hands. He sings with his mouth open.
- F Pn lat. 162 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.
- f. 183v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, holds the frame of his harp with his right hand and tunes with a large tuning bar held in his left hand.
 - f. 195 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, faces a wheel of six (and presumably eight since the symmetry would indicate that two other bells are covered by the initial) bells. He holds a mallet in his right hand and his left hand rests on his knee.
 - f. 197 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Five tonsured clerics face a lectern which holds a page of writing.

F Pn lat. 167 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 153 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with a tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks one string with the thumb and first two fingers of his right hand. The tuning bar is not placed above the same string which he plucks.
- f. 162 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four grey bells, with two large white mallets.
- f. 164 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with a large open book. They look directly overhead rather than at the book.

F Pn lat. 177 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 232 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, holds his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right hand in which there is a prominent black rod--apparently a kind of plectrum.

F Pn lat. 178 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 259v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, plucks the strings of his harp with the thumb and index finger of his right hand. His left hand is not visible.
- f. 275 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of three bells, with two mallets.
- f. 278 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
One tonsured cleric faces a lectern and holds a book which rests on the lectern.

F Pn lat. 179 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 248 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with a large tuning bar held in his left hand, and plucks with his right hand.
- f. 263v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over the right, rings four large grey bells with his bare hands. He is actually touching one of the bells with his right hand.
- f. 266v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book. The cleric closest to the book looks at it while the second one who stands behind the first, looks backwards in the opposite direction.

F Pn lat. 182 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 158 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand, and plucks with his right.
- f. 168 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four grey bells, with two mallets of different colors (red and yellow).

F Pn lat. 198 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 260v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand, and plucks with his right.
- f. 276 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four bells, with two mallets. The bells are tied to the frame of the letter "E".
- f. 279 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book.

F Pn lat. 200 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 213 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right. The harp strings are arranged in pairs.

F Pn lat. 200 (continued)

- f. 224v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of three blue bells, with two blue mallets.
- f. 227 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book. One of the clerics holds the book with his right hand.

F Pn lat. 203 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 239 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand, and plucks with his right.
- f. 253v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of three tan bells (clappers visible), with two white mallets. He does this in such a way that his right arm crossed over the left. A harp leans against David's seat.
- f. 256 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face the right but there is no lectern. The cleric on the extreme right holds an open book.

F Pn lat. 205 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 223 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, plucks a harp with his right hand. His left hand is not visible.
- f. 235v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four grey bells (clappers visible), with two very large mallets. His hands cross in the same manner as Pn lat. 203, f. 253v.

F Pn lat. 208 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 284v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand, and plucks with his right.

F Pn lat. 211 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 276 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right.
- f. 291v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, faces a carillon of three bells (red-yellow-red). He holds a large mallet in his right hand. His left hand is extended in a similar manner but the fist is empty.
- f. 294 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two clerics, neither of whom seems to be tonsured, face a lectern with an open book.

F Pn lat. 212 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 217v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand, and plucks with his right.
- f. 229v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four blue bells, with two large blue mallets.
- f. 232 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured and bearded clerics face a lectern with an open book. The cleric on the right holds the book with both hands.

F Pn lat. 214 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 192 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, and depicted as an old man with white hair and beard, holds his harp with his right hand and tunes with his left.
- f. 290 Tree of Jesse. David is depicted as a young man wearing a crown and holding a harp.

F Pn lat. 221 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 215v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with a tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks with his right hand.

F Pn lat. 221 (continued)

- f. 231 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of three bells, with two mallets.
- f. 234 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book.

F Pn lat. 227 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 306v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand, and plucks with his right.
- f. 324 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of three brown bells (clappers visible), with two white mallets.
- f. 327v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with a book which the closest cleric holds open with his right hand.

F Pn lat. 228 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 238 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand, and plucks with his right.
- f. 253v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned and depicted with wavy blond hair, strikes a carillon of three bells, with two mallets.
- f. 256v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face the right but there is no lectern. One cleric holds an open book.

F Pn lat. 232 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 68v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", there is a portrait of a man's head which is bearded and surrounded by an orange halo.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", there is a bust portrait of David as a young boy wearing an orange hat and holding a harp up near his face. He plucks the harp with the thumb and middle finger of his right hand.

F Pn lat. 232 (continued)

- f. 77v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
Bust portrait of a young man who beats a frame drum which he holds in his left hand using a curved stick held in the right hand.
- f. 79v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book. The cleric closest to the lectern holds the book with his right hand. The other cleric stands behind him and sings with his mouth wide open.

F Pn lat. 233A BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 272v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand, and plucks with the right.
- f. 290 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of three blue bells (clappers visible), with two grey mallets.
- f. 293 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book which the cleric on the right holds with his right hand.

F Pn lat. 238 PSALTER. French, late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 114v Full-page painting: Christ in Majesty.
Christ is seated in the center; above and below him are two angels. In each of the four corners there is a man in secular costume playing an instrument: 1) busine, 2) vielle played vertically on the lap, 3) vielle played on the shoulder, 4) harp.
- f. 132v Full-page initial: Tree of Jesse.
King David is seated above Jesse's head and plays a figure-eight vielle held vertically on his lap.

F Pn lat. 248¹ BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.
This manuscript is known as the "Bible of Phillip the Fair," King of France 1285-1314.

- f. 427 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, his left leg crossed over the right, plucks a harp with both hands.

F Pn lat. 248¹ (continued)

- f. 452 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over the right, strikes a carillon of four gold bells, with two small white mallets. David wears white gloves.
- f. 457 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book. The cleric closest to the lectern holds the book with both hands.

F Pn lat. 409 PSALM COMMENTARY by Peter Lombard. Late 12th - early 13th c.

- f. 2v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand, and plucks with his right. The details are very clear and consistent; there are nine strings and nine pegs. The tuning bar is clearly fit over a peg and the right hand plucks the same string that is being tuned.

F Pn lat. 423 PSALM COMMENTARY by Peter Lombard. French, 13th c.

- f. 2 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, plays a harp.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
- f. 145v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four grey bells (clappers visible), with two mallets which have white handles and orange heads.
- f. 169 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book. The cleric on the right holds the bottom of the pages with both hands while the other cleric holds the top left corner of the book with one hand.

F Pn lat. 448 PSALM COMMENTARY by Peter Lombard. French, 13th c.

- f. 2 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, plucks his harp with his right hand and tunes with his left. The tuning bar is placed directly above the string which he plucks.

F Pn lat. 448 (continued)

- f. 165 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four grey bells (clappers visible), with two brown mallets.
- f. 192 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern which holds a small open book.

F Pn lat. 688 APOCALYPSE. French, 13th c.
This manuscript is related to Pn fr. 403 and Pa 5214.

- f. 3v Miniature: Christ in Majesty and the Elders.
Christ is seated in the center and surrounded by four groups of Elders, many of whom play instruments. The illumination was never finished and most of the instruments remain ink sketches.
Upper left: harp, psaltery, psaltery, vielle.
Lower left: organistrum, figure-eight vielle.
Upper right: straight trumpet, table organ.
Lower right: unidentified instrument, harp.
- f. 4v Miniature: Christ and six angels; the Elders bow down offering their crowns. In the lower left two Elders have instruments, a harp and a vielle.
- f. 5 Miniature: The Lamb of God and the Elders.
The Elders are arranged in four groups of six. Some of the Elders in three of these groups have instruments.
Upper left: harp, vielle. Lower left: no instruments.
Upper right: straight trumpet, harp, vielle.
Lower right: psaltery, handbell.
- f. 5v Miniature: Christ and the Lamb, Angels, Elders.
Two of the Elders offer both vials of perfume and harps.
- f. 10 Miniature: Christ in Majesty and the distribution of the trumpets. Christ, who is seated in the center, watches as an angel distributes busines.
- f. 11, 11v, 12, 12v, 13v, 14, 18v Angels blowing busines.
- f. 17v Miniature: Rejoicing and merry-making around the bodies of the dead prophets. Two dead men whose heads are split open, lie in the foreground. Behind them are four male musicians and a female dancer. The musicians play a vielle, a straight trumpet, pipe and tabor, and a pair of cymbals. On the left, two seated men observe

F Pn lat. 688 (continued)

- f. 17v (continued) the musicians, and on the right, three men talk among themselves. St. John peeks through a hole in the wall to watch the scene. (See PLATE 27.)
- f. 30v Miniature: Three of the Elect play harps. In front of them is a lake of fire and behind them, perched on a little hill, is the Lamb of God.
- f. 38v Miniature: Eight angels blow busines.

F Pn lat. 770 PSALTER. French, 13th c.

- f. 38v Miniature: The Jealousy of Saul. On the left, King Saul, seated on a throne, points a spear at young David who appears in a separate frame on the right. David is depicted as a young man wearing a short tunic. He stands next to a tree and holds his harp with his right hand, plucking with the thumb and index finger of his left hand. (See PLATE 14.)

F Pn lat. 796 BREVIARY. Late 12th - early 13th c.

- f. 212v Decorated Initial: Factus. The acrobatic figure of a young girl in courtly dress and with long yellow braids, holds a well-detailed rebec and bow. For an analysis of this unusual illustration, see Jos. Smits van Waesberghe, "Eine merkwürdige Figur und ihr musik-geometrisches Geheimnis," Festschrift Bruno Stäblein (Barenreiter: Kassel, 1967) 234-8; and Smits van Waesberghe, Musikerziehung. Lehre und Theorie der Musik im Mittelalter. Musikgeschichte in Bildern, Bd. III/3 (VEB: Leipzig, 1969) 66.
- f. 235v Large Initial "E" containing Christ in Majesty and eight medallions, some of which contain musicians. They play a shawm (the reed is actually discernible), a busine, a harp and a rebec. There is also an acrobat.

F Pn lat. 1022 BREVIARY AND MISSEL. 13th c.

- This manuscript was originally used by the monks of St. Victor of Paris.
- f. 193 Historiated Initial: Beatus. King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right.

F Pn lat. 1023 BREVIAIRY. Paris, 13th c.

This manuscript is said to have been the Breviary of Phillip the Fair, King of France 1285-1314.

- f. 36v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over the right, plucks a harp with both hands. On the right is another man (bareheaded) who is also seated and plays a psalter with red strings, using two plectra. To the left and behind David is a bearded man who holds a page of music and sings. There is a fourth figure who also holds a page, but he looks over the corner onto the page of the singer. Behind him are two men who play straight trumpets. Above the heads of David and the psalter player is an altar with a large reliquary box.

- f. 42 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
King David kneels in an attitude of prayer with his hands clasped in front of him, but sings with his mouth open. Above on the right is the Nativity with Mary, Joseph, the Christ Child, and the animals. Below on the right are two shepherds one of whom stands and gestures towards the sky while the other is seated and holds a bagpipe.

F Pn lat. 1038 BREVIAIRY. Late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 1 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, plays a peculiar rectangle-shaped harp.

F Pn lat. 1041 BREVIAIRY. Late 13th - early 14th c.

- f. 27v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of five white bells (clappers visible), with two brown mallets.

F Pn lat. 1073A PSALTER AND BOOK OF HOURS. 13th and 14th c.

The first part of this manuscript containing the initials cited below, was executed before 1220.

- f. 17 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, plays a harp with both hands. The depiction of his hands is excellent.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.

F Pn lat. 1073A (continued)

- f. 87 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over the right, strikes a carillon of five grey bells (clappers visible), with two mallets which have green handles and grey heads.

F Pn lat. 1075 PSALTER. French, 13th c.

- f. 19 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand, and plucks with his right.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
- f. 139 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four gold bells (clappers visible), with two brown mallets. Below the bells is a yellow harp.
- f. 161 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book.

F Pn lat. 1076 PSALTER. French, 13th c.

This manuscript was used by Franciscans and contains the obituaries of both Innocent III (1198-1216) and Gregory IX (1227-1241).

- f. 7 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, plucks a harp with both hands. An angel musician stands on each arm of his throne. The one on the left plays a gittern, and the one on the right plays a lyra da braccio.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
Margin: A man standing just to the left of the initial "B" carries a portative organ which he plays with his right hand. He operates the bellows with his left hand. (See PLATE 4.)
- f. 9 Margin: A figure wearing a robe and headcloth plays a wind instrument.
- f. 16 Margin: A man plays a bagpipe.

F Pn lat. 1076 (continued)

- f. 102 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of seven grey bells, with two white mallets.
Margin: A hybrid adjacent to the initial "E" plays a pipe and tabor. He is depicted in profile so that both the fipple mouthpiece and his embouchure are clearly detailed. At the top of the page, a seated man plays a vielle. (See PLATE 5.)
- f. 120v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with a large open book. Black neumes, a staff and the word "cantate" are written on the page. The cleric on the right points to the book with his left hand and the cleric on the left sings. (See PLATE 6.)

F Pn lat. 1077 PSALTER AND BOOK OF HOURS. French, 13th c.

- f. 4 Calendar illustration with two medallions.
Above: A man stands and plays a vielle.
Below: The Gemini Twins.
- f. 8v Full-page painting: Tree of Jesse.
King David, seated and crowned, plucks a peculiar "D" shaped harp with both hands.
- f. 81 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of three white bells (no clappers visible), with two white mallets.
- f. 93v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book. The closest cleric holds the book with both hands. All three sing.
- f. 156v Historiated Initial: Dominus.
One tonsured cleric stands facing a lectern with an open book which he holds with both hands. His mouth is open and he appears to sing.
- f. 200v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
A bust portrait of a tonsured cleric who holds an open book. His mouth is clearly open and painted red as if to emphasize that fact.
- f. 202v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Same as f. 200v.

F Pn lat. 1328 PSALTER AND BOOK OF HOURS. Arras, 13th c.

- f. 17 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", David is seated but wears no crown. He tunes his harp with a prominent tuning bar held in his left hand, and plucks with his right hand.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
- f. 98v Margin: A figure wearing a grey robe stands and plays a psalterly using two plectra.
- f. 101v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over the right, strikes a carillon of three grey bells (clappers visible), with two small grey mallets.
- f. 118v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Four men stand in the center of the initial. Three of them face straight out of the page and one faces a lectern with an open book. Although they wear clerics' robes, none of them is tonsured. The mouths of the two in the back are open singing while the mouths of the two in front are shut. One cleric points to the lectern.
Margin: A man stands, playing a pipe and tabor. The tabor has a snare and the pipe has three finger holes.
- f. 194 Margin: A man wearing a grey robe holds a portative organ.
- f. 211v Historiated Initial: Deus.
Annunciation to the Shepherds. A shepherd who is surrounded by his sheep and holds a bagpipe, looks up at a figure in the clouds who points to a banderole.
- f. 219v Margin: A hybrid plays a vielle.

F Pn lat. 2495B HUGO DE FOLIETO. DE BESTIIS ET ALIIS REBUS. 13th c.

- f. 1v Miniature: A woman seated on the left shelters a unicorn in her lap. Two men on horses approach from the right, one carrying a spear and the other blowing a hunting horn.
- f. 3 Miniature: Two animals and a hunter. The hunter carries a club and blows a hunting horn.

F Pn lat. 2495B (continued)

f. 31v Miniature: Virtually identical to f. 1v.

f. 32v Miniature: Virtually identical to f. 3v.

F Pn lat. 6755 (2) TRACTATUS DE LAMBERTUS. French, late 12th - early 13th c.

f. Av^o Full page illustration: King David and his musicians. King David, seated and crowned, holds a harp on his lap and a tuning bar in his extended right hand. A musician sits in each corner of the page: 1) carillon of eight bells, 2) rebec and bow, 3) busine and hand-bell, 4) panpipe. (See PLATE 8.)

F Pn lat. 7936 BUCOLICA VIRGILII. French, 13th c.

f. 1 Historiated Initial: C.
A man sits under a tree, his left leg crossed over the right, and plays a wind instrument. To the right of the tree is a goat which stands on its hind feet eating leaves from the top of the tree.

f. 19v Historiated Initial: A.
A man plays a busine from a castle tower. Below him is a very large and heavily armored knight.

f. 53v Historiated Initial: U.
A man blows a busine from a castle tower. Below, an armored knight stands in front of the door.

F Pn lat. 8846 PSALTER WITH GLOSS. 13th c.
Facsimile published by Omont, H; Psautier illustré. This is a triple psalter with the hebraica, romana and gallica texts in parallel columns. In addition, there is a gloss and French translation.

f. 50 Half-page illustration: Psalm XXX.
In the lower right corner, a man plays a trumpet. He is depicted in profile and there is good detail of his embouchure and hands.

f. 54v Half-page illustration: Psalm XXXIII.
In the upper right corner there are four men with instruments: harp, rebec, vielle played vertically on the lap, psaltery. The harp is plucked with the right hand and tuned with the left. The tuning bar is very prominent.

F Pn lat. 8846 (continued)

- f. 70 Half-page illustration: Psalm XXXIX.
Among other scenes, a man with two hunting dogs on a leash, blows a hunting horn.
- f. 73v Half-page illustration: Psalm XLI.
In the lower left, there is a banquet scene with five men seated at the table. A young man pours from a pitcher. To the right of the table are two musicians who play a harp and busine.
- f. 75 Half-page illustration: Psalm XLII.
A man wearing the pointed cap characteristic of medieval depictions of Jews holds a harp. A hand in the clouds sends "rays" down to him.
- f. 81v Half-page illustration: Psalm XLVI.
Five men standing on battlements hold instruments: rebec, vielle, harp, vielle, psaltery.
- f. 84 Half-page illustration: Psalm XLVIII.
Among other scenes, a group of three men in secular clothing. The figure on the left holds a psaltery with five pairs of strings.
- f. 86v Half-page illustration: Psalm XLIX.
A crowned figure has two shofars (animal horns) on his lap. Lines of energy or sound emanate from the horns.
- f. 107 Half-page illustration: Psalm LXII.
A group of very dignified old men (The Elders of the Apocalypse?) actually play the following instruments: bagpipe, vielle, lute, psaltery, lute, and portative organ.
- f. 114 Half-page illustration: Psalm LXVIII.
A group of angels, all female, play the following instruments: psaltery, portative organ, vielle, psaltery (?), lute, cymbals, and pipe and tabor.
- f. 154v Half-page illustration: Psalm LXXXVII.
King David is seated on a throne and plays a psaltery. Seven dignified old men (The Elders of the Apocalypse?) play instruments: pipe and tabor, portative organ, vielle, lute, psaltery, lute, and psaltery. Immediately to the right of this group is a depiction of the empty cross and six angels who hold the instruments of the passion.

F Pn lat. 8846 (continued)

- f. 166 Half-page illustration: Psalm XCII.
Christ in Majesty is surrounded by two groups of men (The Elders). Everyone in the front row plays a small lute or gittern as those in the back row presumably do also.
- f. 173 Half-page illustration: Psalm XCVII.
On the left are elders, two of whom play instruments: a pipe and tabor and a portative organ. On the right are young people who play a psaltery, a lute, a bagpipe, and a vielle. Above is the Virgin surrounded by six angels.

F Pn lat. 8865 DIVERS OPUSCULES. French, 13th c.

- EXPOSITION APOCALYPSIS, f. 3v-f. 65.
- f. 35 Full-page illustration: Christ in Majesty, The Lamb and The Elders.
Sixteen of the Elders hold vielles of various shapes but all having three strings. In their other hand, they hold cups. There are no bows. Two other Elders play harps with both hands.
- f. 36v Two-page illustration: The Last Judgement.
Two angels play busines and one angel plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 37 and 38v Angels playing straight trumpets.
- f. 57v Charts of the constellations: Lyra.
A very stylized six-string lyre has six stars which determine its shape and make up the constellation.

F Pn lat. 8873 PSALM COMMENTARY by Peter Lombard. French, 13th c.

- f. 3v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, plucks a harp with both hands.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.

F Pn lat. 8892 ÉVANGILES DES GRANDES FÊTES, POUR LA SAINTE-CHAPELLE.

- f. 5v Margin illustration: Annunciation to the shepherds.
The scene consists of three shepherds, three sheep, and an angel in the clouds who holds a banderole. The youngest shepherd holds a bagpipe with both hands placed on the chanter pipe as if to play. The air pipe, however, is not in his mouth.

F Pn lat. 10426 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

This Bible is said to have belonged to St. Louis.

- f. 290 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over the right, tunes his harp with his left hand, and plucks with his right.
- f. 307 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over the right, strikes a carillon of four lavender bells (clappers visible), with two mallets which have white handles and gold heads.
- f. 310v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with a large open book. Only one face is visible but that cleric sings.

F Pn lat. 10428 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 165 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
David, seated and wearing a hat, plucks a harp with his right hand. His left hand is not visible. The form of the harp is a simple angle with no hypotenuse, and four pairs of strings.
- f. 182 Margin: A young man stands and plays a busine.

F Pn lat. 10434 PSALTER. French, 13th c.

- f. 7 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over the right, holds his harp with his left hand and plucks with the right.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
- f. 95v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four blue bells (clappers visible), with two mallets which have brown handles and white heads.
- f. 111 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern in the form of a large white eagle on whose back rests an open book. Both clerics look straight ahead rather than at the book.

F Pn lat. 10435 PSALTER. French, late 13th c.

- f. 1 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B",
a king sits and plays a vielle. A queen seated at
his left and on the same bench, listens.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B",
David and Goliath.
- f. 1v Margin: A monkey plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 4v Margin: A hybrid holds a bagpipe.
- f. 10v Margin: A monkey holds a vielle as if to play but
has no bow.
Small initial: Saluum.
An angel playing a straight trumpet calls the dead.
- f. 13 Margin: A dog plays a busine.
- f. 22 Margin: A hybrid plays a vielle but has no bow. An
ass plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 24 Margin: A hybrid plays a bagpipe.
- f. 30v Margin: A hybrid plays a vielle.
- f. 40 Margin: A hybrid plays a gittern using a long pluc-
trum. Another hybrid plays a tambourine whose jingles
are clearly depicted.
- f. 50v Small Initial: D.
There are two men, one of whom plays a busine.
- f. 55 Margin: A hybrid holds a bagpipe.
- f. 67 Margin: A monkey wearing the coweled cloak of a
cleric plays a horn and faces a rabbit which also
plays a horn.
- f. 79v Margin: A hybrid plays a vielle.
- f. 82v Margin: A naked man sitting on the ground plays a
straight trumpet for sheep who listen. A hybrid
plays a vielle.
- f. 86 Margin: Two hybrids hold straight trumpets.
- f. 88 Margin: A hybrid plays a bagpipe.

F Pn lat. 10435 (continued)

- f. 94 Margin: A hybrid with a female torso plays a vielle.
A hybrid with a male torso plays a psaltery, using
two plectra.
- f. 96v Margin: A dog plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 98v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "E",
"Comment Dieu fait Adam."
Below: In the lower register of the initial "E",
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon
of four grey bells, with two mallets.
- f. 107v Margin: A small lion plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 117 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Above: "Dieu fait Eve del rolte Adam."
Below: Three tonsured clerics face a lectern with
an open book on whose pages staff and neumes are
indicated. All sing with their mouths open.
Margin: A young man plays a vielle and a woman dances.
- f. 127 Margin: A naked man plays a vielle but has no bow.
- f. 130v Margin: A man blows a hunting horn and carries a
club; to the right of him are three monkéys. (Bes-
tiary illustration?)
- f. 137 Margin: A monkey wearing a cowl holds a straight
trumpet to his ear with his right paw, and holds a
gold ball in his left paw.
- f. 138v Margin: A hybrid plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 140 Margin: A dog plays a vielle, a rabbit holds a
straight trumpet.
- f. 140v Margin: A hybrid holds a straight trumpet.
- f. 143v Margin: A hybrid plays a vielle.
- f. 145 Margin: A hybrid plays a double-pipe with two
parallel tubes.
- f. 145v Margin: A hybrid holds a bagpipe.
- f. 146 Margin: A hybrid plucks a gittern.

F Pn lat. 10435 (continued)

- f. 147 Margin: Two hybrids face each other; one plays a straight trumpet and the other a recorder-like instrument.
- f. 148 Margin: A monkey who is seated plays a vielle.
- f. 149 Margin: A dog plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 151 Margin: A seated nude plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 158v and f. 170v Margin: A rabbit plays a trumpet.
- f. 173v Small initial: Laudate Jerusalem dominum.
A man wearing a grey robe kneels and plays a vielle.
- f. 179 Margin: A hybrid plays a vielle.
Two hybrids face each other and play straight trumpets.
- f. 181 Margin: A hybrid plays a straight trumpet.

F Pn lat. 10474 GLOSS ON THE APOCALYPSE. French, 13th c.

- f. 1v Half-page illustration: The City of Heaven.
There are seven buildings, each labelled with a name and with an angel on top. A straight trumpet extends from the clouds along with the head and pointing finger of an angel.
- f. 7 Ink drawing: The Twenty-four Elders.
Eight of the Elders hold harp frames (no strings depicted) above their heads, extending them towards Christ. The remaining Elders hold vials of perfume.
- f. 11v Ink drawing: Christ and the Four Evangelist Symbols.
There are also six angels, all of whom carry busines.
- f. 12v, 13, 13v, 15v, 20 Angels blow busines.
- f. 19 Half-page drawing: Rejoicing and merry-making around the bodies of the dead prophets. A large group of people are in a space enclosed by a stone wall. In front are the bodies of the two prophets. There are four musicians in the group. One man plays a recorder with fipple mouthpiece and fingerholes. A man who plucks a gittern seems to tune with his neighbor who plays a vielle. The fourth musician plays a double pipe (aulos). (See PLATE 28.)

F Pn lat. 10474 (continued)

- f. 31 Half-page drawing: The Elect and the Lamb on Mt. Zion. St. John observes the scene from the left where he leans on his staff. The Lamb of God is in the center and to the right is a group of sixteen people among whom are four musicians who play a gittern, vielle, harp, and busine. Above are seven angels holding vials of perfume. (See PLATE 30.)

F Pn lat. 10478 BREVIARY OF THE ORDER OF TEMPLARS. 13th c.

- f. 17 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, plucks his harp with his right hand, and holds the frame with his left.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
- f. 85 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four blue bells (clappers visible), with two large mallets which have brown handles and red heads.
- f. 99 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book.

F Pn lat. 10489 ANTIPHONAIRE. French, 13th c.

- f. 11v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, holds his harp with his left hand and plucks with the right.
- f. 208v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book.

F Pn lat. 10525 PSALTER OF ST. LOUIS (Between 1253 and 1270).
Facsimile by Omont, H. Psautier de Saint Louis.

- f. 42 Full page illustration: Joshua VI.
Seven men play oliphants.
- f. 52 Full-page illustration: Judges VII, 16-22.
Six men hold busines.
- f. 74 Full-page illustration: I Kings X, 3-5.
Four musicians play instruments: bagpipe, straight trumpet, harp, vielle.

F Pn lat. 10525 (continued)

- f. 175 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
 Above: In the upper register of the initial "E",
 King David kneels before Christ.
 Below: In the lower register of the initial "E",
 Musica is seated in the center and plucks a psaltery,
 using two plectra. Above her on the right and left
 are two groups of four bells each. A vielle and a
 harp float in space. (See PLATE 11.)

F Pn lat. 11207 NATURE ANIMALIUM ET MORALITATES NATURARUM EORUM.

- f. 4 Miniature: The Beaver (Castor).
 A large grey animal, the beaver, bites its testicles.
 There is a man followed by a dog, who plays a hunting
 horn.
- f. 24 Miniature: The Sirens.
 A bare-breasted siren holds a crudely depicted orange
 pan-pipe in her right hand.

F Pn lat. 11534 BIBLE, Volume I. French, late 12th c.

- f. 17v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
 Above: In the upper register of the initial "B",
 King David, seated and crowned, plays his harp with
 both hands.
 Below: In the lower register of the initial "B",
 there are two subjects, a) David and Goliath, b)
 David as a shepherd. (See PLATE 2.)
- f. 205v Calendar page. A hybrid playing a rebec is depicted
 from the back so that the back of the instrument and
 the position of the left hand and thumb are clearly
 seen.

F Pn lat. 11535 BIBLE, Volume II (Companion to 11534).

- f. 324 Historiated Initial: Verbum.
 The letter "V" is formed by a lion column figure
 whose tail completes the initial. It plays a rebec.
- f. 328 Historiated Initial: Verbum.
 The letter "V" is formed as above. The lion on this
 page holds the top of a harp with its left paw and
 plucks with its right.

F Pn lat. 11536 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 141 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand, and plucks with the thumb and index finger of the right hand. Although the string is carefully drawn between the plucking fingers, the tuning bar is not placed above this string.

F Pn lat. 11540 OLD TESTAMENT, Volume II. French, 13th c.

- f. 26v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, plucks his harp with his right hand. His left hand is not visible. A *vielle* floats in space.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.

F Pn lat. 11560 BIBLE MORALISÉE. French, late 13th c.

- f. 10 Medallion: King David is seated with three men on each side. He tunes his harp.
- f. 13v Medallion: King David plays his harp before the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child. (See PLATE 17.)
- f. 14 Medallion: King David, seated and crowned, holds his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right hand. On the ground are three additional instruments: two *vielles* and a psaltery (?).
- f. 17v Medallion: King David, seated and crowned, plucks a psaltery with a plectrum held in his right hand. He holds the instrument on his lap with his left hand. A figure on the left approaches in supplication.
- f. 22 Medallion: Four secular musicians wearing pointed caps play instruments: a rebec, a busine, a harp and a psaltery. (See PLATE 16.)
- f. 24 Medallion: King David, seated and crowned, plucks a rectangular harp with his left hand. The right hand is not visible. There is another figure on the left.
- f. 26 Medallion: King David plays a harp at the foot of a bed where the Virgin Mary reclines holding the Christ Child.

F Pn lat. 11560 (continued)

- f. 36 Medallion: "Super flumina babylonis."
King David holds a portative organ above his head.
Behind him is a tree. There are two ranks of eight
pipes, all with flue holes, and eight levers or keys.
- f. 38 Medallion: King David, two musicians, and two dancers
"praise" Christ who is seated and holds a book. David
is crowned and plays a vielle vertically on his lap.
The other musicians play a psaltery and a harp, and
the dancers clap their hands. (See PLATE 20.)
- f. 50 Medallion: "Animus gaudens."
A man seated on the left plays a large and well
detailed vielle. (See PLATE 21.)
- f. 53v Medallion: Banquet scene. A man and a woman are
seated at a table. A boy stands at the right of the
table and on the left is a man who plays a vielle.
- f. 60 Medallion: A man plays a vielle before a group of
women.
- f. 96 Medallion: Two secular musicians play a vielle and
a shawm (?). On their left is another man who points
to the sky where the figure of Christ holds two
spheres.
- f. 100 Medallion: The jealousy of Saul.
A demon speaks into the ear of King Saul who points
a spear at David, into whose ear a dove is speaking.
David plays a harp.
- f. 104 Medallion: A man taps a wine keg and fills a pitcher.
Behind him are three musicians who play a double pipe
(aulos), a vielle, and a square timbrel. (See PLATE
22.)
- f. 114 Medallion: A man wearing a pointed hat gives harps
to two women.
- f. 115 Medallion: Four men who are in mourning hold broken
harps.
- f. 129v Medallion: Three musicians play a busine, a vielle,
and a square timbrel.

F Pn lat. 11560 (continued)

- f. 132 Medallion: Banquet scene. A man and a woman are seated at a table. On the left is a servant and behind the couple is a devil. On the right, a man plays a vielle.
- f. 146 Medallion: Scene from the life of St. Nicholas. St. Nicholas recuscitates the young men in the vat of brine after they had been cut into pieces and pickled by the wicked butcher. Leaning against the vat is a vielle (lira da braccio) which has a fifth unstoppable string. (See PLATE 19.)
- f. 163v Medallion: Worshipping the Golden Calf. Among the men who worship the Calf are three musicians, two of which play busines and one who plays a vielle.

F Pn lat. 11931 BIBLE, Volume II. French, 13th c.

- f. 120 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: in the upper register of the initial "B", Christ in Majesty.
Below: King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with a tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks with his right hand. Floating in space to his right are a vielle and a rebec.
- f. 134v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four blue bells (clappers visible), with two mallets. A harp and a rebec float in space.
- f. 137v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
King David, seated and crowned, plays a small table organ. With his left hand he holds or touches the pipes and with his right hand he pulls the knobs which activate the pipes. There are eight pipes but only six knobs.
- f. 151 Tree of Jesse: King David holds a harp.

F Pn lat. 11934 BIBLE. French, late 13th c.

- f. 1 Margin: A standing figure holds a straight trumpet.
- f. 229v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, plucks his harp with his right hand and tunes with a tuning bar held in his left hand and placed directly over the string being plucked.

F Pn lat. 11934 (continued)

- f. 246 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
A bareheaded man who is seated, touches the clapper of one large bell with his right hand and strikes a second bell with a stick which he holds in his left hand. Both bells hang from the frame of the letter "E".
- f. 249 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book. One cleric gestures with his right hand and holds a long staff with his left hand.

F Pn lat. 13156 BIBLE, Volume II. French, 13th c.

- f. 19 Decorated Initial: O.
A hybrid with a human head and wearing a crown, holds a bagpipe. His tail becomes part of the foliage interlace for the initial.

F Pn lat. 13260 PSALTER AND BOOK OF HOURS. French, late 13th c.

- f. 1 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
Margin: A hybrid plays a gittern.
- f. 19v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
A bareheaded man strikes a carillon of four bells, with two mallets.
- f. 96 Historiated Initial: Confitebor.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern. One cleric holds the book on the lectern with both hands. Both men sing with their mouths open.
- f. 116v Historiated Initial: Benedicta sit sanctatate.
Inside the initial is a depiction of the Trinity. Just below the initial and the Christ figure is a jongleur who plays a vielle. Also in this lower margin are an acrobat and a bird. (See PLATE 33.)

F Pn lat. 14284 BOOK OF HOURS WITH EXPLICATION IN FRENCH VERSE.

- f. 4v Margin: A man plays a straight trumpet.
A man has a hunting horn hanging over his shoulder.
A female hybrid plays a vielle with a rake.
- f. 6v Margin: A hybrid plays a bagpipe.
- f. 7v Margin: A hybrid plays two bones as if they were a
vielle and bow.
- f. 14 Margin: A man plays a pipe and tabor; the fipple
mouthpiece is clearly depicted.
- f. 15v Margin: A man plays a wind instrument with his left
hand and rings a large bell which he holds in his
right hand.
- f. 19 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
A bareheaded man strikes a carillon of four bells
with two mallets.
- f. 21v Margin: A monkey wearing a cleric's cloak and cowl,
and seated on a chair with its right leg crossed over
the left, plays a psaltery using two plectra. This
is a parody of King David portraits.
- f. 23v Margin: A hybrid plays a busine.
- f. 30 Margin: A small lion plays a vielle.
- f. 34v Margin: A hybrid plays a vielle.
- f. 35 Margin: Next to a historiated initial containing an
allegorical scene from the Roman of Barlaam and
Josephat, a man plays a gittern. He seems to repre-
sent the sins of earthly life which are described in
the allegory.
- f. 40v Margin: A hybrid plays a green rams horn.
- f. 50v and f. 52v Margin: A hybrid plays a busine.
- f. 59 Margin: A hybrid plays a shawm (?) with clearly de-
tailed finger holes and hands.
- f. 59v Margin: A hybrid plays a long vertical flute.
- f. 60 Margin: A hybrid plays a busine.

F Pn lat. 14284 (continued)

- f. 63 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, holds his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
Margin: A young man plays a vielle as he walks.
- f. 63v Margin: A hybrid with the head of a bird plays a bagpipe which has one drone pipe.
- f. 64 Margin: A boy plays a hunting horn as he chases a stag pursued by a dog.
- f. 65 Margin: A small child plays a rams horn with finger holes (gemshorn?).
- f. 66v Margin: A hybrid plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 68v Margin: A man plays a pipe and tabor.
- f. 69v Margin: A man plays a vielle which has frets.

F Pn lat. 14397 BIBLE. Paris, c. 1230-1250.

This Bible was presented to someone as a gift from Queen Blanche.

- f. 166 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right.
- f. 176 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of five tan bells (clappers visible), with two brown mallets.
- f. 178 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book. One of the clerics holds the book with both hands.

F Pn lat. 14410 APOCALYPSE. French, late 13th c.

This manuscript is one of three almost identical copies. The other two are Lbm Add. 17333 and the New York Cloisters Apocalypse. The instruments in all of these manuscripts exhibit peculiar forms.

F Pn lat. 14410 (continued)

- p. 4 Half-page illustration: Christ in Majesty, the Evangelist symbols and the Twenty-four Elders. There are four groups of six Elders, many of whom hold or play instruments. In the first group, the instruments are a portative organ and a psaltery. In the second group, there is an ornate horn or shofar, a rotta and a rebec. In the third group we find a harp, a psaltery, a vielle and a rebec. In the fourth group we find a vielle, a handbell and a straight trumpet.

- p. 6 Half-page illustration: The Lamb and the Elders. Three of the Elders surrounding the Lamb have instruments: a harp, an organistrum, and a rebec.

- p. 7 Half-page illustration: Christ, the Lamb and the Elders. The Elders emanate from clouds at the sides of the picture and offer vials of perfume and instruments to Christ and the Lamb. The instruments which they hold are a vielle, a psaltery, a rebec, and another psaltery.

- p. 16 Half-page illustration: An angel distributes straight trumpets to a group of eight other angels.

- p. 18 Half-page illustration: Five angels play trumpets.

- p. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 32: An angel blows a straight trumpet.

- p. 21 Half-page illustration: The fourth angel sounds his trumpet. A blind man who carries a vielle over his shoulder is led home by a young boy. (See PLATE 31.)

- p. 52 Half-page illustration: The Elect are represented by a group of twenty people, nine of whom play harps.

- p. 69 Half-page illustration: Nine angels in the sky blow straight trumpets.

- p. 70 Half-page illustration: One angel in the sky plays a straight trumpet. Below is a banquet with the Lamb, the Virgin and Christ.

F Pn lat. 15158 CATONIS DISTICHIA. (1289)

- f. 48v Half-page ink drawing: A figure stands and dangles from its hand a pair of cymbals joined by a cord.

F Pn lat. 15185 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 186v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, holds his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right.
- f. 198 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of three gold bells (clappers visible), with two grey mallets.
- f. 200v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book. One of them holds the book with his left hand and points with his right hand. Both of the clerics sing.

F Pn lat. 15467 BIBLE. Dated 1270.

- f. 4 Medallion which is part of an illustration
"Généalogie de l'Écriture sainte." King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right.
- f. 258 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with a tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks with his right hand.
- f. 273v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four brown bells (clappers visible), with two white mallets.
- f. 276v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book. One of them sings but the other has his mouth closed.

F Pn lat. 15477 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 234v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right.
- f. 249 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of two white bells (clappers visible), with two white mallets.

F Pn lat. 15477 (continued)

- f. 251v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two men (clerics?) face a lectern with an open book.

F Pn lat. 15613 BREVIARY. Paris, 13th c.

- f. 80 Historiated Initial: Hodie nobis.
The annunciation to the shepherds. An angel in the sky holds a banderole and announces the birth of Christ to two shepherds and their three sheep. One shepherd stands leaning on his staff and the other sits holding a bagpipe with his fingers on the chanter pipe ready to play.

F Pn lat. 16260 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 29 Margin: A man plays a gittern.
- f. 49v Margin: A hybrid plays a pipe and tabor.
- f. 84 Margin: A hybrid plays a vielle.
- f. 101v Margin: A hybrid plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 263v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", the madness of Saul. King Saul is seated on a throne and the young boy David plays a harp.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
- f. 279 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
The initial is divided into three separate areas.
1) A man seated on the left and another man standing on the right both strike the same large bell with a mallet.
2) King David, seated and crowned, plays a harp. Next to him is a man who stands and plays a straight trumpet.
3) Two men stand below a balcony and pull a rope to ring a large bell hung from the scaffolding.
- f. 282 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
King David is seated at a large positive organ which he plays with both hands. Behind the organ and to the left is a man who operates the bellows. Behind the organ on the right are two tonsured clerics. One of them sings and holds the pages of an open book which rests on a lectern. The mouth of the second cleric is not visible.

F Pn lat. 16260 (continued)

- f. 286 Margin: A hybrid plays a lyre with a long plectrum.
- f. 485 Tree of Jesse: King David plays a harp.
- f. 525 Margin: A hybrid plays a pipe and tabor. .

F Pn lat. 16272 PSALTER. French, 13th c.

- f. 1v Full-page illustration: Beatus.
Above: in the upper register of the initial "B",
King David, seated and crowned, tunes a harp with a
tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks with his
right hand.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B",
David and Goliath.
- f. 82v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon
of five grey bells (clappers visible), with two thick
orange mallets.
- f. 98 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open
book which one of them holds with both hands.

F Pn lat. 16306 BREVIARY. French, 13th c.

- f. 16 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with
a very large green tuning bar held in his left hand
and plucks with the thumb and index finger of his
right hand.

F Pn lat. 16309 BREVIARY. French, late 13th c.

- f. 264 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David is seated, crowned, and smiling! He
plucks his harp with his right hand.
- f. 290v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon
of five bells. The paint is damaged and the mallets
are no longer visible.
- f. 295 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern with a large
open book which one cleric holds with both hands.
They look straight ahead with their mouths closed.

F Pn lat. 1631! PSALTER. French, 13th and 14th c.

- f. 19 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, plays his harp with both hands.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
- f. 136v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four blue bells, with two large brown mallets.
- f. 160 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern which is in the form of an eagle on whose back rests an open book. One of the clerics holds the book.

F Pn lat. 16722 BIBLE, Volume III. French, 13th c.

- f. 41 Tree of Jesse: Six of the eight medallions (all of Christ's ancestors except of course the Virgin Mary) contain kings who are seated and play instruments: 1) harp, 2) carillon of nine bells, 3) table organ, 4) vielle, 5) psaltery, 6) vielle played vertically on the lap.

F Pn lat. 17322 MISSEL OF ST. CORNEILLE. 13th c.

- f. 36 Decorated Initial: Concede.
Two hybrids in the interlace of the initial play musical instruments: a bagpipe and vielle.

F Pn lat. 17326 EVANGELARY OF SAINTE CHAPELLE.

- f. 10 Miniature: Annunciation to the shepherds.
An angel announces the birth of Christ to two shepherds who are surrounded by their sheep. One of the shepherds holds a bagpipe.
- f. 18 Miniature: Banquet scene. Christ is seated at the center of a table and a small musician plays a vielle in front of the table.
- f. 63v Margin: A hybrid plays a vielle.
- f. 106, 110v, 125v and 153 A hybrid plays a vielle.
Each of these musicians appears as the lowest figure in a column of illustrations. There are frets on the vielles of f. 106v and f. 110v.

F Pn lat. 17326 (continued)

- f. 144 Miniature: A saint performs a miracle of healing. He appears at the bedside of a courtly lady and two men announce his arrival with straight trumpets.

F Pn lat. 17994 BREVIARY. French, 13th c.

- f. 204 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, his left leg crossed over the right, plucks his harp with both hands.
- f. 236 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, his left leg crossed over the right, strikes a carillon of four blue bells, with two large mallets.
- f. 242v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics stand before a lectern with an open book. One of the clerics holds the book and all three sing with their mouths wide open.

F Pn nouv. acq. lat. 1392 PSALTER. French, early 13th c.

- f. 20 Full-page initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, plucks his harp with both hands. To his right is a man who stands and plays a vielle.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", the coronation of the Virgin.
- f. 113v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "E", King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of six green bells, with two mallets.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "E", a seated figure on the left plays a vielle in vertical fashion on his lap and a tonsured cleric on the right plays a busine.

F Pn nouv. acq. lat. 2290 LEATUS COMMENTARY ON THE APOCALYPSE.

- f. 56v Full-page illustration: The Lamb of God.
Surrounding the Lamb are the Symbols of the Evangelists, Christ, angels and people. Two of the latter hold vielles to their chins, plucking the instruments with their right hands. Two more men have vielles with bows, as does a haloed figure

F Pn nouv. acq. lat. 2290 (continued)

- f. 56v (continued) who holds his instrument to his chin and plays with the bow. The instruments are well depicted with three strings, tailpiece, fingerboard and soundholes but no bridge.
- f. 126 Full-page illustration: The Lamb on Mount Zion. The lamb stands on a pillar and is surrounded by the Crowned Elders who hold vielles and bows. (See PLATE 24.)
- f. 131 Full-page illustration: The Lamb of God. Above are seven angels who hold wind instruments. Below are the Lamb and six haloed figures who play vielles with bows. These vielles are the same type as those of f. 126 but less accurately depicted.

(F) FRANCE. Psg:Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève.

- F Psg 11 BIBLE. French, 13th c.
- f. 185 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with the thumb and index finger of his right hand.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
- F Psg 56 PSALM COMMENTARY by Peter Lombard. French, late 12th c.
- f. 44v Historiated Initial: Dominus.
The Wrath of Saul. King Saul, seated and crowned with his left leg crossed over the right, points a spear at the young boy David who stands playing a harp. David holds the harp with his left hand and plucks with his right.
- f. 70v Historiated Initial: Dixi custodiam (Psalm 38).
Five men are seated at a banquet table. The one on the far left of the group plays a vielle.
- f. 109v Margin illustration: Two angels play wind instruments.
- f. 143 Decorated Initial: Two human figures who are part of the interlace, play wind instruments.
- F Psg 1180 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.
- f. 175 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over the right, strikes a carillon of four blue bells (clappers visible), with two mallets which have blue handles and brown heads.
- f. 177 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics who stand facing the right hold an open book between them. There is no lectern. Each of them holds his left hand to his chin, one with the palm open and the other with his hand closed in a loose fist.

- F Psg 1181 BIBLE. French, late 13th - early 14th c.
- f. 177 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, plucks his harp with both hands using the thumb and index finger of each hand.
- f. 189 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of five bells (alternately pink and brown with the clappers visible), with two long slender white mallets. A harp rests on the ground under the bells to David's right.
- F Psg 1182 BIBLE. French, 13th c.
- f. 420 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", a bust portrait of King David who wears a crown and plays a three-stringed rebec with a tailpiece and bridge clearly depicted.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, holds his harp with his left hand and plucks with the thumb and index finger of his right hand.
- F Psg 1183 BIBLE. French, 13th c.
- f. 163 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four blue bells (clappers visible), with two mallets which have brown handles and blue heads. On the right, standing under the bells is a small figure wearing a skull-cap who faces David and plays a busine.
- F Psg 1185 BIBLE. French, 13th c.
- f. 154 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with the thumb and index finger of his right hand.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.

F Psg 1185 (continued)

- f. 165 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a draped lectern which holds an open book. The cleric closest to the book holds it with his left hand and points to it with the forefinger of his right hand. He looks up at a haloed head emerging from the clouds; his mouth is closed. The second cleric also looks up but his mouth is open.

F Psg 1191 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 191v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern on the right. The cleric closest to the lectern holds a book which the cleric next to him looks at. The third cleric who stands behind them looks straight ahead and holds a closed book.

F Psg 2200 MÉLANGES SCIENTIFIQUES, PHILOSOPHIQUES ET POÉTIQUES.
French, 13th c.

- f. 59 Miniature: "La Musique" (One of the Seven Liberal Arts).
A man wearing a cowed robe and a cap strikes a carillon of four bells with two thick mallets. Floating in space beneath the bells are two stringed instruments, a harp and a psaltery. This figure may represent Pythagoras.
- f. 73 Miniature: The Beaver (Bestiary illustration).
A man on the left holds a hunting horn near his mouth and points with his right hand to a large dog-like animal which bites its testicles. A little white dog which accompanies the hunter sniffs at the hind foot of the "beaver."
- f. 75 Miniature: The Aspic (Bestiary illustration).
In the center, sitting under a tree, is the aspic which is depicted with two legs and a long tail. On the left is a man who plays a vielle in order to enchant the aspic.
- f. 78 Miniature: The Porcupine (Bestiary illustration).
A man on the left holds a hunting horn near his mouth and points with his right hand to a pig-like animal with many spines. A little white dog nips at the heels of the porcupine. The picture scheme for this illustration is identical to that found on f. 73.

F Psg 2200 (continued)

- f. 166 Miniature: Le Miroir de vie et de mort.
 "Li miroirs de vie et de mort
 ki met a terre foieble et fort
 E c'est li arbres de pechies
 Dont tous li mons est entechies."
 The following description is taken from E. Mâle, The Gothic Image, 107-8 where the miniature is also reproduced. There is a "great tree with spreading roots. These roots have the peculiarity of ending in the form of a serpent with a woman's head . . . the tree thus rooted in sin flourishes greatly. At its summit sits a queen, crown on forehead, sceptre in hand, surrounded by black birds. This insolent figure is as it were an anti-Virgin, a Virgin of evil, and the white doves which rest on the Virgin Mary become the black ravens of hell. A ladder leans against the tree, and while musicians tune their instruments, a woman clothed in white like a corpse mounts slowly, carrying under her arm the lid of her coffin." The two musicians play a straight trumpet and a vielle.
- f. 166v Miniature: Christ, with swords coming from each side of his mouth, shows the wounds of the crucifixion. Four angels play busines.
- f. 178v Miniature: The Sirens (Bestiary illustration).
 Two sirens float on top of the water. One of them plucks a harp with both hands and the other plays a wind instrument.
- f. 179 Miniature: The Aspic (Bestiary illustration).
 The aspic sleeps under a tree as two musicians approach from the right playing a straight trumpet and a harp. Compare this to the similar illustration on f. 75 where a man on the left plays a vielle to enchant the aspic who is still awake.
- f. 180 Miniature: The Bees (Bestiary illustration).
 A man standing on the left holds a crude frame drum in his left hand and strikes it with a green stick. In the center of the picture are four large brown bird-like winged creatures (bees) which fly towards a large hive on the right.

F Psg 2689 PSALTER. French, 13th c.

- f. 19 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with the thumb and middle finger of his right hand.
- f. 124 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four blue bells, with two thick brown mallets.
- f. 144 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book. The cleric closest to the book holds it with both hands. The third cleric who stands behind the other two has his mouth open while they do not.

F Psg 2690 PSALTER. French, 13th c.

- f. 7 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right hand.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
- f. 17 Margin illustration: A hybrid plays a pipe and tabor.
- f. 17v Margin illustration: A hybrid plays a vielle.
- f. 66 Margin illustration: A hybrid plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 99 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four blue bells (clappers visible), with two short stubby mallets which have tan handles and blue heads. On the ground under the bells is a harp.
- f. 117 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book. The cleric closest to the lectern gestures with the index finger of his right hand.

F Psg 2691 PSALTER. French, 13th c.

- f. 17 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", God the Father.
Below: King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right hand. A little dog sits at David's feet on the right and looks up at him.

(GB) GREAT BRITAIN. Lbm:London, British Museum.

GB Lbm Add. 15253 BIBLE. Northeast France, c. 1230-40.

- f. 158 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over his right, strikes a carillon of six flat saucer-shaped bells (tan with visible clappers), with two mallets. On the right is a man who faces David and holds a very long wind instrument near his mouth but does not play.
- f. 159v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
King David, seated and crowned, pulls the levers (tongues) of a small portative organ which is placed on a pedestal beside him. On the right is a tonsured cleric, also seated, who faces David and holds an open book in his lap.
- f. 265 Jesse's Dream.
There are four figures above Jesse. King David, the first of these, is seated and crowned. He holds a harp with his left hand and his right hand is laid flat across the strings. The harp itself is parallel to David's chest.

GB Lbm Add. 15452 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 391 Decorated Initial: Post actam penetentia.
A monkey sitting inside the letter "P" plays a rebec with continuous outline (no separate neck and body), three white strings, two black "C" holes, a tailpiece and three pegs. He uses a very delicate orange bow. Excellent detail.

GB Lbm Add. 16410 BIBLE. French, 1292.

- f. 146 Jesse's Dream.
There are four figures above Jesse; the first and second of these play musical instruments. King David, the first figure, is seated and crowned. He plays a vielle which he holds on his lap in vertical position. He bows with his left hand and fingers the strings with his right. The second figure holds a harp with both hands. There are no strings indicated on this instrument.

GB Lbm Add. 17333 APOCALYPSE. French, early 14th c.

- f. 3v Half-page illustration: Christ in Majesty.
Christ is seated in the center, surrounded by symbols of the four evangelists and twenty-four elders. The elders are arranged in four groups of six figures, wear white robes and gold crowns, and some of them hold or play musical instruments. The instruments appear in the following groups: upper left--portative organ and psaltery; lower left--a horn and a rotta; upper right--a harp, a vielle, and a rebec; lower right--a vielle and a straight trumpet. (See PLATE 25.) The instruments found in this manuscript exhibit peculiar forms. The manuscript itself is one of three virtually identical copies all of which show these peculiar instrumental forms. The sister manuscripts are Pn lat. 14410 and the New York Cloisters Apocalypse.
- f. 4v Half-page illustration: The Lamb.
The Lamb of God is surrounded by four groups of six elders who are dressed with white robes and gold crowns. The musical instruments, however, are not the same as in the previous illustration and fewer of the elders have instruments. None of the elders in the upper left corner have instruments. In the lower left are a harp and organistrum, in the upper right a rebec, and in the lower right a vielle.
- f. 5 Half-page illustration: Christ and the Lamb.
Christ and the Lamb of God are surrounded by six asymmetrical groups of elders some of whom play instruments. They are dressed as in the previous illustrations. There is one instrument in each of four out of the six groups of elders: a vielle, a psaltery, a rebec or rotta, and a harp or psaltery. Because of their peculiar form, the last two instruments are difficult to identify.
- f. 10v, 11, 11v, 12, 12v, 14, 18v, f. 38 and f. 38v.
Half-page illustrations in which various numbers of angels play straight trumpets.
- f. 28v Half-page illustration: The throng of the elect.
Eight people dressed in various manners hold harps. A haloed woman (probably the Virgin Mary) is seated on the left.

GB Lbm Add. 17341 LECTONARY. French, late 13th c.

- f. 6v Jesse's Dream.
There are six figures above Jesse. In this illustration, all four of the ancestors of Christ play instruments. All four of them are seated and crowned. David, the lowest figure, plays a small table organ. The next figure strikes a carillon of two bells with two mallets; the third figure plays a psalter using two orange plectra; the fourth figure plays a vielle which has four orange strings and a clear tailpiece. Music is notated in the column directly to the right. (See PLATE 15.)
- f. 134 Miniature.
Two men play straight trumpets to announce the arrival of three haloed figures at the bedside of a woman.
- f. 172v Miniature.
Two angels playing straight trumpets from the clouds signal the dead to arise.

GB Lbm Add. 17868 PSALTER. French, late 13th c.

- f. 32 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with the thumb and middle finger of his right hand.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
Margin illustration: Three tiny hybrid figures play a gittern, a wind instrument, and a vielle.
- f. 110v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of six bells, with two green mallets. The bells are blue with visible clappers, and hang in pairs on three rods, one above the other. At David's feet is an orange harp.
Margin illustration: A hybrid figure plays a vielle.
- f. 127 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics stand facing a lectern on the right which holds an open book. They all look upwards with their mouths closed.

GB Lbm Add. 17868 (continued)

The margins of this manuscript are filled with tiny hybrid figures which hold or play musical instruments.

- f. 32v Wind instrument.
- f. 33 Bagpipe; in addition to the margin illustrations, there is a small decorated initial which contains a hybrid figure playing a vielle.
- f. 35v Vielle.
- f. 36v Wind instrument.
- f. 37v Harp.
- f. 38 Pipe and hand bell; vielle.
- f. 40 Vielle.
- f. 40v Harp.
- f. 41v Pipe and tabor; in addition to the margin illustration, there is a small decorated initial which contains a monkey playing a rebec whose shape is distinctly different from that of the vielle on f. 33.
- f. 68v Wind instrument.
- f. 72v Bagpipe.
- f. 73v, f. 78v, f. 80 Wind instrument.
- f. 83v Bell with visible clapper tied around neck of the hybrid figure.
- f. 84 Wind instrument.
- f. 87 Bagpipe.
- f. 99v, f. 105v, f. 139v Wind instrument.
- f. 143 Gittern and two vielles.
- f. 143v Gittern and wind instrument.
- f. 145v Wind instrument and bagpipe.
- f. 146v Vielle.

GB Lbm Add. 17868 (continued)

- f. 147 Wind instrument.
- f. 148 Gittern.
- f. 150 Vielle.
- f. 150v Gittern with four strings, frets, a bridge and
 rosette all clearly detailed.
- f. 151 Wind instrument.
- f. 152 Small decorated initial containing a hybrid figure
 which plays a vielle.
- f. 152v, f. 153 Vielle.
- f. 154 Gittern.
- f. 155 Gittern and wind instrument.
- f. 155v Wind instrument.
- f. 156v Two vielles.
- f. 158v Bagpipe.
- f. 159 Vielle, pipe and handbell.
- f. 159v Small decorated initial containing a hybrid figure
 which plays a vielle.
- f. 160, f. 160v Wind instrument.
- f. 161v, f. 163 Vielle.
- f. 163v Wind instrument.
- f. 164 Gittern.
- f. 164v Wind instrument and vielle.
- f. 165 Harp.
- f. 165v Wind instrument and vielle.
- f. 166 Wind instrument.

GB Lbm Add. 18719 BIBLE HISTORY. French, 13th c.

This manuscript was copied from the Bible Moralisée and consists of two columns of four frames each, containing ink drawings. The moralized text is in columns to the left of the pictures as in the Bible Moralisée.

- f. 6v Miniature: A man wearing a cowelled cloak sits under a tree with his left leg crossed over the right, blowing a busine. There is another man, and three animals.
- f. 10 Miniature: A group of three men represent secular activities. One is seated at a chessboard and holds a balance. Behind him another man drinks while the third plays a vielle. To the right of this group and placed under an architectural arch are two clerics who kneel in prayer.
- f. 16v Miniature: A group of women stand in the center. At their right is a man who plays a vielle. A second man sits and holds a bowl.
- f. 40 Miniature: Two angels whose torsos emerge from the clouds play crude busines.
- f. 49 Miniature: Four men who form part of a procession play busines.
Miniature: Two angels in the clouds play busines.
- f. 54 and f. 61 Miniature: Men play busines.
- f. 68 Miniature: Young David seated in the center tunes his harp with a tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks with his right hand. King Saul and a group of people are seated at the right. There is a clearly depicted cloth holder or case for the harp in David's lap, supporting the instrument.
- f. 92 Miniature: Ezechial's wheel is depicted as a fantastic machine with a cog wheel and four bells.
- f. 93v and f. 100 Miniature: Men and angels play busines.
- f. 111 Miniature: Job is seated on a dung heap and visited by two bird-like creatures one of which has a harp tied to its neck.
- f. 117 Miniature: An angel plays a busine.

GB Lbm Add. 18719 (continued)

- f. 117v Miniature: King David is seated in the center with three men on each side. He tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right.
- f. 119v Miniature: King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right. Two vielles and a psaltery float in space to his right.
- f. 123v Miniature: A group of four secular musicians wearing the pointed caps typical of medieval depictions of Jews, play a harp, psaltery, vielle, and busine. The man with the harp tunes his instrument.
- f. 124v Miniature: King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his right hand and plucks with his left. A figure standing on the left seems to talk to him.
- f. 126v and f. 127 Miniature: Men play busine.
- f. 130v Miniature: A crowned figure holds a small organ with alternating black and white keys above his head. Also depicted are a tree, buildings, and two other figures. ("Super flumina babilonis")
- f. 132 Miniature: King David, seated and crowned, plays a vielle which he holds vertically on his lap. On each side is a musician, one playing a psaltery which he plucks with his fingers and the other playing a harp. Behind them are two dancers who clap their hands above their heads. The haloed figure of Christ is seated at the right of these musicians and dancers who praise him.
- f. 132v Miniature: King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with the thumb and first two fingers of his right hand. In the center of this scene is the ark, and on the right is another man who plays a busine.
- f. 137 Miniature: A young man plays a pipe and tabor as he walks. The tabor has a clearly drawn snare. Detail in this depiction is excellent.
- f. 138 Miniature: On the left, a man seated with his left leg crossed over his right, plays a vielle. On the right, a man is seated at a table. ("Animus gaudens")

GB Lbm Add. 18719 (continued)

- f. 139 Miniature: A woman and two men are seated at a table. At the left of this table is a man who plays a vielle.
- f. 143 Miniature: A man playing a vielle stands in front of a large group of people; a woman talks to him.
- f. 160v Miniature: Two men in a group of four play instruments: a vielle and a busine. Christ appears in the clouds above them.
- f. 176v Miniature: Two men in a tower play straight trumpets.
- f. 177 Miniature: Two men in a group of four play instruments: a vielle and a busine. Another man is seated at their left.
- f. 188v Miniature: Seven men stand in a large tub. A vielle and a frame drum are placed on the ground next to the tub. A cleric stands on each side of the tub and both of these clerics wear different costumes. This depiction represents a scene from the life of St. Nicholas. (See Pn lat. 11560, f. 148.)
- f. 190, f. 221v, f. 227 Miniature: Men and angels playing straight trumpets.
- f. 250v Miniature: Here we find a bawdy banquet scene which undoubtedly represents the sinful nature of secular life. A man and woman seated at the table kiss while the figure seated to their left laughs. Two small musicians seated on the ground in front of the table play a harp and a psaltery.
- f. 253 Miniature: A man plays a busine.
- f. 253v Miniature: Two amorous couples are seated at a table. A musician seated cross-legged in front of the table plucks a gittern with a plectrum while another musician who stands plays a vielle. His bow is depicted with unusual clarity of detail. (See PLATE 23.)
- f. 258 Miniature: Four musicians play in front of a banquet table. Their instruments are a vielle, an organistrum, a harp and a psaltery.
- f. 295, f. 303v, f. 307v, f. 308 Miniature: Men and angels play straight trumpets and busines.

GB Lbm Add. 27694 BIBLE. French, c. 1270.

- f. 175v Historiated Initial: Et fecit tobias (Esdre II).
A man kneels holding a lamb before an altar. Behind him is another man who holds a green horn to his mouth but does not play.
- f. 202v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right.
- f. 215 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of three green bells (no clappers visible), with two brown mallets.
- f. 217v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics stand facing an empty altar covered with a white cloth, on their right. They look straight ahead with their mouths closed.

GB Lbm Add. 28784 BOOK OF HOURS with cuttings from 13th c. French Psalter.

The margin illustrations in this manuscript have been cut from a 13th c. French Psalter and glued to the new pages.

- f. 16 Calendar illustration for the month of May: A man plays an orange vielle.
- f. 27 A hybrid figure plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 35 A monkey plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 46 A female hybrid plays an orange vielle while a male hybrid holds a bagpipe.
- f. 87v King David, seated and crowned with his right leg crossed over the left, holds a harp.

GB Lbm Add. 30045 PSALTER. French, 13th c.

- f. 8v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, plays a harp with both hands. To the right of David, a boy stands ringing handbells.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.

GB Lbm Add. 30045 (continued)

- f. 40v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four white bells (no clappers visible), with a large mallet held in his left hand. He holds a busine to his lips with his right hand. On his lap is a psaltery. A harp and an unidentified black object float in space to the right of David.
- f. 46v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics stand before a lectern which holds an open book with lines and dots on the pages, apparently representing neumes. The cleric who is closest to the lectern holds the book open with his left hand and points to it with his right. He turns his head backwards and looks at a second cleric who sings with his mouth open. The third cleric looks at the book with his mouth closed. (See PLATE 7.)

GB Lbm Egerton 274 CHANSONNIER. French, 13th c.

- f. 7v Historiated Initial: O maria virgines.
A woman stands and plucks a gittern with a plectrum.
- f. 58 Historiated Initial: Cunctipotens genitor.
A man stands playing a vielle with an orange bow.

GB Lbm Harley 616 BIBLE, Volume I. French, 13th c.

- f. 1 Margin Illustration: Pipe and Tabor.
- f. 286v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with the thumb and first two fingers of his right hand. On the ground to David's right is a vielle.
- f. 303 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of five metallic brown bells (no visible clappers), with one white mallet held in his right hand. His left hand rests in his lap.
- f. 306 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book. The closest cleric holds the book with his left hand and points with his right hand. All three of the clerics sing. Farther to the right is an altar covered with a green cloth.

GB Lbm Harley 1297 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 214 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, holds a harp with his left hand and plucks its strings with his right hand.
- f. 226v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of five blue bells (no clappers visible), with two large white mallets.
- f. 229 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book. The cleric closest to the lectern holds the book with both hands and sings with his mouth open. The other cleric whose mouth is closed, looks out of the page at the reader.

GB Lbm Harley 1526 BIBLE MORALISÉE. French 13th c.

- f. 9 Medallion: A man plays a vielle for a bishop wearing a mitered cap who is seated at a table drinking from a chalice.

GB Lbm Harley 1527 BIBLE MORALISÉE. French, 13th c.

- f. 29 Medallion: A man plays a vielle for two amorous couples seated at a table.
- f. 36v Medallion. Four musicians are seated on the ground in front of a banquet table where there are four men and one woman. The musicians play a vielle, an organistrum, a harp and a psaltery.
- f. 46 Medallion: Two angels play busines.
- f. 116 Medallion: Angel plays busine.
- f. 119 Medallion: Angel plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 122v Medallion: Christ in Majesty surrounded by fourteen elders, nine of whom carry harps.
- f. 126v, f. 127, f. 128v, f. 219, f. 230v, f. 132v
Medallions with angels playing busines and trumpets.
- f. 140v Medallion: Four men hold harps.

GB Lbm Harley 4972 APOCALYPSE. French, 13th c.

- f. 14, 14v, 15, 15v, 16, 20v, 29v, f. 34 Miniatures: Angels playing busines.

GB Lbm Royal 1 A vi BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 234v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right.
- f. 249v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of five green bells (clappers visible), with two large brown mallets.
- f. 252v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face the right. The figure farthest to the right holds a book which appears to be closed. None of them sing.

GB Lbm Royal 2 B ii PSALTER. French, 13th c.

- f. 1 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over the right, plucks a harp with both hands.
- f. 78v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of five bells which are alternately colored green and blue (no clappers visible), with two large tan mallets. A harp leans against the right corner of his seat.
- f. 105 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics stand facing a crucifix which is on the right. The cleric closest to the right holds an open book. He and a second cleric turn around and look at the third cleric who is behind them and sings with his mouth open.

GB Lbm Stowe 1 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 189v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with a tuning bar held in his left hand, and plucks with his right.

GB Lbm Stowe 1 (continued)

- f. 200v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of three blue bells (clappers visible), with two blue mallets.
- f. 203 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics wearing brown hooded cloaks and white robes face the right. One of them holds an open book. Both have their mouths closed.

GB Lbm Stowe 17 BOOK OF HOURS. Maestricht, late 13th c.

- f. 6v Calendar illustration: May.
A young man with flowers in his hair stands on one foot with his left leg crossed over his right knee, and plays a rebec. At his right is a tree with a bird in its branches.
- f. 16v Full-page illustration: Annunciation to the shepherds.
A shepherd sits on a hill under a tree, surrounded by his sheep and holding a bagpipe.

The margins of this manuscript are filled with genre scenes of human and hybrid figures. They are remarkable for their wit and humor as well as for the fine detail.

- f. 9 A hybrid plays a vielle.
- f. 12 A hybrid plays a psaltery.
- f. 13 A hybrid plays a portative organ.
- f. 14v Medallions at each of the four corners of the formal full-page illustration contain musicians: 1) portative organ, 2) gittern, 3) psaltery, 4) vielle.
- f. 15v Medallions at each of the four corners of the formal full-page illustration contain musicians: 1) harp, 2) vielle, 3) psaltery, 4) portative organ.
- f. 17v Medallions at each of the four corners of the formal full-page illustration contain musicians: 1) vielle, 2) psaltery, 3) portative organ, 4) harp.
- f. 18 An angel plays a vielle.
- f. 18v A monkey plays a bagpipe.

GB Lbm Stowe 17 (continued)

- f. 21v An angel holds a harp.
- f. 22v An angel holds a portative organ.
- f. 23 An angel plays a gittern.
- f. 28 A hybrid plays a portative organ.
- f. 30 A hybrid plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 31 A monkey plays a pipe and tabor; a man plays a
bagpipe while another in a jester's costume stands on
his shoulders.
- f. 35v A monkey holds a bagpipe.
- f. 44v A hybrid plays a bagpipe which has a double chanter
pipe.
- f. 46 A man plays a harp, plucking with his right hand and
holding the frame with his left.
- f. 47 An angel plays a gittern.
- f. 49 A hybrid holds a bagpipe.
- f. 55v A man plays a portative organ.
- f. 58 A hybrid plays a pipe and tabor. There is a clearly
depicted snare on the tabor.
- f. 61v A knight with wings and the feet of an ass plays a
harp; a monkey plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 65v An angel plays a portative organ; another angel
plays a harp.
- f. 66 Two angel musicians playing a gittern and a vielle.
- f. 68 A man holds a bagpipe with a double chanter pipe.
Small initial: Exaudi nos.
A man strikes two orange bells with two mallets.
- f. 75 A man plays a busine.
- f. 75v Small initial: Retribue.
A man plays a psaltery.

GB Lbm Stowe 17 (continued)

- f. 77v A man plays a gittern.
- f. 78 Small initial: Quicum.
A man plays a vielle.
- f. 83v Small initial: Gaude maria virgo.
A man plays a harp.
- f. 86v A man sitting on the back of a hybrid figure plays a psalter.
- f. 91 Small initial: Et veniat.
A man blows a ho^{rn}.
Margin: A man blows a horn.
- f. 95v A man in a jester's costume plays a frame drum which has a snare.
- f. 96 A man plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 103 A female hybrid, nude from the waist up, plays a vielle.
- f. 104v An angel plays a gittern; a man plays a vielle.
- f. 105v A man plays a triangle which hangs from the thumb of his right hand (attached with a red string or loop) using a large beater which he holds with his left hand.
- f. 109v A hybrid plays a bagpipe.
- f. 112 A woman who is seated on the ground plays a vielle while a man and a dog dance. (See PLATE 35.)
- f. 115 A hybrid plays a bagpipe.
- f. 116 A hybrid holds a bagpipe with a double chanter pipe.
- f. 117 Two tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book. One of them points to the book. Both sing.
- f. 118v A hybrid plays a wind instrument.
- f. 119 A hybrid plays a gittern.
- f. 122v A man plays a horn.

GB Lbm Stowe 17 (continued)

- f. 126 A man on horseback plays a double straight trumpet. A long tube with its flaring bell sticks out on each side of his head.
- f. 127 A man on a horse blows a hunting horn; he is accompanied by two dogs.
- f. 128 A man wearing a jester's costume plays a gittern while an acrobat does a backbend.
- f. 129 A tonsured cleric wearing a brown hooded cloak sits at a large positive organ. He depresses keys of the keyboard with his left hand. On the right, an angel plays a tambourine. (See PLATE 34.)
- f. 129v Small initial: Concede nos famulos.
A woman plays a rebec.
- f. 134 A man wearing a jester's costume sits on a stool with his left leg crossed over the right, playing a vielle. Sitting on a stool to his right is a boy who also plays a vielle. This appears to represent a music lesson. (See PLATE 36.)
- f. 137 Small initial: Nunc dimittis.
A man plays a bagpipe.
- f. 137v An angel plays a harp.
- f. 144v A man plays a psaltery; a monkey plays a vielle.
- f. 145v Parody. A man plays a bellows and rake as if they were a vielle and bow.
- f. 157v Medallions at each of the four corners of the formal full-page illustration contain musicians: 1) portative organ, 2) vielle, 3) harp, 4) gittern.
Margin: A monkey holds a bagpipe.
- f. 158 An angel plays a vielle.
- f. 169v A man wearing a bishop's mitered cap plays a vielle.
- f. 172 A hybrid and a dog both play vielles.
- f. 173v A monkey plays a wind instrument; an angel plays a harp.

GB Lbm Stowe 17 (continued)

- f. 174 An angel plays a vielle.
- f. 178v Small initial: Ego dixi domine.
A man plays a wind instrument.
Margin: Parody. A hybrid plays bellows and tongs as
if they were a vielle and bow.
- f. 186 A hybrid plays a vielle.
- f. 192v A hybrid plays a fantastic wind instrument.
- f. 206v A hybrid holds a bagpipe. A monkey plays a vielle.
- f. 208v A hybrid holds a bagpipe while another plays a
vielle.
- f. 210v A man plays a harp.
- f. 211v Two angel musicians; one plays a vielle, the other a
portative organ.
- f. 216v A man plays a wind instrument.
- f. 219v A man plays a gittern.
- f. 220 An angel plays a psaltery.
- f. 233v A man plays a vielle while another dances.
- f. 234 A man holds a bagpipe.
- f. 236v A hybrid plays a pipe and tabor. There is a snare
on the tabor.
- f. 239 A man plays a vielle.
- f. 239v A man plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 245 A monkey plays a harp.
- f. 249v A hybrid plays a portative organ.
- f. 250 A hybrid plays a vielle.
- f. 253 A hybrid holds a bagpipe.
- f. 270v An angel plays a psaltery.

GB Lbm Stowe 17 (continued)

- f. 271 An angel plays a vielle.
- f. 273 Cupid, seated in a tree, aims his arrows at an
 amorous couple seated on the ground. Also in the
 tree are two musicians, one on each side of Cupid.
 They play a psaltery and vielle. The amorous man is
 a coweled and tonsured cleric. (See PLATE 37.)

(GB) GREAT BRITAIN. Ob:Oxford, Bodleian Library.

GB Ob Auct. D. 1. 17 BIBLE. French, 1250-1300.

- f. 159 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, holds the top corner of his harp with his left hand and plucks the strings with his right hand.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
- f. 178 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of five grey bells which have white clappers, with two white mallets.
- f. 182 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics stand facing a green altar covered with a white cloth, on the right. The cleric closest to the altar holds an open book; all three look straight ahead.

GB Ob Auct. D. 3. 8 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 222 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and wearing a green hat, tunes his harp with a tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks a string with the thumb and middle finger of his right hand.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
- f. 235 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and wearing a gold hat of the same shape as the green one in f. 222, strikes a carillon of three bells (green - red - green, with visible clappers), using two brown mallets.
- f. 238 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern which holds a large open book with black marks indicating writing.

GB Ob bibl. lat. 52 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 225 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks a string with the thumb and middle finger of his right hand.

GB Ob bibl. lat. 52 (continued)

- f. 238v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four blue bells (clappers visible), with two mallets which have black heads and green handles.
- f. 241 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face the right. The cleric closest to the right holds a large open book which has black marks indicating writing.

GB Ob Bodl. 270^b BIBLE MORALISÉE. French, 13th c.

- f. 33v Medallion: A man wearing the slashed tunic of a jongleur plays a vielle. There are also three women and the hand of God; four crowned figures appear in the clouds.
- f. 87v Medallion: A man wearing the slashed tunic of a jongleur plays a vielle with a large clublike bow as a king and four other men observe.
- f. 136 Medallion: David plays his harp for King Saul.
- f. 183v Medallion: A haloed man who stands in the center points to a "bell machine" on the left. A king who reclines on a couch at the right observes. This fantastic machine represents Ezechial's Wheel.
- f. 222 Medallion: Job, seated on his dung heap, is visited by birdlike creatures, one of which has a harp tied to its neck. There are also three human visitors.

GB Ob Canon. bibl. lat. 41 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 210 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with the thumb and index finger of his right hand.
- f. 223v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four blue bells (clappers visible), with two large green mallets.
- f. 226 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics stand facing the right. The cleric farthest to the right holds an open book with black marks indicating writing. All three look straight ahead with their mouths closed.

GB Ob Canon bibl. lat. 47 BIBLE. French, 1200-1250.

- f. 220v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with a black tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks a string with the thumb and middle finger of his right hand.
- f. 233 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of five green bells (clappers visible), with two large yellow mallets.
- f. 235v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern holding a large open book, on the right. The cleric closest to the book holds it open with both hands. All three have their mouths closed.

GB Ob Canon. bibl. 92 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 203v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with a large white tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks a string with the thumb and middle finger of his right hand.
- f. 215v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four white bells (clappers visible), with two tiny fine-lined white mallets.
- f. 218 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern on the right which holds a large open book with black marks indicating writing.

GB Ob Canon. liturg. 105 PSALTER. French, 13th c.

- f. 7 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, plucks his harp with both hands. He sits with his left leg crossed over the right.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.

GB Ob Canon. liturg. 105 (continued)

- f. 121v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four tan bells (clappers visible), with two large tan mallets. The bells are attached to the top of the letter "E" and a harp hangs from the crossbar of the "E".
- f. 141 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern on the right which is covered with a white cloth and holds a large open book with black marks representing writing. The cleric closest to the book holds it open with both hands. All three sing with their mouths wide open.

GB Ob C.C.C. 1 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 226v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
David wears a green hat and stands in the center. He strikes a carillon of four blue bells (no clappers visible), with two small white mallets. To his left is a green chair and at his feet on the right is a green harp.
- f. 229 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics stand facing a lectern with an open book, on the right. The cleric closest to the book holds it open with both hands. Both clerics have their mouths closed.

n.b. This manuscript has many tiny initials, some of which contain animal musicians. There are also tiny animals playing instruments in some of the margins. However, the detail is poor and I have not listed them.

GB Ob E.D. Clark 31 BIBLE. French, c. 1300.

- f. 249 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with a tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks a string with the thumb and index finger of his right hand.
- f. 264 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of three bells (green - red - green, clappers visible), with two white mallets.

GB Ob E.D. Clark 31 (continued)

- f. 267 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern on the right which holds an open book. Both have their mouths closed.

GB Ob D. 5. 17 BIBLE. French, 13th c.

- f. 243v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, with his left leg crossed over the right, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right.
- f. 258v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four bells (alternately tan and brown with no clappers visible), using two small black hammers. A large white harp is on the ground to the right of David's seat.
- f. 261v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern in the center which holds an open book with black marks indicating writing. On the right is an empty altar covered with a white cloth.

GB Ob Douce 23 PSALTER. French, 13th c.

- f. 14 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David is seated on a throne with his left leg crossed over the right. In addition to the crown which he wears, there is a red halo. He holds the top of the harp frame with his left hand and plucks with his right hand.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
n.b. On f. 86, David, with the same crown and halo but no instruments, kneels before the Virgin and Child who sit on top of a large altar.
- f. 169 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated with his left leg crossed over the right, is crowned and has a red halo. He strikes a carillon of five blue bells (clappers visible), with two mallets which have black heads and white handles.

GB Ob Douce 23 (continued)

- f. 197v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern on the right which holds a large open book. The cleric closest to the book holds it open with his right hand and with his left hand, points to his own head.

GB Ob Douce 24 PSALTER. Northern France, late 13th c.

- f. 7v Historiated Initial: Beatus. (Full page)
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, plucks his harp with the thumb and middle finger of his right hand. His left hand is not visible behind the opaque black background for the strings.

GB Ob Douce 118 PSALTER. N. French: Artois, before 1302.

- f. 7 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David is seated with his left leg crossed over the right and wearing a crown. He tunes his harp with a large tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks with his right hand.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
- f. 92 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of five silver bells (no clappers visible), with two mallets which have grey heads and very long orange handles.
- f. 108 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Six tonsured clerics face a lectern with a large open book, on the right. The cleric closest to the book holds it open with both hands. The three clerics in the front row sing with their mouths wide open; only the tops of the heads are visible for the other three.

The margins of this manuscript are filled with human, hybrid and animal figures, many of which play musical instruments.

- f. 8v A goat plays a bagpipe.

GB Ob Douce 118 (continued)

- f. 17 A hybrid plays a vielle, holding the instrument with his left hand and bowing with the right. The instrument has four strings and frets.
- f. 21v A monkey holds a bagpipe.
- f. 24 and f. 28v A man plays a hunting horn.
- f. 30v A hybrid wearing a large hat holds a bagpipe.
- f. 31 A monkey plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 31v A rabbit plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 32 A man plays a pipe and tabor (there is a snare on the tabor); a woman wearing a crown rings two hand-bells.
- f. 35 A hybrid holds a straight trumpet; a rabbit plays a wind instrument.
- f. 35v A monkey sits in a chair and pulls two cords which are attached to two large gold bells hanging above his head.
- f. 40v A man plays a pipe and tabor (there is a snare on the tabor).
- f. 41 and f. 48v A hybrid plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 59 A man holds a hunting horn and a dog chases a rabbit.
- f. 59v A two-faced monster has a straight trumpet projecting from each face.
- f. 60 A hybrid plays a pipe and tabor (there is a snare on the tabor).
- f. 61 A shepherd holds a bagpipe, six sheep graze, and there is a bird in a tree.
- f. 62v A man riding an animal holds a busine.
- f. 63v A hybrid plays a straight trumpet.

GB Ob Douce 118 (continued)

- f. 65 A man walks towards a large bird, holding a harp with his right hand and plucking with the thumb and index finger of his left hand. This is an illustration of the Bestiary story of the swan.
- f. 78 A hybrid holds straight trumpets up to each side of his head.
- f. 79 A hybrid carries two large bells.
- f. 84 A monkey plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 87 An animal plays a blue busine.
- f. 89 A hybrid plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 89v A man on a horse plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 96v A fantastic animal plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 100 A hybrid plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 100v A hybrid plays a tabor with a snare.
- f. 101 A man plays an orange vielie and an animal stands on its head.
- f. 101v A monkey seated with its left leg crossed over its right and wearing an orange crown, holds a harp with its left hand and plucks with its right hand. This is a parody of the "Beatus" illustration of King David.
- f. 105, 108 and 110 A man holds a hunting horn.
- f. 114v A shepherd sits on a little mound and plays a bagpipe to a dog who sits at his right and tips its head back, singing along. Six sheep graze on the left.
- f. 115v A hybrid plays a pipe and tabor (there is a snare on the tabor).
- f. 116 A hybrid with a bird sitting on its head plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 117 A man sitting on a horse plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 127 A man plays a straight trumpet.

GB Ob Douce 118 (continued)

- f. 129v A man with a crown and a halo plucks a gold psaltery using two white plectra. This may be a King David figure.
- f. 132v A man holds a hunting horn.
- f. 137 A tonsured cleric sits on an orange platform, with a gold halo around his head. He holds a harp with his left hand and plucks with his right. This closely resembles the "Beatus" illustration of King David. (See f. 101v of this manuscript.)
- f. 141 A squirrel plays a busine.
- f. 142 and f. 152v A hybrid plays a straight trumpet.
- f. 158 A man holds a hunting horn.
- f. 159 A two-faced man plays a straight trumpet from each face.
- f. 160v A woman wearing a long blue gown and a gold crown plays a vielle.
- f. 163 A monkey riding a goat plays a hunting horn.
- f. 165 A hybrid plays a straight trumpet and a tabor with a snare.
- f. 171 A man plays a hunting horn.

GB Ob Laud. lat. 87 BIBLE. French, second quarter 13th c.

- f. 215 Historiated Initial: Beatus. King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with a brown tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks with the thumb and index finger of his right. His right ankle is crossed over the left.

GB Ob Rawl. liturg. d. 3 SARUM GRADUAL. French, 13th c.

- f. 1 Margin illustration: A man with a large hat plays a large vielle.

(US) UNITED STATES. NYpm:New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.

US NYpm 79 PSALTER. St. Omer (French-Flanders), late 13th c.

- f. 94 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, appears full-face rather than turning to the right. He strikes a carillon of five bells with two mallets.
- f. — Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book. Two of the clerics sing with their mouths open and the third has his mouth closed.

US NYpm 98 PSALTER. Northern France, vicinity of Beauvais. 13th c.

- f. 1 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David is seated under the center of three trefoil arches, crowned, and with his left leg crossed over the right. He tunes his harp with a tuning bar held in his right hand and plucks with his left hand. Under the two flanking arches and on either side of David are two crowned musicians. The figure on the left plays a vielle and the figure on the right plays an ornate boars-head psaltery using two plectra.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
Margin illustration: Bottom of the page.
Two seated animals, a lion and an ape face each other; a man blows a hunting horn for two hounds and a running stag. (See PLATE 3.)
- f. 80v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned with his left leg crossed over the right, strikes a carillon of three bells, with two mallets. A harp hangs from the crossbar of the letter "E".
- f. 95v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern with an open book which the closest figure holds with both hands. He and the cleric just behind him, sing with their mouths open while the third cleric who is farthest from the book, has his mouth closed.

- US NYpm 101 PSALTER. Northeast France, probably Beauvais.
c. 1250.
- f. 24 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, plucks his harp with both hands.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
- f. — Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes two bells hung one above the other in a small tower, with two mallets.
- f. — Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a draped lectern on the right. The cleric closest to the lectern holds an open book. All three have their mouths closed.
- US NYpm 109 - 111. BIBLE. Written and illuminated either at St. Benoit-sur-Loire or in the channel region of France in the second half of the 13th c. (circa 1260). The decoration is a style growing out of the Bibles Moralisesées.
- NYpm 110 (Volume II)
- f. 54 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, plucks his harp with both hands. His torso is turned towards the right and on the left, behind his back, a white vielle stands on the ground next to David's bench. It has four strings, five pegs and a tail-piece.
- f. 72 Historiated Initial: Laudate dominum.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of three bells with two mallets.
- f. 76 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a large lectern on the right. The closest figure to the lectern holds a small open book above it. None of the clerics has his mouth open.
- NYpm 111 (Volume III)
- f. 152 Decorated Initial: P preceding Epistles of St. Paul.
A siren who is half-woman and half-bird, holds a frame drum (tabor) and plays a pipe. The drum is fastened around her neck with a cord.

US NYpm 111 (continued)

- f. 175 Decorated Initial: G from the prologue to Galatians. A shepherd plays a pipe (shawm?). The instrument has a narrow tube, flared bell and clearly enters the player's mouth suggesting the possibility of a double reed.
- f. 183 Decorated Initial: C from the prologue to Colossians. A hybrid with the head and torso of a king and lower body of a bird with small wings on its shoulders, plays a vielle.

US NYpm 153 PSALTER. France between 1228 and 1234.

- f. 26 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David is crowned and seated on a bench. He tunes his harp with a tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks with the thumb and index finger of his right hand. Standing on the bench to David's left and behind his back, is a white vielle. (See PLATE 1.)
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
- f. 128 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of three bells (clappers visible), with two mallets.
- f. 147 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern on the right. The closest one holds an open book above the lectern with both hands. Both clerics have their mouths closed.

US NYpm 163 BIRLE. Northeast France, probably Corbie. Dated 1229.

- f. 178 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, plucks a harp with his right hand. His left hand is not visible.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
- f. 190v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of three bells (clappers visible), with two mallets.

US NYpm 163 (continued)

- f. 193 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Two tonsured clerics face the right but there is no lectern. One holds an open book and the other holds a long red staff. Both have their mouths closed.
- f. 326 Half-page illustration: Tree of Jesse.
The "tree" proceeding from the figure of sleeping Jesse contains David, the Virgin and Christ. David holds a figure-eight vielle.

US NYpm 177 BIBLE. French, late 13th c.

- f. 261 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with a tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks with his right hand.

US NYpm 193 BIBLE. North-central France, probably for use in the Cistercian church of St. Stephan at Châlons-sur-Marne. Second half 13th c.

- f. 259 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with a tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks with the thumb and index finger of his right hand.
- f. 274v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four bells, with two large mallets.
- f. 278v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern on the right. All three have their mouths open singing and the one closest to the lectern holds an open book.

US NYpm 313 PSALTER AND HYMNAL. Laon, c. 1240.

- f. 14v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", Christ in Majesty.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, tunes his harp with a tuning bar held in his left hand and plucks with the thumb and index finger of his right hand.

US NYpm 313 (continued)

- f. 44v Historiated Initial: Dixit.
King David, seated and crowned, holds his harp with his right hand and plucks with his left. The usual illustration for this Psalm (No. 38) is David pointing to his mouth.
- f. 71 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of four bells (clappers visible), with two large mallets.
- f. 84v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
King David, seated and crowned, pulls one of the playing rods on the table organ on his right, using his right hand. The organ has nine pipes.
- f. 134 Historiated Initial: Conditor alme syderum.
(Text for a hymn notated in square neumes.)
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern on the right. One has his mouth open singing and the other has his mouth closed.

US NYpm 367 ROLL MANUSCRIPT written and illuminated in N.W. France, probably Picardy, during the second half of the 13th c. It contains an abridgement of Biblical history from the Creation through the Ascension, based on Peter Comestor's Historia Scholastica.

Painted miniature of King David seated on a bench between two trees. David faces left and plucks a harp with both hands.

US NYpm 494 BIBLE in French. Paris, third quarter 13th c.
Executed in the same atelier as F Pa 5056 and GB Lbm Harley 616 - Add. 41751.

- f. 296v Historiated Initial: Beatus.
King David, seated and crowned, his left leg crossed over the right, tunes his harp with his left hand and plucks with his right hand. Directly below this initial and in the lower margin is a siren who combs her hair and gazes into a mirror. Above the initial is a larger miniature which is divided into two registers.
Above: David as a shepherd with two sheep, holds a slingshot and confronts Goliath who stands armed at the right.
Below: David cuts off the head of Goliath.

US NYpm 494 (continued)

- f. 314v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon
of five bells (clappers visible), with two mallets.
- f. 318 Historiated Initial: Chantez a nostre seigneur.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern on the right
which holds an open book. One has his mouth open
singing and the other has his mouth closed.

US NYpm 638 SCENES FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT. Genesis to II Samuel,
XX, 22. There are eighty-six scenes each accompanied
by explanatory Biblical reference text in Latin.
Illuminated at Paris, c. 1240-60. Facsimile edition.

- f. 9 bottom left: Miriam the prophetess plays a frame drum with
two large beaters. Two women dance beside her.
(Exodus XV:1-21)
- f. 9v bottom right: Joshua and three knights on horseback and
carrying spears ride from the left to meet Amelek who
approaches from the right with two soldiers. In the
foreground there are two men with straight trumpets
on Joshua's side and two men with frame drums on
Amelek's. (Exodus XVII:8-13)
- f. 13v top left: Jepthe and three companions ride home. He
wrings his hands as he sees his daughter coming out
to greet him. She carries a square timbrel.
(Judges XI:30-35)
- f. 17 above (double picture): A vielle player stands in an
archway on the left wearing a long multi-colored and
slashed tunic. In a turret over the battlement arch-
way a second musician plays a pipe and tabor. Near
the vielle player are three daughters of Shiloh who
join hands dancing. Three Benjamites in suits of mail
advance to seize the dancing maidens and lead them
away. (Judges XXI:20-23)
- f. 25v below (double picture): Samuel stands on the left con-
ferring with Jesse who holds his eldest son by the
wrist. Five other sons stand on the right. David
sits on a grassy hillock playing a pipe with one hand
and ringing a handbell with the other. His shepherd's
crook is beside him and his harp leans against a tree.
A dog, seven sheep, three goats, and another tree
complete the picture. (I Samuel XVI:5-11)

US NYpm 638 (continued)

- f. 26 lower right: Jesse stands at the door of his house and points to David who sits in front of him with his harp between his feet. Three of Saul's marshalls enter from the left and summon the boy to play before the King. (I Samuel XVI:14-19)
- f. 26 below: David sits on a cushioned stone bench facing right and plays his harp before Saul. He plucks with the thumb and index finger of both hands. Saul sits sleeping calmly while the evil spirit flies upward. (I Samuel XVI:22-23)
- f. 29 above (double picture): David advances from the left carrying Goliath's head and his shepherd's crook. Saul and his warriors follow on foot, while six daughters of Israel come from the city gate on the right, dancing and singing. The first of these holds a square timbrel, the second plays a frame drum with two beaters, a third plays the bones, and a fourth in a multi-colored slashed tunic plays a vielle. (I Samuel XVIII:6-9)
- f. 29 lower left: The evil spirit is seen entering Saul who sits on the left. He hurls a spear at David who moves away to the right, carrying his harp in his left hand. (I Samuel XIX:9-10)
- f. 39 below (double picture): David leads the procession playing his harp and looking backwards. He is accompanied by six men and women playing two straight trumpets, a vielle, a square timbrel, a pipe and bell, and the bones. Following them is the ark placed upon a wagon and drawn by two oxen. (II Samuel VI:2-11)
- f. 39v above (double picture): The ark is carried on a handbarrow on the shoulders of two men. They are accompanied by two trumpeters and other persons. David with his harp dances before the ark. On the right, Michal looks out from a window above the gate of Zion and points contemptuously at her royal husband. To meet the procession of the ark, six musicians come from the gate playing the same instruments as in the illustration on f. 39. In the foreground, two young men slaughter rams in sacrifice.

- US NYpm 729 PSALTER AND BOOK OF HOURS. Written and illuminated at Amiens in the last quarter of the 13th c. for Yolande de Soissons, dame de Coeuvres, Vicomtesse de Soissons.
- f. 16 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", David (not crowned) is seated and plays a large positive organ with both hands. A figure behind the organ operates the bellows.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", young David with a dog, slingshot and sheep looks toward Goliath who appears in the right margin.
Margin: Goliath is portrayed as a large figure in the right margin. Below him is an old man playing a vielle. This figure may represent Solomon. In the lower margin, a man riding a lion plays a straight trumpet while another man leads a second lion with reins. Behind the lion and sitting on foliage is a monkey dressed in a cloak and a pointed cap, playing a straight trumpet. (See PLATE 38.)
- f. 40 Margin: Two female hybrids with dragon feet and tails. The figure on the left plucks a gittern with a plectrum while the one on the right dances.
- f. 105 Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon of five bells (no clappers visible), with two mallets.
- f. 123 Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Three tonsured clerics face a lectern on the right which has an open book. All three sing vigorously and the cleric closest to the book holds it with his right hand.
- f. 196 Historiated Initial: Kyrie Eleison.
Two tonsured clerics face a lectern on the right which holds an open book. Text, staff lines and neumes are all depicted on the pages. The cleric closest to the book holds it open with his left hand and points with his right. He also sings. The other cleric, who stands slightly behind the first, has his mouth closed.
- f. 306 Margin: A hybrid plays a pipe and tabor while a monkey wearing a cleric's cowl plays a small positive organ.

US NYpm 729 (continued)

- f. 342 Margin: A man wearing a tunic plucks a gittern with a plectrum.
- f. 389 Margin: A woman dances while a man plays a vielle. The vielle has frets, a bridge, a tail-piece, and c-holes all carefully depicted.

US NYpm 730 PSALTER AND BOOK OF HOURS in Latin and French. Written and illuminated at Arras in the middle of the 13th c. for Ghuiluys de Boisieux and her husband Jean de Neuville-Vitasse. The texts describing the miniatures are in Picard dialect.

- f. 20 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", the marriage of David and Michal.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David plays before Saul. David, standing on the right, plucks his harp with both hands. Saul, on the left, has a black bird issuing from his mouth.
- f. 109 Miniature: David dancing before the ark.
- f. 119 Full-page illustration with four quadrants representing two scenes.
Above: David dances before the ark which is carried on an ornate wagon drawn by four oxen. This scene fills the left quadrant while the right quadrant is filled with musicians who play a portative organ (hung from the player's neck), a vielle, a psaltery, a frame drum, a wind instrument, two busines, and a double pipe.

US NYpm 796 PSALTER. Written and illuminated in northern France c. 1290-1300 at the Abbey of St. Fuscian near Amiens.

- f. 1 Historiated Initial: Beatus.
This initial has two registers within its body and two connected medallions on the left which are formed by extensions of the letter itself.
Above: In the upper register of the initial "B", King David, seated and crowned, plays a positive organ which has two ranks of pipes.
Below: In the lower register of the initial "B", David and Goliath.
Upper medallion: A man plays a vielle.
Lower medallion: A man plays a pipe (recorder? shawm?).
Upper margin: A man plays a psaltery.
Lower margin: A man plays two handbells.

US NYpm 796 (continued)

- f. 75v Historiated Initial: Exultate.
King David, seated and crowned, strikes a carillon
of six bells (no clappers visible), with two mallets.
- f. 90v Historiated Initial: Cantate.
Six tonsured clerics face a lectern which holds a
large open book with red lines and black neumes on
its pages. They all sing with their mouths open.

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