

Musical Culture in the World of Adam de la Halle

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Musical Culture in the World of Adam de la Halle

Edited by

Jennifer Saltzstein



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A Note on Manuscript Sigla

Adam's works appear in over two dozen manuscripts housed in cities such as Paris, New York, Oxford, Vatican City, St. Petersburg, and many others. A system of abbreviating the many manuscripts referenced in this book was necessary to avoid cluttering this text with cumbersome library shelf-marks or the rather long abbreviations used in RISM. Specialists often recognize the manuscripts in which Adam's music appears most readily by the sigla used in two invaluable catalogues: Hans Spanke's *G. Raynays Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes*, and Friedrich Gennrich's *Bibliographie der ältesten französischen und lateinischen Motetten*. Retaining these sigla helps to acknowledge the debt all scholars of Adam's songs and motets owe to these foundational philologists. Yet relying on these sigla for Adam's manuscripts, which cross so many generic boundaries, admittedly creates certain problems. The central source of Adam's works, the songbook contained in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 25566, for example, goes by several different nicknames. Scholars focused on Adam's songs know this manuscript as *W*. Those investigating Adam's motets often refer to the same manuscript as *Ha*. Accounts of the copy of *Renart le Nouvel* contained in the same manuscript know it as *V*. But Raynaud and Spanke use the siglum *V* to identify a different manuscript entirely – the *chansonnier* Paris, BnF, fr. 24406. This is just one example of the potential for confusion.

There is no perfect solution to this problem. I have retained the sigla of Raynaud/Spanke and Gennrich in order to make this book as useful as possible to readers who have already memorized them, as well as readers who will encounter these sigla in decades of existing secondary literature. Because the letters used sometimes overlap, it has occasionally been necessary to add further information. The addition of "trouv." indicates that a siglum refers to a *chansonnier*; the addition of "motet" to a siglum indicates that the manuscript in question transmits motets. For clarification and reference, the list of sigla, which I prepared jointly with Anne Ibos-Augé, provides a list of every manuscript that is discussed multiple times in this book, indicating its full library shelfmark as well as its shortened shelfmarks or sigla.

List of Sigla

Complete shelfmark	Shortened shelfmark ^a	Sigla ^b	Specific contents addressed in chapters
Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanès, 166 Angers, Bibl. mun., 403	Méjanès 166		<i>Jeu de Robin et Marion</i> <i>Abeïe du chastel amoureux</i>
Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale 657		A	<i>Jeux-partis</i> ; songs
Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115 (Ed. iv. 6)		Ba	Motets
Bern, Stadtbibliothek, 231		B	Songs
Bern, Stadtbibliothek, 389		C	Songs
[Besançon, Bibl. mun., I, 716]		[Bes]	Motets (lost ms.)
Cambrai, Bibl. mun., 1328		CaB	<i>Rondeaux</i>
Bibliothèque Municipale de Metz, 535	Metz 535		Motets (lost ms.)
Mons, Bibl. Univ., 330-215	<i>B-Mbu</i> 330-215		<i>Tournoi de Chauvenci</i>
Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Faculté de Médecine, H. 196		Mo	Motets
Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Faculté de Médecine, H. 236		f	Songs
New York, Pierpont Morgan libr., 36			<i>Roman de la Violette</i>
Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Douce 308		<i>I-trouv.</i> (songs)	Songs, motets,
		<i>D-motet</i> (motets)	<i>Tournoi de Chauvenci</i>
Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 5198		<i>K-trouv.</i>	Songs
Paris, BnF, NAF 1050		X	Songs
Paris, BnF, NAF 1731	NAF 1731		<i>Cours d'Amours II</i>
Paris, BnF, NAF 13521		Cl	motets

Complete shelfmark	Shortened shelfmark ^a	Sigla ^b	Specific contents addressed in chapters
Paris, BnF, fr. 146	fr. 146	<i>Fauvel</i>	<i>Roman de Fauvel</i> ; Jeannot de Lescurel <i>corpus</i>
Paris, BnF, fr. 372	fr. 372	<i>RenartC</i>	<i>Renart le Nouvel</i>
Paris, BnF, fr. 837	fr. 837		Saluts d'amour
Paris, BnF, fr. 844		<i>M-trouv.</i> (songs)	Songs, motets, <i>rondeaux</i>
		<i>R-motet</i> (motets)	
Paris, BnF, fr. 845		<i>N-trouv.</i>	Songs, "motets entés"
		<i>PaN</i> (motets)	
Paris, BnF, fr. 846		<i>O-trouv.</i>	Songs
Paris, BnF, fr. 847		<i>P-trouv.</i>	Songs
Paris, BnF, fr. 1109		<i>Q</i>	Songs
Paris, BnF, fr. 12473		<i>K-troub.</i>	Songs
Paris, BnF, fr. 1374	fr. 1374		<i>Roman de la Violette</i>
Paris, BnF, fr. 1569	fr. 1569		Jeu de Robin et Marion
Paris, BnF, fr. 1581	fr. 1581	<i>RenartL</i>	<i>Renart le Nouvel</i>
Paris, BnF, fr. 1591		<i>R-trouv.</i>	Songs
Paris, BnF, fr. 1593	fr. 1593	<i>RenartF</i>	<i>Renart le Nouvel</i>
Paris, BnF, fr. 2186	fr. 2186		<i>Roman de la Poire</i>
Paris, BnF, fr. 8541			Necrology of the <i>Carité</i> of Arras
Paris, BnF, fr. 12483	fr. 12483	<i>i</i>	<i>Rosarius</i>
Paris, BnF, fr. 12615	fr. 12615	<i>T-trouv.</i> (songs)	Songs, motets
		<i>N-motet</i> (motets)	
Paris, BnF, fr. 12786	fr. 12786	<i>k</i>	<i>rondeaux</i> , motets, <i>Roman de la Poire</i>
Paris, BnF, fr. 20050		U	
Paris, BnF, fr. 24406		<i>V-trouv.</i>	Songs
Paris, BnF, fr. 24432	fr. 24432		<i>Dit de la panthère</i>
Paris, BnF, fr. 25566	fr. 25566	<i>W-trouv.</i> (songs)	Adam de la Halle:
		<i>Wx-trouv.</i> (songs; first eight leaves)	songs, <i>rondeaux</i> , motets, <i>Jeu de</i>

Complete shelfmark	Shortened shelfmark ^a	Sigla ^b	Specific contents addressed in chapters
		<i>Ha-motet</i> (motets) <i>V-Renart</i> (<i>Renart le Nouvel</i>) <i>P-Jeu</i> (<i>Jeu de Robin et Marion</i>)	<i>Robin et Marion</i> , <i>Jeu de la feuillée</i> ; <i>Jeu du pèlerin</i> <i>Renart le Nouvel</i>
Paris, BnF, lat. 15139 St Petersburg, Bibl. Publ. Saltykov-Chtchédrine, fr. 4 ^o v. XIV. 3		<i>StV</i>	Motets (no texts) <i>Roman de la Violette</i>
Turin, Bibl. ex-Reale, Varia 42		<i>Tu</i>	Motets
Vatican City, Bibl. apost. Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1490	Vat. Reg. lat. 1490	<i>a-trouv.</i> (songs) <i>V-motet</i> (motets)	Songs, motets, <i>rondeaux</i> , <i>jeux-partis</i>
Vatican City, Bibl. apost. Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1522		<i>b</i>	<i>Jeux-partis</i>
Vatican City, Bibl. apost. Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1543		<i>Reg</i>	Motets (mutilated ms.)
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek 1099		<i>W₂</i>	Motets

^a For manuscripts used in multiple chapters.

^b For manuscripts referred to in multiple chapters.

Introduction

Jennifer Saltzstein

It is not an exaggeration to say that we know practically nothing about the composer, dramatist, and poet, Adam de la Halle.¹ The dates of his birth and death, his relationships with his wife and family, his teachers and the institutions that facilitated his education, and his artistic patrons all remain matters of intense speculation for historians armed with few documents beyond his own works. Adam de la Halle insists throughout his oeuvre that he is a cleric, yet he left us no lyrics in Latin. His fellow trouvères in his native city of Arras marvel over Adam's advanced education, yet many of the trouvères of Arras were clerics themselves. Compared to other medieval composers of similar artistic stature and productivity, for example, Hildegard of Bingen and Guillaume de Machaut, Adam's life and works leave us with many unanswered questions.² As the likely originator of the polyphonic *rondeau*, one of the very first authors of musical drama and, indeed, of European vernacular drama itself, as well as a mature, innovative voice in the polyphonic motet, *jeu-parti*, and courtly love song, Adam undoubtedly stands as the most prolific and important artistic voice of thirteenth-century France.

The generic breadth of Adam's oeuvre is unmatched by his contemporaries. As we shall see throughout this volume, Adam's output, however singular, did not emerge in a vacuum. He was, importantly, influenced by both his urban environment and by the community of artists active in the North of France. This dynamic is visible in Adam's *vers de l'amour* and *vers de la mort*, which engaged with a poetic tradition initiated by another northern clerical poet, Hélinand de Froidement. In the variety of his output and in his propensity for generic experimentation, Adam was likely also inspired by his famous *arrageois* predecessor, the cleric-trouvère Jehan Bodel, who himself initiated the new lyric genres of the *fabliau* and *congé*, while also producing *chansons*, *pastourelles*, and the first extant vernacular play, the *Jeu de Saint Nicholas*.³ Adam's

1 Jean Maillard, *Adam de la Halle: perspective musicale* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1982), 7.

2 For a synopsis of what is known of Adam's life, see Jennifer Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry*, Gallica Series 30 (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2013), 117–23.

3 Carol Symes, "Repeat Performances: Jehan Bodel, Adam de la Halle, and the Re-Usable Pasts of Their Plays," in *Collections in Context: The Organization of Knowledge and Community in Europe*, ed. Karen Fresco and Anne D. Hedeman (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2011), 275–87, at 282.

own vernacular plays, the *Jeu de la feuillée* and the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* followed on the heels of the *Jeu de Saint Nicholas*; the tavern scenes in the *Jeu de la feuillée* may have been fashioned directly after those in Bodel's play.⁴ Like Bodel before him, Adam composed a *congé*, announcing his departure from Arras; like Bodel, he also wrote an epic, *Le Roi de Sezile*, although Adam's remained unfinished, likely interrupted by his death abroad. Whereas Bodel was clearly an important model of generic virtuosity for Adam, the variety and innovativeness of Adam's own output exceeds not only Bodel's, but also every other thirteenth-century trouvère. Indeed, the breadth of Adam's output would be unmatched before that of Guillaume de Machaut.⁵ Adam is known for his inventive experimentation with existing genres. His *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, for example, is structured through a hybrid presentation of the narrative forms of the *pastourelle* and *bergerie* song genres, while also integrating song and drama. His *Jeu de la feuillée* is a play without any clear generic or thematic precedents that combines fiction with fact, elevated courtly customs with low comedy, as well as sacred and profane spaces and rituals.⁶

In addition to the breadth of the dramatic and poetic genres represented in his *œuvre*, Adam also produced thirty-six *chansons* and eighteen *jeux-partis*, many of which are broadly transmitted across surviving *chansonniers*. Adam's output is thus comparable to that of some of the most prolific trouvères. His fifty-four *chansons* and *jeux-partis* would put him in the same league as trouvères such as Thibaut de Champagne and Gace Brulé, for example, to whom around sixty songs each are securely attributed. In the genre of the *jeu-parti*, Adam was clearly a virtuoso. In fourteen of his eighteen contests, Adam played the more difficult role of the respondent, wherein he had to model his rhyme scheme on that of the questioner's first strophe. His skill is also evident in this choice of opponents. The majority of Adam's contests appear to have been waged against Jehan Bretel, the most prolific and thus experienced debater of the genre. Further, the trouvère most often called upon to judge Adam's contests was Lambert Ferri, another highly seasoned debater from Arras.⁷ His preference for expert competitors and judges is notable given that these *jeux-partis* occurred sometime before Jehan Bretel's death in 1272; Jehan notes Adam's

4 Ibid.

5 Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987), 69.

6 See especially Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2007), 182–231.

7 See Saltzstein, "Cleric-Trouvères and the *Jeux-Partis* of Medieval Arras," *Viator* 43 (2012): 147–64, 150.

relative youth in several of their contests.⁸ Adam's complete works manuscript (found in fr. 25566) credits him with sixteen polyphonic *rondeaux* and five polyphonic motets. Adam may have initiated the genre of the polyphonic *rondeau*, one of a number of stylistic forerunners to the fourteenth-century tradition of polyphonic *chanson*.⁹ The only other representatives of polyphonic *rondeaux* contemporary with Adam's works survive anonymously in the early fourteenth-century manuscript *k*. Although space was left for it, the music notation for these settings was never entered.¹⁰ Adam's five motets are noteworthy for their inventive incorporation of refrains.¹¹ Further, in two of his motets, Adam significantly expanded the scope of the genre, using many tenor repetitions to elongate their time span, allowing for extended narrative play between more detailed poetic texts than the genre typically entertained.¹²

Adam is one of very few thirteenth-century vernacular composers to whom polyphonic compositions are attributed. The vast majority of motets and polyphonic *rondeaux* composed during Adam's lifetime are unattributed in the manuscripts that preserve them. Occasionally, theoretical texts help us assign authorship to thirteenth-century vernacular polyphony. Petrus de Cruce, for example, is cited as the author of two motets in theoretical treatises by Jacques de Liège and others, however, these motets are not attributed to him in the manuscripts in which they appear.¹³ Similarly, two of the polyphonic *rondeaux* transmitted anonymously in the early fourteenth-century manuscript *k* have

8 Lucie Nicod, *Les partures Adan: les jeux-partis d'Adam de la Halle* (Paris: Champion, 1917), 30.

9 Other experiments in polyphonic *chanson* composition during the thirteenth century are discussed in Mark Everist, "Motets, French Tenors and the Polyphonic Chanson c.1300," *Journal of Musicology* 24 (2007): 365–406; Everist, "Souspirant en terre estrange: The Polyphonic Rondeau from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut," *Early Music History* 26 (2007): 1–42; and Gaël Saint-Cricq, "A New Link Between the Motet and Trouvère Chanson: The *Pedes-Cum-Cauda* Motet," *Early Music History* 32 (2013): 179–223.

10 Two of the *rondeaux* in this manuscript have monophonic concordances in *a* that are attributed to the trouvère Guillaume d'Amiens, however, it is not possible to say for certain that Guillaume wrote the polyphonic versions. See Mark Everist, "The Polyphonic *Rondeau* c.1300: Repertory and Context," *Early Music History* 15 (1996): 59–96.

11 See Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 281–83 and Saltzstein, *Refrain and the Rise*, 126–48.

12 This is especially true of the motets *Entre Adan / Chiès bien / Aptatur and De ma dame / Diex*, comment / Omnes, discussed in Sylvia Huot, "Transformations of the Lyric Voice in the Songs, Motets, and Plays of Adam de la Halle," *Romanic Review* 78 (1987): 148–64; Emma Dillon, *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France (1260–1330)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 158–60; Saltzstein, *Refrain and the Rise*, 132–35; and Chapter 11 of this book, by Mark Everist.

13 The motets are *S'amours eust point de poer / Au renouveler du joli tans / Ecce and Aucun*

textual concordances to monophonic *rondeaux* in *a*. The *chansonnier* attributes the two songs to the trouvère Guillaume d'Amiens. It is impossible to know for certain, however, whether Guillaume was responsible for the polyphonic versions of his *rondeaux* or whether another composer added polyphonic voices to Guillaume's monophonic songs to create the polyphonic versions attested by *k*.¹⁴ Adam's own *rondeau* "Robin m'aime," which opens the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* was transformed into the polyphonic motet *Mout me fu grief / Robin m'aime / Portare*. Although some editors have wished to see this motet and others not transmitted in fr. 25566 as part of Adam's *oeuvre*, it is equally possible that an anonymous vernacular composer was responsible for the motet.¹⁵ Adam thus appears to be the only thirteenth-century trouvère to whom polyphony is explicitly attributed in a music manuscript.¹⁶ The stubborn anonymity of the manuscripts that transmit thirteenth-century polyphony prevents us from knowing for certain whether Adam's status as a composer of both polyphony and trouvère song was unique among his contemporaries. However, the attribution of polyphony to Adam in fr. 25566 is clearly exceptional among surviving thirteenth-century *chansonniers* and motet codices. Its presence in his complete works manuscript is singular and striking, indicating that Adam's role as a composer of both monophony and polyphony seems to have distinguished him from his compositional peers.

Fr. 25566 is our most important source for Adam's works. In addition to a variety of vernacular works such as Richard de Fournival's *Bestiaire d'amour* and Jacquemart Giélée's *Renart le Nouvel*, the manuscript contains a nearly

ont trouvé chant / Lonc tans me sui tenu / Annuntiantes. See Michel Huglo, "De Francon de Cologne à Jacques de Liège," *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 34 (1980/81): 44–60.

14 Everist, "Polyphonic *Rondeau*," 92.

15 Nigel Wilkins includes this motet and five others in his edition of Adam's musical works under the heading "motets possibly by Adam de la Halle." These pieces are not included in fr.25566, but Wilkins reasons that the presence of refrains and themes found elsewhere in Adam's *oeuvre* raise the possibility that Adam may have written them. See Nigel Wilkins, ed., *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle (Chansons, jeux partis, rondeaux, motets)*, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* 44, 2nd ed. Neushausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology; Hänssler, 1984, 73.

16 One might argue that Gautier de Coincy could have composed polyphony; two of his monophonic songs "Amours dont sui espris" (R1546) and "Entez tuit ensemble" (R83), share their melodies with polyphonic compositions. It is unlikely, however, that Gautier wrote these polyphonic settings. "Entez tuit ensemble" (R83) is a contrafactum of Perotin's *Beata viscera*. "Amours dont sui espris" (R1546) is undoubtedly a contrafactum of Blondel de Nesle's song of the same name, and the conductus settings that also survive could have been written by other composers in response to either Blondel or Gautier's song.

complete compendium of Adam de la Halle's output.¹⁷ It is not, however, a true *opera omnia*. It lacks a small number of works elsewhere attributed to Adam, and questions have been raised about Adam's authorship of several of the items that the manuscript does include among his works. There are three songs attributed to Adam in other sources that are not found in fr. 25566. The song "Grant deduit a et savoureuse vie," for example, is attributed to "Adan le Bossu" in Adam's author section in *T-trouv.* and in the two manuscripts of the *Dit de la panthère*, but does not appear in fr. 25566.¹⁸ Further, two *jeux-parti* texts are included in an author section of Adam's works in *Q* but do not appear in the *jeu-parti* section of Adam's works in fr. 25566, namely "Sire, asses sage" and "Adan du quell cuidiés vous." Adam's authorship of several of the items contained in fr. 25566 has been disputed. The *Jeu du pèlerin*, a short play in which a pilgrim announces Adam's death, would seem to have been written by another author who is not named. Despite their presence in Adam's author section of fr. 25566, doubts have been raised about his authorship of the *vers de la mort*. Some editors have excluded Adam's *vers de l'amours* and *vers de la mort* from editions of his complete works.¹⁹ Others have attributed the *vers* to different poets.²⁰ Some have drawn attention to the rubric introducing the *vers* in fr. 25566, "Ce sont vers d'amour," which does not announce Adam's authorship as explicitly as some of the other rubrics in his author section.²¹ There are, however, several rubrics in Adam's author section in fr. 25566 that name the work rather than citing Adam as its author; it is unclear why the *vers* have been singled out for suspicion on these grounds.²² Finally, stylistic objections have been raised to the notion that Adam wrote *Li vers de la mort*. Scholars have

17 Adam's complete works section may not have been the first; it was likely preceded by a similar compilation devoted to the trouvère Thibaut de Navarre. See Huot, *Song to Book*, 64–66.

18 This song also appears without attribution in *R-trouv.*, fr.1591.

19 See Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaker, *Œuvres complètes du trouvère Adam de la Halle* (Paris: Durand & Pédone-Lauriel, 1872).

20 Symes stated that the *vers de la mort* were by Hélinand de Froidmont in "The Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays: Forms, Functions, and the Future of Medieval Theatre," *Speculum* 77 (2002): 778–831, 820. She later stated that Robert le Clerc d'Arras was the author of the *vers de la mort* attributed to Adam. See Symes, "Repeat Performances," 278 n.15. Arndt Wallheinke noted that the nineteenth-century philologist Adolph Tobler believed that the *vers de la mort* were by Robert le Clerc but that Tobler's claim was refuted when Robert's *vers de la mort* were published for the first time and the three strophes attributed to Adam as his *vers de la mort* were not found in Robert's poem. Wallheinke saw no reason to believe that Adam was not their author. See Wallheinke, *Die "Vers de le Mort" von Robert le Clerc aus Arras* (Leipzig: Birch-Hirschfeld & Deutschbein, 1911), 20.

21 See Huot, *From Song to Book*, 66.

22 Ibid.

claimed, for example, that if the author of the *Jeu de la feuillée* had actually written them, he would have been unable to resist the temptation to slip into satire.²³ Whatever questions of attribution might remain regarding these items, fr. 25566 remains our central source for Adam's *œuvre*.

Fr. 25566 also seems to arrange Adam's works carefully by genre in ways that implicitly reinforce a narrative about his career and talents. The musical and nonmusical sections of his output are divided. The collection opens with his music, moving from Adam's monophonic *chansons* and *jeux-partis*, and closes with his polyphonic *rondeaux* and motets, some have argued, in ascending order of difficulty. These lyric compositions are followed by plays that dramatize their themes and locate both Adam and his poetic output within his community of Arras.²⁴ Adam's works are interpolated at their midpoint by the anonymous *Jeu du pèlerin*, in which a pilgrim interrupts the presentation to tell us of Adam's death in the Angevin kingdom of Sicily. The author section closes with Adam's *congé* and *vers de la mort*, a fitting departure. The manuscript also appears to frame Adam's works through those of one of his most important poetic influences, the *arrageois* cleric-trouvère Jehan Bodel. The miniature that opens Adam's corpus seems to depict Jehan seated next to Adam; the last work in the section is a copy of Jehan Bodel's *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*.²⁵ Fr. 25566 includes, too, the text *Comment Diex fourma Adam*, an exploration of the derivation of the name of the biblical Adam. Within the context of fr. 25566, this text functions as a hyperbolic homage to Adam de la Halle by implicitly comparing him to the first of men.²⁶

Fr. 25566 is our only source for Adam's *vers de l'amour* and *vers de la mort*, his unfinished epic *Roi de Sezile*, and his *congés*.²⁷ For the rest of his output, however, we find concordances in a broad array of *chansonniers* and other manuscripts, demonstrating widespread interest in Adam's works. Adam's two vernacular plays, the *Jeu de la feuillée* and the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, were included not only in fr. 25566 but also in two additional manuscripts each. Two

23 Monique Santucci, "Adam de la Halle, auteur des *Ver d'Amours* et des *Ver de la Mort*," in *Miscellanea mediaevalia: mélanges offerts à Philippe Ménard*, ed. J. Claude Faucon, Alain Labbé, and Danielle Quéruef (Paris: H. Champion, 1998), 2:3183–92.

24 Huot, *Song to Book*, 68.

25 Everist, "Polyphonic *Rondeau*," 72 and Symes, "Repeat Performances," 276.

26 Federico Saviotti, "À la recherche d'Adam: tradition et fortune d'un motif et d'un texte dans la France médiévale," *Romania* 131 (2013): 5–24.

27 These works were nonetheless influential; Adam's *vers de l'amours*, for example, was imitated and critiqued by the trouvère Nevelot Aimon. See Federico Saviotti, "Fragments d'un discours amoureux: Les *vers d'amour* de Nevelot Aimon, entre lyrique et moralisme," in *La chanson de troubères: formes, registres, genres*, ed. Marie-Geneviève Grossel (Valenciennes: Presses Universitaires de Valenciennes, 2012), 201–14.

shorter versions of the *Jeu de la feuillée* survive in ms. *a* and in fr. 837. Whereas editors once viewed these copies as fragments of Adam's original, more recent work by Carol Symes has repositioned them as adaptations of the original play adjusted to serve the needs of *jongleurs* and to suit changing historical and geographical contexts for their performances.²⁸ The *Jeu de Robin et Marion* is transmitted with its text alone in fr. 1569 and accompanied by its melodies and a bevy of evocative, theatrical images in ms. Méjanes 166. Adam's musical output was widely transmitted. In addition to the nearly complete works found in fr. 25566, there are five *chansonniers* that each preserve twenty or more of Adam's *chansons*: *T-trouv.*, *P-trouv.*, *Q*, *R-trouv.*, and *a*. The paucity of manuscript variants in Adam's songs across these *chansonniers* has led scholars to believe that an authoritative compilation of Adam's songs may have circulated prior to their copying into these songbooks.²⁹ An additional four *chansonniers* (*A*, *I-trouv.*, *O*, and *V-trouv.*) each preserve between six and eleven of his songs. A selection of twenty of Adam's *jeux-partis* can be found in his author section in *Q*; ms. *a* also transmits over half of his surviving *jeux-partis*. Scattered copies of his songs and *jeux-partis* appear in six additional *chansonniers*. Fr. 25566 is certainly the central source for Adam's polyphonic compositions, preserving his sixteen polyphonic *rondeaux* and his five motets. Several of these works appear outside of fr. 25566 as well. Four of his *rondeaux* also appear in *h* and, with their lyrics alone, in *k*. Further, three of his motets appear in fascicle 7 of *Mo*. *Ba* and *Tu* both transmit Adam's motet *Entre Adan (725) / Chiès bien (726) / Aptatur*, demonstrating the influence of his motets in manuscripts compiled during the last quarter of the thirteenth century and into the early fourteenth.³⁰ The transmission of these pieces suggests that during his last years, and in the decades immediately following his death, there was an audience for Adam's polyphony outside of his native Arras, for example, in the city of Liège, where *Tu* originated, as well as in Paris, where *Mo* and *Ba* were copied.

The breadth and importance of Adam's works is evident in the presence of his *opera omnia* in fr. 25566 and the broad survival of his diverse output. The contours of Adam's life, in contrast, seem at once obvious and frustratingly elusive. He appears as the lyric subject or protagonist in his *Jeu de la feuillée*, *jeux-partis*, *congé*, and two of his motets. Many seemingly biographical details manifest themselves in these works. In the opening verses of the *Jeu de la feuillée*, we learn that the protagonist, Adam, plans to leave Arras and his wife Maroie to return to his studies in Paris. His *congé* and his motet *Aucun se sont*

28 See Symes, "Early Vernacular Plays," 815–18 and Symes, "Repeat Performances," 283.

29 Huot, *Song to Book*, 67.

30 A modern edition of this motet appears in Wilkins, *Lyric Works of Adam*, 65–67.

loe / *A dieu* / *Super te* reinforce these themes of leave-taking, exploring the lyric subject's departure from Arras.³¹ In the motet *Aucun se sont loe*, the lyric subject, presumably Adam, disavows the ideals of trouvère song and meditates on the corruption and injustice of Arras, signaling his imminent departure from both his city and his life as a trouvère.³² In his *congé*, Adam officially bids his city farewell; the author portrait accompanying the verses in fr. 25566 depicts a man, presumably Adam, riding away on horseback.³³ Tracing his works further, it would seem that Adam did indeed depart Arras, but perhaps for Italy rather than Paris. His unfinished epic *Le Roi de Sezile* celebrates the imperialist exploits of Charles d'Anjou, whose Sicilian campaign Adam supported by joining the service of Charles's nephew Robert II of Artois in 1282 bound for Naples.³⁴

Biographical sketches of Adam found in contemporary scholarship are often clever extrapolations based on textual evidence from his own works as well as references to Adam in the songs and plays of his contemporaries. Questions surrounding Adam's education at the University of Paris demonstrate some of the difficulties of mining Adam's poetic works for historical biographical data. Pierre-Yves Badel, for example, attempted to estimate Adam's date of birth based upon textual evidence. He noted that Adam is referred to as a cleric several times in his debates with Jehan Bretel. Badel reasoned that these references indicated that Adam must have studied for a rather long time at the University of Paris prior to Jehan Bretel's death in 1272, and would have obtained, prior to this year, his "maîtrise."³⁵ Adam was indeed called *maistre*; this might indicate his possession of an official academic title. Although the title *maistre* was officially given to those in possession of the *licentia docendi*, a certification of mastery and permission to teach that was granted by the Chancellor of the University of Paris, there were many cleric-trouvères who are identified through this title in manuscript rubrics and references in the *jeux-partis*. It is unlikely that they all possessed the official *licentia docendi*, rather, it seems that the term was used in the vernacular to recognize learning.³⁶ References to Adam's *clergie* and his status as a *maistre* thus do not provide sufficient evidence that Adam attended the University of Paris, and certainly do not prove that he

31 A modern edition appears in *ibid.*, 60–61.

32 See Huot, "Transformations of the Lyric Voice," 148–64 and Saltzstein, *Refrain and the Rise*, 135–147. Carol Symes argues that the motetus voice refers to documented abuses by the *échevins* of Arras. See *A Common Stage*, 206.

33 Huot, *Song to Book*, 68.

34 Symes, *A Common Stage*, 203–4.

35 Adam de la Halle. *Œuvres complètes*, ed. and trans. Pierre-Yves Badel (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1995), 11.

36 Saltzstein, "Cleric-trouvères," 6.

obtained a degree there. Some biographical accounts of Adam's life freely interlace fact and fiction. Also using textual analysis, Ernest Langlois attempted to ascertain whether the historical Adam had actually left his wife Maroie and returned to his studies in Paris, a topic discussed in both the *Jeu de la feuillée* and *congé*. Because the dating of the *congé* is unknown, Langlois offered two possible interpretations depending on the chronology of the two works. His assessment of the question of Adam's return to Paris ultimately hinged on whether or not the evil fairy of the *Jeu de la feuillée* had the last word and successfully persuaded Adam to stay in Arras with his wife.³⁷ Once we turn from literary evidence to documentary evidence, many of the central events of Adam's life that we find thematized across his works, particularly his studies at the University of Paris, are impossible to verify. One might view Adam's ability to compose polyphony as de facto evidence of his having spent time in Paris, the home of the "Notre Dame" school of polyphonic composition. However, there was an independent tradition of polyphonic composition emanating from Arras in the second half of the thirteenth century; Adam could have learned this skill in his hometown.³⁸

Indeed, there are a few details of Adam's life that find support in surviving historical documents. Given its discussion of the canons issued at the Second Council of Lyon, we know that Adam's *Jeu de la feuillée* was written sometime around 1276.³⁹ Moreover, this play features a cast of characters full of historical persons known to have lived in Arras. Their deaths are recorded in the funeral register of the confraternity of *jongleurs* of Arras (the *Carité de Notre Dame des Ardents*);⁴⁰ they may well have attended the play's first performance.⁴¹ The earliest date we can attach to Adam's life is 1272. Baude Fastoul mentions Adam in his *congé*, which was written before Baude's death in that year. Similarly, Adam's *jeux-partis* against Jehan Bretel would have occurred prior to the latter's death in 1272. The nature and time of Adam's own death has been a source of disagreement. The anonymous author of the *Jeu du pèlerin* informs readers of fr. 25566 that Adam has been killed in the kingdom of Sicily. Many have assumed that he died there, following not only the words of the pilgrim in this

37 Ernest Langlois, *Adam le Bossu: le jeu de la feuillée* (Paris: Champion, 1923), iv–vi.

38 See Everist, "The Rondeau Motet: Paris and Artois in the Thirteenth Century," *Music and Letters* 69 (1988): 1–22 and Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth-Century: Music, Poetry, and Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 104–9.

39 Symes, *A Common Stage*, 189.

40 Roger Berger, *Le nécrologe de la Confrérie des jongleurs et des bourgeois d'Arras (1194–1361)* (Arras: Commission départementale des monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1963 and 1970).

41 Symes, *A Common Stage*, 187.

play, but also brief comments left in another *chansonnier* that seem to corroborate the pilgrim's remarks. The *jongleurs'* necrology includes an entry from 1288 for the death of a certain Jehan Mados. In a colophon following a copy of the *Roman de Troie*, a scribe by this name describes himself as Adam's nephew and explains that his uncle had departed from Arras and, later, had left many people there mourning his death.⁴² Jehan's own death would thus seem to provide us with a *terminus ante quem* of 1288 for Adam's demise. Some doubts have been raised about this death date, however. The discovery of a certain "Mastre Adam le Boscu" among the participants listed in payment records for the celebration of the knighthood of Edward II in 1306 raised the possibility that Adam may have been alive and well in the early fourteenth century.⁴³ Yet Adam's name does not appear in the extensive accounts of the household of Robert II in the 1290s. The English minstrel may have been an Adam impersonator, his existence a testament to Adam's continuing fame.⁴⁴ Although we cannot know for certain, it seems likely that Adam died, possibly violently, in Naples, leaving unfinished the epic he wrote in honor of his royal patron, the King of Sicily. The luxurious copy of Adam's complete works in fr. 25566 may even have been sponsored by Robert II of Artois to memorialize Adam after his loyal service in Italy.⁴⁵

Adam has attracted the attention of scholars for over three centuries, and his role in histories of medieval music has shifted according to the contexts and priorities of historians. Favoring the aristocratic *trouvères* such as Thibaut de Champagne and Gace Brulé, the sixteenth-century French musical antiquarians had little to say about Adam. The bourgeois cleric-*trouvère* and his urban milieu also escaped the notice of commentators such as Charles Burney in the early eighteenth century.⁴⁶ It was from enthusiasts of the history of theater eager to establish the French origins of the medium that Adam received earnest attention in the nineteenth century. In the post-Revolutionary zeal to uncover the origins of French "popular" music (emanating from the people), the tuneful melodies and rustic subject matter of his *Jeu de Robin et Marion* marked Adam as a crucial figure in the history of French music and drama. In the first half of the nineteenth century, French scholars believed that the interpolated refrains in this play were drawn directly from oral traditions, marking Adam's play as a key "anthology" preserving the oldest French popular

42 Huot, *Song to Book*, 26 and see chapter 1 of this book by Carol Symes.

43 Fabienne Gégou, "Adam le Bossu était-il mort en 1288?" *Romania* 86 (1965): 111–17.

44 See full discussion in Carol Symes, *A Common Stage*, 270.

45 Symes, *A Common Stage*, 249 and "Repeat Performances," 283–85.

46 John Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 167–68.

songs.⁴⁷ Indeed, some insisted that the songs of this play could still be heard in the streets of Hainaut; the “realism” of Adam’s plays appealed to the Revolutionary spirit. In contrast, late nineteenth-century scholars held a particular fascination for the *puy*, a song contest mentioned in Adam’s *Jeu de la feuillée*. These scholars imagined the *puy* as an elevated, literary society of poets who, according to the textual evidence of the *Jeu de la feuillée*, held contests in which superlative songs were crowned. For its educated and aristocratic members, the *puy* was thought to function as a refined alternative to the bourgeois confraternity of *jongleurs*. Unlike the case of the confraternity, however, no documentary evidence survives for the existence of such a *puy*. References to this elevated *puy* persist in some modern scholarship despite convincing counterarguments that question its existence. The idea of the *puy* was appealing to those who viewed it as a medieval equivalent to their own beloved learned academies.⁴⁸ Among musicologists writing in the second half of the nineteenth century, Adam achieved his greatest stature yet due to his position as a *trouvère* who also wrote polyphony. Emerging evolutionary histories of music privileged harmony as the greatest achievement of European composers. As the most prolific composer among a small group of *trouvères* to whom polyphony was attributed, Adam played an outsized role in their histories of the evolution of music. His motets and *rondeaux* represented some of the earliest evidence of musical progress toward harmonic composition. For his first major musical editor, Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaker, Adam’s arrival on the music-historical stage represented a turn away from the naïve, unlettered songs of aristocratic troubadour and *trouvère* song toward a new tradition of educated composers capable of skilled polyphonic craftsmanship.⁴⁹ Adam’s role in the history of music and the importance attached to different facets of his generic output has thus fluctuated significantly depending on the historical contexts and priorities of his commentators.

Through the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, Adam has received attention from scholars in literary studies, musicology, drama history, art history, and history. The generic and thematic breadth of Adam’s output has inspired studies of a wide variety of themes and issues. Many studies have worked to uncover historical contexts that help explain aspects of his plays, exploring the significance of medieval taverns, games, or foods to decode obscure refer-

47 Jane Alden, “Excavating Chansonnières: Musical Archaeology and the Search for Popular Song,” *Journal of Musicology* 25 (2008): 46–87, 77 and Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 165–70.

48 Symes, *A Common Stage*, 216–27.

49 Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 175.

ences.⁵⁰ Historians and literary scholars have also explored historical themes addressed in the *Jeu de la feuillée*, such as the scandal of the bigamous priests, and, more generally, have explored the ways in which Adam's works reflect the social and political dynamics of the city of Arras.⁵¹ The figure of the *dervé* in Adam's *Jeu de la feuillée* has been a source of frequent commentary in studies focused on the representation of madness in medieval literature and culture.⁵² Several literary accounts focus on Adam's innovative approach to genre, examining his transformation of the *pastourelle* song type into drama in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, and, in particular, the impact of this transformation on the character of Marion.⁵³ Adam's tendency to foreground his own lyric voice has received attention, as has his clerical authorial persona.⁵⁴ Musicologists have established the sources and manuscript variants of Adam's *chansons*.⁵⁵ They have also uncovered stylistic antecedents as well as contemporary traditions of polyphonic music that provide insight into Adam's motets and polyphonic

50 See, for example, Bernard Ribémont, "Arras, le vin, la taverne et le 'capitalisme': le théâtre profane du XIII^e siècle et la question de l'argent," *Le Moyen Âge* 111 (2005): 309–18.

51 Joseph Dane, "Parody and Satire in the Literature of Thirteenth-Century Arras, Part 1," *Studies in Philology* 81 (1984): 1–27 and Dane, "Parody and Satire in the Literature of Thirteenth-Century Arras, Part 11," *Studies in Philology* 81 (1984): 119–44; Rosanna Brusegan, "Culte de la Vierge et origine des puits et confréries en France au Moyen Âge," *Revue des langues romanes* 95 (1991): 31–58; Nicolò Pasero, "Satira, parodia e autoparodia: elementi per una discussione (in particolare su Guido Cavalcanti e Adam de la Halle)," in *Formes de la critique: parodie et satire dans la France et l'Italie médiévales*, ed. Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, Alain Corbellari, and Barbara Wahlen, Colloques, congrès et conférences sur le Moyen Âge 4 (Paris: Champion, 2003), 27–44; and Symes, *A Common Stage*.

52 See Jean-Marie Fritz, *Le discours du fou au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1992), Sylvia Huot, *Madness in Medieval French Literature: Identities Found and Lost* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), and Dillon, *The Sense of Sound*.

53 Kevin Brownlee, "Transformations of the Couple: Genre and Language in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*," *French Forum* 14 (1989): 419–33 and Geri L. Smith, *The Medieval French Pastourelle Tradition: Poetic Motivations and Generic Transformations* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2009), 70–103.

54 Sylvia Huot, "Transformations of Lyric Voice in the Songs, Motets and Plays of Adam de la Halle," *Romanic Review* 58 (1987): 148–64; Alain Corbellari, *La voix des clercs: littérature et savoir universitaire autour des dits du XIII^e siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 2005), 104–6; Gioia Zaganelli, "'Amors' e 'clergie' in Adam de la Halle," *Spicilegio Modern* 7 (1977): 22–35; and Saltzstein, *Refrain and the Rise*, 114–48.

55 John Stevens, "The Manuscript Presentation and Notation of Adam de la Halle's Courtly Chansons," in *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. Ian Bent (London: Stainer and Bell, 1981), 29–64 and Mary O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 183–96.

rondeaux, contextualizing these works within in the generic development of medieval polyphonic music.⁵⁶

The existing secondary literature on Adam is diverse and voluminous. It demonstrates a strong tendency to focus on individual genres and individual works. This book offers chapters that center on each of the musical genres in which Adam wrote, but does so only after developing an intertextual, interdisciplinary framework for understanding how Adam and his works emerged from particular social and cultural circumstances. In particular, this book aims to illuminate how song traditions initiated by aristocratic *trouvères* were altered by their cultivation within a cosmopolitan, urban center among a rising clerical class. The works of Adam de la Halle and their manuscript tradition are a vital witness to this transformation of the courtly love song in the thirteenth century. The book's first two sections are designed to provide a thick description of the rich northern French context within which Adam operated, grounding him in the institutional structures of his native Arras and the traditions of his poetic contemporaries across the north. These sections also attune us to important changes in the status of song during the thirteenth century, revealing the ways in which *chansonniers* were cosmopolitan products that signal interaction between northern France and far-off locales, as well as the ways in which *chansonniers* put forth a new, clerkly image of *trouvère* song altered by its transportation from its former courtly milieu to urban environments such as Arras. Once Adam is grounded in this interconnected, urban, cosmopolitan context, both his debts to his poetic community and his innovations shine in a new light. The third and fourth sections delve directly into Adam's *chansons*, *jeux-partis*, plays, and polyphony. Together, these chapters allow us to meditate afresh on Adam's place in the cultural traditions of medieval France.

Our journey into Adam's world begins with a section entitled, "The Northern Milieu," which offers a vital tour of thirteenth-century Arras, its institutions, and its civic character. As Carol Symes's colorful account shows, this urban, bourgeois environment profoundly shaped Adam's artistic output. Symes reviews the few known facts of Adam's biography and identifies the state of surviving documentary evidence for the institutions with which Adam was associated. Important information remains elusive; Symes looks to Adam's works themselves to flesh out a fuller account of his life, narrating the "requiem in parchment" provided by ms. fr. 25566. Situating Adam as both a favored son and a product of his environment, Symes brings the precociously literate and literary climate of Arras to life, providing insight into its tumultuous geo-

56 Everist, "Motets, French Tenors;" Everist, "Souspirant en terre;" Everist, "Polyphonic *Rondeau*;" and Saint-Cricq, "A New Link."

political status, governance, economy, class structure, and its famous confraternity of *jongleurs*. Closing by considering Adam's last patron, Robert II, Symes offers a novel perspective on the courtly contexts of the works Adam wrote just before his death.

In "The Poets of the North: Economies of Literature and Love," Eliza Zingesser interprets the songs of Adam and his contemporaries in light of the unique economic circumstances of Arras, in particular, a historical moment in which high-interest lending was on the rise. Zingesser notes that the poets of Arras were dependent for patronage on not only the patrician classes but also bankers and others engaged in usurious moneylending. Understanding this situation clarifies the obsession with wealth and currency found in the love songs written in Arras, where poets dwell with both ambivalence and moral permissiveness on topics such as usury, tax evasion, fraud, and excesses of wealth. Adam's own songs feature debt as a prevailing metaphor; Zingesser argues that Adam casts the love service as a form of contractual labor, and its fulfillment as worthy of payment. Once the language of love is colored by these economic terms, the poet and the lady find themselves locked in an unending cycle of debt and deferral. Zingesser reveals the pervasiveness of economic metaphors for love across the poetic corpus produced in Arras, providing a basis for understanding Adam's usage of such metaphors in his songs, where love service is often couched in the language of an economic transaction.

After exploring Adam's milieu, section II, "Material Contexts of *Arrageois* Song," addresses the songbooks that preserved the works he and his fellow *trouvères* produced. This section opens with Alison Stones's chapter, "Another Note on fr. 25566 and Its Illustrations," which provides a detailed overview of the most important manuscript of Adam's works. After describing the images that accompany Adam's complete works, Stones focuses on three remarkable full-page miniatures that have received little attention in earlier studies. With an eye to the heraldry present on these pages, Stones addresses the question of the dating, provenance, and patronage of the manuscript. Her contribution continues with an appendix that offers a complete listing of the illustrations of fr. 25566. In his chapter, "Aristocratic Patronage and the Cosmopolitan Vernacular Songbook: The *Chansonnier du Roi* (*M-trouv.*) and the French Mediterranean," John Haines explores the international nature of Old French manuscript production, particularly the extant and attested songbooks produced for consumption by the French diaspora living across the Mediterranean. Highlighting the role of writing in song transmission, Haines illuminates a cultural sphere in which durable, transportable, luxury collections of Old French song were prized enough to be shipped across the Mediterranean. Adam de la Halle would himself become part of a French diaspora as he made his way across the

sea to Naples in the 1280s. Whereas the songbooks of Outremer documented an aristocratic culture on the wane, Haines argues that Adam and the trouvères of Arras would ensure their own primacy in histories of Old French song through their clerkly mastery of writing.

Assessing the legacy of ms. *M-trov.* against songbooks produced just a generation later in Arras demonstrates how the aristocratic song traditions the trouvères inherited from the troubadours would be altered by their increasingly urban contexts. Judith Peraino offers a codicological reading of ms. *T-trov.* in her chapter, “Taking *Notae* on King and Cleric: Thibaut, Adam, and the Medieval Readers of the *Chansonnier de Noailles (T-trov.)*.” This songbook attests to the changing cultural meanings of the courtly love song, which was transformed by the decline of the aristocracy and rise of the clerical and bourgeois classes. Addressing the way in which *T-trov.* is framed by author libelli containing the songs of first Thibaut de Champagne, then Adam de la Halle, Peraino argues that the manuscript compilers worked to articulate a narrative about the history of trouvère song and its migration from courtly spheres to urban, bourgeois contexts like the city of Arras. The societal chasm that separated a kingly trouvère like Thibaut de Champagne from the clerical trouvère Adam de la Halle is bridged by a material addition to the *chansonnier*: the addition of fifty-five *notae*, or marginal annotations that ask for the reader’s attention. These *notae* illustrate how a later reader of ms. *T-trov.* strove to carve out a place for the clerical trouvères amid the tradition of aristocratic love song.

After locating Adam and the trouvères of Arras within their cultural and material context, section III, “Genres in Context,” offers detailed analyses of Adam’s songs and *jeux-partis*. In his chapter, “The Northern *Jeu-parti*,” Daniel O’Sullivan focuses on Adam’s eighteen debate songs. Situating Arras as the epicenter of *jeux-parti* production, O’Sullivan underscores the high levels of education in Arras and the impact that the learning possessed by both the participants and audience members of the *arrageois jeux-partis* had on their rhetoric and themes. The surviving manuscripts depict *jeu-parti* participants as academic debaters; many surviving examples use learned vocabulary and dwell on themes of teaching, learning, and reason. These songs are also, Sullivan shows, permeated with the bourgeois character of Arras in their earthy references to food and manual labor, catering specifically to a non-courtly audience. O’Sullivan ends with readings of two of Adam’s most interesting *jeux-partis*: in “Adan, mout fu Aristotes sachans,” Adam demonstrates his understanding of both Aristotle and the *Lai d’Aristote*, a vernacular poem about the ancient philosopher; the remarkable twenty-stanza debate between Adam

and Jehan Bretel shares a similar preoccupation with learning and literary authority.

In addition to writing one of the largest surviving corpora of *jeux-partis*, Adam was also a prolific writer of love songs. Whereas lighter genres and refrain-form songs were increasingly popular with his fellow trouvères, Adam continued to write in the noble tradition of courtly love songs, now in its final generation. Isabelle Ragnard's chapter, "The Songs of Adam de la Halle," provides a comprehensive account of these love songs, establishing their sources, manuscript transmission, melodic variants, and the notation used, as well as offering intensive analysis of Adam's forms, meter, rhymes, melodic structure, and mode. Ragnard's meticulous accounting of Adam's style illuminates the ways in which Adam writes as both an inheritor of a classical tradition of courtly love songs and as an innovator, infusing his lyrics with a new rhetoric that was didactic and ethical.

The chapters of section IV, "Traditions and Transformations," focus squarely on innovation, offering perspectives on the ways in which Adam engaged with and transformed his literary and musical models. Through novel interpretations of the *Jeu de la feuillée*, the *congé*, and other works, Alain Corbellari exposes the playful contradictions and ambivalences in Adam's self-representation as a cleric in his chapter, "Adam de la Halle: Cleric and Busker." There is clear evidence that Adam was viewed as a cleric: the anonymous author of the *Jeu du pèlerin* clearly situates Adam as a cleric; his partners in the *jeux-partis* always refer to Adam as *maistre*; his free-spirited style was undoubtedly a legacy of the other prominent *arrageois* clerical author, Jehan Bodel. Yet Corbellari illuminates just how difficult it is to discern Adam's *clergie* in many of his works. Corbellari notes the profound difference between Adam's style, with its absence of pedantry and moralized personification allegory, and that of other clerical poets such as Rutebeuf. He also draws attention to the anti-intellectual ending of Adam's last work, his *Jeu de Robin et Marion*. Although the facts of Adam's education are unknowable, Corbellari offers ample reason to view Adam's style as less learned and more playful than that of other clerics who wrote in the vernacular.

Scholars have long pointed to Adam's use of refrains as an innovative aspect of his musical style. Refrains are short segments of poetry, and in Adam's case music, that were quoted across multiple songs, motets, plays, or romances. More refrains appear across Adam's works than within the song corpus of any other individual trouvère; each of the final three chapters addresses the ways in which Adam uses refrains. In her chapter, "Refrain Quotations in Adam's *Rondeaux*, Motets and Plays," Anne Ibos-Augé tackles the full corpus of Adam's refrains, addressing their transmission and the variations found in their sur-

living sources. In addition to providing the first complete musical concordance of Adam's refrains, Ibos-Augé offers a comprehensive account of Adam's refrain usage, addressing polyphonic quotation, cellular melodic motifs, as well as the possibility of auto-citation and self-modeling.

In "The *Pastourelle* and the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*," Anna Kathryn Grau examines the relationship between the *pastourelle* song genre and Adam's play, highlighting, in particular, the ways in which Adam transformed his models musically. Grau uses the concept of polyphony as a productive lens through which to view the multiplying interpretations that the *Jeu* has supported, as well as the multiplying voices conjured up by the *Jeu*'s many refrains. Demonstrating the melodic and structural coherence of many of the play's refrains, Grau argues that they fulfill two central but distinct functions. Whereas some are independent and fragmentary, suggesting their role as quotations of other songs, others are longer, internally structured, self-contained songs that work to dramatize dialogue or unify passages of the drama. These longer songs, whose structures resemble the melodies of the *pastourelle* songs, testify to the impact of the *pastourelle* genre not only on the plot of Adam's *Jeu*, but also on the details of its musical construction. Grau closes with a consideration of gender and the voice of Marion in the play, demonstrating how Marion's oft recognized prowess in her rebuttal of the knight is achieved through melodic, as well as verbal, play.

Section IV culminates, appropriately, with Mark Everist's chapter, "Friends and Foals: The Polyphonic Music of Adam de la Halle," which illustrates the rich web of intertextual connections that unite Adam's polyphony with his plays, songs, and *jeux-partis*. Everist's comprehensive account addresses the manuscript *ordinatio* and formatting of Adam's polyphony, its structural innovations, its lyric subjects, as well as its many refrains and their concordances in Adam's own motets, motets from the seventh fascicle of *Mo*, and the romance *Renart le Nouvel*. Arguing that Adam's polyphony is at the heart of this web and central to his artistic achievement as a whole, Everist offers the first truly systematic treatment of Adam's *rondeaux* and motets. The book closes with my own chapter, "Adam de la Halle's Fourteenth-Century Musical and Poetic Legacies," which considers the impact Adam's music had on future generations.

PART 1

The Northern Milieu



The “School of Arras” and the Career of Adam

Carol Symes

Arras est escole de tous biens entendre.	Arras is a school no one ever forgets.
Quant on veut d'Arras le plus caitif prendre	Whatever he wants, in Arras, a guy gets
En autre país se puet por boin vendre.	And can take somewhere else to sell big, no regrets.
On voit les honors d'Arras si estendre	The fame of Arras spreads where sun never sets:
Je vi l'autre jor le ciel lasus fendre:	The other day, I saw the clouds split their nets
Dex voloit d'Arras le motés aprendre. ¹	'Cause God wants to come here, to learn some motets.

Composed during Adam's youth, this ditty encapsulates the reputation Arras had earned in Europe since the early twelfth century, when it became the incubator and exporter of artists and con artists, bankers and buskers, merchants and mimes. Arras, as the song says, is a notorious place where almost anyone can learn how to make a profit on himself or his wares. It is the home of the flashy, the new-fangled, the fantastic: the place even God wants to visit, where he can be schooled in all the newest musical genres.

Given how little we know about Adam's career, it is tempting to glean autobiographical or even psychological data from his musical and poetic compositions, working inward from that elusive and ambiguous material.² This chapter

1 Ms. *T-trouv.*, fols. 197r–216r: the so-called *Chansonnier* “de Noailles,” copied ca. 1300, contains twenty-four distinct songs from Arras, a few dating from as early as 1218–1227 but most datable to 1234–1265. This lyric, composed before or in 1258, is the first in the anthology, which has been edited by Roger Berger as “Les Chansons et dits artésiens” in *Littérature et société arrageoises au XIIIe siècle* (Arras: Commission départementale des monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1981), 120–22, vv. 1–6; see 17–19 for a description of the manuscript. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own.

2 On this, See Carol Symes, *A Common Stage: Theatre and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 182–85. The brief biographical account by Robert Falck is judicious: *Grove Music Online*, s.v. “Adam de la Halle,” <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>> [accessed 13 August 2015].

works in the opposite direction: outward, to the extraordinary manuscript that preserves Adam's works and to the urban environment which shaped them. Although Adam almost certainly continued his education in Paris, and eventually expanded his influence far beyond Arras, even those trajectories were marked by the distinctive institutions, politics, social structures, and culture of the place where he honed his craft. Indeed, the earliest manuscript witness to Adam's artistry insists on this essential fact and dramatizes it in ways that are peculiarly *arrageois*. I begin, therefore, with the evidence we can derive from the organization, layout, and design of this compilation (Paris, BnF fr. 25566, fols. 10–83).³ In doing so, I draw on my earlier study of Arras and its remarkable “common stage” of theatricality and public life. However, this chapter asks new questions about the political and artistic agendas of medieval entertainers, encompasses new sources and scholarship, and ultimately also offers a new interpretation of Adam's oeuvre within its complex historical context.

1 Returning Adam's *Corpus* to Arras

Toward the end of the 1280s, a memorial anthology of Adam's “complete works” was commissioned by an unknown patron and executed (in all probability) by scribes and artists trained in Arras. This patron, or the compiler responsible for its design and execution, arranged Adam's compositions in order to create a kind of liturgy whose components celebrate his artistic development in Arras, eulogize his death in exile, and conclude by linking Adam's legacy to that of another *arrageois* artist, Jehan Bodel (d. 1210). The slim codex begins by introducing the increasingly sophisticated and participatory genres in which Adam worked, from monophonic *chansons* to cooperative *jeux-partis* to company dances (*rondeaux*) to polyphonic motets: each accompanied by a miniature

3 My analysis of this compilation extends and revises the reading of Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987), 64–74. Huot's argument, while perceptive, was based on descriptions of the manuscript that misleadingly represent the corpus (“*chansonnier W*”) as concluding with Adam's *congé*. This impression is still reinforced by the official catalogue record, which refers to fols. 2–68 as a single entity, excluding Jehan Bodel's *Jeu de saint Nicolas*: see <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6001348v>> [accessed 29 May 2015]. I have already shown that Jehan's play was an integral part of the copying campaign that preserved Adam's works, and this can now be substantiated by examining the excellent digital images online. See Symes, “Repeat Performances: Jehan Bodel, Adam de la Halle, and the Re-Usable Past of Their Plays,” in *Collections in Context: The Organization of Knowledge and Community in Europe*, ed. Karen Fresco and Anne D. Hedeman (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2011), 275–87; I also discuss this manuscript in *A Common Stage*, 271–76.

representing the performance of that genre in an appropriate sociable setting (fols. 10ra–37rb). Then the codex announces *Li ius de pelerin* (fols. 37va–39ra), an interlude in which the title character, “the Pilgrim,” arrives in Arras to announce that Adam has recently died in Apulia. He doesn’t explain why Adam was abroad, probably because the Pilgrim’s immediate audience would have known that he had joined the retinue of Count Robert II of Artois (1250–1302) in 1282, when Robert was called to the defense of his paternal uncle, Charles of Anjou (1227–85), and the fragile Kingdom of Sicily over which he ruled.⁴ The fictional Pilgrim also doesn’t explain how Adam died, or when; he merely says that he himself had come from Apulia, where the count had personally shown off the tomb commissioned for Adam. Throughout this vague and rather jovial account of Adam’s demise, the Pilgrim is questioned and heckled by characters who simultaneously act as an extension of the manuscript’s audience and that of his own play, the people of Arras.

Adam’s entire body of work, so carefully codified and beautifully preserved in this *corpus*, is thereby revealed as a substitute for the corpse of the author who remains entombed in southern Italy. Yet, the Pilgrim consoles us, a play that Adam crafted abroad has come home to Arras and is about to be presented – and here it begins, with a flourish: *Chi commenche li gieus de Robin et de Marion cadans fist* (fols. 39ra–48vb). Moreover, “The Play about Robin and about Marion that Adam Made,” comes farced with new scenes featuring local jokesters who transport the rustic companions of Robin and Marion, and even the rapacious knight and his hawk, from the kingly court of the *Mezzogiorno* to the marketplace of Arras. Then, with the play’s closing song – “Come follow me,” which Robin is singing at the foot of the page, *Venes apres moi* – “Adam” himself appears in his clerical gown at the top of the next page and speaks his famous opening lines: “My lords, do you know why / I’ve changed my clothes today?” (*Segneur saves pour quoi / Jai mon abit cangiet*).⁵ He has not died! He

4 This polity was also known (at various times) as the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, or the Kingdom of Naples, or simply “the Regno.” It had been forged by Norman conquests in 1071, but changed hands many times. For an introduction to its fascinating hybrid culture, see Karla Mallette, *The Kingdom of Sicily: A Literary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); the articles on “Naples angevine” in Guy Le Goff, ed., *L’Europe des Anjou: aventure des princes Angevins du XIIIe au XVe siècle* (Paris: D. Soulier, 2001), 22–133; and Nino M. Zchomelidse, *Art, Ritual, and Civic Identity in Medieval Southern Italy* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014).

5 I call these lines “famous” because the ensuing dialogue between Adam and his friends became a stand-alone sketch that circulated more widely than the entire play, and now survives in two different manuscript versions. See Carol Symes, “The Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays: Forms, Functions, and the Future of Medieval Theatre,” *Speculum* 77 (2001): 778–831; *A Common Stage*, 185–87.

is risen indeed! And in fact, the manuscript's rubricator initially squeezed just a hasty note into the space after Robin's song, to signal this striking apparition: *Li dis Adan* ("The Adam Speech"). He then crossed out *dis* and added *ius*, making it "The Adam Play." The audience is now treated to a gala revival of what we're told, at the end, has been "The Play of the Folly" (*Explicit li jeux de le fuel-lie*, fols. 49ra–59vb), so called because it culminates with the cast and the audience trouping off to the leafy, embowered shrine of the Blessed Virgin, near where the play has been performed in the marketplace of Arras.

These revels ended, the manuscript displays the meager harvest of material from Adam's years in southern Italy. *Cest li roi de Sezile* (fols. 59vb–65ra) was meant to be Adam's tribute to King Charles of Sicily, whose disastrous management of his realm Adam was tasked to put into verse while his patron, the king's nephew, pursued his habitual thankless task of fighting his relatives' ill-chosen battles.⁶ Adam does his best with the stock narrative and the unwieldy, archaic format of the epic (so unlike the fresh, buoyant genres he had created in Arras). He begins by comparing the crusading exploits of Charles and his royal brothers with those of Roland and Olivier. He then owns himself to be the one who will right the historical record and make the king look like "Charles the Great": a feat that others had apparently failed to accomplish (*Ne sai quel menestrel / lavoient depechie*). "But I, Adam of Arras / will now redress these wrongs" (*Mais jou Adans dArras, lai a point radrechie*: fol. 60v, lines 23–26). And just in case you haven't heard of him, Adam says with tongue in cheek, "They also call me 'hunchback' / though that I've never been" (*On m'apele bo-chu, mais je ne lesui mie*, fol. 60v, lines 27–30). And yet, as it happens, he doesn't get very far into the story. It breaks off abruptly with Charles being chosen as the pope's champion to wrest the Kingdom of Sicily from the Hohenstaufen heirs of Frederick II, in 1263; the dubious conquest of 1266 is still years away. Adam's project was likely cut short by the king's death (7 January 1285) – or maybe even by his own.

The manuscript next presents a poem on the torments of love (*Cest le vers damour*, fols. 65rb–66va), represented in miniature by a winged devil who has just shot poisoned arrows into the breasts of the man and woman kneeling in supplication on either side. Then comes *li congies adan* (fols. 66va–67vb), a farewell to Arras couched in an *arrageois* lyric genre: the *congé* pioneered by Jehan Bodel and imitated by Adam's older contemporary, Baude Fastoul (d. 1272). Here, the manuscript features a miniature showing Adam, mounted on horseback, waving good-bye to the people of Arras. The verses are full of bit-

6 I discuss Robert's life and times in *A Common Stage*, 238–71.

tersweet nostalgia for the home he loves, despite its growing social injustice, economic inequalities, and political rancor.

Arras Arras vile de plait	Arras, Arras, town of delight
Et de haine et de detrait	And of deception, town of spite,
Qui folies est si nobile	Where folly is nobility,
On va disant con vous refait	I left and said, "we'll reunite."
Mais si diex le bien ni ratrait	But if God doesn't see my plight
Je ne voi qui nous reconcile.	I won't return to make it right... ⁷

As if to ring his death knell, the last line of the *congé* is closely followed by an ominous decorated *M*: "This is the poem of death" (*Cest li ver de le mort*, fols. 67vb–68ra).

Unlike the other components of the manuscript, the following three stanzas are not introduced with a miniature depicting Adam in performance, as if in life: a choice that renders the identity of the poem's author ambiguous. Should we suppose that Adam himself added these verses to his earlier "farewell"? Or is this a lament provided for him by a fellow poet? Either way, the intended audience would have instantly recognized the distinctive theme and versification of this poem as imitating yet another *arrageois* artist, Robert le Clerc, a contemporary of Adam's mentors Jehan Bretel and Baude Fastoul, all three of whom died in the harsh year of 1272.⁸ Robert, in turn, was borrowing a poetic form pioneered by the Franco-Flemish minstrel Hélinand (ca. 1150–ca. 1237?) who had, in middle age, retreated from worldly life by entering the Cistercian abbey of Froimont. Hélinand's fifty-stanza poem had enjoined his fellow sinners to follow his example and reject the sins of the flesh. Instead, Robert – a married cleric from Arras, like Adam and Adam's father – devoted a substantial 312 stanzas to a catalogue (part critical, part satirical) of the sins peculiar to Arras, in which he himself was fully immersed at the time of the poem's serial composition between 1266 and 1271. Indeed, Robert figures in a contemporary ditty as the leader of a confraternity of hen-pecked husbands (*adouïns*), appears as a judge in a *jeu-parti* of ca. 1268, and also authored a 552-line hymn to the Blessed Virgin.⁹ Despite its moral subject matter, then, it is likely that Rob-

7 Fr. 25566, fol. 66vb, vv.11–16.

8 Their deaths were recorded by their *confrères* in the remarkable codex that is now Paris, BnF, fr, 8541, edited by Roger Berger as *Le Nécrologe de la Confrérie des jongleurs et des bourgeois d'Arras (1194-1362)*, 2 vols. (Arras: Mémoires de la Commission Départementale des Monuments Historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1963 and 1970), 1:54b.

9 Arthur Långfors and L. Brandin, eds., *Recueil general des jeux-partis français*, 2 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1926), 1:182 (no.73): Berger, *Littérature et société*, 198–203; cf. Symes, *A Common*

ert performed versions of this work-in-progress at the same festive gatherings (sometimes reverent, sometimes not) where those other types of entertainment were also enjoyed, and where Adam's own multivalent works, especially the *Jeu de la feuillée*, were performed.¹⁰ So whoever wrote this short poem for inclusion among Adam's surviving works was gesturing toward a rich tradition of poetic one-upmanship characteristic of Arras, as well as to yet another lyric genre that was at once worldly and pious.

Finally, the scribe writes, "Here ends about Adam" (*Explicit dadan*). Except it is not the end, because the scribe then translates Adam's vibrant poetic *corpus* – which, like a saint's relics, continues to work miracles – back to Arras. He gives us *Li ieus de s. Nicolai* and an image of its hero, "the Prudhomme" of Arras, whose fervent prayers are being answered by the icon of St. Nicholas. When this play was composed, in or after 1191, the Prudhomme represented all the "proven men" (*probi viri*) who governed the commune of Arras and faced down an invading king. Here, in this new context, the Prudhomme represents Adam, reconciled with Arras through the intervention of a saint's play by the *arrageois* artist who had set the standards for all his successors: Jehan Bodel (d. ca. 1210). Its inclusion suggests that this play continued to be performed or revived generations after the circumstances of its composition had ceased to be relevant, or as they became relevant in new ways. Originally a response to the annexation of Flemish Arras by Philip Augustus of France, it was later supplied with a prologue that rendered it a more generic play for the saint's feast. Adam may have played various roles in it, at various stages of his life.¹¹

In southern Italy, indeed, this play could have been revived again under Adam's aegis. One of the great cities of the new Angevin kingdom was Bari on the Adriatic coast, site of the massive Norman basilica erected in 1087 to house the relics of St. Nicholas. Every *arrageois* would have known the story of the

Stage, 224. For an introduction to Robert le Clerc and the dating of this poem, see Annette Brasseur and Roger Berger, eds., *Les Vers de la mort* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2009), 9–13 and 74–80; see also Annette Brasseur, ed., *Li Loenge Nostre Dame* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2013). The stanza of Hélinande and his imitators comprised twelve octosyllabic couplets with the rhyme-scheme a-a-b-a-a-b-b-a-b-a. In earlier assessments of this "unauthorized" poem's appearance in the compilation devoted to Adam, I followed older scholarly traditions which (mistakenly) attributed the poem in this manuscript to Robert; there has also been a long tradition of doubting Adam's authorship, although Pierre-Yves Badel accepted and included it in his edition of the *Œuvres complètes* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1995), 412–14.

10 This is further indicated by the juxtaposition of this poem with the "songs and sayings" of *T-trouv*; see note 1.

11 See below, and my more detailed argument in *A Common Stage* and in "Repeat Performances."

local sailors whose theft of the relics (from their resting place in Myra) made this one of southern Italy's few pilgrimage sites.¹² It was here that the household of King Charles moved in November of 1284, after Robert's losses in Calabria forced a retreat from the royal headquarters in Naples; Charles then died at Foggia on the Adriatic coast, just north of Bari, on 7 January 1285. The ironies and opportunities of staging this play in a new locale would not have been lost on Adam. Charles had even purchased the title to the kingdom of Jerusalem (reduced, by this time, to the fragile outpost of Acre) in 1278, making him the "King of Outremer," just like the pagan king in the play. Did Adam have a copy of the script with him? Or did he know it by heart, from having performed it often? Or is the play enshrined in this manuscript Adam's memorial *reconstruction* of a text he did not possess? Did Adam imagine a repeat performance in the great church of St. Nicholas, where it would become a truly liturgical drama? Our only answer is the Prudhomme's call to sing a *Te Deum* and the words, "Here ends the Play of St. Nicholas which / Jehan Bodel made. Amen." (*Chi fine le ieus de .s. Nicholai que / Jehans Bodiaus fist. Amen.*)

Were it not for its inclusion in this richly enigmatic manuscript, this dramatic *mise en abyme*, we would not know that Jehan's play existed.¹³ The manuscript's compiler must therefore have had access to a (now lost) text as well as to written records of Adam's compositions; and he evidently wanted to ensure the survival of this entire archive and to emphasize Adam's association with Jehan's path-breaking work of the previous century, which we now know to be one of the earliest surviving scripted vernacular dramas of medieval Europe. We cannot suppose that Adam or this manuscript's audience were aware of that, but Jehan was certainly remembered and revered as the first to win dramatic renown for Arras and its trend-setting Picard vernacular. Moreover, Jehan had been unusual among the *jongleurs* of his era in having the technical capacity to record his songs in writing. Clerk to the commune of Arras – like Adam's own father, Henri *Bochu* or *li Bocu* (the Hunchback) – he was also undoubtedly active in the unprecedented documentary campaign that helped a confraternity of *jongleurs* win acceptance from local ecclesiastical authorities. In this, he again prefigured Adam, who had learned the new mensural notation that enabled him to record his own polyphonic motets. Our star manuscript witness to Adam's work is therefore a requiem in parchment, not only for him but for all those who worked alongside him in Arras, or cleared his path. It is

12 A lavish collection of St. Nicholas legends is preserved in the Bibliothèque municipale (now médiathèque) d'Arras, MS 307; see *A Common Stage*, 45–48.

13 I discuss these events in *A Common Stage* and in "Repeat Performances."

not, therefore, a “single-author collection.”¹⁴ The spotlight is trained on Adam, but Arras is his theatre and his school.

2 The Elusive Facts of Adam’s Life

Apart from this manuscript, there is no “hard” evidence to corroborate even the most basic facts of Adam’s existence. And while one might suppose this absence of information to be normal for the latter half of thirteenth century, we could reasonably expect to know much more because Arras was a precociously literate place with an advanced documentary culture. Unhappily, though, most of that documentation was incinerated in the German firebombing of 1915, when Arras was on the front lines of the Great War. Although there is a nineteenth-century inventory of the archives of Saint-Vaast, the wealthy and powerful monastery at the heart of Arras, the records themselves were destroyed.¹⁵ And we have neither an inventory nor more than a handful of original documents from the cathedral of Notre-Dame d’Arras, mostly destroyed during the French Revolution (Arras was Robespierre’s hometown).¹⁶ We do not even have the kinds of records that Count Robert’s household kept so fastidiously after his return from Italy in 1291; up to this point, the comital accounts are patchy and contain no reference to Adam. The Neopolitan archives of the fragile Kingdom of Sicily, meanwhile, probably suffered the fate of other records destroyed during the German army’s retreat from that city in 1943.¹⁷ The richest archive that we *do* have is that of the confraternity of *jongleurs*

14 The phrase is Huot’s in *From Song to Book*, 64.

15 Robert Doré, *État des inventaires et répertoires des archives nationales, départementales, communales, et hospitalières de la France à la date du 1^{er} décembre 1919* (Paris: Champion, 1919).

16 For a brief summary of the surviving sources, see Adolphe Henri Guesnon, *Le cartulaire de l’évêché d’Arras: ms. du XIII^e siècle avec additions successives jusqu’au milieu du XVI^e* (Arras: Mémoires de l’Académie des sciences, lettres et arts d’Arras, 1902), v–x. On the refounding and history of the diocese, see Bernard Delamire, *Le diocèse d’Arras de 1093 au milieu du XI^{ve} siècle*, 2 vols. (Arras: Commission départementale d’histoire et d’archéologie du Pas-de-Calais, 1994).

17 Jole Mazzoleni, *Le fonti documentarie e bibliografiche dal sec. X al sec. XX conservate presso l’archivio di stato di Napoli* (Naples: Arte Tipografica, 1974), 31–57; Andreas Kieswetter, “La cancellaria Angioina,” in *L’état angevin: pouvoir, culture, et société entre XIII^e et XIV^e siècle* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo; École française de Rome, 1998), 361–95. See also Paul Durrieu, *Les archives angevines de Naples: étude sur les registres du roi Charles I^{er} (1265–1285)*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie des Écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, 1886–1887); and Durrieu, “Notice sur les registres angevins en langue française conservés dans les archives de Naples,” *Mélanges d’Archéologie et d’Histoire* 3 (1883): 3–33.

with which Adam was apparently affiliated and which kept an invaluable record of the dead it remembered in its triannual celebrations; when we can date the deaths of any *arrageois* citizens, it's because they are noted in this register. But Adam's demise is not recorded there, presumably because he was not buried under the confraternity's charitable auspices but, according to "the Pilgrim," had been entombed in Apulia.

Thanks to this perfect storm of unfortunate circumstances, then, we can't say when Adam was born or exactly when he died. Yet a *terminus a quo* for the latter date can be set in November of 1284, when Adam presumably moved with the Angevin court to Apulia, where "the Pilgrim" says that he died.¹⁸ The *terminus ante quem* has usually been fixed to the death of yet another Arrageois poet, one Jehan Mados (or Madoc or Madot), whose named is recorded in the confraternity's register in the late spring of 1288, just before Pentecost.¹⁹ At some point prior to his own death, Jehan had added a colophon to a manuscript of the *Roman de Troie* (later recopied by another scribe working in the fourteenth century).

Cis jehanes mados ot nom	It's me: Jehan Mados' the name,
Con tenoit a bon compaignon	A social guy of goodly fame.
Darras estoit bien fu connus	He's from Arras, well known to you;
Ses oncles adans li bocus	His uncle's Adam li Boçu,
Que pour revel et pour compaigni	Who for a revel – company –
Laissa arras ce fu folie	Left our Arras, which was folly
Car il est tremus et ames	For he was so well loved at home
Quant il morut ce fu pites. ²⁰	That when he died we all made moan.

We can therefore infer that Adam died sometime between the winters of 1284–85 and 1287–88.

While it is discomfiting to have to rely on the testimonies of a self-styled nephew whose original colophon doesn't survive and on that of a fictional character in a play, it is even more problematic to posit Adam's survival after 1288. If he had returned to Arras in the count's train, in 1291, he would certainly have been mentioned among the entertainers in Robert's household, who were regularly rewarded for their services and who have left their own sealed

18 See below.

19 Berger, ed., *Nécrologe*, 1:61a.

20 Paris, BnF, fr. 375, fol. 119va. See Charles François, "Perrot de Neele, Jehan Madot et le MS. B.N. fr. 375," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 41 (1963): 761–79.

receipts in the archives; either that, or his eventual death would have been registered by the confraternity. So it is impossible that our Adam is the “Adam of Arras” who is named among scores of other entertainers hired to perform at Caernarvon Castle during the festivities that accompanied the future Edward 11’s installation as the first Prince of Wales in 1306.²¹ Not only would Adam have been quite elderly, by the standards of his time, it is unthinkable that a composer and performer of his talents would have been paid just a few shillings, no more than all of the common minstrels whose names are listed in the surviving account. This latter-day Adam was most likely an “Adam impersonator” trading, like the Elvis impersonators of the late twentieth century, on Adam’s fame and rumors of his supernatural survival – rumors that the manuscript compilation, with its resurrected Adam, would have helped to feed. We know that Adam’s name and fame endured among his many admirers and imitators in the next generation of singer-songwriters, and for centuries it remained attached to brief sketches derived from the opening scene of the *Jeu de la feuillée*.²² Moreover, like many great artists and intellectuals, Adam continued to “produce” spurious works after his death: the sole manuscript of the *Ordo representationis Ade*, composed in the Anglo-Norman dialect toward the end of the twelfth century and commonly known as the *Jeu d’Adam*, was later adorned with a note alleging it to be “le jeu d’Adam de la Halle.”²³

So Adam was dead by 1288. How old was when he died? The *Jeu de la feuillée*, which can be dated to 1276 or 1277, opens with Adam in a scholar’s gown, preparing to leave his wife Maroie and resume his studies in Paris. Evidently, he plans to pass himself off as an unmarried cleric, so that he can live *gratis* with the other *bons enfants* of Arras for whom the bishop of the diocese had established a residential college in Paris during Adam’s boyhood, and where Adam almost certainly lived when he pursued his earlier studies at the university.²⁴ Much depends in how we interpret the humor of this scenario: was it hilariously incongruous, because Adam was already middle-aged? Or was he still youthful enough to make this a reasonable plan, and to make the curse of the

21 See the account roll edited and analyzed by Constance Bullock-Davies, *Menestrellorum multitudo: Minstrels at a Royal Feast* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1978). The theory that Adam lived beyond 1288 and that he can be identified as this “Adam of Arras” was advanced by Fabienne Gégou, “Adam le Bossu était il mort en 1288?,” *Romania* 86 (1965): 111–17. For an extended discussion of this issue, see *A Common Stage*, 269–70.

22 See note 5, above.

23 Symes, “Appearance,” 781, n. 9.

24 Symes, *A Common Stage*, 156–57 and 186–87. On the college, see Adolphe Guesnon, *Un collège inconnu des Bons enfants d’Arras à Paris du XIII^e au XV^e*, originally published in *Mémoires de la Société de l’Histoire de Paris et de l’Île-de-France* 42 (1915): 1–37; and J.M. Reitzel, “The Medieval Houses of Bons-Enfants,” *Viator* 11 (1980): 179–207.

fairy queen Morgue, condemning him to stay at home, a real setback? A related question: how old is Adam's father, Henri, in this play or in life? If he were still hale and well, the hypochondria and healthy sexual appetites of his eponymous character would play as comic; if elderly and infirm (and really a hunchback) they would take on a different tone. One of the few things we *do* know is that the death of "Maistre Henri Bochu" occurred after Candlemas (2 February) in 1291, because the confraternity registered it.²⁵ If we assume that this death was timely, that Henri was around sixty, and that Adam's death was *un*timely, we can posit that Adam came into the world of Arras around or after 1250. This would place him in his early to mid thirties in 1287/8 and make "the Pilgrim"'s dramatic report of Count Robert's remorse highly plausible; in fact, it would make Adam the exact (or maybe slightly younger) contemporary of his patron, whom we know was born in 1250.

A tragically early end would help to explain why Robert, or someone in his circle, commissioned a lavish manuscript codex to memorialize Adam's truncated career: he may even have felt personally responsible for Adam's death. If Adam died in Foggia during the winter of 1284–85, as King Charles did, he could have been carried off by the same illness; this was a low-lying marshy area, famous for breeding fevers. If Adam survived that winter, he would have rejoined Robert's train on the frontlines of the war which surrounded Bari and its environs by August of 1285 and remained there till at least October of 1287.²⁶ And the situation was clearly dangerous: in May of 1286, Robert was fortifying the coast "because of the imminent wars, and the tumult of the present times."²⁷ According to surviving archival sources for Robert's later wars in Italy and Flanders, the entertainers of his household often rode with his army and performed military and diplomatic services for which they were rewarded with gifts of money, salaries, and even pensions. If Adam *was* killed in the count's service, at a time when such records were not yet being kept, his posthumous reward

25 Berger, ed., *Nécrologe*, 1:62a (the year is still 1282 according to medieval reckoning). It also registers the death of a "Feme de la Hale Henri" after Candlemas in 1283 (1282) and that of "Hale Maroie" in the autumn/winter of 1287/8: possibly Adam's stepmother (the *Jeu de la feuillée* indicates that Henri had remarried after the death of Adam's mother) and wife, respectively.

26 Auguste Charles Henri Menche de Loisne, "Itinéraire de Robert II, comte d'Artois (1267–1302)," *Bulletin historique et philologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1913): 362–83 at 371–75.

27 Ferdinando Ughelli, *Italia sacra; sive, De episcopis Italice, et insularum adjacentium, rebusque ab iis præclare gestis, deducta serie ad nostram usque ætatem*, 2nd edn. ed. N. Coleti, vol. 7 (Venice: apud Sebastianum Coleti, 1721), 631–32: "propter imminentes guerras, & præsentis turbationem temporis" (letter dated 20 May 1286).

may have been the tomb reported by “the Pilgrim”; it may even have been the manuscript memorial, too.

3 Arras Before Adam

The first thing to know about medieval Arras is that it was not “French.” It was not part of the royal domain centered on Paris, the “island of France”; it was the heart of a linguistically distinctive region known as Picardy and located in the independent county of Flanders until the end of the twelfth century. Nor was it one place: Arras actually consisted of two distinct geopolitical entities. The City (*civitas, cité*), founded atop an ancient Roman settlement, was the domain of the bishop. The Town (*burg, ville*) grew up around the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Vaast, named after Vedastus (d. 539), the first bishop of Arras, and established in the seventh century to house his relics when the diocesan see was transferred to Cambrai. Thereafter, the tiny Merovingian basilica in the episcopal city crumbled while the abbey across the River Crinchon flourished, becoming the most powerful lordship in the region, the protector of a thriving town, and – thanks to its enterprising serfs – very wealthy.

Situated at an advantageous point for overland trade, Arras became a hub for exchanging and manufacturing the goods produced by the wool and cloth industries that bound Flanders and the Low Countries to England, as well as a distribution point for staples like wheat and wine. It was also a convenient *entrepôt* for canal traffic along the Oise-Scarpe-Escaut artery, and for travelers en route to the fairs of Champagne. Within this commercial crucible, the artisans of Arras came to be known for the fine cloth and luxury goods they produced, while the merchants and bankers of the Town made themselves indispensable by minting a strong coinage that became the staple currency of northern Europe. They also brokered transactions by changing money from other parts of the medieval world and extending credit. Elsewhere in Europe, at this time, money-changing and -lending were usually facilitated by a network of Jewish enclaves in major cities; but in Arras, these trades were pursued by the townspeople themselves, including clerics in high office. Among them, at the turn of the thirteenth century, was the bishop himself. And just as usury gave rise to anti-Semitic stereotypes elsewhere, so it gave rise to a pan-European stereotype of the *arrageois* merchant-banker, greedy and wily, and of Arras as a place in a perpetual state of carnival: a world turned upside down, where even *jongleurs* had power.

For with wealth and mobility came new avenues toward upward advancement and respectability. Around 1111, the collective riches and influence of the

arrageois enabled them to emancipate themselves from the control of the abbey of Saint-Vaast and to found the region's first commune, a *coniuratio* whose "mutual oath" created a form of representative government. Its officers, the *échevins* (*scabini*), were selected from those known to be *prudhommes*, prudent and proven men (*probi viri*). Communes were a controversial new political institution, hated by established clerical and secular elites; and in the lands of the French king they were being dissolved or suppressed. But in Flanders they were welcomed as money-generating powerhouses. Even though a commune's free citizens would no longer be under the jurisdiction of local lords, and instead exercised a lordship of their own – even minting money and issuing documents under the communal seal – the benefits to the count of Flanders and to the abbey of Saint-Vaast far outweighed the disadvantages, because these lords could now levy hefty taxes and tariffs on all of the goods and services sold in the Town's two large marketplaces. For example, these funds allowed the monks to undertake several ambitious projects over the course of the next century: renovations of the abbey's precincts and a reconstruction of the abbey church, as well as the founding of nine parish churches in the new suburbs that were springing up around its markets. All of this valuable real estate in the Town was enclosed by a wall of dazzling white stone with seven impressive portals opening on the world, financed by Count Robert II of Flanders (r.1093–1111) in order to safeguard the most lucrative mercantile nexus of his domain.

The City of Arras, in the meantime, was struggling to rival the abbey and the Town's burgeoning economy. In 1093, the population boom that was turning the region into the most densely-inhabited area of Europe had prompted Pope Urban II to reestablish the diocese of Arras and to appoint its first new bishop, Lambert. Yet Lambert's pontificate, and that of his immediate successors, was difficult. The bishop's City was an independent lordship but it was also rural, sparsely populated, and had only a few mills as sources of revenue. Meanwhile, Saint-Vaast continued to control three of the nine parish churches in Arras as well as both marketplaces; moreover, it was far better endowed and had a much larger and more impressive church. The bishop of Arras also had to contend with social and political unrest in other parts of the diocese, where local lords were being challenged by the communal movement; and it had to provide for the pastoral care of a huge population in a territory that straddled the boundary between Flanders and the Holy Roman Empire. To make things still more awkward, Arras was part of the archdiocese of Reims, the royal church of the Frankish monarchy, and the bishop owed his regalia (and hence his homage and allegiance) to the Frankish king. So in addition to the usual tensions that always subsisted between episcopal and monastic authorities in medieval

Europe, the bishop of Arras was an impoverished political outsider in his own diocese.

That began to change, however, in the course of the twelfth century, as the bishops of Arras increased their prestige by making common cause with an unusual ally in the Town: a confraternity of *jongleurs*. According to its founding narrative, this charitable organization – *carité* – had been formed when Bishop Lambert made peace between two rival minstrels. Although neither of these entertainers was a native *arrageois*, both had experienced the same vision: the Blessed Virgin had appeared in their dreams and urged them to go to her cathedral in Arras and to seek an audience with the bishop. Initially skeptical, the bishop was ultimately persuaded to believe his two motley visitors when each performed the same story of the Virgin's apparition. And by healing their enmity with love, Lambert institutionalized the *Carité* and ratified it by his own authority. Yet the Virgin's true miracle was to vest the *jongleurs* with miraculous powers: appearing to the three founding fathers of the confraternity in the cathedral of Arras, she bestowed on the *jongleurs* a holy candle whose wax, mixed with water, cured those suffering from the deadly plague of ergotism that was then afflicting the people of Arras. Hence the name of the confraternity: the *carite nostre Dame des ardents d'Arras*, “the Carité of Our Lady of the Burning Ones,” later known as the *confrerie des jogleurs et des bourgeois*, “the Brotherhood of Jongleurs and Townspeople.” Often called St. Anthony's Fire, and known locally in Picardy as the *mal des ardents* (burning sickness), ergotism is a potentially fatal disease caused by the consumption of grain contaminated with the ergot fungus (*Claviceps purpurea*). It can manifest itself as gangrenous, and thus be confused with leprosy because it leads to the inflammation, distension, and potential loss of limbs; or it can manifest as convulsive ergotism, with symptoms including painful burning sensations, severe itching, spastic muscular contractions, and hallucinations.²⁸ In this latter form, the behavior of affected persons could be construed as grotesque parody of the dancing and acrobatics of a juggling *jongleur*. These were the unlikely agents chosen by the Virgin to work her miracle in Arras.

As with most *miracula*, the facts of the story are not as important as its meanings and claims. At the most basic level, this legend explains how the cathedral of Arras came to be dedicated to the Blessed Virgin – whose cult was only nascent in the late eleventh century – and why Arras was a magnet for *jongleurs* and other entertainers, because it was here that they could earn

²⁸ A chemical derivative of ergot is a basic component of LSD. Ergotism is now thought to be a possible cause of the mysterious sickness that the “witches” of colonial Salem allegedly afflicted on their “victims.” See my extended discussion in *A Common Stage*, 86–98.

salvation and status guaranteed by the bishop himself. As for the bishops of Arras, it was an advertisement for their sponsorship of a wonder-working cult and a blow to the reputation of Saint-Vaast, whose monks the legend obliquely accused of actually causing the plague of "divine fire" through their spiritual neglect of the people of Arras. It is certainly verifiable that a number of ergotism outbreaks occurred in the region between 1089 and 1151. And while it can't be proven that a mass healing occurred at the cathedral during Lambert's pontificate, it is the case that the *jongleurs* of Arras formed a confraternity that was chartered by the bishops of Arras in the course of the twelfth century, and that this organization treasured the relic of the Sainte Chandelle and the right to practice the quasi-priestly ritual of creating holy water from its wax. This potion was administered to ailing individuals in the community and also ceremoniously imbibed by the confraternity's members on its three annual *potus* or *bevees* (drinking feasts): Candlemas (the Feast of the Purification, 2 February), Pentecost (late May or June), and the Feast of St. Rémy (Remigius of Auxerre, 1 October). By the middle of the thirteenth century, recurring feasts also included four civic festivals involving the entire community of Arras: a three-day *grand siège* (great seating) beginning on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday;²⁹ the celebration of the midsummer feast of St. John the Baptist (24 June); a musical procession to Saint-Vaast on the feast day of St. Vedastus (15 July); and the construction of a large greenery-decked arbor – that is, a *fuellie* or *follye* – on the Feast of the Assumption (15 August), which also became the setting for a liturgical reenactment of the Virgin's apparition to the confraternity's founders.

The *jongleurs'* status in Arras was not merely manifested in performance; it was ratified in a series of documents which they helped to produce. A Latin account of the founding miracle was composed around 1175, and it included a brief "constitution" (*consuetudines*) for the *Carité*, delineating the terms of membership for men and women, noting that membership guarantees a decent and ceremonial burial, and requiring all members to swear a solemn oath to maintain its charity and to respect the offices of its *maieur* and *échevins*. A decade or so later, this brief statement of key customs began to be elaborated in a set of bylaws redacted over the space of a generation, fair-copied in 1217,

29 This would later become the Feast of Corpus Christi throughout Latin Christendom, formally promulgated in 1317. The timing may be a mere coincidence, or it may reflect the Church's official recognition of festive practices that had spread from Arras to other cities in the region, notably Liège, where the feast is alleged to have begun. See Symes, *A Common Stage*, 123.

and amended until 1224.³⁰ Many of its clauses describe the protocols of funerals and the rituals of the Sainte Chandelle. They also suggest that the very success of the confraternity was threatening its unity, a situation made explicit in a new miracle story added to a vernacular translation of the original foundation narrative.³¹ It tells how two local lords tried to usurp the power of the *jongleurs* and turn the confraternity into an exclusive aristocratic association; but when they were smitten with the *mal des ardents* they were unable to make the miraculous, curative potion – and so returned to the *jongleurs* their “charter and their rights” (*leur charte et leur droiture*). Again, the meaning is plain: the efficacy of the confraternity’s relic can only be guaranteed when *jongleurs* occupy the positions of highest authority. And indeed, this “lordship” of *jongleurs* and their special status is spelled out in the episcopal charter redacted at the end of the twelfth century and further expanded in customary laws of the thirteenth: “This *Carité* was founded by *jongleurs*, and the *jongleurs* are lords of it. And whoever they keep out cannot be in if they say no. Because without *jongleurs* we have no lordship.”³² This manifesto and its accompanying bylaws were eventually bound into a codex with the confraternity’s funerary register, suggesting that the *coutumier* was also read aloud when the names of departed members were commemorated. The register itself, begun in 1194 and kept until 1361, records the names of some 10,500 individuals who were beneficiaries of the *Carité*’s charity, including many of Adam’s friends, family members, and the eponymous characters of the *Jeu de la feuillée*. Jehan Bodel, mourned in 1210, was undoubtedly a moving force behind these documentary initiatives, drawing on his clerical expertise and his skills as a storyteller and dramatist.

The creation of the *Carité*’s remarkable archive coincided with a number of material acquisitions that also cemented its standing in Arras. In 1200, the abbey of Saint-Vaast itself acceded to the *jongleurs*’ claims of spiritual lordship by

30 This small booklet – a single parchment bifolium – is now bound into the same codex as the funerary register: Paris, BnF fr. 8541, fols. 46–47. On the contents and making of this *coutumier*, see Symes, *A Common Stage*, 99–104; and Symes, “The Lordship of Jongleurs” in *The Experience of Power, 950–1350*, ed. Robert F. Berkhofer III et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 231–46.

31 This survives in a single manuscript, Paris, BnF, fr. 17229, fols. 352vb–57va.

32 Paris, BnF, fr. 8541, fol. 46rb: “Ceste carites est estores des iogleors & li iogleur en sont signor. & cil cui ilmetent si est. & cil cui ratene hors ni puet estre se par els non. Car sor iogelors ni a nus signorie.” I discuss the *Carité*’s archive and relationship to local religious institutions in “The Confraternity of Jongleurs and the Cult of the Virgin: Vernacular Devotion and Documentation in Medieval Arras,” in *The Church and Vernacular Literature in Medieval France*, ed. Dorothea Kullmann (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2009), 176–97.

giving it a chapel in the Petit Marché of Arras, the most valuable and visible real estate in the Town. This tiny sanctuary with its single gothic spire was called, simply, "the Tower" or (later) the *Pyramide*, and it was the focus of the *Carité's* civic spectacles.³³ The confraternity also acquired a handsome silver-gilt reliquary for the Sainte Chandelle, known as the Joyel, the "jewel" of Arras,³⁴ which was probably kept in the *hala ardentium*, the Hall of the Ardents, constructed sometime before 1224 and located just northwest of the marketplace and chapel. (And this at a time when not even the commune of Arras had its own hall!) The *jongleurs'* reputation for healing was also concretized in its own hospital, extant by 1249. Around that time, the upkeep of these properties and responsibilities prompted the *Carité* to create a detailed ordinance describing the protocols of the *grand siège* and the wages due to its permanent household (*maisnie*), who worked in the hospital and served as the retainers of its "court" (*praiiel*).³⁵ All the while, the *Carité's* fame was adding to the already considerable fame of Arras, making the Town a destination for tourists and pilgrims. In 1241, the cult of *Nostre Dame des Ardents* was granted official recognition by the papacy; up to the time of the French Revolution, one could earn a plenary dispensation for attending the solemn veneration of the Sainte Chandelle. In the course of the next few decades, fragments of the holy candle and secondary relics created from it were sought by churches throughout the surrounding region, while other confraternities vied to achieve prestige by copying the *Carité's* foundation legend, customs, and rituals.

The capacity of the *jongleurs* of Arras to achieve corporate status and to preside over a prominent religious, social, and cultural institution challenges many of the assumptions and stereotypes attached to medieval entertainers. It also suggests that standard narratives of the way that power worked in this era need to be revised, as do the binary oppositions that govern those narratives (aristocratic/ignoble, clerical/lay, Latin/vernacular, oral/written). Arras was a place where those distinctions were always hard to draw, and its very indeterminacy and flexibility may have created the conditions in which this unique organization could grow and thrive.

That said, those conditions were undergoing significant changes in the generation prior to Adam's birth, changes that had begun during Jehan Bodel's time. In 1191, Arras ceased to be part of independent Flanders. Count Philip

33 Jehan calls it *la tours* in his *Congé*, v. 514. See the edition of Pierre Ruelle, ed. *Les congés d'Arras* (Jean Bodel, *Baude Fastoul*, *Adam de la Halle*) (Brussels: Presses Universitaires de Bruxelles, 1965).

34 It is still extant. A copy is on view in the neo-Gothic church of Notre-Dame-des-Ardents in Arras; the original (still containing fragments of wax) is the property of the diocese.

35 *A Common Stage*, 116–19.

died on crusade, and the ambitious French king, Philip II “Augustus” (1180–1220), abruptly returned from the siege of Acre and claimed Arras and its surrounding territory for himself. These are the events obliquely chronicled and satirized in Jehan Bodel’s “Play of Saint Nicholas.” And given the play’s later inclusion in the manuscript of Adam’s works, they resonated long and loudly in Arras.³⁶ As part of the realm that was now known, for the first time, as “France” (rather than “the kingdom of the Franks”), Arras found itself on the front lines of a series of aggressive wars. Philip was bent on expanding French territory into the duchy of Normandy, which was gradually wrested from England over a period of two decades, culminating in the defeat of King John’s army at Bouvines in 1214.³⁷ This triumph put new pressures on Arras, since King Philip was also bent on either eradicating the communes of his own domain or denying them freedoms to which Flemish communes were long accustomed. Arras managed to retain its charter of liberties, but at a high price: rather than being called upon to levy troops for Philip’s wars, the townspeople were required to substitute a payment of 3000 *livres*, twice as much as that of any other French town. The coinage of Arras was also being used to prop up the hitherto debased *parisis* of France which, unlike the Arras *artésien*, had never been a trustworthy instrument of international trade. In fact, controlling the monetary atelier at Arras had been one of Philip’s chief motives for its annexation, which is why Jehan Bodel cast him in the role of the rapacious and outlandish king of his play, greedily determined to increase his wealth by capturing the Prudhomme of Arras and his profitable icon of the bishop St. Nicholas, who – like the incumbent bishop of Arras, Raoul “Horned Hat” – could make money increase exponentially.

Annexation by the French crown also complicated the internal politics of Arras. Philip’s centralizing policies mandated that a royal bailiff would oversee justice as the king’s representative, thus creating another jurisdiction to compete with the established but mutually suspicious lordships of the commune, the abbey, and the episcopal City. The situation became still more fraught when Arras became the capital of a new royal county, Artois, which included the strategic port of Calais, the wealthy towns of Lens and Bapaume, and the castellany of Hesdin. This was part of an appanage arranged during the short reign of King Philip’s heir, Louis VIII (1223–26), who wanted to provide for his own younger sons by giving them a degree of autonomy and so to ease any

36 *A Common Stage*, 27–68.

37 On Philip’s career, see John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986).

tensions that might arise between them and their eldest brother, the future Louis IX. The second surviving son of Louis VIII, Robert, accordingly took up this inheritance in 1237, when he turned twenty-one. For the first time, there was now a comital household in Arras, as well as a count's bailiff to share (and contest) the jurisdictional powers of the royal bailiff and to negotiate between the already tangled territorial claims of the abbey and cathedral, both of which were also having to contend with an influx of new mendicant orders (beginning with the Franciscans, in 1220) that threatened their hold on the attention, allegiance, and alms of the *arrageois*. The cathedral responded by trying to limit the mendicants' access to the public sphere of Arras, while the monks of Saint-Vaast began a new vernacular preaching campaign modelled on that of the Dominicans.³⁸ And they responded to one another's claims on public space in ways that could flare out into violence.

One such clash is particularly important to note here, since it concerns the annual construction of a *fuellie* in the Petit Marché of Arras: the structure featured in Adam's play of that name.³⁹ Around 1221, the cathedral canons had negotiated a deal with the abbey of Saint-Vaast, which allowed them to erect a consecrated altar in that very marketplace, protected by a leafy bower, on which they would display a special reliquary: the *fiertre* mentioned in the closing lines of the *Jeu de la feuillée*. This *fiertre* was a small chest decorated with images of the Virgin and containing the cathedral's precious Marian relics, which were offered for public display in the Town during the summer months between Pentecost and the Feast of the Assumption, because the marketplace was "more convenient and pleasing to all the people of the town gathering there for the sake of prayers and devotions." That is, it was a place more accessible and well-trafficked than the cathedral in the City, and a place already graced by the Chapel of the *Carité*.⁴⁰ In 1232, however, a dispute between the canons and the monks led the abbey to withdraw its permission for this lucrative display of spiritual capital, prompting the canons to attempt a circumvention by erecting the altar and its folly outside the cathedral's parish church of Saint-Jean, situated within the walls of the Town. But the monks claimed that the *place* outside this church was in their jurisdiction, not within the bounds of the cathedral's parish, and so they broke down the altar and bower, only to

38 Symes, *A Common Stage*, 159–67.

39 *Ibid.*, 192–207.

40 The text has been edited as *Factum de domo destructa ad reponendum capsam Beate Marie in Platea sancti Joannis de Rotunda Villa quae vocatur Follye* by Henri Loriquet in "Le trésor de Notre-Dame d'Arras," *Mémoires de la Commission départementale des monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais* 1/2 (1892): 127–208 at 199–201: "magis conveniens et placens toti villae populo ibi confluent causa orationis et devotionis."

have the canons escalate the conflict by setting up an armed encampment to protect the *fiertre*.

Adam's play about the *fuellie* took place against this backdrop of piety, commercialism, and potential violence. For it was a common practice, in Arras and many other towns in the region, to display relics in the open air, especially during the summer months, and to protect their raised platforms with canopies of foliage; in the play, the reliquary of St. Acaire (a real set of relics prized by the monks of Saint-Vaast) would also have been displayed under a bower. So would the Sainte Chandelle of the *Carité*, on the occasions when it became the focus of civic and religious celebrations. More generally, *fuellies*/follies were traditional symbols of welcome and refreshment, erected to shelter festivities from ceremonial banquets to drinking parties at humble taverns: the sign of a "bush" or bower hung at the door of a shop indicated that wine was sold there.⁴¹ Bowers were also associated with entertainment. In a cycle of carvings depicting the seasonal "Works of the Months" in nearby Amiens, the image of the month of May is a minstrel in a *fuellie*.⁴² A similar image appears in the margins of the *Carité's* register.⁴³ A vernacular treatise on the Mass, in a contemporary manuscript from Saint-Vaast, strikingly blends all of these meanings when it describes how each worshipper should spiritually "deck the place and the table where God feasts his friends," for "in that sweet place" the soul will receive magnificent hospitality "because God is so courtly to his friends." Hence His arrival should be heralded by "the banner-bearers, the *jongleurs*, the musicians, the *vielle* players who come before the Lord to honor him."⁴⁴ In Adam's Arras, both the Virgin Mary and the fairy Morgue were welcomed in similar ways.

41 See Michael Camille, "Signs of the City: Place, Power, and Public Fantasy in Medieval Paris," in *Medieval Practices of Space*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 1–36; and Camille, "Signs on Medieval Street Corners," in *Die Strasse: Zur Funktion und Perzeption öffentlichen Raums im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001), 91–117.

42 Reproduced in Robert Fossier, *La terre et les hommes en Picardie jusqu'à la fin du XIII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Amiens: Béatrice-Nauwelaerts, 1968), 1:390.

43 Paris, Bnf, fr.8541 fol.42ra; reproduced in Berger, ed., *Nécrologe*, 2:55.

44 *Li senefiance comment on se doit contenir a le messe*, "The Meaning Which One Ought to Enact within Oneself at Mass" is juxtaposed with a handbook of Dominican-inspired instructions for preaching: Arras, Bibliothèque municipale 657, fols. 126ra–128va. See Symes, *A Common Stage*, 168–74 and 194: "pour apareillier le lieu et le taule ou dieus repaist les siens amis ... les banieres. Li iougleour les muses les vieles qui viennent devant le signour pour lui honnourer En cele douce venue ... Car Diex est si courtois a ses amis."

4 Arras in Adam's Lifetime

As his various works attest, Adam's lifetime coincided with a period of growing economic inequality and social unrest. This was the case throughout the territories of northern France, Flanders, and the Low Countries; but in Arras, these changes were rendered particularly volatile by the longstanding political and religious divisions discussed above, as well as by its unique cultural climate and its special place in the wider medieval world. Even though Adam may not have been cognizant of all these developments, or of their deep historical roots, they affected him directly and indirectly, enhancing or limiting the opportunities available to him.

In February of 1250, the people of Arras learned that the first count of Artois, Robert, had died on crusade in Egypt while leading an ill-advised attack on the city of Mansourah. In September of that same year, they learned that he had left behind a posthumous son and heir, Robert II, born to the late count's wife, Mahaut (Matilda) of Brabant. At about this time, Adam was born in Arras, son to Henri Bochu, a cleric in minor orders who served the *échevins* of the commune and whose title "Master" suggests a university education. (Nothing is known of Adam's mother.)⁴⁵ Henri's membership in the *Carité* further suggests that he was one of the many clerics whom the Church was beginning to denounce for their engagement in worldly affairs and their involvement in the entertainment industry: activities that would be officially condemned at the Council of Lyons in 1274, when "bigamous" clerics (widowed and remarried) were also deprived of the perquisites enjoyed by those in minor orders – a development deplored a couple of years later by "Master Henri" in the *Jeu de la feuillée*.⁴⁶

It is likely that Adam attended one of the two grammar schools in Arras, either that attached to the abbey of Saint-Vaast or the cathedral of Notre-Dame. I have suggested the latter as more likely, on the grounds that it provided a known pathway to studies in Paris, where (as noted above) the cathedral had established a house for *arrageois* boys pursuing degrees at the university. I have also hypothesized that the cathedral school maintained a tradition of performing Jehan Bodel's "Play of St Nicholas," repurposed as a play for the saint's feast and/or for times of carnival, when the icon of the saint would be played by a Boy Bishop. This scenario would help to explain how Adam came to know this play by his artistic ancestor.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, Arras itself was

45 See note 25, above.

46 Symes, *A Common Stage*, 157–58, 189–93.

47 *Ibid.*, 156, 211–13; see also Symes, "Repeat Performances."

teaching Adam the elements of his craft. The surviving corpus of contemporary songs and *jeux-partis* composed there during his youth testify to numerous occasions and venues for entertainment, as does the *Carité's* annual cycle of meetings and festivities.⁴⁸

The absence of specific references to performance in the *Carité's* archive have misled many generations of scholars to posit that the *Carité* was, in Adam's day, rivaled by "the Puy," an allegedly exclusive "literary society." The existence of this entity has been inferred entirely from vague references to a *puy* or *pui* in a few of the *jeux-partis* and one such reference in Adam's play of the *fuelle*, where a certain Robert Sommeillon is said to be its "new prince" (a reference that, in context, is plainly satirical).⁴⁹ In fact, this evidence indicates that "puy" was not the proper name of a competing institution but an elevated place for display: synonymous with the bowered and raised platform for the reliquary *fiertre* of Our Lady, or for the *Carité's* Sainte Chandelle.⁵⁰ It was only in the fourteenth century that this word became, through association and synecdoche, a generic term for the many confraternal organizations that were established to emulate the poetic and musical entertainments of Arras, first in London and then in northern France and the Low Countries.⁵¹ Indeed, the two earliest non-literary references to a *puy* in Arras are plainly references to the *Carité*. A fiscal account of 1328 records that Countess Mahaut of Artois (Robert II's daughter) gave the large sum of 80 *livres* to "those who are of the *puy*, both the knights and all the other people," to finance festivities at Pentecost and to supplement a smaller sum given by the *échevins* of the commune.⁵² Here, the wording suggests a shorthand reference to the *Carité's grand siège*, held at that season, or to one of its *bevées*. The other early reference comes from the

48 On what we can and cannot expect to find in our sources, see Carol Symes, "The Medieval Archive and the History of Theatre: Assessing the Written and Unwritten Evidence for Premodern Performance," *Theatre Survey* 52 (2011): 1–30.

49 Symes, *A Common Stage*, 190–91, 216–24.

50 Editions and commentaries on the *jeux-partis* of Arras regularly and randomly capitalized *puy* and *pui* to create the misleading impression that these terms reference an exclusive club. This is the case even in Michèle Gally's otherwise useful book, *Parler d'amour au puy d'Arras: lyrique en jeu* (Orléans: Paradigme Publications Universitaires, 2004). The studies by Gérard Gros improve on older interpretations, but they still convey the impression that the *Carité* and "the Puy" were separate: "Histoire littéraire et puy poétique: la poésie mariale de concours au Moyen Âge," in *L'Écrivain et ses institutions*, ed. Roger Marchal, *Travaux de littérature* 19 (Geneva: Droz, 2006), 39–45; and Gros, *Le Poète, la vierge et le prince du puy: étude sur les puy marials de la France du Nord du XIVe siècle à la Renaissance* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1992), 30–34.

51 Symes, *A Common Stage*, 216–27.

52 Pas-de-Calais, Archives départementales série A. 481.2: "chauls qui sont du puy, tant chevaliers que autres gens."

coutumier drafted by some Londoners who were inspired to inaugurate "a feast which they call *pui*" in imitation of the Arras *Carité's grand siège*, perhaps as early as the 1270s.⁵³ The master drapers and elite merchants of London were explicitly attempting to establish a more exclusive type of confraternal gathering than those they had witnessed in Arras.

This is not to say that Arras was an egalitarian paradise. There was clearly friction among members of the *Carité*; as noted above, the vernacular continuation of its foundation narrative enshrines an epoch in its history when the "lordship of *jongleurs*" was suspended, while the documents in its archive bespeak ongoing challenges to that lordship. But these same sources, as well as the extraordinary reputation of Arras and its "school" in this era, also indicate that this was a productive tension insofar as the performing arts were concerned. Indeed, we should read the resulting artistic products of Arras as playing a role in addressing and negotiating the larger political and economic developments of the mid- to late thirteenth century, which were affecting every aspect of life in this region. For during Adam's lifetime, the hard-won liberties of the commune and its tradition of self-governance were being eroded by the encroachments of the French king, as well as by the growing wealth and power of a small number of local families.⁵⁴ As we have already noted, Arras was highly unusual in having fostered a banking system not organized by Jews or (in a newer development) the Lombards.⁵⁵ But whereas many laypeople and clerics had been involved in finance during the twelfth century, the thirteenth century witnessed a massive increase in the amount of credit being extended to kings, great lords, and cities, involving huge loans that could only be met by certain large creditors. Meanwhile, the increased complexity of urban and global finance required ever more specialized accounting skills and fiscal instruments, which fewer people could understand.⁵⁶ By the time Adam savagely lampooned the plutocrats of Arras in his "Play of the Bower," a mere half-

53 Symes, *A Common Stage*, 218–21. Henry Thomas Riley, ed., *Liber costumarum*, in *Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis*, vol.2, part 1 (London: Longman, 1860), 216–28 at 224–25: "une fest eke hom apele Pui."

54 Peter Stabel, *Dwarfs Among Giants: The Flemish Urban Network in the Late Middle Ages* (Leuven: Garant, 1997), 151.

55 Bruges was the only city in this region to have a significant Jewish presence: Georges Espinas, *Les origines du droit d'association dans les villes de l'Artois et de la Flandre française jusqu'au début du XVIIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Lille: A. Raoust, 1941), 1:151–70.

56 Two surviving sources allow us to glimpse the accounting practices that were being developed to track comital and royal revenue from the financial institutions of Arras: Bernard Delmaire, ed., *Le compte général du receveur d'Artois pour 1303–1304: édition précédée d'une introduction à l'étude des institutions financières de l'Artois au XIIIe–XIVe siècles* (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire 1977); Roger Berger and Ber-

dozen local families controlled most of the banking business, with the Crespin clan alone in a position to extend 38,700 *livres* of credit to Ghent. By 1304, that one family could carry most of the 140,000 *livres* of debt owed by Bruges, as well.⁵⁷

At the same time, Arras's central place in the cloth industry was being effaced by structural changes in patterns of trade and manufacturing. By 1260, overland routes that had, for centuries, funneled merchandise through Arras were being rendered obsolete by an increase in mercantile shipping and the establishment of Bruges as the hub of Mediterranean–North Atlantic–Baltic trade. This shift toward the sea also reflected an increased reliance on wool exports from England and a decline in local wool production.⁵⁸ Although Arras would continue to manufacture high-quality cloth – and later, the tapestries with which its name became synonymous – the sources of wealth and political influence that had enriched and enfranchised its citizens at large were drying up. Combined with the rise of super-wealthy financiers, these developments caused a rapid and destabilizing stratification of society, resulting in the monopolization of civic offices by a narrow oligarchy and the weakening of the power of the professional guilds which had grown out of the earliest known trade-based confraternities in medieval Europe. For over a century, their membership had reflected the traditional money-making activities that had made Arras wealthy in the first place: minting and small-scale moneylending, the myriad trades of the cloth industry, and entertainment.⁵⁹

And yet precisely because the distribution of wealth and power had been so widespread for so long, Arras still fostered a similarly widespread and precocious distribution of literacy and tenacious habits of political association. This was, as I have noted, reflected in the variety and quality of vernacular performing and literary arts, but also in the production of vernacular laws, charters, fiscal accounts, and other forms of practical documentation, all of which ap-

nard Delmaire, eds., *Le rentier d'Artois, 1298–1299*, 2 vols. (Arras: Commission départementale d'histoire et d'archéologie du Pas-de-Calais, 2006).

57 For an overview of the situation, see Alain Derville, “La finance arrageoise: usure et banque,” in *Arras au moyen âge: histoire et littérature*, ed. Marie-Madeleine Castellani and Jean-Pierre Martin (Arras: Artois Presses Université, 1994), 37–52.

58 Stabel, *Dwarfs among Giants*, 139–41.

59 B.J.P. van Bavel, *Manors and Markets: Economy and Society in the Low Countries, 500–1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 101–123, 184–85; Jan Dumolyn, “Guild Politics and Political Guilds in Fourteenth-Century Flanders,” in Jan Dumolyn et al., ed., *The Voices of the People in Late Medieval Europe: Communication and Popular Politics*, Studies in European Urban History 33 (1100–1800) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 15–58.

pear to have been a reflection of movements "from below."⁶⁰ So while power ceased to be widely shared in the second half of the thirteenth century, the "school of Arras" provided many with the tools to record their reactions to these changes and the outlets for protesting their subordination. On the evidence of his collected works, Adam appears to have emerged as one of these vocal critics. His *congé* suggests that he may even have been forced into exile, or was at least so alienated that he seized the opportunity to leave for Apulia. Later lyrics, moreover, indicate that he continued to follow the news from Arras and was aware that the situation was worsening.

Prior to his departure in August of 1282, with Adam in his train, Count Robert had constituted a new *échevinage* in Arras. In theory, it was supposed to have been accountable directly to him; but in practice, these officers were left to their own devices in the count's absence, and began to raise taxes in a transparent effort to disenfranchise those who could not pay them. In 1284, these corrupt *échevins* curtailed the privileges of the minor clergy to such an extent that King Philip IV (hardly a crusader for justice) intervened to stop them. Reports of institutionalized bribery, extortion, wrongful imprisonment, and other harsh punishments became widespread.⁶¹ As Adam would have learned, the year 1285 witnessed a "play of the bower" even more scathing in its judgment on economic and political injustice than the *Jeu de la feuillée*. That summer, the *fietre* became the casualty of a *takehan* or *taquehan*, a popular uprising of a kind frequent throughout the region and an explicit response to the disenfranchisement of working-class citizens and the dissolution of trade and craft

60 On wider trends in the region, see Henri Pirenne, "L'Instruction des marchands au moyen âge," *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* 1 (1929): 13–28; Adriaan E. Verhulst and M. Gysseling, eds., *Le compte général de 1187, connu sous le nom de "Gros brief," et les institutions financières du comté de Flandre au XIIe siècle* (Brussels: Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, 1962), 106–119; Walter Prevenier, "Officials in Town and Countryside in the Low Countries: Social and Professional Developments from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century," *Acta Historiae Neerlandicae* 7 (1974): 1–17; and Eef Dijkhof, "Goatskin and Growing Literacy: The Penetration of Writing in the Former Counties of Holland and Zeeland in the Thirteenth Century in Relation to the Changes of the Internal and External Features of Charters Issued," in *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*, ed. Karl Josef Heidecker (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 101–12. As noted above, most practical documentation does not survive for Arras, but we know it existed. For example, the documentary output of its scabinal court would have been comparable to that of Ypres, which issued some 7000 charters between 1249 and 129; van Bavel, *Manors and Markets*, 314–17. Indeed, it has been argued that notaries were not so prevalent in this region, as they were in southern France, because literacy was so widespread and there were many other ways of keeping records: James M. Murray, *Notarial Instruments in Flanders between 1280–1452* (Brussels: Palais des Academies, 1995), 20–23.

61 Symes, *A Common Stage*, 200–8.

guilds.⁶² In Arras, the motives behind this particular *takehan* were symbolized by its ringleaders' seizure of the reliquary chest from its bower in the marketplace of Arras, "next to the place where the Candle of Blessed Mary is kept and where it is customary for God to work many miracles." These men then "stirred up the community of the Town of Arras against the *échevins* and great men" before returning the *fiertre* to the cathedral and taking refuge in the abbey.⁶³ An inquiry made the following year by the count's agents admitted that Arras "is very badly governed in many ways" and found that the instigators of the *takehan* had been five men condemned to death by the *échevins*, who had escaped from prison with the connivance of the count's own castellan and possibly that of the monks of Saint-Vaast. In addition to the *fiertre*, the crowd had gotten hold of the banners of their guilds and, waving them defiantly, "cried out death to the *échevins* and the rich men." At least some of the ringleaders were eventually recaptured and executed, despite having sought sanctuary in the abbey.⁶⁴

62 Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Brussels: Henri Lamertin, 1902), 356; Espinas, *Origines*, 250–51; Dumolyn, "Guild Politics." *Taquehan/Takehan* seems to be a Flemish term related to the English "take in hand" or "strike hands" (hence "to strike"). Coupled with the most generic name of the era, John/Jehan/Jan/Han – frequently used as term of opprobrium for peasants or laborers – it would be a cry for solidarity: *Taque, Han!* or *Taque Jean!* See Maurice Tournier, *Des mots sure la grève: propos d'étymologie sociale* (Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2002), 34–37; Tournier, "La loi dans la langue, loi de langue: à travers une chronique de la grève dès origines à 1848," *Langage et Société* 60 (1992): 17–48. On urban unrest and popular politics in this era, see Jean-Marie Cauchies, "Le «cri» et l'espace urbain: bretèches et publication dans les villes des anciens Pays-Bas," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire / Belgische tijdschrift voor filologie en geschiedenis* 89 (2002): 167–18; Marc Boone, "*Armes, courses, assembles et commocions*. Les gens de métiers et l'usage de la violence dans la société urbaine flamande à la fin du Moyen Âge," *Revue du Nord* 87 (2005): 1–34; Carol Symes, "Out in the Open, in Arras: Sightlines, Soundscapes, and the Shaping of a Medieval Public Sphere," in *Cities, Texts and Social Networks, 400–1500*, ed. Caroline Goodson, Anne Lester, and Carol Symes (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 279–302; Jan Dumolyn et al., "Medieval Voices and Popular Politics," in *The Voices of the People*, 1–12.

63 Arthur Auguste Beugnot, ed., *Les olim, ou Registres des arrêts rendus par la cour du roi sous les règnes de Saint Louis, de Philippe le Hardi, de Philippe le Bel, de Louis le Hutin et de Philippe le Long*, 3 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1839–1848), 1:245: "iuxta locum ubi candelae Beatae Marie et reposita et ubi consuetum est a Deo multa miracula operari ... et communitatem ville Attrebatensi, contra scabinos et majores movissent."

64 The report has been edited by Adolphe Guesnon, in "Adam de la Halle et le *Jeu de la feuillée*," *Le Moyen Âge* 28 (1915): 173–233 at 219–20: "Arras est moult mal menee en moult de cas crièrent a lort contre eschevins et contre riches hommes." A third witness to the rising, a letter sent on behalf of the cathedral's canons to the bishop of Châlons, reveals that the chest was so damaged that it had to be replaced. I discuss these incidents and their complex ramifications in *A Common Stage*, 200–5.

This episode provides further evidence that the display of the *fiertre* had become deeply politicized, a process to which Adam’s play – performed a decade or so before – would have contributed. It is impossible to know what the precise aims of the *takehan*’s leaders were; we have no direct testimony from them, and the surviving accounts were generated by authorities keen to dismiss their actions as the madness of a mob.⁶⁵ But their carefully choreographed actions indicate that they were using the *fiertre* to demonstrate the Virgin’s solidarity with the common men of the guilds. Adam had done something similar when he ended a complex and controversial play with a visit to the Virgin’s bower and a prayer for her blessing on “our cause” (*no cose*, v.1079). Two of Adam’s songs, moreover, beseech the Virgin to protect all victims of rapacity and oppression, while one motet (written in response to the *takehan*, or the injustices that prompted it) expresses grief for the sufferings of his fellow citizens, deprived of their laws and rights. That same motet asserts that greed for hard cash had blinded counts and kings to the plight of the urban working classes.⁶⁶

5 Exporting the “School of Arras”

Adam may have been far from Arras after 1282, but he was still making art to advocate for his fellow citizens. Nor was he any less ready to critique his new royal patron than he had been to lampoon the oligarchs of Arras. His main task, while at the court of King Charles, was to compose his biographical epic, a project for which (as I noted above) Adam seems to have had little enthusiasm – and which he never completed. Instead, he turned his attention to composing a novel entertainment whose pastoral setting masks its pointed engagement with unfolding events in the kingdom of Sicily, beginning with the crisis that had brought Robert and his army there.

The riot known as the Sicilian Vespers had broken out in Palermo on Easter Monday in 1282, when citizens – already enraged by exorbitant taxes levied to

65 This was a typical stance among elites. Philippe de Beaumanoir doesn’t use the word *takehan*, but he roundly condemns any form of popular “conspiracy against the common good” (*aliance qui est fete contre le commun pourfit*) through which workers might band together to protest low wages or demonstrate for higher ones: *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, ed. Amédée Salmon, 2 vols. ([Paris]: A. Picard et fils, 1899), ca. 30§:886 (vol. 1: 446–47). For a summary of the evidence, see Michael Sizer, “Murmur, Clamor, and Tumult: The Soundscape of Revolt and Oral Culture in the Middle Ages,” *Radical History Review* 121 (2015): 9–31.

66 “Aucun se sont loé d’Amours,” “Qui a puchele ou dame amee’m” and “Glorieuse Vierge Marie”: see Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 196–99, 104–7, and 118–21 (respectively).

support Charles's losing war against the Byzantine emperor – were catalyzed into rebellion when a local woman was sexually assaulted by an Angevin soldier. He was killed by her revenging husband, who then raised the cry "Death to the French."⁶⁷ It was a cry that resonated throughout the kingdom and spread rapidly across the straits to the mainland of Calabria. It was also a cry analogous to those raised by the *arrageois* in their own *takehan* three years later, when they called out for the blood of the rich and sounded the traditional alarm: *Haro! or Hareu!*⁶⁸ This would be the very cry uttered by Robin in Adam's musical, when he is attacked by the Knight who has tried to rape his fiancée: *Hareu, Diex! Hareu, omne gent!* (v. 315). Adam's audience cannot have failed to notice that the play's protagonist was calling (comically?) for a popular uprising of the sort that was making Charles sit uneasily on his throne. Later in the play, Marion and her friends even inaugurate a new regime by crowning their own "King."

Meanwhile, the play's chivalric villain stands in for the knights in the royal and comital households, whose behavior had sparked the Sicilian Vespers and whose privileged "courtly" pastimes were just so many acts of casual, albeit prettified, brutality. Did Count Robert recognize himself in this attractive yet unsavory character? Like the Knight, he loved hunting with falcons, a blood-sport that the previous ruler of Sicily, Frederick II, had recently codified in a famous treatise, *De arte venandi cum avibus* (On the Art of Hunting with Birds). As a youth in Arras, in 1270, Robert and his companions had capped the usual festivities on the Feast of the Assumption (the last day of the *fiertre's* display in the marketplace) by bringing a falcon into the cathedral of Notre-Dame and loosing it to hunt for prey.⁶⁹ Nor was his passion for falconry mere youthful exuberance; upon his return to the Artois, Robert would embark on a massive project of landscape engineering at his castle of Hesdin, turning arable land into marshes stocked with waterfowl. (The Knight of Adam's play is looking for ducks and herons when he first enters the scene.)⁷⁰ That same park, in addi-

67 See Jean Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (New York and London: Routledge, 1998), 99–113. The classic account is that of Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958).

68 Dumolyn, "Guild Politics," 20–21: *harelle* was a regional synonym for *takehan*.

69 Symes, *A Common Stage*, 150–51. The perpetrators, including Robert, were condemned to perform an elaborate act of penance on the feast of the Virgin's Nativity, a few weeks later (1 September).

70 Sharon Farmer, "Aristocratic Power and the "Natural" Landscape: The Garden Park at Hesdin, ca. 1291–1302," *Speculum* 88 (2013): 644–80. See also Anne Hagopian van Buren, "The Park of Hesdin," in *Medieval Gardens*, ed. Elisabeth MacDougall (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1986), 115–34; and Carola Small, "The

tion to featuring an elaborate pavilion for dining and entertainment, a state-of-the-art fountain, and a bridge adorned with mechanical monkeys clothed in badger pelts, was also the domain of Robert's "pet" wolf, which terrorized local peasants and made off with their livestock – just as an (offstage) wolf robs Marion's flock.⁷¹

Robert was famous for his love of pageantry, wicked fun, and fighting: the inseparable elements of the aristocratic lifestyle. Indeed, he was recognized as paragon of that lifestyle in his own day. He had dressed himself as Yvain, the hero of Chrétien de Troyes's chivalric romance, for an elaborate costumed tournament at Le Hem in 1278; he had spent lavishly on tournaments and borrowed huge sums from local creditors to stage "our war of Arras" (*notre guerre d'Arras*) in the marketplace in June of 1279. He would later spend even more lavishly to outfit himself and his household for real wars, right up to the day of his fatal battle at Courtrai in 1302, where he died in the mud at the hands of a ragtag Flemish militia.⁷² Adam could not have foreseen this, of course. And it doesn't appear that his immediate courtly audiences interpreted this play as a scathing satirical commentary on current events. On the contrary, Robert and his daughter Mahaut thought so highly of "Robin and Marion" that one great room in the pavilion at Hesdin became *la cambre as canchons*, "the salon of the songs," decorated with wall paintings of scenes from the play and accompanied by lines of notated verse, whose paint was refreshed from time to time.⁷³ Mahaut also commissioned a manuscript copy of these murals,⁷⁴ which does

Builders of Artois in the Early Fourteenth Century," *French Historical Studies* 16 (1989): 372–407. On the pan-European influence of Robert's court and projects, see Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270–1380* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

- 71 William Chester Jordan, "Count Robert's 'Pet' Wolf," *Proceedings of the American Philological Society* 155 (2011): 404–17.
- 72 Symes, *A Common Stage*, 244–76.
- 73 Farmer, "Aristocratic Power," 669–71. Pas-de-Calais, Archives départementales série A 309 (1313) and 333 (1315), excerpted in Chrétien César Auguste Dehaisnes, ed., *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois & le Hainaut avant le xve siècle*, 2 vols. (Lille: L. Daniel, 1886), 1:208 and 1:217; and série A 402/4 (1422): "pour ouvrir en le grant sale refaire les lettres des canchons de Robin et de Marion," excerpted by Jule-Marie Richard in *Une petite-nièce de Saint-Louis: Mahaut comtesse d'Artois et de Bourgogne (1302–1329): Étude sur la vie privée, les arts et l'industrie en Artois et à Paris au commencement du xv^e siècle* (Paris: H. Champion, 1887), 339. On Mahaut's court, see also Christelle Balouzat-Loubet, "La cour de Mahaut, comtesse d'Artois (1302–1329): un espace public?" in *L'Espace public au Moyen Âge: débats autour de Jürgen Habermas*, ed. Patrick Boucheron and Nicolas Offenstadt (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011), 149–58.
- 74 Pas-de-Calais, Archives départementales série A 333 (1315), excerpted in Dehaisnes, ed., *Documents*, 1:102: "pour mettre en memore en parchemin les depichures de la camber as cainchons du Marès."

not survive but which calls to mind the lavishly illustrated manuscript of the play which survives bound into a single booklet: one of two extant versions that do not include the scenes set in Arras.⁷⁵

Those interpolations, noted above, are unique to the copy of “Robin and Marion” found in the collection of Adam’s “complete works,” and so reveal that the patron and/or compiler understood it as a product of Arras and its “school.” If this patron wasn’t Robert himself, it could have been his older friend and mentor, Gui de Dampierre, count of Flanders (c. 1226–1305), a noted connoisseur of the arts whose most famous protégé was the Brabantine minstrel and poet Adenet le Roi (c.1240–c.1300).⁷⁶ Gui was the age of the father Robert had never known, and he had known him since childhood. They had fought together on crusade, and Gui had come south to join the fight for Charles’s kingdom alongside Robert.⁷⁷ Gui also had close ties with Arras, and later developments would reveal that he supported populist movements in the cities of his own domain as a way of countering the power of wealthy patrician families who were being wooed by his arch-enemy, Philip IV of France. It is likely, in fact, that he had plans to restore Flanders to its former scope and sovereignty – and with it, Arras to Flanders. Although the aging Gui would suffer bitterly at Philip’s hands, ultimately dying in a French prison, he successfully encouraged the formation of the urban militias that would eventually defeat Philip’s invading army (tragically led by Robert) and maintain Flemish independence, albeit without the lands it had lost in 1191.⁷⁸ If the manuscript *was* Gui’s commission, not Robert’s, the placement of Jehan Bodel’s *Play of St. Nicholas* at the end can be construed as a reminder that Arras had once been Flemish, and could be so again. In this scenario, Count Gui himself figured as “the Pilgrim,” bringing Adam’s legacy home and promising to restore Arras to its former glory.

75 Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes 166; the other copy lacks musical notation: Paris, BnF fr. 1569, fols. 140–44. A digital facsimile of the former has been published by Jesse D.Hurlbut at <<http://toisondor.byu.edu/dSCRIPTORIUM/aix166/>> (accessed 31 August 2015).

76 This was suggested, but with no evidentiary backing, by Henri Roussel, “Notes sur la littérature arrageoise du XIII^e siècle,” *Revue des Sciences Humaines* 87 (1957): 249–86 at 285. Adenet’s long and undistinguished epic, *Les Enfances Ogier*, is mocked in Adam’s play at v. 728.

77 Symes, *A Common Stage*, 244 and 271.

78 Dumolyn, “Guild Politics,” 21–22.

The Poets of the North: Economies of Literature and Love

*Eliza Zingesser**

The thirteenth century saw the flourishing of such famous trouvères as Colin Muset, Richard de Fournival, and Thibaut de Navarre. To judge by most twentieth-century anthologies and PhD reading lists, we might think these trouvères to be more worthy of our esteem than those from Arras, despite the well-worn idea that Arras was the most vibrant literary center of northern France during the thirteenth century. Arthur Dinaux, one of the earliest scholars of Artesian medieval literature, described the city as a “centre prématuré de lumières, de richesse et de civilisation,” which was, “dès le moyen-âge, un foyer littéraire, brillant d’éclat et de chaleur, au milieu des brumes glaciales qui l’environnaient” (“premature center of light, of wealth and of civilization,” which was, “as early as the Middle Ages, a literary hub, brilliant in radiance and in warmth, in the middle of the glacial fog that surrounded it”).¹ If we believe this story about Arras’s exceptionality, it is not just because of the high numbers of poets it produced whose names we have on record – a fact that could be considered objective historical evidence for Arras’s unique status – but also because of the “hype” generated by Artesian poets themselves. One thirteenth-century *arrageois* poem is exceptionally transparent in its function as a kind of publicity. Its speaker declares: “Je vis l’autre jor le ciel là sus fendre; / Dex voloit d’Arras les motets aprendre” (I saw the sky split open the other day; God wanted to learn motets from Arras, vv. 5–6).² Given its self-proclaimed importance, it is hardly surprising that we view Arras today as a kind of medieval Parnassus.

* It is my pleasure to express my debt to a handful of generous interlocutors – Catherine Bates, Bethany Moreton, Ève Morisi, Devin Singh, Scott Trudell, and Pamela Voekel – whose questions and bibliographic leads were invaluable. All translations in this essay are my own.

1 Arthur Dinaux, *Les trouvères artésiens* (Paris and Valenciennes: n.p., 1843). Arras’s situation close to Germany also made it a convenient candidate for treatment as a literary hub by nineteenth-century philologists, whose medievalism was often caught up in nationalism. See, for example, Dinaux’s comments on Artesian trouvères: “Placés entre le Picard et le Flamand, ils ont pris la chaleur de tête du premier et la saine raison du second; cet heureux mélange a produit des œuvres où l’esprit et le sel français s’allient souvent à la solidité germanique” (Placed between Picard and Flemish, they took the warmth of thinking of the former and the healthy reason of the latter; this happy mixture produced works in which French cleverness and wit are often combined with German solidity). *Ibid.*, 6.

2 The piece is “Arras est escole de tous biens entendre.” It is edited in full in Dinaux, *Les trouvères artésiens*, 15ff.

Usually more subtly than in the poem quoted above, Arras's medieval literary community was intensely self-referential, so fascinated with its own temporal and poetic moment that much secondary criticism has done little more than attempt to explicate the dense web of names and historical allusion that clutters so much of the literature of medieval Artois. This localism in Artesian literature is constituted through its insistent evocations of both people and places, especially towns in Artois. Although the works of other trouvères can, of course, be linked to specific places and historical moments, non-Artesian trouvères seem to have been generally less intent on anchoring their works in a particular landscape, or on singling out their poetic *confrères*.³ Though the most famous Artesian trouvère, Adam de la Halle tends to limit his use of proper names to initial stanzas and *envois* in his *jeux-partis*, and to the latter in his love songs, that is to say, to those places where one might expect to see them in works of other non-Artesian trouvères, his fellow Artesian composers, by contrast, take an astonishing delight in naming each other constantly and *ad nauseam*, creating an aesthetic that is somewhat akin to that of a "Who's Who in Medieval Arras." If one were to calculate the percentage of syllables occupied by proper names in Berger's anthology of thirteenth-century Artesian literature, the results would demonstrate this.⁴ Proper names are, arguably, much of the "stuff" of this corpus. This aesthetic has, understandably, led to frenetic archival research on the part of many historians and literary critics, much of which has shed considerable light on the corpus.

The following essay also situates Artesian poetry in a particular historical moment, without seeking to view literature exclusively as a transparent window onto history. After sketching an overview of some of the key economic developments of thirteenth-century Arras, especially the growth of high-interest lending, I survey the poetry of some of Adam's Artesian contemporaries, showing how these texts, despite their often moralizing tenor, find ways of reconciling affluence with Christian principles. I then turn to Adam de la Halle's corpus, with an eye to highlighting the economic metaphors underlying much

3 As Marie Ungureanu has put it: "Dans cette communauté, tout le monde se connaît, se rencontre et s'interpelle" (In this community, everyone knows each other, meets each other and calls out to each other). See Ungureanu, *La bourgeoisie naissante: société et littérature bourgeoises d'Arras aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Arras: Commission des monuments du Pas-de-Calais, 1955), 97. Richard de Fournival is something of an exception to this statement in his localism. In addition to promoting Amiens-based writers, Richard states in the preface to his *Biblionomia* that the astrological alignment of the day of his birth mirrored that of the city of Amiens. A romance entitled *Abladane*, describing the history of the city of Amiens, is also, perhaps erroneously, ascribed to him.

4 Roger Berger, *Littérature et société arrageoises au XIIIe siècle: les chansons et dits artésiens* (Arras: Commission des monuments du Pas-de-Calais, 1981).

of the trouvère's output. Even love service, I argue, is understood as a kind of economic transaction, a transaction in which both the lover and the beloved are at risk of becoming usurers (the lady hoards the amorous "riches" bestowed upon her by the poet-lover, managing to multiply them without putting them into circulation, while the bad lover – like the usurer – constantly increases his demands, never allowing the debt to be paid off). I then show that Adam acknowledges that song can function not just as the medium through which the terms of the erotic exchange are negotiated, but as a kind of payment in itself. In Adam's corpus, and in the poems of his contemporaries, proper names often appear as a constitutive feature of a kind of bookkeeping, in which debts are written off and individuals held accountable. Proper accounting requires the quantification of value or worth, and the next section of this chapter demonstrates a widespread anxiety regarding the assessment of value, both in Adam's corpus and in *arrageois* poetry more broadly. To multiple deceitful semiotic systems such as language and coinage, Adam and his contemporaries oppose the body, which is held up both as a legible sign, and, in Adam's corpus, as the site of the most prestigious form of payment – corporeal suffering. Adam's masochistic posturing, I show, is his most valuable asset.

1 Medieval Arras and its Economies

Arras was especially known, during Adam's lifetime, for its economic prosperity: around 1300, even the King of France turned to Arras because of its monetary reserves, evidently incurring a debt of 44,000 *livres* to Arras's Louchart family.⁵ So strong was Arras's currency that the term *artésien*, calqued on the word Artois, became a synecdoche for any coinage, and it was only towards the end of the thirteenth century that the *livre parisien* became money of account.⁶ The late twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw the growth of Arras's economy from an almost exclusively landed one to one in which commercial trade exploded. The textile products made in Arras from English wool were especially valuable commodities. For their textiles, which famously included tapestries – sometimes merely called "Arras" in English and *Arrazi* in Italian – artisans were paid by the piece (and penalized for shoddy workmanship), rather than

5 Ungureanu, *La bourgeoisie naissante*, 31.

6 Carol Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2007), 57. Medieval economic thought distinguished between money of account, used to measure value, and actual coinage, which was both a medium of exchange and the store of wealth.

for their labor in the form of a fixed salary.⁷ The money generated from the textile trade was at least partially responsible for the growth of the banking industry among Artesian patricians.⁸ These *nouveaux riches* were, in turn, equipped to lend their money to others, and it was for this practice – high-interest lending – that Arras was primarily known. With interest rates averaging between 12 and 20 percent, and the frequent incidence of thuggish behavior towards those who failed to repay loans on time, it is not surprising that attitudes towards *arrageois* moneylenders – and the practice of moneylending – were ambivalent.⁹ This new *arrageois* moneyed elite inspired terror in its debtors, a group that, as we have seen, included the king of France. Even the powerful were not exempt from the threat of violence on the part of Arras's moneylenders: the *échevins* of Saint-Omer complained to the king and the count of Anjou that they were too frightened to leave their homes for fear of meeting their *arrageois* creditors.¹⁰ Along with their thuggish means of debt collection, *arrageois* moneylenders were also known for rampant tax evasion – a habit that eventually sparked enough discontent on the part of the *arrageois* lower classes that they revolted.¹¹

Although some today have come to accept high-interest lending as inevitable and generally innocuous, the practice was considered usury in the Middle Ages, one of the most – if not the most – sinful of sins. At its most basic level, usury was defined, following Gratian, as “whatever is demanded in addition to the principal.”¹² The practice was widely condemned by the Church, which codified and nuanced usury law at Lateran II (1139), Lateran III (1179), Lateran IV (1215), the Second Council of Lyon (1274) and the Council of Vienne (1311). It was for this sin that the city of Arras was notorious. The chronicler Guillaume le Breton, for example, praises Arras for its power and history, but couples this praise with references to the city's purported greed and propensity for usury: “Atrebatumque potens, urbs antiquissima, plena / Divitiis, inhians lucris et foenere gaudens” (Arras, powerful and very old city, full of treasures, avid for profit and rejoicing in usury).¹³ Usury was evidently such common practice in Arras that Pope Innocent III declared in 1208 that, were the sanctions agreed upon

7 Ungureanu, *La bourgeoisie naissante*, 29.

8 *Ibid.*, 30.

9 On violence towards debtors at risk of defaulting, see *ibid.*, 34. On interest rates, see Berger, *Littérature*, 106.

10 Ungureanu, *La bourgeoisie naissante*, 34.

11 *Ibid.*, 40.

12 Quoted in Scott Hiley, “Usury and the Economies of Literature in Medieval France” (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 2007), 1.

13 Quoted in Berger, *Littérature*, 104. The prevalence of usury is discussed in Henri Guy, *Essai sur la vie et les œuvres du trowère Adam de la Hale* (Paris: Hachette, 1898), xix–xx.

by the Third Lateran Council applied to the city, all of its churches would have to be shut down.¹⁴

2 Artesian Poetic Economies

These economic transformations are reflected and refracted in the work of Adam's poetic contemporaries, a group that included professional poets dependent on the patrician class for patronage, bankers, and also members of the patrician class who may or may not have been involved in usurious money-lending.¹⁵ This socioeconomic heterogeneity may explain both the obsession with wealth and the ambivalence expressed towards this wealth in the poetry of thirteenth-century Arras. Few poems condemn it unequivocally: the closest we come is poem IX in Berger's anthology, "Rikes hom viez, trop covoitex." Although the piece begins with an idea akin to that of Matthew 19:24 – "et iterum dico vobis facilius est camelum per foramen acus transire quam divitem intrare in regnum caelorum" (And again I say to you that it is easier for a camel to enter the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven) – this idea is quickly nuanced.¹⁶ Although the tortuous syntax of the piece obscures its message, the poet appears to be claiming that a rich man *can* go to heaven, provided that he repents of his sins and is not avaricious:

Je ne di mie s'uns pekieres
 Ki n'est ne lufres ne trekieres
 Ne ki ne set nul labourage,
 Por le paor d'aler a rage
 U por se vie soustenir,
 Et qui veut en ouneur venir,
 S'il se paine de waignier,
 De bel despendre et d'espargnier
 Au point c'on le doit a aliuer,

¹⁴ Quoted in Berger, *Littérature*, 106.

¹⁵ Ardis Butterfield has noted that some of Adam's identifiable interlocutors – i.e. his *jeux-partis* partners – were members of the financial sector. Among the judges in Adam's *jeux-partis* are Sire Ermenfroi, Pierre Wion, and Audefroi Lochart, all bankers in the city of Arras. See Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 146.

¹⁶ All quotations from the Vulgate are from <<http://www.academic-bible.com/>>, accessed 5 February 2015.

Diex ne le veut mie eskiuer:
 Se dolans est de sen mesfait
 Et il bee a laissier le fait,
 Tantost k'amender le porra,
 Plus grant pité Diex en ara
 K'il n'ara d'un viellart quenu
 Qui le gent trait au pain menu.

I am not saying if [that?] a sinner,
 Who is neither lustful nor deceitful
 And who does not know work,
 Because of fear of damnation
 Or out of a desire to sustain his life,
 And who wants to come into honor [live honorably],
 If he works hard at earning
 And he distributes it well and saves
 At the moment when he must, in winter,
 [that] God does not wish to turn him away:
 If he is penitent about his misdeed
 And works ardently to leave [the evil] deed,
 As soon as he can make amends for it,
 God will have greater pity on him
 Than on a white-haired old man
 Who distributes only small bread to the poor.
 (vv. 23–38)

The “sinner” in question in this text may well be a usurer, although he is not explicitly described as such. As Scott Hiley has noted, usury is rarely mentioned directly, and rarely in terms as straightforward as the charging of interest on the principal of a loan, although, as we have seen, this is how Gratian defined it.¹⁷ Usurers were most often merchants who also happened to lend money – a proximity that poem VI in Berger’s anthology notes explicitly.¹⁸ In the case of poem IX, quoted above, the poet’s comment that the sinner does not know work (v. 25) points towards usury; the lack of labor required to turn a profit in usury was widely held to be suspect by medieval theologians (rather

17 On the question of the problems of representing usury, see Hiley, “Usury,” 5. Hiley does not discuss the literature of medieval Arras, which is often unusually direct in its depictions of usury.

18 “Ensi est il du markaant, / Ki va l'usure costiant” (thus is it with the merchant, who rubs shoulders with usury, vv. 33–34).

than selling an object of the world, or the fruits of agricultural labor, usurers instead sold time – the time from the loan’s origination to the time of collection).¹⁹ Thomas of Chobham, for instance, objected on the grounds of Genesis 3:19: “the usurer wants to acquire a profit without any work and even while sleeping, which goes against the precept of the Lord that says: ‘By the sweat of your brow you will eat your food.’”²⁰ The sinner’s prescribed acts of penance – to redistribute his wealth (v. 30) and to repent of his misdeed (vv. 33–34) – are precisely those recommended to usurers.²¹ Unlike most theologians, however, the poet sees a kind of potential redemption for usurers in their wealth management; they are more worthy of God’s grace, he says, than a man whose charitable acts are insufficiently generous (vv. 36–40).

Other poems from thirteenth-century Arras are similarly ambivalent with regard to wealth. One poem rebukes not the avaricious, but those responsible for the creation of a new tax. That they should try to take away Arras’s wealth is the scandal – not the existence of this wealth. These three or four men, who desired to “bring Arras down and bleed it of its money,” see justice delivered by none other than God.²² In another poem, the decline of chivalry is linked not just to immoral behavior on the part of knights, but also to their unreliability when it comes to payment.²³ And in another, the archetypal lyric *envieux* attack not lovers – their typical victims – but bakers, vintners and butchers, a collective embodiment of commerce.²⁴ It is not the beleaguered lovers who are held up as objects of pity in this new paradigm, but instead the wealthy,

19 See “Le voleur du temps” in Jacques Le Goff, *La bourse et la vie: économie et religion au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Hachette, 1986), 37ff. See also Hiley, “Usury,” 3, where William of Auxerre objects on the same grounds, but places ownership of time with all creatures rather than with God: the usurer “facit enim contra legem naturalem universalem: quia vendit tempus quod commune est omnibus creaturarum” (acts against universal natural law, since he sells time, which is common to all creatures).

20 Quoted in Le Goff, *La bourse*, 44.

21 See, for example, Thomas of Chobham, quoted in Le Goff, *La bourse*, 46: “Comme la règle canonique est que *le péché n’est jamais remis si ce qui a été volé n’est pas restitué*, il est clair que l’usurier ne peut être considéré comme un pénitent sincère s’il n’a pas restitué tout ce qu’il a extorqué par usure” (Since canon law says that *a sin is never forgiven if what was stolen is not returned*, it is clear that the usurer cannot be considered a sincere penitent if he has not returned what he has extorted through usury).

22 Poem XIII in Berger, *Littérature*. “Trois home u .IIII. / Voloient abatre / Arras et tout sucier l’argent, / Mais Diex de gloire / I a fait tel estoire [...]” (Three men or four wanted to bring down Arras and suck its money, but God in his glory made such a story there..., vv. 15–19).

23 Berger, *Littérature*, poem XVI, “Quant menestreus es lius repaire”: “Nus chevaliers n’est mais prisiés / S’il ne devient fors bareteres, / Mauvais paiieres et venteres” (No knight is prized now if he does not become very deceitful, a bad payer and a liar, vv. 44–46).

24 Berger, *Littérature*, poem VIII.

whose riches are evidently widely coveted. Another poem – which on one level castigates those who have committed tax evasion – goes into so much detail on the precise means by which this evasion was committed that it is hard not to read it as an instruction manual, *en filigrane*, on how to commit fiscal fraud (strategies range from the obvious, such as underreporting earnings, to the ingenious, for example, swearing the oath while drunk, having a scribe with terrible handwriting draw up the records, reporting in the wrong currency or failing to specify a currency).²⁵ In short, in an often moralizing corpus where we might have expected a kind of wholesale condemnation of monetary excess, instead attitudes are remarkably mixed, providing a means – not unlike contemporary evangelical prosperity theology – of reconciling God and Mammon.²⁶

3 Adam's Erotic Debts

I would argue that Adam de la Halle's corpus shows an equal – if more subtle – concern with wealth, and especially with debt. Before tracing this thread in his songs, I should note that Adam was not the first medieval composer to situate amorous devotion within a scenario of economic transaction. In his seminal reading of twelfth-century troubadour lyric, Erich Köhler argued that the songs mediated tensions between the “haute noblesse” and a new group of knights, who had gained such historical importance that they had to be welcomed into the nobles' ranks. For these new landless knights, within the poetic

²⁵ Berger, *Littérature*, poem XXIV.

²⁶ Contrary to the advice of Matthew, former publican, at 6:24: “nemo potest duobus dominis servire aut enim unum odio habebit et alterum diligit aut unum sustinebit et alterum contemnet non potestis Deo servire et mamonaē” (Nobody can serve two masters: either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will uphold one and despise the other. You cannot serve God and Mammon). The reconciliation of affluence with Christian principles is not the only way in which the poems in Berger's anthology reflect an interest in money or the economy more broadly. In addition to an obsession with the problems of ascertaining value discussed later in this essay, several poems return to scenarios of exchange. The most interesting of these is poem XVII, in which a husband must – by order of the Pope – massage his wife's toe each night in exchange for which he is spared a beating. If she reneges on this agreement, the wife will lose her right to Christian burial – the penalty conferred on usurers. In poem XVIII, the economic problem is the commodification of the body. In this fascinating dystopic fantasy of biopolitical control, as a result of a potentially imminent war, the cardinals have decided that all single people over age 40 must either get married or else join the pontifical army. The poet notes that a certain Wike Revel will not marry anyone except for Robert de Gore, whose “ronssoles” (“rissoles” – a kind of meatball – v. 214) he delights in eating.

framework of subservience to the *domna* – whose relation to a feudal lord is evident even in her name – the promotion of the value of *largueza* or generosity was self-serving, reminding the *haute noblesse* to distribute both lands and goods down the ranks, compensating the poet-lover as they would their vassals. The amorous ideology promoted in these lyrics was thus beneficial to both factions of the nobility: it exalted both the subservience and devotion of the knights, thereby maintaining the social order, *and* the value of generosity, thus encouraging the redistribution of wealth. In Köhler's reading, then, the generosity praised in troubadour songs is less a historical reflection than an ideological ideal whose potential benefits – if adopted as a practice – would most accrue to the landless knights.²⁷

Crucial to the traditional troubadour and trouvère erotic schema is the notion of a *guerredon* – the counter-gift hoped for by the poet-lover in reward for his devotion to his lady. Adam's corpus occasionally echoes this idea of love service as deserving of a reward, although it typically frames this reward not in terms of a counter-gift or *guerredon*, but as a salary. At the end of song xvi, for instance, he instructs the song in the *envoi* to find out why his beloved has not paid him according to his worth: “Canchons, di li que doit que ne me paie / Selonc l'amour k'ele a trové en mi” (Song, ask her why she does not pay me according to the love she has found in me, vv. 41–42).²⁸ The *envoi* here functions as a kind of debt collector, reminding the lady of her liability. His labor, he insists, should be met with a commensurate wage, and the lady's amorous rejection is cast as a refusal of payment in arrears for services rendered.²⁹ In the same song, we find further evidence of Adam's view of love service as a kind of contractual labor: “en servant me doit sanler cousteuse / Car je le truis, et si ne sai pour coi, A l'escondire envers moi trop viseuse” (I have an ardent desire to sing for a lady to whom I owe fealty, but in serving she seems to me too costly, for I find her, and I do not know why, too intent on turning it [my desire] back to me, vv. 3–5). The lady, Adam suggests, has (unwittingly?) entered into a contract on which she has reneged. What is worse, she can offer payment that does

27 Erich Köhler, “Observations historiques et sociologiques sur la poésie des troubadours,” *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 7 (1964): 27–51. For a critique of Köhler's argument, see Sarah Kay, *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 114–16. On the impact of the advent of a monetary economy on troubadour poetry, see William Burgwinkle, “Economics, Poetry, and Patronage,” in *Love For Sale: Materialist Readings of the Troubadour Razo Corpus* (New York: Garland, 1997), chap. 1.

28 All references are to Adam de la Halle, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. and trans. Pierre-Yves Badel (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1995).

29 Logically, the lady from whom Adam expects the best salary is no earthly woman, but the Virgin Mary: “The Virgin, from whom one expects a better salary, must be honored” (La Vierge doit estre honneree / Dont on atent meilleur saudee, xxxiv v. 5).

not detract from her own net worth, and yet she still refuses; a kind word would not cost her anything, the poet declares, but she refuses to compensate him: “biaus samblans riens ne couste ne fraie / Et s’a tost un disiteus enrichi” (a pleasing gesture does not cost anything or constitute an expense / and it has quickly enriched a poor man, vv. 27–28). Ostensibly the lady’s net worth is infinite – she is like a bottomless purse – but in refusing to enter into transaction with Adam she is like a miser who hoards her wealth.³⁰ Indeed, no lady has ever been so uninterested in anyone else’s profit, according to Adam: “ainc dame ne fu si poi / D’autrui pourfit couvoiteuse” (never has a lady been so little covetous of someone else’s profit, vv. 23–24). While this phrase reads superficially as a compliment, i.e., that the lady is innocent of covetousness, given the broader context of the song, it suggests that she is indifferent to the poet’s economic betterment.

This image of the lady as a receptacle of infinite (and perhaps self-regenerating) wealth reappears in song xvii, “Ma douche dame et Amours,” and in song xxx, “Dous est li maus qui met le gent en voie.” In song xxx, Adam – worthy of a position at MasterCard – tells us that the joy of a lady is priceless: “la saveureuse joie / C’on ne puet trop achater” (the sweet joy that cannot be bought for too high a price, vv. 9–10).³¹ Moreover, her heart is an interest-bearing site where “tous biens monteplioie” (all good is multiplied, v. 34). In song xvii, Adam again rebukes his beloved for failing to compensate him, even though it would cost her nothing:

Dame blanche comme flours,
 Tenre de cuirien, delie,
 Le mieudre entre les meillours,
 Essample de courtoisie,
 Diex a si tres grant partie
 De biens mis a vous furnir
 C’une autre se doit tenir
 Dou meneur a bien païe.

30 On the grail as a cornucopia, blank check or bottomless purse, see Marc Shell, “The Blank Check: Accounting for the Grail,” in *Money, Language, and Thought: Literary and Philosophical Economies from the Medieval to the Modern Era* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), chap. 2.

31 The devotion of the speaker of “Puis que je sui de l’amoureuse loi” is also expressed in terms of hypothetical expenditure. He is prepared to pay as high a ransom as his beloved might wish: “je suis vencus / Et du tout a vous rendus / Pour tel raenchon donner / Que vous vaurrés demander” (I am vanquished and completely surrendered to you in order to give you such a ransom as you might wish to ask, xxvii, vv. 46–49).

[...]

Dame, si que vo valours
 N'en doive estrë amenrie,
 Vous pri merci et secours,
 Dont bien estes aaisie.
 C'est riqueche en tresorrie,
 Qui ne sert fors de gesir.
 Et n'en volés enlarguir,
 Et tout adés monteplie!

Lady, white as a flower,
 Tender of skin, delicate,
 The best of the best,
 Exemplum of courtesy,
 God has taken care to give you
 Such a large portion of qualities
 That any other would consider herself
 Well paid with the least of them.

[...]

Lady, since your value
 Would not thereby be diminished,
 I beg of you mercy and assistance,
 Of which you have an abundance.
 It is wealth in a treasury,
 Which does nothing but lie.
 And you do not want to give it away generously,
 And continuously it multiplies.
 (vv. 17–24, 33–40)

The lady is presented here as a miser who refuses to put her wealth into circulation, letting it lie stagnant, or perhaps, as the bad servant from the Parable of the Talents (Matthew 25:14–30), who has chosen to let her money lie dormant in the ground rather than investing it. But she is also clearly a usurer, who *does* manage to multiply her amassed treasure, as if by miracle. The verb *gesir* here denotes not the reproductive sexual act we might expect; but the non-transactional hoarding of money in a treasury, which nevertheless leads to its multiplication (v. 40). The “unnatural” ability of money to fecundate in a usurious transaction was one of the main critiques levelled by theologians, who followed Aristotle in this respect:

The most hated sort [of making money], and with the greatest reason, is usury, which makes a gain out of money itself, and not from the natural use of it. For money was intended to be used in exchange, but not to increase at interest. And this term usury, which means the birth of money from money, is applied to the breeding of money because the offspring resembles the parent. Wherefore of all modes of making money this is the most unnatural.³²

Adam's remark that this multiplication happens "tout adés" (continuously) – as if beyond the lady's control – is also freighted with connotations. Usury, according to the Cistercian prior Caesar of Heisterbach, is a sin that can be committed without constant volition, making it all the more dangerous: "Usury does not ever cease sinning. While its master sleeps, she does not sleep, but rather grows and increases continuously."³³ The lady's role here is once again overdetermined: she is a source of infinite capital (her value cannot be diminished, and anyone else would be "well paid" with only a fraction of her qualities), a miser who refuses to put her coins into circulation, letting them lie stagnant, and a usurer, who makes a profit off of her hoarded treasure. In staging his love service as labor deserving of monetary compensation, Adam arrogates transactional power for himself. The lady's debt to him can only grow exponentially, the longer she resists his advances and this, of course, makes Adam the usurer. He comes close to acknowledging as much in song XXI, although his discussion of counter-gifts rather than of debt repayment deflects any accusations. The counter-gift owed to him, he declares, has increased in value because of the length of his service. His amorous offer to his lady is bizarrely quantified; it is worth 50 percent more than any other she has received: "Hé! las, que guerredon sont enrichi! / Lonc tans a que j'en mendie / Et s'en offre le moitie / Plus c'autres ne feroit, jel sai de fi; / Car piecha que j'en offri / Moi tout sans ressort" (Alas! how counter-gifts have gotten bigger! I have been begging for a long time, and I am offering half more than anyone else would do, I am sure; For I have offered myself for a long time, without any reserve, vv. 19–27). In song XVII, however, Adam does recognize that the ultimate payoff would shift the scales: "Trop est grans li don d'amie, / Nonpourquant jou le

32 Benjamin Jowett, trans., *Aristotle's Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920), Book 1.10 (1258b). Hiley notes that Aristotle's *Politics* was not available to medieval writers until it was translated by William of Moerbeke (1264–69). Its dissemination represented a paradigm shift in understandings of usury, according to Hiley ("Usury," 9). See also Le Goff, *La bourse*, 30–31 and Diana Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 179 and passim.

33 The quotation, in Le Goff, *La bourse*, 32, is from the *Dialogus miraculorum*.

desir. / Mais on me puet retenir / Souvent de mains le moitie" (A lady's gift is enormous; nevertheless I desire it. But I can often only be held to [pay off] less than half, vv. 41–44). Just compensation for Adam's love service is impossible: erotic reciprocation would devalue his lady irreversibly, perhaps turning her into a prostitute.

Adam recognizes this problem in song XXII, where he notes that infinite deferral of erotic pleasure is the only possible respectful position towards his beloved. Although he will rejoice in his amorous pains (stanza I), other lovers are more audacious, asking the lady for a mile as soon as she grants an inch:

Pour chou se puet on bien trop avanchier,
 Car les honnours cangent l'entention:
 Premiers couvoite amans le repairier
 Et quant il a de se dame che don,
 Puis requiert chose ou il a soupechon
 Tant qu'ele est traïe
 S'ele ne s'est bien gaitie.

For this reason one can advance too much,
 For [the granting of] honors changes the heart:
 First the lover asks for the right to be near his beloved
 And when he has obtained this gift from his lady,
 Then he asks for something suspicious,
 Such that she is betrayed
 If she has not guarded herself.
 (vv. 31–37)

These audacious lovers to whom Adam compares himself, whose desires only increase if the beloved grants them even a slight favor, are akin to usurers, at least in Peter the Chanter's formulation. Like someone who cannot agree on the terms of the contract, and who is overcome by greed, Peter the Chanter's figure of Satan demands a second sin after one has lapsed the first time, and a third, and a fourth after that... In the theologian's words: "he never wants to receive the sinner's talent by itself, but on simple fornication he requires adultery; on adultery, incest, on incest, homicide, and so forth."³⁴ Adam, in contrast to these usurers, will content himself with the mere gift of the beloved's smile (stanza v).

In the poems we have seen so far, Adam's love service is construed as a kind of labor with inherent value, worthy of compensation. Song XVIII acknowl-

34 Quoted in Hiley, "Usury," 14.

edges that this love service is mediated via song, and that songs themselves can consequently serve as payment. This piece, “Qui a droit veut Amours servir,” concludes with Adam’s request that Robert Nasart accept the song as payment towards his debt:

Robert Nasart, d'un chant furnir
 Mis envers vous un plege gent.
 Par amours, sire, quittiés l'ent!
 Car je vous vieng che chant offrir
 Pour r[a]emplir
 Che que vous avoie en couvent.
 Pour riens n'en vausisse mentir:
 Pour seur tel plege acroit, tenir
 Doit bien couvent.

Robert Nazard, I have given you
 A promised song as a beautiful guarantee.
 Out of love, sir, consider its debt settled!
 For I have come here to offer you this song
 To fulfill
 What I have promised to you.
 For nothing in the world would I wish to lie:
 Whoever has such a guarantee,
 He must keep his promise.
 (vv. 45–54)

In invoking Robert Nazard’s name here, Adam makes public his payment, and it is perhaps no coincidence that this appearance of a proper name is what transforms the poem into an exercise in bookkeeping. The same is true in many of the *arrageois* poems in Berger’s anthology, which record the proper names of local community members mainly to condemn or praise them. For instance, when the speaker of poem XIX in Berger’s anthology comes from England to collect payment on the debt owed to his aunt, he names all those who have profited from her wealth, including Jehans Durans (v. 16), Martins Veaus (v. 17), Jaquemon le Noir (v. 19), Mahius Acarios, Alars Foubers (v. 21), Hellins Audefrois (v. 22), Tumas Raimbers (v. 22), etc. By invoking these names, which continue to proliferate throughout the poem, the poet performs a kind of reckoning, even without securing repayment in the form of capital. The ability of the written word to perform accounting is also clear in the *Jeu de la feuil-lée*, where Hane Le Mercier confuses Adam’s mention of a book (“Bon clers et

soutieux en sen *livre*?" / "A good clerk and subtle in his book?" v. 17) with its homonym: the pound, a money of account (v. 18).³⁵ These inscriptions of proper names into the written record as a kind of moral accounting are the earthly echo of the *Liber Vitae*, the eschatological book through which the Last Judgment will proceed (Revelation 5:1; 20: 12–15).³⁶ Berger's poem 11 makes this underlying soteriological function of nominal invocation quite clear. After citing the names of various families, the poet declares: "Je ne nomerai mie / Garet, voir, car il est preudom: / D'infer ara le grant pardon" (I will not name Garet, truly, for he is a gentleman: he will be pardoned eternal damnation, vv. 26–28). We might also think of the intensely "local" quality of *arrageois* poetry – which for the most part delights in the particular and the proper instead of the universal – as a kind of shoring up of a community threatened by the increasingly impersonal nature of Arras's financial world, which saw an influx of foreign trading and foreign currency.³⁷

35 On the distinction between types of money, see n. 5 above. The pound had been in use as a money of account since the eighth century and it remained exclusively a money of account, according to Marc Bloch, until the thirteenth century. See Peter Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 411. Hiley rightly notes that this division between coinage and money of account put semiotics at the heart of economics: "The predisposition toward considering economy as a category of sign theory was doubtless exacerbated by the highly complex monetary system of the Middle Ages, which included both real specie (of varying mints and qualities) and a purely verbal money of account, an abstraction of value in terms of the invariable ratio of 12 *deniers* per *sou*, 20 *sous* per *livre*. *Sou* here refers not to the coin (though coins called *sous* or *solidi* did exist), but to the value of goods associated with that coin ... This interchange between metallic and linguistic measures of value put language at the very heart of economy." Hiley, "Usury," 7.

36 J.M. Moreau points to other instances of the *Liber Vitae* in Exodus 32:32–33, Isaiah 4:3, Daniel 7:10 and Psalms 69:28 and 139:16. See *Eschatological Subjects: Divine and Literary Judgment in Fourteenth-Century Poetry* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2014). The roughly contemporary *Besant de Dieu* by Guillaume le Clerc also links eschatology with coinage, using the Parable of the Talents as a point of departure.

37 The localism of *arrageois* poetry has generally been regarded neutrally or else considered a defect. Roger Berger, for his part, regretted that Artesians were "maladroits lorsqu'il s'agit d'exprimer des vérités générales." Berger, *Littérature*, 6. Many critics have labored to explicate coded references, fill in historical background, and trace the proper names that appear in the corpus. The literary purpose of this localism – e.g. as the constitutive aesthetic of a communal "book of reckoning" in an increasingly impersonal landscape – constitutes something of a blind spot in criticism.

4 Assessing Value

There was, demonstrably, considerable anxiety regarding this new financial world. The ascertainment of value was complicated by factors such as a multiplicity of currencies (as the poem on tax evasion mentioned above makes clear), the devaluation of coins and counterfeiting. Tellingly, Adam's debate partner in *jeu-parti* x uses the circulation of a single currency to symbolize unity: "clerc et lai sont en amour onni: / Il n'i keurt c'une monnoie" (clerks and the laity are united in love: / Only one currency is used, vv. 30–31). Implied, of course, is the logical corollary – if a single currency can shore up the boundaries of a community, multiple currencies can function to create division. (This was, in fact, historically the case: the introduction of Philip Augustus's coinage in Arras in the form of the *livre paris* did not lead to the obliteration of the *artésien*, but to competing currencies, including an abundance of regional ones.)³⁸ Adam's Motet 1, *Aucun se sont loé d'Amours* (835) / *A Dieu commant amouretes* (834) / *Super te*, is generally thought to refer to the fiscal scandal of 1269, which saw the devaluation of *tournois* and led to the exile of certain bourgeois from Arras.³⁹ In Sylvia Huot's analysis "the lady's semblance, once the source of inspiration and joy, no longer offers her lover any hope or comfort; laws which once ensured the coherence of society and its currency, the medium of social exchange, have ceased to operate."⁴⁰ Similarly, in the *Jeu de la feuillée*, Riquier describes a woman's bad character by comparing her to a poorly made coin: "ele est de si male despoise" (she is of such bad alloy, v. 290). And, in the same text, the *dervé*'s father also expresses his son's bad character in economic terms, here relating to expenditure rather than debased commodity money. His discontent with respect to his son, he says, results from how much the boy has cost him (v. 1038). It is clear, then, that the world of economics provided a metaphoric language through which to understand sundry societal phenomena – from erotic non-reciprocation, to deceptive signs whose real value was concealed, to poetic craft itself.

A few poems in Berger's anthology share Adam's preoccupation with the means of assessing value or worth, although their discussion does not resort to an economic semantic field. The most comic of these is poem XI, which turns to the question of how to recognize a true friend while on pilgrimage.

38 See Symes, *A Common Stage*, 57, 59.

39 See Guy, *Essai sur la vie*, 85–142 and Sylvia Huot, "Transformations of the Lyric Voice in the Songs, Motets, and Plays of Adam de la Halle," *Romanic Review* 78 (1987): 148–64.

40 *Ibid.*, 158.

Meïsmes en pelerinage
 Counoist on auques par usage
 Celui qui est amis de cuer:
 Li vrais amis ja en nul fuer
 Ne porra son ami laissier;
 S'en .i. bos entre por pissier,
 U por faire plus grant besoigne,
 Li vrais amis, qui de lui soigne,
 Le vait adés contreatendant;
 Et cil s'en vont adés plaidant
 Ki s'en passent legierement

Even on pilgrimage
 One also knows through experience
 Who is a true friend:
 The true friend never, for any price,
 Will be able to leave his friend;
 If in the woods he goes to piss,
 Or to attend to a greater need,
 The true friend, who takes care of him,
 Will remain waiting for him;
 And those [other ones] go along chatting,
 And continue merrily.
 (vv. 25–35)

The idea that the measure of a true friend is whether or not he patiently waits while his companion attends to the call of nature is, undoubtedly, a jab at the bromides so often found in contemporaneous moralizing poetry. But this obsession with discerning value – even with tongue firmly in cheek – is, I would argue, indicative of a broader, pervasive concern in thirteenth-century Artois. As a complement to the litmus test described above, the poet locates the only true signifier in the body, both in the true heart and further down...:

Vrais cuers ne cus foireus ne ment,
 Si vos dirai par quel raison;
 Ils sont tout d'une muïson;
 Li cus foirex ne puet mentir
 Et le vrai cuer troeve on entier.

Neither a true heart nor a shitty ass lies,

And I will tell you for what reason;
 They are both of the same measure;
 The shitty ass cannot lie
 And the true heart one discovers to be pure.
 (vv. 36–40)

The piece thus imagines the body as a kind of ideal semiotic system, contrasting it implicitly with deceitful language and deceitful coinage. A coin can lie in many ways: its actual value can fail to correspond to its inherent worth, as in the case of the clipped coin, and its value is up for constant renegotiation, as Adam's mention of devalued currency in Motet 1 makes clear. To the deceitful semiotics of the coin, Adam and many of his *arrageois* contemporaries, like the author of the poem above, oppose the body.

5 True Bodies, Bodily Currencies

In song XVI, Adam points to his body – his corporeal presence – as the true indicator of his value. In his expression and in his comportment, he tells us, his intentions can be measured through his face and his behavior (“A mon vis [...] et a mon maintien [...],” v. 22). Later he tells us his value can be revealed through assaying, and expresses regret that his lady has not chosen to subject him to this test (“Pour chou fait mal quant ele me ne m’essaie,” v. 33). He is, in this respect, like the perfect commodity money, whose exchange value corresponds exactly to its bullion value. Adam may be implicitly comparing himself to Arras’s local currency, the *petit denier*, which was reputed for its purity, while the recently-introduced Parisian *grand denier* was of suspect composition.⁴¹ Corporeal evidence is adduced again to prove the worth of the lover in song XX: “Car sans me mue et coulours / Quant g’i sui, / Et cuers me cange et vigours / Quant andui / Parlons; car le don / M’emblent si vair oeil larron” (For my blood and colour change when I am there [with her], and my heart and vigour transform when we both speak; for the gift [of speech] her clear thieving eyes steal from me, vv. 31–36). In front of his beloved, language fails, and only his body can communicate his worthiness.

This desire for the body to function as a true indicator of value is evident in several poems in Berger’s anthology. Poem XII laments the use of ostentatious clothing, hair ornaments and makeup on the part of women, because it enables them to disguise their true putrefaction:

41 Symes, *A Common Stage*, 57–58.

Mais li dame deseur se trece
 Plake tant d'or et tant d'argent
 Que tout en sont ivre la gent;
 En le moiene est li caroigne,
 Uns cors blesteus tous plains de roigne.
 Je proverai, qui kel desdise,
 Que c'est fausse markaandise...

But the woman who above her braids
 Places so much gold and so much silver
 That everyone is drunk as a result;
 In the middle [of her face?] is the flesh,
 An infirm body all full of scabies.
 I will prove, no matter who contradicts it,
 That this is false merchandise...
 (vv. 84–90)

These women are the inverted reflection of merchants who wrap in ugly cloth the expensive wares they are attempting to sell, presumably to protect them while in transit.⁴² The body, it is implied, should be made to function as a sign that is immediately legible to the community, with a perfect correspondence between interior and exterior.

In Adam's corpus, too, there is suspicion surrounding non-corporeal signs. Somewhat bizarrely, song xxv informs us that tournaments, a nice dress, a beautiful singing voice, smooth speech and pointy shoes are not signs of love: "behours, reube envoisie, / Biaus canters, langue polie / Ne solers agus / L'amour pas ne senefie" (vv. 6–9). Such deceptive signifiers can both disguise, as in this poem, or else protect the body, true locus of meaning. In the eschatological vision of song xxviii, Adam asks the Virgin to be like a blanket and a cloak that protects his body: "Soiies couvreture et mantiaus / De moi, qui tant sui a meffaire isniaus / Et ai par vanité m'ame engagie!" (Be a blanket and a cloak for me, [I] who am so prompt to do evil and who have, out of vanity, risked my soul as collateral). Along with the potential collection of his soul, Adam acknowledges – following the longstanding semantic blurring of debt and sin – that he will ultimately be held financially accountable: "chier comperrai mes aviaus /

42 "Cil markaant qui vont as festes / Il font kierkier deseur lor bestes / Mout grant rikece en lor toursiaus / En sarpillieres et en pias, / En feutres et en kanvas; / Ensi le maine on as Lombars; / En le moiene est li rikece" (Those merchants who go to feasts, / They stack on top of their animals / Great wealth in their packages / In rags and in skins, / In felt [cloths] and in canvas; / Thus they bring it to the Lombards; / In the middle [of these inexpensive exteriors] are the riches, vv. 77–83).

Quant pour jugier sera fais li apiaus” (I will pay for my pleasures / When the call is made to Judgment, vv. 7–8). In this eschatological reckoning, both his soul *and* his body will be in jeopardy.

In Adam’s poetry, the body is not just the most accurate measure of the lover’s worth before his beloved, but also the best currency he has at his disposal in their erotic transaction. This is especially true when the body is made to suffer, as in song XXIII, which I will quote here in its entirety:

1	Dame, vos hom vous estrine D’une nouvele canchon: Or verrai a vostre don	Lady, your vassal gives you the gift Of a new song: I will look to see in your gift
4	Se courtoisie i est fine. Je vous aim sans traïson; A tort m’en portés cuerine, Car, con plus avés fuïson	If its courtliness is pure. I love you without treachery; You are wrong to show me hatred, For, the more you have an abundance
8	De biauté sans mesprison, Plus fort cuers s’i enrachine.	Of beauty without fault, The more a heart will take root there.
Tel fait doit une roïne Pardonner a un garchon, 12 Qu’en cuer n’a point de raison Ou Amours met se saisine. Ja si tost m’ameroit on Une caitive meschine, 16 Maigre et de male boïchon, C’une de clere fachon, Blanche, riant et rosine.		
Such an act must a queen Forgive in a commoner, For in a heart there is no reason Where Love has power. Never would one so quickly love A wretched young girl, Skinny and of bad quality ⁴⁴ As [one would love] one with a bright face, White, laughing and pink.		
20	En vous ai mis de ravine Cuer et cors, vie et renon: Coi que soit de guerredon, Je n’ai mais qui pour moi fine. Tout ai mis en abandon	To you I have given, as if in rapture, Heart and body, life and renown: Whatever the reward may be, I have no one to pay for me. I have given away everything
24	Et s’estes aïllours encline, Car je truis samblant felon Et oeuvre de Guennelon: Autres got dont j’ai famine.	And you are inclined elsewhere, I see the semblance of treachery there And the work of Ganelon: Another takes pleasure in what I hunger for.

43 Mayer glosses “boïchon” as “saveur, d’où au sens figuré, qualité.” Gilbert Mayer, *Lexique des œuvres d’Adam de la Halle* (Paris: E. Droz, 1940).

- 28 Hé las, j'ai a bonne estrine Alas, my good gift is
 Le cunquïet dou baston. The shitty end of the stick.
 Quant je vous di a bandon When I tell you freely
 De mon cuer tout le couvine What my heart needs
- 32 Pour venir a garison, To find healing,
 Vo bouche a dire ne fine Your mouth does not stop saying
 Que ja n'arai se mal non, That I will have nothing but pain,
 Et que tout perc mon sermon: And that I am wasting my words:
- 36 Bien sanlés estre devine! You seem like a fortune-teller!
- Vous faites capel d'espine, You make a crown of thorns,
 S'ostés le vermeil bouton And you remove the red bud
 Qui miex vaut, esgardés mon, – Which is worth more, in my opinion –,
 40 Comme chïex qui l'or afine Like the one who refines gold
 Laïst l'or et retient le plonc. And leaves the gold and keeps the lead.
 Je nel di pas pour haïne I do not say this because of hatred
 Ne pour nule soupechon; Or because of any suspicion,
 44 Mais gaitiés vous dou sourgon But beware of the offshoot⁴⁵
 Que vous n'i quaés souvine! Lest you fall there often!
- Jalousie est me voisine, Jealousy is my neighbor,
 Par coi en vostre occoïson Who, on your account,
 48 Me fait dire desraison: Makes me speak unreasonably:
 Si m'en donnés decepline! Give me discipline!

The economic framework depicted here is ostensibly one of gift exchange (vv. 1, 3, 28). The assessment of value is thematized immediately in the text: Adam declares his intention to ascertain the quality of the lady's gift (vv. 3–4). And, in a sense, the rest of the text performs this assaying, ultimately finding the lady's gift – and perhaps also the lady herself – to be lacking. Stanza II recasts this metaphorical gift exchange as a scenario of investment: Adam justifies his attention to his beloved and likens her to good soil in which his heart – logically – should be able to take root (v. 9). In the subsequent stanza, Adam explains that he has expended all of his capital in this potential relationship. He has abandoned all of his possessions, and can no longer financially sustain himself (vv. 19–23). His misery is both economic and affective. The lady has proven

44 Following Mayer, I take “sourgon” to mean “surgeon” (which the *Trésor de la langue française* defines as a “jeune pousse qui naît au collet ou à la souche d'un arbre et qui, séparée avec une partie de la racine et replantée, peut donner un nouvel individu”) and “souvine” to mean “souvent.”

herself unworthy of Adam's capital by loving someone else, and her treachery is implicitly a breach of contract (vv. 24–27). In exchange for his affection, Adam receives nothing but pain and humiliation from his beloved (vv. 28–37). If Adam presents himself as an expert discerner of value – fully capable of discerning the wheat from the chaff – the beloved is instead like the gold panner who is incapable of distinguishing the precious metal from the dross. The image of fiscal ineptitude is redoubled in this stanza: in making a floral crown, the lady keeps the thorns and tosses away the rosebud.

The images used to convey “truth” – as opposed to those depicted as deceitful – are primarily rooted in the body. The beloved's unjustified anger is – etymologically – what flows from her heart, her *cuerine* (v. 6), which Godefroy glosses as “colère, dépit, mauvaise humeur, querelle, haine.”⁴⁵ To this *cuerine*, Adam opposes his own pure *cuers* (v. 20) – which he has tried to plant in his beloved's soil (v. 9). Again, in the subsequent stanza, Adam excuses his bold behavior as coming from the heart (v. 12). His assessment of his beloved's worth has come primarily from her bodily appearance: she is of “clere fachon / blanche, riant et rosine” (one with a bright face, / White, laughing and pink, vv. 17–18) while her inferior female competitors are “maigre et de male boichon” (skinny and of bad quality, v. 16). He has given “cuer et cors” (heart and body, v. 20) to her and in return he receives only the most abject of bodily fluids – faeces (v. 29). Even the lady's truthful speech, which conveys to Adam that he will experience nothing but pain and suffering (vv. 33–34), is specifically located in her mouth (v. 33). Were she to offer up just compensation to him, it would take the form of his “garison” (v. 32) – that is to say his *bodily* healing. The lady's most valuable possession, her “vermeil bouton” (v. 38) or virginity, is what she discards in creating the instrument of Adam's Christological martyrdom, his crown of thorns (v. 37). Like Christ, Adam's willingness to subject himself to bodily torment – inflicted via a shit-covered stick and a more orthodox crown of thorns – for the benefit of an unloving and unappreciative beloved – is what proves his worth. In his willing abjection, paradoxically, lies his greatest asset. This voluntary abjection is also the fitting punishment for his jealousy, which, he insinuates, has led him to debase his lady as he might a coin, accusing her of infidelity (via the image of Ganelon) and obliquely of sexual debauchery (she discards her “vermeil bouton”). By the end of the poem it is patent that it is the lady's “renon” (v. 20), much more than Adam's, that is in jeopardy.⁴⁶ His public,

45 Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle* (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1881–1902).

46 On the way in which the poet could be thought to control the money of account by inflating and deflating reputations, see Eliza Zingesser, “The Value of Verse: Storytelling as Accounting in Froissart's *Dit du florin*,” *Modern Languages Notes* 125 (2010): 861–72.

prolonged suffering is the necessary correlate to her good reputation. Fittingly, the payment Adam proposes as penance for this display of cruelty is more bodily suffering: “Si m'en donnés decepline!” (Give me discipline! v. 49).⁴⁷

Song XXVII, “Puis que je sui de l'amoureuse loi,” also acknowledges the fundamental role of corporeal suffering as currency in the business of love: “se li maus amenuisoit en moi / Il couvendroit l'amour amenuisier” (if the pain lessened in me, necessarily the love would also lessen, vv. 13–14). Rather than seek relief from the “caup” (blow, v. 11) of love, he will rejoice in his suffering. Adam's penchant for debasement resurfaces again in *jeu-parti* IX, where it is the butt of a joke:

Adan, jamais ne soiés conissans
 Que vous soiés a tel honte livrés
 C'on vous chevaut! Ch'est bien chose apparans
 Que autrement vous desirrer n'osés
 Que vous aiés soulas ne druerie.
 Bon en fait en secré souffrir haschie;
 Mais nus n'en doit souffrir apertement
 Blasme commun, car Amours le deffent!

Adam, do not admit
 That you agree to be subjected to such a shameful thing
 As being mounted! It is obvious
 That you do not dare to desire
 To have pleasure and love in any other way.
 It is good to suffer torments in secret
 But no one must suffer openly
 The blame of everyone, for Love forbids it!
 (vv. 33–40)

The reference here is to the “mounted Aristotle” story, which was widely circulated in medieval Europe starting in the high Middle Ages.⁴⁸ At the imperial court of Alexander in India, the story went, Aristotle was employed as the young ruler's tutor. The philosopher scolded Alexander for his excessive love for his wife (sometimes named Phyllis), thus triggering the wife's desire for

47 For a different take on the role of bodily sacrifice in the erotic exchange of medieval lyric, see the first two chapters of Simon Gaunt, *Love and Death in Medieval French and Occitan Courtly Literature: Martyrs to Love* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

48 On the story, Marilynn Desmond, *Ovid's Art and the Wife of Bath: The Ethics of Erotic Violence* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006), chap.1.

revenge. She sets out to seduce Aristotle, which she does successfully, ultimately convincing him to let her mount him as she would a horse. Remarkably, in the *jeu-parti*, Adam is rebuked less for what we would now call his masochistic tendencies (although these are indeed dubbed shameful) than for his unwillingness to conceal them. And indeed, as we have already seen, Adam's masochism – or more accurately that of his poetic persona – is writ large across his corpus, where bodily suffering is considered the most prestigious erotic currency and the body is the only true indicator of “inner” worth.

Although Adam is urged to keep his masochistic tendencies in the closet by his *jeu-parti* interlocutor, he nevertheless flags up the fact that masochism – the willing embrace of the “sweet pains” of love – is the normative erotic position of most medieval lyric, which delights in endless deferral and, at least in Adam's lyric world, in the constant and mutual accrual of debt – of the lover to the infinitely-worthy beloved, to whom he must give himself over entirely in order to even approach her worth, and of the beloved to the lover, whose continued delight in the blows she distributes constitutes the strongest form of currency in a transaction that can never conclude.

PART 2

Material Contexts of Arrageois Song

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Another Note on fr. 25566 and Its Illustrations

Alison Stones

Ms. fr. 25566 is a remarkable manuscript in many ways, as has long been recognized by literary scholars.¹ Its place in the context of vernacular illustrated books has received less attention, however, and it is this aspect of the manuscript that I address here.² What is special about its illustration and what does that tell us about how it was perceived by its owners and makers? How does it compare with similar illustrated manuscripts? What is the place of the Adam de la Halle component in relation to the rest of the illustration?

Ms. fr. 25566 must have been magnificent before it became so badly worn and rubbed. It was clearly much used, and abused. The parchment is dirty, showing signs of wear and tear, an important indicator of how much the book played a part in the lives of its owners and users over a long period of time.³ Its three remarkable full-page miniatures set it apart from most secular manuscripts of the period where such ambitious compositions, closely related to

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- 1 See most recently the discussion and meticulous description of the manuscript by Federico Saviotti, "Precisazioni per una rilettura del ms. BnF, fr. 25566 (canzoniere francese W)," *Medioevo romanzo* 35 (2011): 262–84; the illustrations are not listed by Saviotti, but the manuscript is available complete in color on Gallica, <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6001348v>> (consulted 5 May 2015). Since the comparative material I mention below is also on Gallica or Enluminures, I dispense with illustrations in this article, thus avoiding reproduction fees and the attendant paperwork associated with acquiring images and permissions.
 - 2 Much of what is said here is expanded from the catalogue entry on the manuscript in my *Manuscripts Illuminated in France: Gothic Manuscripts 1260–1320*, 4 vols. (London and Turnhout: Harvey Miller and Brepols, 2013–14), Part 1, vol. 1, ills. and Part 1, vol. 2, Cat. no. 111:10; see also Stones, "Some Northern French *Chansonniers* and their Cultural Context," in *Ars musica septentrionalis: De l'historiographie à l'interprétation (Colloque Cantus 21, Douai, 2005)*, ed. Barbara Haagh and Frédéric Billiet (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011), 169–87 (178–182, figs. 21, 22) and Barbara Sargent-Baur, ed. and trans., *Le Roman de la Manekine*, with contributions by Roger Middleton and Alison Stones (Amsterdam and Athens: Rodopi, 1999), 1–39 (36–37, figs. 61, 62).
 - 3 Of course, we cannot know exactly when these signs of damage occurred, but their presence is significant evidence of use. Recent studies are beginning to take patterns of use into account in evaluating how medieval books were valued, see especially K.M. Rudy, "Dirty Books: Quantifying Patterns of Use in Medieval Manuscripts Using a Densitometer," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 2 (2010), <<http://www.jhna.org>> (verified 7 October 2011). To my knowledge, fr. 25566 has not itself been subjected to this kind of study.

their accompanying texts, are exceptional.⁴ And it is possible that more full-page miniatures have been lost. The rest of the illustrations are no less impressive for their numbers: single-column miniatures (104) and historiated initials (22), and occasionally a text opening or an important place within a text is marked by a simple foliate initial (5); and foliate initials accompany single-column miniatures at major text openings (5).⁵ Several of the single-column miniatures have elaborate gold architectural frames with pinnacles and finials, and these may be by the same artist as the full-page miniatures. The others have “Arras” clusters of leaves on the corners and their figure style, when it can

4 Many additions can be made to the brief list I published in “Notes on Three Illustrated Alexander Manuscripts,” in *Alexander and the Medieval Romance Epic: Essays in Honour of D.J.A. Ross*, ed. Peter Noble, Lucie Polak, and Claire Isoz (New York etc.: Kraus, 1982), 193–254 (193n.7). Of course it is the rule in devotional manuscripts, prayer books, saints’ lives, devotional picturebooks, for full-page miniatures to constitute the major component of the illustration. Listing only vernacular manuscripts made before 1300, excluding the latter categories, manuscripts with full-page illustration include the *Roman de Troie*, Paris, BnF fr. 1610/s Heerenberg, Huis Berg, 66 (inv. no. 216) written in 1268 (Burgundy?); the Crusading compilations Paris, BnF, fr.12558 (ca. 1260? Arras or Boulogne?) and Paris, BnF, fr. 12569 (ca. 1280? Arras); the knights and the Last Judgement in the literary compendium of 1268 from Saint-Omer or Th rouanne, Paris, Bibl. de l’Arsenal 3516; the miscellany, Paris, Bibl. Ste-Genevi ve 2200, parts of which are dated 1277 (Saint-Omer or Th rouanne); *Roman de la Poire*, Paris, BnF, fr. 2186 (ca. 1270–80? Paris); Gautier de Coinci’s *Miracles de Notre Dame*, Paris, Bibl. de l’Arsenal 3517 (ca. 1270–80? Th rouanne/Saint-Omer or Arras; admittedly the full-page miniature of the genealogy of Christ on fol. 7 is an addition, and its captions are in Latin), but there are also full-page miniatures in Paris, BnF, fr. 2163, written in 1266 (Soissons?); and a genealogy miniature is also found as a frontispiece in Paris, BnF fr. 22928, fol. ov (ca. 1300? Soissons, Laon or Noyon); see also the *Roman de Judas Machab e*, Princeton, UL Garrett 125 (ca. 1280, Amiens); the *Vrignet de Solas* probably from Arras or Saint-Omer ca. 1290–1310; a devotional frontispiece is found in the miscellany Paris, BnF, fr. 1553 (ca. 1285, Cambrai); the frontispieces to the chess manuscript Paris, BnF, fr. 1173 and its Latin counterpart, Paris, BnF lat. 10286 (Cambrai or Th rouanne ca. 1280–90); the four manuscripts of the *Alexandre* in prose (ca. 1290–1300, Th rouanne or Reims): Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett 78.C.1; Brussels, Biblioth que Royale Albert 1er 11040; London, British Library, Harley 4979; Private Collection (see also Alison Stones and David J.A. Ross, “The *Roman d’Alexandre* in French Prose: another illustrated manuscript from Champagne or Flanders ca. 1300,” *Scriptorium* 56 (2002): 151–62); the Liberal Arts and Tree of Vices and Virtues miniatures in the Southern French *Tr sor* of Brunetto Latini, London, BL Add. 30024 (ca. 1270? Perpignan?); Ramon Llull, *Livre du Gentil et des trois sages* in French, Paris, BnF, fr. 22933 (ca. 1300? Paris, but probably based on a Southern model); and the *Somme le roi* manuscripts: Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 870 (1295, Paris), London, BL Add. 54180 and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 192 and 368 (ca. 1290–1295); London, BL Add. 28162 and *La Sainte Abbaye*, Yates Thompson 11 (ca. 1290–1300, Eastern France?). A catalogue entry for or a mention of these can be found in Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*.

5 See the list at the end of this article.

be seen, shows that another painter was involved.⁶ There are variations in quality among the small miniatures which suggests that either two artists were responsible or a single artist was executing some of his work with less care at some times than at others. The small miniatures and historiated initials have leaf motifs on the corners, of the typical Arras type, often with architectural frames drawn in black ink on unburnished gold, and gold backgrounds or, less frequently, gold and diaper or pink or blue diaper backgrounds. The figure style overall is similar to, and probably derives from, hand 1 of the Arras *Chansonnier* compilation (Cat. III-5), the Master of Lyon 867 (Cat. III-4): a considerable amount of modeling is used on draperies, especially on the full-page miniatures. All the illustration shows signs of wear: gold backgrounds are worn thin, paint rubbed, margins soiled and dog-eared. But the sheer volume of illumination means that ms. fr. 25566 was certainly a major commission, and the different types of illustration and their distribution in the manuscript are pointers towards which components its owners and makers considered particularly important. Adam's texts are illustrated copiously: but with single-column miniatures not full-page ones. I analyse them first, then turn to the remarkable set of full-page miniatures and conclude with some notes about questions of date and ownership.

1 Adam's Pictures

The series opens on fol. 10 with an author portrait showing Adam and an associate, seated on a bench, singing before a group of seated men and women. This opening miniature comes with a gold arch frame, linking its presentation to that of the full-page *Cerf amoreus*, and a border supporting a hybrid and an archer. The battered state of the illustration, and the page in general, attests to the considerable handling to which it was subjected. *Le jeu d'Adam* opens (fol. 49) with a similar image of presentation, this time a standing master, bare-headed but holding gloves, indicative of his elevated status, addresses a seated group of men and women; and *Le jeu du pèlerin* opens with a historiated initial "O" showing the pilgrim in hat, with staff, addressing a seated group (fol. 38). The other three illustrations that accompany Adam's works illustrate the narrative content of their texts: *Le jeu de Robin et de Marion* presents the first encounter of the two protagonists (fol. 39); *Le dit du roi de Sicile* presents Charles of Anjou wearing his arms, *France a label gules*, riding (fol. 59v), in the manner of the poets in ms. *M-trouv.*, or ms. *A* and ms. *a-trouv.*; *Li ver d'amour* depicts a

6 For further comments on the style, see the publications listed in n. 2.

bat-winged devil shooting arrows at the kneeling couple on either side of him (fol. 65); the *Li congiés d'Adam* shows the protagonist riding away but turning back to his audience (fol. 66v). Finally, *Li ver de la mort* has a foliate and dragon initial "M" (fol. 67v). This is followed by the explicit on fol. 68. There is nothing particularly original about these illustrations, however, despite the prominence of Adam's works in the manuscript as a whole.⁷ This observation runs counter to the perception of this manuscript as dominated by Adam and made in his orbit;⁸ unless, of course, one or more full-page miniatures once accompanied the Adam component of the book, thus setting the Adam component on a visual par with the three texts that are accompanied by a full-page miniature. In terms of the number and type of its illustrations, the Adam section is comparable to the pictorial emphasis given the *Bestiaire d'amour* of Richard de Fournival, whose robust illustrative tradition, here and elsewhere, is copiously illustrated with single-column miniatures, and the illustrations follow a standard pattern, closely corresponding to the text. What is unusual about the Adam section is that all his works are clustered together, and illustrated, to a greater or lesser degree. Were they once preceded, or followed, by a full-page miniature? In the early fourteenth century there are many examples of full-page author portraits in Latin manuscripts and a few in French manuscripts, such as Henri de Mondeville, teaching, in the one surviving manuscript of his *Chirurgie*, offered to Philippe le Bel ca. 1314 (Paris, BnF, fr. 2030),⁹ so it is not out of the question that once the Adam component was so marked pictorially, although nothing can be proved.

7 It is not the earliest single-author compilation (*pace* Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* [Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987], 64); that distinction goes to Gautier de Coinci, whose earliest manuscripts comprising text, music, and pictures, date to very soon after the author's death in 1236, well before Adam and certainly long before the making of ms. fr. 25566, see Kathy M. Krause and Alison Stones, eds., *Gautier de Coinci, Miracles, Music and Manuscripts*, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 13 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006). And the Guiot manuscript of Chrétien de Troyes with its additional components (*Athis et Prophilias*; Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*; Wace, *Le Roman de Brut*; *Calendre, Les empereurs de Rome*), made in Champagne in the first quarter of the 13th century is another parallel (see Keith Busby, Terry Nixon, Alison Stones, and Lori Walters, eds., *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*, 2 vols. [Amsterdam and Athens: Rodopi, 1993], Cat. no. 8, by Terry Nixon; and Lori Walters, "The Creation of a 'super romance,'" *The Arthurian Yearbook* 1 (1991): 3–25). For discussion of the Adam component in fr. 25566 see Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 138, 139, 163, 172, 174–76, 177, 184, 274, 283, 293, 294, 311.

8 Cf. Mark Cruse, Gabriella Parussa, and Isabelle Ragnard, "The Aix *Jeu de Robin et de Marion*: Image, text, music," *Studies in Iconography* 25 (2004): 1–46 (34–35).

9 Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, Cat. no. 1-55.

The fully painted leaves that survive in ms. fr. 25566 are of thicker parchment than the rest of the volume, and they are all singletons, painted on one side of the page only, but the position of fols. 175 and 178 as second to the centre of the quire of 10 leaves formed by fols. 172–81v suggests they were originally a bifolium; both leaves are sewn in with tabs, so the original bifolium must have been of slightly larger dimensions than the present pages. I now survey the surviving full-page illustrations in turn.

2 Jacquemart Giélee, *Renart le Nouvel*

The bifolio structure of the full-page miniature proposed above results in an unusual placing for the *Renart* miniature; towards the end of the accompanying text (fol. 175) rather than the beginning, but this placing was no doubt deliberate as it allows several details of the miniature to relate closely to the text on the facing page. The text itself opens on fol. 10 with a single-column miniature and border depicting King Noble enthroned beneath a gold arch with pinnacles and finials extending into the upper margin, a foliate initial and a border running the length of the page from top to bottom, supporting affronted hybrids and an archer with bow – all badly rubbed. The full-page miniature that closes the text is in two registers on a gold ground with the shields of Hangest (*argent a cross gules charged with 5 shells or*) and Flanders (*or a lion sable*) in the spandrels of a triple-arch frame and hanging from right and bottom borders.¹⁰ Blue and pink borders frame the miniature with inscriptions (now illegible), on the right, left, and bottom. At the top is Renart as a member of both the Templar and Hospitaller military orders, wearing a blue robe and grey cloak with a white cross on the right shoulder and a red cross on the left shoulder. Above him is a scroll inscribed “*R(ENART) SUI RENART SUI QUI EDUIS(UI ?) TOUTES COM ... IERE(M) ET GUI.*” His sons kneel at his feet, on the left, one is clad in a black (Dominican) cloak, holding above him a scroll saying “*(?) IACOBIAUS*” and holding a second badly erased scroll below him saying “*.... AME ESTES....*”; on the right, another son is clad in a grey (Franciscan) habit, holding a scroll above him saying “*ROVSSIAUS*” and below him a scroll saying “*PERES S...SACHE ET SANS ESCV MONTERRE OT NO FRE E VERTV.*” On the left is Orgueil, shown as a man holding a falcon and bait riding on horseback towards Renart, a scroll above him saying “*R(ENART) SE VREMENT SEAS TA(N)T Q(UE) IE VIVS NE QUERRES*”; on the right is Dame Guile, a woman wearing a hair net and head bands riding an ass (Fauvain) towards Renart; a scroll above her says

¹⁰ See below for more on the heraldry and its implications.

“SEES SE VREE EST R(ENART) PARTOVT LE MO(N)TA VOS ...PARAG...”. On the register below, Fortuna stands at the center of her wheel, on the right is a priest elevating a chalice containing a host inscribed with a cross on a mound and three dots, shown falling head first; a scroll round him reads “R(ENART) AU MO(N)DE FAIS MAI(N)TE MAL QUE TVME FAIS ENTE (?) AVAL.” At the bottom, the wheel is inscribed “SINE REGNO” and beneath it is a (badly rubbed) man wearing “braies” who stretches out his hand to hold the cross-bar of a pair of scales over an owl-like figure (Renart again?) seated on a throne with sheep and goat-head finials. Two inscriptions between the half-naked man and the seated figure read “LOUIAVTES SUI...US NEL...FAISET...CATHIE...S” and “LV...SAVS.” On the left of Fortune’s wheel climbs a man wearing a pointed hat and holding a sickle; a scroll around him reads “ME FAVCILLE EST ET CO(M)BRE...IAV...MO(N)DE ...,” at the top of the wheel is the inscription “REGNO.” In the bottom corners, on either side of Renart enthroned, are two enthroned female figures with veiled heads. Scrolls above them read (left): “CA...VIMONT...SEPE...VENER IE ...AV MO(N)DE ...DVC” and (right): “PLOVRO(N)S ...EPITAS...EST LOIAVTES.” The components of the miniature are all drawn from the text on the facing page, fol. 174v, suggesting that the position of the miniature is original although the text continues to fol. 177, with its date of 1289 on fol. 176; fol. 177v is blank except for the opening rubric of the following text, “Chi commence des .iiij. Evangelistes” whose full-page frontispiece follows on fol. 178v. I return to it below.

The Fortune miniature in *V-Renart* (dated 1289) is paralleled in the three other *Renard le Nouvel* manuscripts, the only four to contain this text: *RenartC* dated 1292,¹¹ *RenartL*, dated 1288, and *RenartF*, dated 1290.¹² In *RenartC* the Fortune image occurs at the end of the text on fol. 60, unfortunately also much mutilated, and this time I suggest it is probably a product not of Arras but of Amiens.¹³ Its illustration can be attributed to the very distinguished artist responsible for the Missal of Corbie use, Amiens Bibl. mun. 157.¹⁴ Its Fortuna

11 Ms. *RenartC* contains only *Renard le Nouvel* and has 44 single-column miniatures as well as the full-page miniature at the end; it is fully reproduced in color on Gallica, <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52505222j/fi.image.r=fr>> (consulted 15 May 2015).

12 The sigla are those of John G. Roberts, “*Renard le Nouvel*: date and successive editions,” *Speculum* 11 (1936): 472–77. For a discussion of the refrains in the four *Renard le Nouvel* manuscripts, see Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 83, 84, 138, 176, 309.

13 Jean Wirth, “L’iconographie médiévale de la roue de fortune,” in *La fortune: thèmes, représentations, discours*, ed. Yasmina Foehr-Janssens and Emilie Métry (Geneva: Droz, 2003), 105–27 at 112 and cover illustration.

14 For the Corbie Missal and its artist, see Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, 1–2, Cat. no. 111–31; fully reproduced on the site Enluminures, <http://www.enluminures.culture.fr/documentation/enlumine/fr/rechguidee_00.htm> (consulted 15 May 2015). This artist and his assistants produced many vernacular manuscripts as well as liturgical books.

image would appear to be a simplification of what is in ms. *V-Renart* because the simian-figure is out of place and his robe does not contain the colors or emblems of the military orders as in ms. *V-Renart*; the Renard figure at the bottom is absent; and Dame Guile rides a horse not an ass. In other respects the components are much the same as in ms. *V-Renart*: the simian-like creature is enthroned between two foxes robed as Dominican and Franciscan and each holding a long inscribed scroll that unfurls across the Wheel of Fortune on which they kneel; the two female figures appear in the bottom corners of the miniature, this time, however, the one on the left holds a disk inscribed with a cross and the one on the right holds a disk with a bird, both are seated beneath an unfurled inscribed scroll; in the top two corners a horseman with falcon on the left (Orgueil) and a horsewoman on the right (Guile), also beneath long scrolls, ride towards the central group; in the middle stands Fortuna turning the wheel with its falling and rising figures: on the right is a priest holding a chalice, falling; at the bottom, a man wearing “braies” holding a pair of scales, and on the left, rising, a man holding a long scroll and a sickle. Ms. *RenartL* includes the date 1288 for the completion of the text (fol. 57) and the Fortuna image is placed in the bottom half of the last page below the end of the text, its long inscribed scrolls extending into the margins of the top half and into the intercolumnar space. This time Guile’s mount looks more like a donkey, different from the horse ridden by Orgueil; Carité (bottom left) is crowned and holds Christ’s seamless robe, surrounded by dice, and a crucifix; her counterpart Humilité is very badly defaced but appears to veil her face with her robe and hold a scroll in the other hand; a bird perches on the edge of her throne and above is a monogram spelling Humilité; other details – the priest, man with sickle and man in “braies” holding scales are similar to what is in mss. *RenartC* and *V-Renart*: Renard at the top, his brothers and their robes are as in ms. *V-Renart*. The page is severely trimmed at the bottom so only the top part of the scales is visible; one cannot be sure whether there was an enthroned figure at the bottom as in ms. *V-Renart*. The inscriptions on the scrolls or on the blank parchment background are written in black ink, whereas the text is in brown ink; minuscules are used for the inscriptions not capitals and they are highly legible despite the damage to the page.¹⁵ It is hard to establish a clear provenance for ms. *RenartL*. The *Somme le roi* in Reims, Bibl. mun. 571 (ca. 1300, Reims), has

¹⁵ This is not the place, but a full comparison of the text with what survives in mss. fr. 25566 and *RenartC* would be instructive and perhaps help to resolve the question of which of the images came first. *RenartL* has 18 single-column miniatures, 2 historiated initials and 1 foliate initial, so its illustrative program is considerably less impressive than either of the other manuscripts.

similar triple white dots in the background of its thin rectangular miniatures in the text and a similar drawing style. The fourth copy, ms. *RenartF*, dated 1290, has spaces for miniatures in the text, which ends on fol. 58, but a full-page Fortune miniature is present on the verso, fol. 58v; other texts follow as *Renart le Nouvel* is first (fol. 2, following a table of contents) in a miscellany whose other texts also lack illustration. Scrolls accompany the figures as before, written in minuscule; the notable difference in the iconography is the simpler treatment of Carité and Humilité, depicted as simple standing figures without attributes, both holding scrolls and pointing; the recumbent figure on Fortune's wheel is clothed; and the figure holding the chalice, falling, is robed in a short tunic, not as a priest. These details suggest simplifications or misunderstandings of a pictorial model. The miniature is again very rubbed so a stylistic attribution is problematical; however, it seems to me closer to ms. *RenartC* and Amiens than to Arras or elsewhere. For Roberts, the texts of the four manuscripts cluster into two families; alpha (ms. *RenartL* and ms. *RenartC*) and beta (ms. *RenartF* and ms. *V-Renart*), of which the better version is alpha, with 75 extra lines, giving reference to the fall of Acre in 1291 and the death of Michel de Wareghien, Bishop of Tournai in the same year; and the best manuscript for Roberts is *RenartL*.¹⁶ He concludes that Giélee wrote two versions, one in 1288–89 and the other, expanded, in 1290–92, and suggests intermediaries and lost copies lie between the versions, a solution whose implications for the four Fortuna miniatures are that none need depend on any of the others. The most elaborate (and therefore the best?) for me is ms. *V-Renart*, although interesting variant details (Carité's robe of Christ, dice, and crucifix) in ms. *RenartL* distinguish it from the other versions. As to the dates of the manuscripts, I have argued for a date ca. 1300 for fr. 25566 (*V-Renart*), which probably puts it later than the other three copies.¹⁷

3 The Four Evangelists

The second full-page miniature is a frontispiece (fol. 178v) to the *Quatre Evangelistes*, of which ms. *V-Renart* is the only extant copy. The illustration is equally unusual, showing the Evangelists as a tetramorph with the body of an ox and the heads of the four evangelist symbols, man (Matthew), lion (Mark), ox (Luke), eagle (John) and one foot of each creature, a tail, and a huge gold and red wing on its side. On the breast of the tetramorph is a Head of Christ; standing on its back is Ecclesia, crowned, holding a chalice with host and a

¹⁶ Roberts, *Renart le Nouvel*, 473.

¹⁷ Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, Cat. III-10.

cross staff with which she thrusts down Synagoga who topples from the back of the beast, head first, her crown falling from her head, as she still holds the Tablets of the Law and a broken banner. Beneath the feet of the tetramorph is a recumbant devil shown as a huge male figure. All this is enclosed within a barbed quatrefoil with a pink and blue frame containing a now illegible inscription; in the outer spandrels are ink-drawn creatures (hybrids?) holding musical instruments (?) in scroll-work on a gold background. The outer frame has erased inscriptions, and heraldry on left and right, to which I return below.

Whereas the pictorial characterization of Ecclesia and Synagoga and their attributes in ms. *V-Renart* has been a commonplace in medieval art since the Carolingian period, depictions of the tetramorph in the form of an entire beast, as opposed to the four heads and wings alone, are extremely rare. The obvious parallel is in the *Hortus deliciarum* of Herrad, Abbess of Landsberg in Alsace (d. ca. 1196) where a somewhat comparable figure is depicted before the Crucifixion on fol. 150, showing Ecclesia riding the tetramorph and holding out a chalice to collect the blood flowing from the side of Christ on the cross, with Synagoga facing her, riding a donkey, her spear on the ground, her face veiled, holding a Tablet, a sacrificial knife, and a red heifer.¹⁸ It is highly unlikely, however, that the *Hortus* provided a direct model for ms. *V-Renart* since it was made by Herrad for the instruction of the nuns in her Alsatian convent and was preserved there, whereas ms. *V-Renart* was undoubtedly an *arrageois* product. What the parallel suggests is the loss of intermediaries or common sources not otherwise documented; and it emphasizes how unusual the subject in ms. *V-Renart* really is, drawing, however, on several discrete pictorial constructs, and it adds pictorial prominence to the following text of which this is the only copy – again suggesting that the text may once have been more widely known.

4 *Li dis dou cerf amoreus*

Two copies of *Li dis dou cerf amoreus* survive: fr. 25566 fols. 220v–223 and Paris, BnF, fr. 378 fols. 8–9, of which the better version, as established by Louis

¹⁸ Rosalie Green et al., eds., *Hortus deliciarum*, Studies of the Warburg Institute 36 (London and Leiden: Warburg Institute, 1979), 2 vols. The original manuscript was destroyed in the bombing of Strasbourg in 1870 and the edition and study are based on drawings and colored copies made earlier in the 19th century: the compilation shows that Herrad's breadth of knowledge and of iconography was phenomenal. The red heifer held by Synagoga is the sacrificial animal for the ritual purification of a person who has come into contact with a corpse (Numbers 9: 2–9 and Daniel 12: 10).

Grimault, is in fr. 25566.¹⁹ Illustration in fr. 378 is limited to a badly rubbed opening historiated initial “A,” showing a man (?) and a stag; it is unrelated to the style of fr. 25566 and difficult to place. In fr. 25566 one would expect an opening rubric as for the *Quatre Evangelistes* and a lacuna containing the end of the previous text no doubt contained it. The text, preceded by a space of 6 lines (presumably for a longer rubric), opens with a foliate and dragon initial “A” on fol. 221. The full-page image on fol. 220v thus faces the text opening. The scene is presented like a stage set, completely enclosed in an architectural frame with a spectators’ gallery of 5 arches at the top in which there is an audience of half-figures, three women and two men, energetically gesturing to each other and pointing to the scene below; the gallery is surmounted by pinnacles extending into the upper margins where hybrids, animals and birds occupy the spaces between the pinnacles, and the spandrels are filled with the shields of Hangest and Flanders, as are the outer frames on left and right. The lower register, occupying three-quarters of the miniature, is topped by a similar framework of hanging arches with heraldic spandrels, below which is enacted the hunt. The text is somewhat ambiguous as to which of the protagonists is male and which is female, and thus who is chasing whom, since both the nouns *Cers* and *Amor* are masculine, but the picture leaves no doubt: the stag is female, her head framed by a gold head-covering from which spring her elaborate antlers with 12 branches as in the text; she is chased by five dogs (greyhounds) and turns her head back towards the hunter, Amor, a winged young man dressed in a gold robe decorated with quatrefoils containing the arms of Hangest, blowing a horn and riding a horse with gold bells and girths. On either side and between the figures are trees with birds, and the bottom frame consists of quatrefoils containing shields. Sadly, all the gold is worn and defaced so the opulent effect of the burnished gold background and the liquid gold of the architecture, antlers, Amor’s garment and his horse’s trappings is now marred. I know of nothing quite like this miniature, so different in structure from the other two with their overtly geometrical layouts and their internally constructed action, whereas here the impetus of the chase leads beyond the miniature into the text on the facing page in an energetic thrust forwards, while at the same time arrested in flight by the turning head of the stag to focus on the essential tension of the chase and its expected violent outcome as the dogs close in on her.

19 Louis Grimault, “Étude du poème, ‘li dis dou cerf amoureux;’” *Position des thèses soutenues par les élèves de la promotion de 1920 pour obtenir le diplôme d’archiviste paléographe* (1920): 27–33, followed by Marcelle Thiébaux, “An Unpublished Allegory of the Hunt of Love: ‘Li dis dou cerf amoureux;’” *Studies in Philology* 62 (1965): 531–45.

Who were the patrons? Presumably they were members of the Hangest (*argent a cross gules charged with 5 shells or*) and Flanders (*or a lion sable*) families whose arms are prominent in the borders of the full-page miniatures, as has long been recognized.²⁰ Unfortunately no appropriate alliance between these two important families appears to be documented so it is not possible to say exactly who the patrons were. The arms of Flanders, *or a lion sable*, were borne by counts Gui (d. 1297) and his successor Robert (d. 1322). The only members of the Hangest family listed in *Europäische Stammtafeln* appear to be N, a relative of Yolande de Soissons;²¹ and Aubert IV de Hangest, seigneur de Genlis (d. 1304), married at an uncertain date to Beatrice, sister of Hugues I comte de Blois, seigneur de Châtillon-sur-Marne (d. 1248).²² Another prominent member of the Hangest family was Guillaume, bailli of Amiens (1288–92) and treasurer of France.²³ Another manuscript containing the same pair of shields is the fragmentary Cistercian Missal in Kraków, Bibl. Czartoriskich 3204, datable between 1295 and 1302, whose illustration is unrelated to fr. 25566 but can be attributed to the main hand of an important Book of Hours of Reims Use, Cambrai Méd. mun. 87.²⁴ But this leaves unresolved the question of the original ownership of fr. 25566.

Termini for the production of fr. 25566 are suggested by the text of the *Dit du Roi de Sicile*, a composition interrupted by the death of Charles d'Anjou in 1285 (fols. 59v–64v), and, as noted above, by the *Renart*, whose colophon indicates that Jacquemart Gielée wrote it in Lille in 1289 (the date is given on fol. 176). However, I have argued for a date ca. 1300 for the production of this manuscript, on the basis of the dates of its stylistic cognates such as the Breviary of Saint-Vaast, Arras Bibl. mun. 729 (639) (before 1297) or the Diurnal of Mont-Saint-Éloi, Arras, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Add. 290 (after 1300) and other manuscripts stylistically clustered around the Psalter-Hours of Arras

20 The arms of Flanders were initially borne by both the Counts of Flanders and the Counts of Hainaut, but by the late 13th century, the likely date of ms. fr. 25566, Jean d'Avesnes II, Count of Hainaut (d. 1304), bore *or three chevrons sable*, see Emmanuel de Boos et al., eds., *L'armorial Le Breton* (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, 2004), Paris, Archives nationales AE I 25, no. 6 [MM 684], 198, no. 600; in the same armorial Gui de Dampierre, Count of Flanders (d. 1305), bore *or a lion sable* (no. 616).

21 Detlev Schwennicke, ed., *Europäische Stammtafeln, Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der europäischen Staaten ... neue Folge*, 21 vols. (Marburg: Stargardt, 1978–), VII:16 and Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, I-2, Cat. III-33.

22 See ES VII-17 and *Armorial le Breton* 172, no. 339.

23 Saviotti, "Precisazioni," 268, n. 23, citing Jean-Michel Hareux, *Hangest en Santerre* (Montdidier: SERHAM, 2005) 69; he does not figure in the *Armorial le Breton* nor in ES.

24 Several other manuscripts attributable to the Cambrai 87 painter are extant, see Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, I-2, Cat. III-90.

Use, Paris, BnF lat. 1328.²⁵ The core of fr. 25566 was most likely conceived and produced as a whole – except, as argued above, for the full-page miniatures and the added quire at the beginning. The texts usually follow without breaks, often to the point that a rubric is on one page and the corresponding text opening on the next; but there are occasional blank pages and several scribes participated in the production.

Did the patrons commission the book as a whole? I think it is significant that the full-page miniature pages would appear to be the only ones to include heraldry of ownership.²⁶ And they are by an artist who is not the painter of most of the single-column miniatures and historiated initials.²⁷ Since the full-page miniatures are all added, it is conceivable that the patrons bought a ready-made book and had the full-page miniatures created in a second phase of production. At all events they made sure that they were personally commemorated through the abundant heraldry on those pages, if nowhere else in the book. For the Hangest/Flanders owners, then, the full-page miniatures and their accompanying texts were the most important components of the book – not the Adam poems or the other components – unless those, too, were once accompanied by full-page miniatures like the three that remain.

25 Stones, *Manekine*, 33.

26 Several equestrian knights elsewhere in the illustrations bear arms, but not those of Hangest or Flanders. At the opening of *Le dit du roi de Sicile*, a single-column miniature contains an equestrian knight holding a lance over his shoulder, his surcoat, housing and shield painted with arms of *France charged with a label of 4/5 points gules* (fol. 59v); in the *Bestiaire d'amours* an equestrian knight bears a shield and ailette *azure a lion argent [white] a bordure of the same* (fol. 92v) and he reappears, with others, among the army (fol. 97v); these arms (without the bordure) are given in the *Armorial le Breton* (188, no. 504) to Enguerrand de Fiefes; another knight in the army on fol. 92 bears *gules [pink] a lion argent [white]* and reappears at the opening of the *Tounoiement Antechrist* by Huon de Méri, in an initial N, bearing *gules [orange] a lion argent [white]* (fol. 182v). These arms are in the *Armorial Le Breton*, 177, no. 391, given to Gaucher II (d. before 1293), châtelain de Noyon et de Thourotte. The connections between these knights and the Hangest-Flanders families remains obscure.

27 I have argued elsewhere for the participation of the Master of W.104, an important Psalter-Hours in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, in the full-page miniatures. The rest of the illustration is more difficult to place exactly although the illustrations in most of ms. A and Lyon Bibl. mun. 867 is close; the clusters of “Arras” leaves on the corners of the single-column miniatures, and the arch frames present at text openings are determining criteria.

Appendix: List of Illustrations in fr. 25566, by Category of Illustration

Foliate Initials (5)

Li ver de la mort

M, foliage and dragon initial (fol. 67v)

Equivoque Baudouin de Condé

C, foliate initial, border with crowned hybrid terminal (fol. 109v)

Renart le Nouvel

O, foliate and dragon initial, hybrid terminal: *Or revenrons au roi noblon* (fol. 141).

N, foliage and dragon initial: *Nous renars sire de maupertuis* (fol. 144v).

Nevelos Amions, Dit d'amours

A, foliate initial (fol. 278v).

Historiated Initials (22)

Les partures Adam

A, Two men standing talking, one wearing academic hat (fol. 23v)

Le jeu du pèlerin

O, Standing man wearing pilgrim's hat and carrying staff addresses seated group (fol. 37v).

Quatre evangelistes

L, Christ in Majesty blessing, holding an orb, surrounded by the four Evangelist symbols (fol. 178v).

Huon de Méri, Tounoïement antechrist

N, mounted knight riding with lance couched, shield, ailette, surcoat, housing *gules* [orange] *a lion argent* [white] (fol. 182v).

Richard de Fournival, Consaus d'amours

B, man and woman with veiled head stand talking (fol. 208v).

Baudouin de Condé, Li iii mors et li iii vis

C (*sic*, for E), Three youths, one holding a falcon, and three skeletons (fol. 217).

Nichole de Margival, Li iii mors et li iii vis

T, Three youths, one holding a falcon, and three skeletons (fol. 218); fol. 220 blank.

Anonymous, Ches des iii mors et des iii vis

D, Three youths, one holding a falcon, and three skeletons (fol. 223v).

Des trois signes

C, seated man holding scroll (fol. 229).

Du honteuse menestrel

S, standing man hands robe to another man (fol. 231).

Du vrai anel

C, master hands wreath to standing man; tree (fol. 232).

De le lampe

S, standing man points to two hanging lamps (fol. 235).

Li dis de le brebis desreubee

L, standing man faces sheep; tree (fol. 237v).

Li jus des esqies

C, King and man holding head on hand play chess, king makes a move (fol. 239v).

Li dis du faucon

C, standing man faces bird on perch (fol. 242).

De cointise

O, standing woman holding small round object in right hand (fol. 244).

Li dis du pré

K, seated master holding scroll (fol. 245v).

Du courtois d'onneur

O, seated king holding sceptre hands round object to/receives from standing man (fol. 247).

Du sot le conte

M, Man in bed, woman opens door to another woman (fol. 248v).

Du songe du castel

M, standing man addresses king sitting in tent holding scepter, battlements in background (fol. 250v).

Baude Fastoul d'Arras, *Congié*

S, poet sits holding scroll inscribed with meaningless strokes (fol. 253).

Jehan Bodel d'Arras, *Congié*

P, seated poet holding scroll (fol. 280).

Single-Column Miniatures (104)

Les canchons maistre adan de le hale

Beneath a gold arch frame with pinnacles and finials, Adam, supported by another man, both seated on a throne, presents his work before a group of seated men and women.

D, foliate initial; border: affronted hybrids; archer (very badly rubbed) (fol. 10).

Le jeu de Robin et de Marion

Robin on horse, falcon at wrist, addresses Marion who stands, accompanied by dog-like sheep, wearing a wimple-like head covering and holding a staff with a spear-like point.

Space for a small (penflourished?) initial R (fol. 39).

Le jeu d'Adam

Standing master, bareheaded, holding gloves, addresses seated group of men and women (fol. 49).

Le dit du roi de Sicile

Equestrian knight holding lance over shoulder, surcoat, housing and shield
France charged with a label of 4/5 points gules (fol. 59v).

Li ver d'amour

Kneeling couple with bat-winged devil standing between them, having already shot the man, shooting an arrow into the heart of the woman whose head is veiled (fol. 65).

Congié d'Adan

Adam rides away, turning back and waving to standing group of men and women (faces badly rubbed) (fol. 66v).

Cest li ius de s. Nicholai

Man kneels before statue of Nicholas on altar, enthroned, blessing, mitred, holding crozier (fol. 68).

Richard de Fournival, *Bestiaire*

Beneath a gold arch frame Amor stands on throne on which are seated man and woman, man has arrow in heart, Amor has just shot arrow at heart of woman.

T, foliate initial; border: bagpiper plays for dancing male hybrid; squirrel (fol. 82).

43 single-column miniatures follow:

Seated man and woman on throne; between them, standing god of love aims arrow at woman whose head is veiled, having already shot the man; border: squirrel, female hybrid, bagpiping man (fol. 83). King, seated in tent accompanied by courtiers and knights, dictates a letter to kneeling messenger; three knights watch from battlements of adjacent castle (fol. 83v). Cock, wild ass (fol. 84). Wolf with naked man, crickets on hearth by two wooded tubs (fol. 84v). Man harping before swan; two dogs; wolf facing a group of sheep behind a stockade fence (fol. 85). "Wivr": dragon-like creature leaping upon clothed man, fleeing from naked man (fol. 85v). Ape: hunter in hood, ape in tree; crow on a treetop, its nest in another tree (fol. 86). Crow pecks eyes of naked man on ground; lion attacks man (fol. 86v). Weasel running (conceiving through its ear) and giving birth through its mouth; weasel carrying off its young in its jaw; caladrius perched on man's bed, facing him (fol. 87). Three sirens: one singing,

one playing a curved wind instrument with sound holes, one harping; harping siren and siren holding club follow boat in which man sleeps (fol. 87v). Harping man, dragon-like “serpens”; blackbird in cage (fol. 88). Tiger looking in mirror hanging in tree; panther (striped), followed by stag and animals; unicorn in lap of virgin speared by hunter (fol. 88v). Cranes sleeping standing up, one holding an egg in its claw (fol. 89). Peacock not displaying, standing by tree (fol. 80v/89v). Lion walking by tree (fol. 89v). “Argus que on endort”: trumpeter, cow-herd (Argus) sitting on mound, holding crook, horned bull (fol. 90). Swallow flying to nest of young in tree (fol. 90). Animal (“moustoile” according to rubric) breathes on supine young (fol. 81/90). Lion licking cub (fol. 90v). Pelican in her Piety (fol. 90v). Castor biting off testicles before hunter carrying spear accompanied by dog (fol. 91). “Espes” (bird) sucking out sap from tree (fol. 91). Swallows flying over water (fol. 91v). Hedgehog in front of three trees (fol. 92). Cockatrice weeping over dead man in water whom it has killed (fol. 92). Knight (shield and ailette *azure a lion argent* [white] *a bordure of the same*) (fol. 92v). Fighting hydra shown as triple-headed dragon (fol. 92v). Cockatrice swallows hydra whose three heads emerge from its back (fol. 92v). “Comment li wiure tue pere et mere”: wivre swallows creature whose head emerges from its back (fol. 93). Hunter blows horn, dogs chase ape carrying two young (fol. 93v). Three men row boat on top of whale (“serre”) (fol. 94). Turtle-dove in tree (fol. 94). Partridge lays eggs and another partridge hatches them: two baskets of eggs, one with bird on top, another basket over which flies a bird with an egg in its beak (fol. 94v). The sun hatching an egg laid by an ostrich (fol. 95). “Li chuignot qui norissent lor mere”: storks standing on top of each other (fol. 95). Three hoopoes feeding from their mother (fol. 95v). Eagle breaking its beak on basin of fountain (fol. 96). “cocodrille” eating upside down (fol. 96). Man raising hands before poisonous dragon who licks his feet (fol. 96v). Elephant giving birth in water, dragon faces it (fol. 96v). Dove on top of dovecote looking over water (fol. 96v). Three men cooking on back of whale: one with bellows blows fire under three-legged cooking pot (fol. 97). Fox supine, feigning death, crow sticks beak in its mouth (fol. 97v). Vulture flying after army (shields *pink a lion argent* [white]; *azure semé of besants voided argent* [white]; *pink a cross crosslet argent* [white]; *azure a lion argent* [white]; *pink semé of bends sinister argent* [white]) (fol. 97v). Author wearing academic hat kneels at feet of lady with veiled head (fol. 97v).

Richard de Fournival, *Réponse au bestiaire*

Beneath a gold arch frame, youth kneels before master who displays open book; border: hybrid plays pipe and tabor; two dogs, bird (fol. 98).

Cest du cors et de lame

Beneath a gold arch frame, master standing in pulpit addresses seated men.

C, foliate initial (fol. 107).

Cest de Renart le nouuel

Book I, 7 square single-column miniatures: Beneath gold arch frame and inscribed scroll, King Noble crowned, sitting on a throne with sheep and goat-head finials; Q, foliage and lion initial (fol. 109v). King Noble enthroned, his queen standing on one side, his three sons (looking like clothed renarts) on the other, followed in a second miniature by a group of clothed animals and birds (fol. 110). King Noble puts a robe on his son (rubric says "*Comment li rois nobles arma son fil*") (fol. 111v). Renart comes before King Noble dressed as a Franciscan (wearing a grey habit and white knotted belt) (fol. 120v). King Noble (ailette and shield *azure a lion argent* [white], surcoat *pink a lion argent* [white]) attacks Renart's castle (decorated with shields *azure a dragon argent* [white], *azure a cross argent* [white]), Renart on ramparts defends it (fol. 124). King Noble and Renart exchange the kiss of peace (fol. 127). Renart and Ysengrin embrace (fol. 128).

Book II, 44 square single-column miniatures: Beneath a gold arch frame and an inscribed scroll, King Noble sits enthroned, holding a mace (cf. fol. 109v, but here the throne lacks finials). A, foliate initial (fol. 129v). King Noble riding to hunt meets Renart on horseback (fol. 130). King Noble enthroned watches Renart copulating with Leopardess (fol. 131). Sheep (shown as goat), Cat, Rat and Mouse before King Noble (fol. 133). Cat, Wolf, and Hawk are hung (fol. 133v). Cat drinks milk in pot, Renart makes off with a cooked bird (fol. 134). Renart on foot follows a Convers (wearing grey hooded habit) who rides on horseback with Heron over the back of his horse (fol. 134v). Cat rides on back of horse ridden by Convers, next to Heron (fol. 135). Tiebiers (Tabby-Cat) in tree on back of Heron, Renart on ground (fol. 135v). Hooded youth holding club sets his two dogs to chase Renart (fol. 136). Wolf, Cat and Cock before King Noble (fol. 136v). King Noble in tent with Stag and Wolf (shields *pink a lion argent* [white], *pink a saltire argent* [white]) besiege Maupertuis, Renart inside ramparts holds a stick with a pack over his shoulder (fol. 137). Dove hands letter to Renart enthroned (fol. 138). Jay hands letter to King Noble (fol. 138v). O, foliate initial: *Or revenrons au roi noblon* (fol. 141). Renart in a sailboat, rowed by his followers (Sheep and Goat) (fol. 142). Renart's boat arrives at shore on which sit Ape and Ape's son, bird in tree (fol. 142v). The Taking of Maupertuis by King Noble (ailette and shield *azure a lion argent* [white], surcoat *pink a lion argent* [white]) and his followers (two stags, other animals, shield *orange a cross argent* [white]); on the ramparts, Snail raises a banner *azure a lion argent* [white] (fol. 143). Jay, Hawk and Cock fly to King Noble with sealed letters in their beaks; N, foliage and dragon initial (fol. 144v). Jay, Hawk and Cock fly to Lioness, Leopardess and Wolf's wife with sealed letters in their beaks (fol.

145v). Renart comes before King Noble as physician holding urine flask and towel (fol. 149). Leopard (holding gloves) and Wolf come before King Noble (fol. 149v). King Noble rowed in sail-boat by Leopard and Wolf (fol. 150). Sea battle between Lion (shield and ailette *azure a lion argent* [white], surcoat *pink a lion argent* [white]) and Goat (shield *pink a dragon argent* [white]) and a follower (shield *or* [yellow] *a dragon sable*) (fol. 150v). Woman watches as swaddled baby suckles sow (fol. 152v). Renart at sea with Goat and Sheep who sprinkle holy water (fol. 153v). Ape is guarding a cooked bird on a draped altar; Renart covers his eyes, Ape does the same whereupon Renart walks off with the bird (fol. 155). Bull before King Noble (fol. 159). Ass holding a candle (shown as an aspergillum) standing at draped altar with veiled chalice on it gives communion to Renart (shown as human), two sons of Ass hold tintinabulum and situla. (fol. 159v). Elephant before Renart's castle on which Renart is on ramparts, holding a pack on a stick over his shoulder; riding in the castle on elephant's back are Stag, Yzengrins, Dog, Wolf (fol. 159v). Renart (not shown) chased by three dogs (fol. 160); Lioness, Leopardess, Wolf's wife speak to Lion's son (fol. 161). Songs, notated, unillustrated (fol. 161v). Lion's son leads Lioness, Leopardess, and Wolf's wife on horseback before King Noble (fol. 163). Renart, kneeling before King Noble, asks forgiveness of Leopard (holding gloves) and Wolf (fol. 163v). Renart and King Noble embrace before Dame Gille riding on Fauvain (horse) (fol. 164). Song, notated, unillustrated (fol. 164v). Bear Blanchars kneels before King Noble (fol. 164v). Renart rows King Noble in sail-boat (fol. 168v). Renart has his son robed by a Dominican (fol. 171). Renart has his son robed by a Franciscan (fol. 171). Renart confesses to a hermit (wearing a pink hooded habit) in a forest (fol. 172). Renart hands his son over to the Patriarch (wearing pointed hat) (fol. 173). Renart and the pope (wearing an orange dunce's hat and heavily modelled blue chasuble) sit next to each other, a Templar (wearing an academic hat and a brown habit with a white cross at the neck and a pink cloak) standing before them (fol. 173v). Renart and the pope (dunce's hat) sit next to each other, a Hospitaller (wearing an academic hat and a maroon hooded robe) standing before them (fol. 174). Fortuna holding her wheel addresses Renart who stands before her (fol. 174v). A full-page miniature follows on fol. 175.

Full-page Miniatures (3)

Fols. 175, 178v, 220v: described above.

Aristocratic Patronage and the Cosmopolitan Vernacular Songbook: The *Chansonnier du Roi* (*M-trouv.*) and the French Mediterranean

John Haines¹

Adam de la Halle is sometimes called the last of the trouvères, but it would be more correct to call him the last Old French songwriter – literally, “one who writes songs.” The difference between a songwriter and a singer or even maker of songs is not only one of activity, of work routine, but one of social and economic status. In approaching the bookish room of the writer we find ourselves at some remove from the court or city hall echoing with the histrionics and vocal effects of the performer. For at least eighty years before Adam began writing down and anthologizing songs of his own composition, writers of Old French songs had been setting down their compositions and collecting them in anthologies that would later be called *chansonniers*. The question of how, as early as the 1240s, Adam’s hometown of Arras became a major hub of this kind of bookmaking activity begs another more substantial question. How did songs in Old French come to be written down in deluxe compendia, some of which still survive today?

It is sometimes assumed that, prior to the earliest two surviving *chansonniers* from around 1230 (ms. *U*) and 1255 (ms. *M-trouv.*), little to no writing down of songs in Romance languages occurred. It was only in the second half of the thirteenth century, and then only rarely, that song anthologies were first compiled, the implicit argument goes. Thus the extant troubadour and trouvère *chansonniers* from the turn of the thirteenth to the fourteenth century sprang, following this reasoning, more or less like Athena from the head of Zeus, with very few to no written precedents. For nearly two centuries leading up to this time, the argument continues, Old French and Old Occitan songs had been preserved almost exclusively in oral performances by song makers

1 For what they taught me about medieval writing as I was composing this essay, I wish to thank the students of my Practical Paleography seminar at the University of Toronto’s Centre for Medieval Studies in the spring of 2015: Marie-Claire Apostoli, Eun Seon Bae, Deanna Brook’s, Amy Conwell, Brianna Daigneault, Benjamin Durham, Lara Howerton, Timothy Perry, Heather Pigat, Lane Springer, Nora Thornburn, Lauren Williams and Hannah Wood. I am as much their student as the one presumably teaching the class.

and minstrels before being scooped up at the tail end of the thirteenth century, *in extremis*, by literary song collectors, just as the living traditions of performing these songs were about to die out. The title of a 1965 article by Hendrik van der Werf sums the view up well: “the trouvère chansons as creations of a notationless culture.”² Thus the *chansonnier* scribe, and especially the one writing out musical notation (*notator*), is envisioned as a kind of proto-ethnographer who relies on “memory ... and non-intellectualism,” a sort of learned singer of tales, following the title of Albert Lord’s influential book.³ In the words of Leo Treitler, the medieval scribe wrote down “a version of what he ... assimilated from his singing”; he was copying, as van der Werf imagines it, “from memory what he had *heard* rather than what he had *seen*.”⁴

A different point of view is presented in this chapter. As argued here, the tradition of writing songs in Old French, of which Adam de la Halle was the inheritor in the late 1200s, was one that likely went back nearly two centuries. This is not to say that the making or transmitting of songs was done exclusively in writing during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Rather, the writing down and anthologizing of Old French song occurred during the same period as the oral transmission of these same songs, so roughly from 1100 to 1300. But singing and writing were, during this period, two fundamentally different activities that took place in two very different contexts, the one in the performance hall and the other in the writing studio. Contrary to what is sometimes assumed, the process of writing down the musical notes of a song in the Middle Ages was a fundamentally unrelated activity to that of performing a song.

On the face of it, this would seem an obvious and even unnecessary statement, were it not for the trends of the last half century or so in the field of what is called the “medieval lyric” – a curious but appropriately neo-Romantic expression. Following a brief spate of activity in the late nineteenth century, the study of the *chansonniers’* lost written ancestors became less and less fashionable, giving way, in the last half century or so, to an almost irrational conflation of the medieval scribe and the medieval performer, as seen in the above cita-

2 See, for example, Hendrik van der Werf, “The Trouvère Chansons as Creations of a Notationless Musical Culture,” *Current Musicology* 1 (1965): 61–67. See also, among others, van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and Their Relation to the Poems* (Utrecht: A Oosthoek, 1972); van der Werf, “Music,” in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, ed. F.R.P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 121–64.

3 Curt Sachs, *Rhythm and Tempo* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1953), 176; Albert Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960).

4 Leo Treitler, “Oral, Written and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music,” *Speculum* 56 (1981): 471–91, 475 and 484; van der Werf, *The Chansons*, 30.

tions. And so, for our understanding of the global production of Old Occitan and Old French songbooks, we are still dependent today on two major studies that were produced well over a century ago during the heyday of German Romance philology: Gustav Gröber's three-hundred page article "Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours" (1877) and Eduard Schwan's 1886 published dissertation on the "song manuscripts" (*Liederhandschriften*) of the trouvères.⁵ Since then, hardly anyone has dared to pursue the daunting task of studying the transmission of these sources as a whole based on a thorough inspection and comparison of their contents. Those few that have, such as François Zufferey, have generally confirmed the two Germans' findings; none have modified them substantially.⁶ This is because Gröber and Schwan, by breaking down and comparing the contents of all extant manuscripts by author and song, basically got it right. They correctly identified the sources that were closely related, such as manuscripts *M-trouv.* and *T-trouv.* discussed in the present volume (see Chapter 5 by Judith Peraino), as well as the sources standing outside the copying mainstream, such as manuscript *U*. The neo-Romantic trend of the last half century, in its demonization of the "dinosaur" philologist and in its "paean to the variant," to cite Bernard Cerquiglini,⁷ has ensured that Gröber and Schwan's important works have been unread and lampooned as ignorant of medieval oral transmission in their presumably futile hunt for a non-existent Urtext, today's bugaboo.⁸

In point of fact, Gröber and Schwan were less interested in digging up songs' primitive texts than in establishing the exact relationships of the surviving sources that contain these songs – a task that, incidentally, has served all of us students of troubadour and trouvère song remarkably well for over a century. If these nineteenth-century scholars were overly enthusiastic in their search

5 Gustav Gröber, "Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours," *Romanische Studien* 2 (1877): 337–670 and Eduard Schwan, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften, ihr Verhältniss, ihre Entstehung und ihre Bestimmung: eine literarhistorische Untersuchung* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1886).

6 François Zufferey, *Recherches linguistiques sur les chansonniers provençaux* (Geneva: Droz, 1987). I am not counting here general surveys (i.e., not specialized studies) of these sources, such as William Burgwinkle's helpful chapter, "The *chansonniers* as books," in *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ed. Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 246–62.

7 Bernard Cerquiglini, *Eloge de la variante* (Paris: Seuil, 1989), translated by Betsy Wing as *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

8 E.g., Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 267–69: "troubadours certainly were not strictly limited to some sort of 'Urtext' when they sang the songs."

for original sources, we can hardly blame them if we consider the trends of their time and place, any more than future scholarly generations will scoff at the juvenile puns of our neo-Romantic academic English – if they even read it.

To set the record straight, both Gröber and Schwan were well aware of the topic of oral transmission in medieval song, even though they were basically uninterested in it, even tired of hearing about it. After all, their scholarly generation came on the heels of a veritable obsession with the oral transmission of medieval song beginning in the late eighteenth century, from the Grimm Brothers onwards, an obsession which academics of the late 1800s – the heyday of positivism – viewed as old-fashioned. Ironically, the early Romantic trendiness of orality returned with a vengeance in the mid-1900s, defining itself this time around as anti-positivist.⁹ It is incorrect to state that Gröber maintained “that all the poetry anthologized in the *chansonniers* descends exclusively from authorized *Liederblätter* (songsheets)”; or, as one prominent senior scholar recently has written, that Gröber “dismissed the possibility of oral transmission.”¹⁰ Even though the topic was tangential to his theme, Gröber opens his hefty essay on Old Occitan song collections (*Liedersammlungen*) with a discussion of the oral transmission of troubadour song. “The signs for the oral transmission of troubadour poems,” Gröber writes, “are very numerous.” He goes on to describe the role of the *jongleur* in the oral transmission of troubadour songs with a salient anecdote that has since been used by more than one researcher.¹¹ Likewise, Schwan acknowledged the important role that oral transmission played in the transmission of song, and specifically the influence of “the mouths of jongleurs” on copyists and collectors of song anthologies.¹²

Furthermore, Gröber and Schwan’s notion of a *Liederbuch* should not be lampooned as a single “authorized” Urtext, i.e., from the hand of the poet

9 For a survey of the relevant English writers, see John Haines, “Medievalist Music and Dance,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Victorian Medievalism*, ed. Corrina Wagner et al. (Oxford, forthcoming). Schwan, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften*, 267, cites Karl Bartsch on the subject of oral transmission.

10 Amelia Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation in Troubadour Lyric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 38; William Paden, “Lyrics on Rolls,” in *Li premerains vers: Essays in Honor of Keith Busby*, ed. Catherine Jones and Logan Whalen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011), 325–40, 325.

11 Gröber, “Die Liedersammlungen,” 341: “Die Zeugnisse für die mündliche Verbreitung der Troubadour-dichtungen sind sehr zahlreich.” Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own.

12 Schwan, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften*, 266: “Allerdings ist die Möglichkeit nicht ganz abzuweisen, dass auch einzelne Sammler aus dem Munde der Jongleurs Lieder aufzeichneten.”

himself. Rather, both men understood the written transmission of Old French song as a jumble of variable texts written up by many collectors (*Sammlern*) and copyists (*Copisten*), and not necessarily the original poets themselves: in other words, “textual *mouvance*” or “a multiplicity of texts,” to render this in today’s parlance.¹³ Schwan, for example, viewed the extant trouvère *chansonniers* as originating in a number of collections or *Sammlungen* (which he labelled s^I, s^{II}, and so on), each quite different in format and contents.¹⁴ Schwan rightly viewed the case of Adam de la Halle’s *Liederbuch* as exceptional since, as discussed below, the earliest extant witnesses had been written up very close to Adam’s time. Even so, Schwan conceded that the redaction of Adam’s songs did not necessarily originate in “a songbook ... by the poet himself (i.e., Adam de la Halle)” but equally with “someone collecting his songs.”¹⁵

The questions raised by both Gröber and Schwan some one hundred and fifty years ago still stand, questions that are vital to *the world of Adam de la Halle and to his musical culture*, to cite the title of the present volume. How far back before 1230 (ms. *U*) did the written transmission of vernacular songs go? What kind of transmission was it? Where mainly did it take place? To view the *chansonnier* as a kind of field transcription made by a medieval proto-anthropologist, in keeping with the view described above, is nothing short of a neo-Romantic fantasy, one that is disconnected from the historical evidence on manuscript making in the Middle Ages. The making of a codex and the performing of a song occurred in two distinct medieval universes. A scribe was trained in one art, and a singer in another. The two seldom worked in the same space.¹⁶

Rather, a studious comparison of contents of surviving Old French *chansonniers* shows that, in Schwan’s words, “most of the significant discrepancies between songs are due, not to memory lapses of jongleurs’ but to differences created by collectors (*Sammlern*) and copyists (*Copisten*).”¹⁷ This inherently writerly aspect of *chansonnier* compilation is confirmed on the musical side of

13 Ibid., 270: “die meisten bedeutenderen Umgestaltungen der Lieder nicht auf der Gedächtnisschwäche der Jongleurs, sondern auf absichtlicher Aenderung entweder von späteren Dichtern oder von Sammlern oder ästhetisch geschulten Copisten herrühren.”

14 Ibid., 231–53.

15 Ibid., 223: “wir haben in ihnen Abkömmlinge eines (von dem Dichter selbst oder von einem Andern gesammelten) Liederbuchs.”

16 The liturgical tradition of the *armarius* librarian who sometimes acted as a musical corrector or editor is not attested for vernacular books; on the *armarius*, see Margot Fassler, “The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries: A Preliminary Investigation,” *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 29–51.

17 Schwan, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften*, 270: “die meisten bedeutenderen Umgestaltungen der Lieder nicht auf der Gedächtnisschwäche der Jongleurs, sondern auf ab-

things by studying the musical erasures that are abundant in Old French *chansonniers*. Erasure patterns such as transposition by a second or third, misaligned notes, omission, and dittography (the literal repetition of a group of notes), all make clear that scribes relied mainly on written exemplars rather than singers for the setting down of musical texts on precious parchment.¹⁸

Following a nearly universal bookmaking procedure in the Middle Ages, especially for such a heterogeneous collection as *M-trouv*, the first step in making a new book was to find written exemplars, not always an easy task. Like most medieval books, a *chansonnier* was the product of a complex written transmission involving a variety of sources that no longer survive. The initial search for exemplars was followed by a series of specialized activities, ranging from sketching page layout on wax or some other surface, to the final collation of gatherings in their proper order, perhaps adding at the last minute a few extra exemplars not planned in the original table of contents – *M-trouv* discussed below being a case in point of the latter with its added booklet of songs by Thibaut de Champagne in a distinctly different hand from the rest of the codex.

Such a book, such an intricate and expensive collection made from the hides of a dozen or more animals, the equivalent in today's high capitalist economy of an expensive home, such a codex commissioned by a wealthy patron and sometimes given as a status-seeking gift, had become, by the late thirteenth century, the prototype of the book as a commodity. Less than two centuries after Adam's time, the deluxe book was one of early capitalism's signal commodities.¹⁹ As explored in this chapter, it was over the course of the thirteenth century, during France's expansionism across the Mediterranean world, notably in Greece and the Holy Land – the crusading prelude to early capitalism's transatlantic gambit – that the *chansonnier*, an object far removed from the minstrel's "airy song,"²⁰ became a kind of proto-commodity for its ambitious and wealthy owner.

sichtlicher Aenderung entweder von späteren Dichtern oder von Sammlern oder ästhetisch geschulten Copisten herrühren."

18 John Haines, "Erasures in Thirteenth-century Music," in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance*, ed. Haines and Randall Rosenfeld (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 60–88.

19 Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods* (London: MacMillan, 1996), chapter six. On the phases of capitalism, see, for example, Giovanni Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power and the Origins of Our Times* (London: Verso, 2010), 111–29 and 219–22, who sees capitalism's first medieval "systemic cycle of accumulation" as leading directly into the "second cycle" during what he calls "the long sixteenth century."

20 Paden, "Lyrics on Rolls," 340.

1 Musical Anthologies and Lost Writing of the Middle Ages

The extant song anthologies from the Middle Ages that have, for one reason or the other, survived the vagaries of human and natural destruction, present us with only one a small portion of the total number of written sources on which these same songs were written down. For most medieval literary works, the original copies have long vanished. The earliest surviving parchment copies of nearly every medieval work postdate the original by at least a decade, as in the Joinville's *Vie de Saint Louis*, for example, or even by a century or more, such as the Song of Roland, to seize on the most famous example from the French Middle Ages.²¹ The same goes for Old French song collections or *Liedersammlungen*, as Gröber called them. The two earliest surviving anthologies of Old French songs from around 1230 and 1250 mentioned earlier were not the first of their kind. Without a doubt, there existed earlier parchment collections of songs predating the extant ones, which have not survived. The only question is, how do we find out more about them? Answering this question is not straightforward.

For one, the written compilation of Old French song appears to have begun outside France, where modern researchers least expect it. A few years ago, I signalled a passage from Geffrei Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis* (1140) in which Geffrei makes mention of a large book (*livre grant*) containing items, possibly songs (*chançon*, as Gaimar puts it later in his work) for which the first strophe was notated with music ("le primer vers noter par chant"). This large book was commissioned in the 1120s or 1130s by Adeliza of Louvain, the wife of English Henry I of England.²² This is the earliest reference to an anthology of songs in Old French, one that furthermore contained musical notation. Unfortunately, the book does not survive; this is the only reference to it. Interestingly, the earliest surviving sources containing Old French songs, a dozen single pieces found in manuscripts from the turn of the twelfth to the thirteenth century, mostly originate in Anglo-Norman circles, like Adeliza's *livre grant*.²³ This collective evidence suggests that the practice of writing down songs in Old French did not originate in France, but in the circles of the noble Anglo-

21 References provided in John Haines, "The Songbook for William of Villehardouin, Prince of Morea (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 844): A Crucial Case in the History of Vernacular Song Collections," in *Viewing the Morea: Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese*, ed. Sharon E.J. Gerstel (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2013), 57–109, 61, n. 19.

22 Haines, *Satire in the Songs of Renart le nouvel* (Geneva: Droz, 2010), 94–101.

23 Sources tabulated and discussed in Haines, "Songbook for William," 66–68.

Norman diaspora living in England, as a nostalgic antiquarianism.²⁴ The piecemeal nature of the evidence just mentioned is typical in the task of reconstructing lost sources, as generations of scholarship on ancient and medieval texts have made clear.²⁵ It may be frustrating to current skeptics who will only accept the surviving evidence and who dismiss lost written sources as fanciful positivist fabrications, yet the science of higher criticism that developed in nineteenth-century Germany was founded on a basic idea wholly grounded in the reality of ancient and medieval textual transmission, namely: for each surviving extant source there once existed multiple earlier copies generating this source that have not survived. This idea, basic to medieval source studies, is also basic to medieval material culture in general. No underwear, for example, survives from the Middle Ages, not only because of the unglamorous nature of underwear but also because archeological textiles are “some of the most difficult artefacts to be managed in the post-excavation process”; they are extremely fragile and fragmentary.²⁶ Yet without a doubt, “underwear, usually of linen, was worn throughout the medieval period.”²⁷ For the same reason, perishable or disposable medieval writing surfaces such as single parchment leaves, small rolls or wax tablets do not survive. Like cloth, these writing surfaces were ubiquitous in the Middle Ages and were used for a variety of purposes. To briefly illustrate with a relevant example, of the six attested thirteenth-century sources containing French songs in Outremer discussed below (Table 4.1), only one survives today, *chansonnier M-trouv*.²⁸

In their seminal works, both Gröber and Schwan demonstrated how the complex interaction of lost and extant sources plays out in the *chansonnier* tradition. They concluded that the immediate ancestors of the extant *chansonniers* had been sources of mainly two kinds, both smaller types of books that ranged from one to a handful of gatherings: 1) collections devoted to single authors, what Gröber famously called *Liederbücher*, and 2) collections more

24 “The codification of songs ... outside the area where the songs had originated” was also the case for Old Occitan songs (Haines, “Songbook for William,” 63).

25 For an introduction to the critical study of texts, see Leighton Reynolds and Nigel Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) and Sebastiano Timpanaro, *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1963).

26 Penelope Walton Rogers, “Archæological Textiles,” in *Encyclopedia of Dress and Textiles in the British Isles c. 450–1450*, ed. Gale Owen-Crocker et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 38. My thanks to Lara Howerton for this reference and for her insights into medieval textiles.

27 Sarah Thursfield, “Underwear,” in *ibid.*, 608.

28 On ms. *M-trouv*, see Haines, “Songbook for William,” as well as Gill Page, “Literature in Frankish Greece,” in *A Companion to Latin Greece*, ed. Nickiphoros Tsougarakis and Peter Lock (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 288–325.

loosely organized, what Gröber less famously named *Gelegenheitssammlungen* (literally, “happenstance-collections”).²⁹

The earliest attested Romance language song collections devoted to a single author are those for troubadour Peire Vidal, compiled around 1200, and for northern poet Gace Brulé.³⁰ From this time onwards, the evidence for individual poets who undertook the compilation of their own songs in Old French, from Gace Brulé to Adam de la Halle, gradually comes to light. The legacy of smaller authorial booklets is clear in the codicology of the extant *chansonniers*, especially when the section for an individual poet is made up of a discrete number of gatherings that sometimes end in a blank space. The case of *chansonnier M-trouv.* is particularly interesting in that a booklet of songs by Thibaut de Champagne written up in an entirely different hand from the rest of the book was added just as the manuscript was being finished, despite an existing section in the book already devoted to this poet.³¹ Troubling to the aforementioned neo-Romantic skeptic is the erratic nature of surviving literary evidence for lost authorial booklets. In the case of Thibaut de Champagne, for example, the only evidence attesting to his having compiled his songs sometime before his death in 1253 is the terse statement in the *Chroniques de France* concerning Thibaut’s songs that “he had them written up in his hall at Provins and in that of Troyes” (*les fist escrire en la sale a Provins et en celle de Troyes*).³² We do not know anything more about the details of this compilation, which is nevertheless attested by the discrete sections to Thibaut’s songs found in more than one surviving *chansonnier*. As a contrasting example, a great deal more is known about the compilation of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* by Gautier de Coincy (d. 1236), thanks both to Gautier’s own discussion of it and to the outstanding number of surviving manuscripts of this work, some eighty codices. As with Thibaut, our knowledge of Gautier’s songwriting is entirely dependent on the surviving evidence, which in the latter case is unusually abundant. Thanks to both literary and codicological evidence, we know that Gautier’s two-book *Miracles*, a work interspersed with musically notated songs in Old French, was produced over some ten years, from 1218 to 1227. During the lengthy writing process, Gautier sent each section as he finished it to nearby Noyon so that his acquaintance Robert de Dive could produce final copies with illuminations. In Gautier’s case, we even have an exceptional bit of

29 Gröber, “Die Liedersammlungen,” 354–57.

30 Peire Vidal, *Poesie*, ed. d’Arco Silvio Avalle (Milan: Ricciardi, 1960), xxv–xxxix; Gianfranco Folena, *Culture e lingue nel Veneto medievale* (Padua: Editoriale Programma, 1990), 6.

31 Haines, “Songbook for William,” 78.

32 John Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 35 and 47.

iconographic evidence suggesting that separate single folded leaves containing only the music notation of these songs were used during the compilation process.³³

As parchment rolls were ubiquitous in medieval writing, there can be no doubt that Old French songs were copied on them. Gröber called these leaves or rolls *Liederblätter*.³⁴ Not surprisingly, given the fragility and homeliness of this kind of writing surface, very few Old French songs on rolls have survived – as, for example, the first attested item in Table 4.1 below, a lost source which was either a leaf or a roll. It is not surprising either, and hardly proof that parchment rolls were *not* used in the copying of songs, that the very few surviving medieval parchment rolls bearing vernacular songs are unusually sturdy specimens.³⁵

As for song miscellanies or *Gelegenheitssammlungen*, an exceptional case of these “happenstance-collections” is ms. *R-trov.*, compiled sometime in the early fourteenth century.³⁶ The apparently disorganized state of this collection is actually the result of a successive compilation of five distinct Old French song anthologies. The first two, at five gatherings each (fols. 1–36 and 37–75), are collections of songs by various trouvères that each begin with Thibaut de Champagne and move on to lesser poets such as the Châtelain de Coucy; the last three “booklets” are distinct units that do not indicate authorship (fols. 76–105, 106–61 and 162–84). Another intriguing trace of Gröber’s *Gelegenheitssammlungen* is found in the earliest datable vernacular song codex, Modena, Biblioteca Estense, R4.4, which was finished over the course of several months in 1254, as stated in the table of contents. This manuscript of mostly troubadour songs ends with a series of forty-nine Old French songs all attributed in an opening rubric to Moniot d’Arras. Yet only five can be safely attributed to Moniot himself. Likely, this section of *cantiones frangine* (“French songs”), as they are labelled in the manuscript, was copied from a miscellaneous collection originating in Arras, a single gathering, since forty-nine songs would comfortably fill a quaternion at six songs per folio.³⁷

33 Haines, “A Sight-Reading Vielle Player from the Thirteenth Century,” in *The Sounds and Sights of Performance in Early Music: Essays in Honor of Timothee J. McGee*, ed. Maureen Epp and Brian Powers (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 13–26.

34 Gröber, “Liedersammlungen,” 337–44.

35 Pace Paden who nevertheless provides a useful survey of the evidence in “Lyrics on Rolls,” 325–40.

36 The main study of this manuscript is Johann Schubert, *Die Handschrift Paris, Bibl. Nat. fr. 1591: Kritische Untersuchung der Trouvèrehandschrift R* (Frankfurt am Main: n.p., 1963).

37 Haines, “Songbook for William,” 62–64.

It is common nowadays to associate medieval writing with parchment, i.e., a surface made of animal skin. But by far the most common writing surface in the Middle Ages was wax, and the most common writing artifact was the wax tablet. Eminent paleographer Bernhard Bischoff once stated that medieval “daily life cannot be imagined without them,” so ubiquitous were wax tablets; Richard and Mary Rouse referred to the Middle Ages as a “wax tablet culture.”³⁸ Wax tablets were used throughout the Middle Ages as a highly convenient writing medium, in some ways similar to our present day computer tablet or laptop, such as the one I am using to compose the sentence you are reading. There is no question that documents of all kinds were first sketched out on wax tablets. Yet not a single wax tablet with writing from the Middle Ages survives.³⁹ Earlier I used the analogy of medieval underwear for perishable writing surfaces in general, and in the case of wax tablets a useful analogy would be medieval bread. As with the aforementioned example of underwear, we know that people in the Middle Ages used bread, and this daily. Yet very few medieval bread recipes survive and those rare ones that do are short on detail.⁴⁰ Bread was ubiquitous and few people bothered to describe it in the literature that survives from the Middle Ages. The application to wax is clear. A ubiquitous writing surface used early on at school for learning letters and grammar, and in daily note-taking activities by notaries and other clerics, the humdrum wax tablet is only mentioned once or twice in connection with Old French song. One anonymous *resverie* reads: “L'en le doit en parchemin metre ou en cire” (“[The song] must be set down either on parchment or wax”); the *Clef d'Amors* mentions the poet writing to his lady “soit en parchemin ou en chire.”⁴¹

38 Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 14 and Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000), quoted in Randall Rosenfeld, “Technologies for Musical Drafts, Twelfth Century and Later,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 11 (2002): 45–63, 54.

39 Generally on the subject of wax tablets, see Haines, *The Notary Art of Shorthand (Ars notoria notarie): A Curious Chapter in the History of Writing in the West*, Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations 20 (Louvain: Peeters Publishers, 2014), 1–2, 4, 9–10, 14–15, 45 and 96–97 and the references provided there, as well as Haines, “Manuscript Sources and Calligraphy,” in *The Cambridge Companion to French Music*, ed. Simon Trezise (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 300 and 308–9.

40 Examples of surviving bread recipes can be found in Hannele Klemetilä, *The Medieval Kitchen: A Social History with Recipes* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012). My thanks to Nora Thornburn for this reference and for her insights.

41 The *resverie* is given in Pierre Bec, *La lyrique française au Moyen Âge (XII^e–XIII^e siècles)* (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1978), 2 :105; the *Clef d'Amors* in Roger Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise* (Geneva : Slatkine, 1979), 153, note 2.



FIGURE 4.1 Incipit of Adam de la Halle's "D'amourous cuer voel chanter" in wax

In the complete absence of surviving wax sources containing Old French songs, it is necessary – and instructive, I think – for us to reconstruct what these might have looked like. In recent publications, I have done this for the early neumes of plainchant and for Tironian notes.⁴² In Figure 4.1, I have attempted to do so for a monophonic Old French song, the first in Adam de la Halle's songbook, "D'amourous cuer voel canter."⁴³ Those who have tried their hand at writing with a stylus on wax will recognize the familiar grooves and raised edges, or "valleys" and "hills," that lends writing in wax its trademark look. This characteristic of writing in wax means that the writer must economize the number of marks and cannot be as profuse as when writing on parchment or paper, for example. This explains why, in transcribing a parchment *chansonnier* reading back onto wax tablet, so to speak, I have chosen more efficient capital letters and have used the musical shorthand of neumes. Just how any given thirteenth-century scribe would have written a song in wax is, of course, speculation. But speculation is better than nothing for the insight it gives us into the medieval process of writing down Old French songs.

42 Haines, "Manuscript Sources and Calligraphy," 317–18; Haines, *The Notory Art of Shorthand*, 14, figure 6.

43 My example is derived from the music from Coussemaker's edition reproduced in Adam de la Halle, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. and trans. Pierre-Yves Badel (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1995), 417.

2 *Chansonnier M-trouv.* and the International Songbook Trade

By the early thirteenth century, the production of Old French song anthologies had extended across the Mediterranean to Outremer – by which is usually meant Eastern Europe and the Middle East, and mainly present-day Greece, Turkey, Cyprus, Israel and Syria – in territories that were settled by France and other Western European countries during the Crusades. The motivation for this songbook trade bore some similarities to the antiquarian bookishness that had first triggered the collecting of both trouvère *chansonniers* in Anglo-Norman England and troubadour *chansonniers* in northern Italy a century earlier. Outremer, with its newly arrived French diaspora, was a perfect site for songbook antiquarianism, especially since major French book-making centers were established early on during the period of conquest in places such as Acre and Jerusalem.⁴⁴ Although no book, roll or wax tablet of Old French songs from these workshops has survived, it is likely that such sources did exist, considering the transmission of medieval texts in general and that of medieval vernacular poems in particular, as discussed in the previous section. The surviving evidence for Outremer makes clear that French songbooks, whether produced there or brought over from Europe, were prized by the French diaspora. In fact, far from being a marginal locus in the history of vernacular songbooks, as one might assume, Outremer appears to have been an important center, where French songs were written out on a variety of formats and sent back and forth across the Mediterranean Sea. This written transmission sometimes took place over a relatively short distance from Nicosia to Acre, as in the case of Filippo of Novara, or a long way, from Arras to the Greek Peloponnesus, as in the case of ms. *M-trouv.*, the beautiful surviving anthology made for Prince William of Villehardouin, Prince of the Morea in Greece.

The evidence for written out French songs in Outremer is shown in Table 4.1. The Table lists the six attested sources for the thirteenth century, from 1229 to around 1280, showing the type of source (a leaf, roll or anthology), what kinds of songs were in this source, when the manuscript was produced, for or by whom, and where. It was historian David Jacoby who, in two important articles published in the 1980s, presented compelling evidence for a historical phenomenon virtually unnoticed until then, that the thirteenth-century French conquerors of Greece and the Holy Land had a habit of bringing with them a type of cultural artifact that was as ostentatious in their day as an expensive

44 Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land: From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) and Folda, *Crusader Art: The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1099–1291* (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2008).

TABLE 4.1 Attested and extant sources of Old French song in Outremer, thirteenth century

Book type	Contents	Date produced	For or by whom	Where
*Leaf or roll	Songs	1229	Filippo of Novara	Cyprus
*Anthology	Love songs	c. 1240	Filippo of Novara	Levant
Anthology (<i>M-trov.</i>)	Songs, motets	c. 1258	William of Morea	Arras
*Anthology	Marian songs	c. 1260	Filippo of Novara	Levant
*Anthology	Songs	ante 1265	Eudes of Nevers	?
*Anthology?	Songs	c. 1260-1280	Leonardo of Veroli	?

* Lost.

home is in ours – the deluxe songbook, with its expensive parchment pages and gilded miniature paintings.⁴⁵ For a newly immigrated French knight in the Morea or Cyprus, owning one of these expensive artifacts signalled his membership of the elite club of noble and royal composers of courtly songs. David Jacoby's landmark essays have made clear the primary difficulty in the history of French songbooks in Outremer, namely that the vast majority of them have been lost or destroyed. There is no question that written-out songs in Old French circulated in Greece and the Levant among French nobility for most of the thirteenth century. The problem for us is finding any trace of them. For songbook production and ownership in Outremer, as for works of medieval literature in general, the main quandary is how to extrapolate lost sources from surviving ones.

Of the six sources listed in Table 4.1, only one, number three, has survived. This is the deluxe songbook *M-trov.* apparently made for William of Villehardouin, Prince of the Morea (Frankish Greece). This outstanding *chansonnier*, which has unfortunately lost many of its gilded paintings, was likely produced in Arras as a wedding gift, perhaps by order of Charles of Anjou, quite possibly for the occasion of William's wedding to his third wife Anna Doukaina of Epiros in late 1258 or early 1259.⁴⁶ The first, second and fourth items in Table 4.1 are works by Filippo of Novara, to be discussed shortly. We know of the fifth

45 David Jacoby, "Knightly Values and Class Consciousness in the Crusader States of the Eastern Mediterranean" (originally published in 1986) and "La littérature française dans les états latins de la Méditerranée orientale à l'époque des croisades" (first published in 1982), in Jacoby, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton: Variorum Reprints, 1989), essays I and II.

46 Haines, "Songbook for William," 97–108.

item in Table 4.1 thanks to a posthumous inventory taken in 1265 of the books owned by Eudes of Nevers, a knight who arrived in Acre in 1265 and died shortly thereafter. The inventory of his goods specifies several Old French works, including a *chansonnier* (*chançoners*), likely brought from the West rather than produced in Acre, as Jaroslav Folda has suggested.⁴⁷ The existence of the final item in Table 4.1 is also known thanks to a posthumous inventory of goods, this one taken in 1281. Leonardo of Veroli, a long-time Italian resident of the Morea and incidentally the brother-in-law of Prince William of Frankish Greece, owned at his death fourteen vernacular Romance (*romanzi*) books.⁴⁸ Not all of the books are specified in the inventory, and it seems likely that at least one of the fourteen was a book of Old French or Occitan songs, as speculated by Francesco Sabatini.⁴⁹

A good illustration of the problems of assessing extant versus lost sources is the outstanding testimony of Filippo of Novara (c.1195–c.1265), a lawyer and advisor to the noblemen of Outremer. Filippo is to my knowledge the only European émigré for whom we have evidence for having written out Old French songs in the Levant rather than having imported them from Europe. The just discussed songbooks for Eudes of Nevers and Leonardo of Veroli, as well as ms. *M-trouv.*, were likely produced on the European mainland and brought over to the Levant.⁵⁰ Not so for Filippo, who immigrated to the Levant as a young adult and remained there until the end of his life half a century later. His attested written song output is listed in Table 4.1: several individual songs⁵¹ probably copied on single leaves or rolls (item number 1), and two song collections now lost (numbers 2 and 4). Beyond these, Filippo's total literary output presents us with a textbook case of medieval transmission. Filippo has six major French works to his name, only two of which survive, a legal treatise and a moral treatise, the latter composed around 1260, not long before his death. The

47 A.-M. Chazaud, "Inventaire et comptes de la succession d'Eudes, comte de Nevers (Acre 1266)," *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 32 (1871): 164–206, 188: "ce fu li romanz des Loheranz et li romanz de la terre d'outre mer, et li chançoners." Also quoted and discussed in Jacoby, "La littérature française," 620–21; Jacoby, "Knightly Values," 165; and Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, 356–58.

48 Riccardo Filangieri, *I registri della cancelleria angioina* (Naples: Academia Pontaniana, 1976), 177: "Item in alio pari de scrineis eteribus libris de romanziis IX ... Romanzi V, breviarium unum, cronica una, Biblia una, par de bilangiis unum."

49 Francesco Sabatini, *Napoli angioina: cultura e società* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1975), 31. See also Haines, "Songbook for William," 70.

50 Haines, "Songbook for William," 70.

51 Three are listed in Hans Spanke, ed., *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes* (Leiden: Brill, 1980): these are numbers RS 184a, 190a and 190a.

remainder of his works – in other words, the bulk his literary production – did not survive. Filippo's surviving legal treatise, the *Livre de forme de plait*, which made him famous, was probably written at the mid-point of his career, sometime in the first half of the thirteenth century.⁵² Also at this time, Filippo produced a series of love songs in the style of the trouvères. Filippo's own description of these in his autobiography is colored by his later bias that these songs were, as he puts it, on "the great foolishness of the day that is called love" ("des granz folies dou siecle que l'an apele amors").⁵³ Filippo did eventually edit these songs and include them in a large anthology of his main works. This anthology, made up around 1260, so near the end of Filippo's life, included his account of the wars of his patron John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut written around 1240, an autobiography, and a collection of Marian songs composed late in his life. Filippo describes the contents of his now lost anthology in a moral treatise, his second surviving work that was written up shortly before he died: *Des quatre tenz daage dome*.⁵⁴ None of the anthology's works survive in their original form, however, but we find versions of two of them, the Ibelin Wars and the autobiography, a half century later in the *Geste des Chiprois*, written around 1320, over fifty years after Filippo's death.

Of special importance to the written transmission of French songs in Outremer is Filippo's account of the composition of the song "A tout le mont vueil en chantant retraire" (RS 184a), as related in his account of the Ibelin Wars that survives in the *Geste de Chiprois*. Here, as with the outstanding case of Gautier de Coincy around the same time in mainland France, we are given unusually detailed information about how a song in Old French was composed in Outremer.⁵⁵ Written in the form of a classic trouvère song (seven strophes of eight lines in decasyllabic verse), "A tout le mont" ends with an *envoi* to its intended recipient the "constable at Syria" ("en Surie au counestable").⁵⁶ Filippo states that he "made the song and sent it to Acre to the constable" in July of 1229 after a battle at Nicosia – a journey of several hundred miles across the Mediterra-

52 Philippe de Novare, *Mémoires, 1218–1243*, ed. Charles Kohler (Paris: Champion, 1913), iv.

53 Ibid., v, note 1.

54 Ibid.

55 Old French in *ibid.*, 36–37; reference in Haines, "Songbook for William," 69. Translation in Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus*, trans. John L. La Monte and Merton Jerome Hubert (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), 103–5. Bibliography in Spanke, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie*, 59.

56 Philippe de Novare, *Mémoires*, 37: "Va, serventoyz ... Si me portes noveles en Surie au counestable qui ne nous heit mie."

nean.⁵⁷ In which case, “A tout le mont” was probably sent in writing rather than via a singer or *jongleur*. Elsewhere in the same account, Filippo gives two trouvère-style song parodies of the Renart stories then fashionable in courtly circles. One, called a *chanson a rime*, is 216 lines long.⁵⁸ The other song Filippo calls a “rimed letter” (*letre rimée*),⁵⁹ a trouvère-style song 85 lines long that ends “I will finish my rhyme with double-rhymed verses, or at least leonine ones.”⁶⁰ Like “A tout le mont,” this poem or *rime* as Filippo calls it, he sent (*manda*) to Acre where it “was received ... with great joy.”⁶¹ The song is “Salus plus de cent mille.”⁶² Unless we are predisposed against the idea of medieval song transmitted by writing, it is easier to imagine “Salus plus de cent mille” as having been transmitted in writing rather than sung by a messenger; no messenger or *jongleur* is mentioned anywhere in Filippo’s account. The same could be said about the other songs just mentioned, including “A tout le mont,” composed at Nicosia in July 1229 and sent to the constable at Acre. More than likely, “A tout le mont,” like “Salus plus de cent mille,” was also written down on a portable writing surface, perhaps a parchment leaf or roll, and sent to Acre this way.

Most interesting of all is Filippo’s lost collection of love songs and his old age project of a Marian song collection, both of which were incorporated into a larger anthology of his complete works, now lost, as I already mentioned. All of this is invaluable evidence concerning the transmission of French song in the Levant. And this evidence is consonant with well-known facts about songbook production in mainland Europe discussed earlier in this chapter. Filippo’s recording of songs and song anthologies is outstanding evidence, perhaps, but it is entirely reminiscent of both later and earlier parallel cases, such as the songbooks compiled by Gautier de Coincy and Thibaut de Champagne back in mainland France.

57 Ibid., 36: “et fu mandee a Acre au counestable”; translation in Philip de Novare, *Wars of Frederick*, 103.

58 Ibid., 44–50.

59 Ibid., 30.

60 Ibid., 32: “je fineray ma rime: l’autre yert equivoque au meins ou leonnime.”

61 Ibid., 30 (“Ceste est la letre rimee que sire Phelippe de Nevaire ... manda a messire Balian d’Ybelyn, qui estoit a Acre”) and 32 (“Ceste rime fut receüe a Acre a moult grant joie”).

62 It is not in Spanke’s catalogue cited above.

3 The Last Songwriter

To sum up this chapter so far by answering the three questions posed near the beginning, the activity of writing Old French songs on surfaces ranging from wax tablets to high-end parchment codices, an activity traceable back to the twelfth century, seems to have started in Anglo-Norman England and soon jumped the Channel to the European mainland. By the early thirteenth century, copying and collecting Old French songs had become an international activity, spreading as far east as Cyprus and Syria where it was popular with the French diaspora of Outremer. Of special relevance to Adam de la Halle are the authorial type of song collections, meaning collections by a single composer usually made under that composer's supervision. These can be traced back – such as the evidence allows – to around 1200; Gace Brulé for Old French and Peire Vidal for Old Occitan. Another major authorial anthology is attested in the 1220s for Gautier de Coinci, and around 1250 for Thibaut de Champagne and Filippo of Novara. By the second half of the thirteenth century when Adam de la Halle started setting down his compositions, the authorial self-compilation was a well-established genre, as seen in the case of troubadour Guiraut Riquier's reference to his songs, "a book written in his own hand" (*libre escrig per la sua man*).⁶³ This thirteenth-century move towards increasing authorial self-consciousness, prominent with the troubadours and trouvères, was labelled several decades ago by Michel Zink as "literary subjectivity," by which Zink meant late medieval authors' tendency to put themselves forward, not only as the writers of their own works but as participants in them, just as Adam does in the *Jeu d'Adam*: Adam as both author and player of this literary "game" or *jeu*.⁶⁴ Adam the songwriter arrives in the late 1200s as this "subjective" movement is already in full swing.

Looking back on individuals in a lackadaisical sort of way, as histories are prone to do, the importance of Adam de la Halle would at first seem to lie mainly in the new kinds of compositions he produced, works not found with even the most prestigious trouvères such as Thibaut de Champagne. These innovative works, from a backwards-looking perspective, are Adam's polyphonic works, meaning a handful of motets and a dozen rondeaux, as well as his three dramatic "plays" with music, mainly the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*. Seen retrospectively, Adam's novel monophonic-polyphonic hodgepodge leads within less

63 Cited in Michel-André Bossy, "Cyclical Composition in Guiraut Riquier's Book of Poems," *Speculum* 66 (1991), 277–93, 278.

64 Michel Zink, *La subjectivité littéraire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985).

than a century to the Middle Ages' most famous musical figure, Guillaume de Machaut. From this chronologically twisted perspective, the impressive polyphonic achievements of Machaut, and so by implication Adam, are prescient as one looks further ahead – as historians so breezily do – to Palestrina or even Stravinsky.

Adam is thus seen as the beginning of something new. The earliest modern students of Adam in the nineteenth century praised him for his theater. They pegged him as a medieval opera composer, a view that, strangely, was resurrected not too long ago in Richard Taruskin's *Oxford History of Western Music* (2005).⁶⁵ For Louis-Jean-Nicolas Monmerqué around 1830, Adam's *Jeu* marked the medieval birth of theatrical realism.⁶⁶ The twentieth century shifted this historiographic focus away from theater to polyphony where it more or less remains to this day, with Adam as the harbinger of the high-art polyphonic composer. In Friedrich Ludwig's view around 1910, Adam's motets were "nothing less than the most important works of his time" – and so, by implication, his most important works to us moderns.⁶⁷

It bears repeating, therefore, that Adam was mainly continuing something old. Adam's literary output was, unlike Machaut after him but very much like the trouvères and troubadours before him, dominated by monophonic song. Adam identified himself as a writer (and not a singer) of songs because this songwriter persona had great social prestige in his day, the persona of the great poet who writes out his songs and collects them into book form. Indeed, this is exactly how Adam is pictured in his most famous rendering in ms. A (fol. 133v): as a scribe, fussing over a piece of parchment as I am fussing over this computer screen at the moment, holding in his right hand a quill with "three fingers" (*tres digiti*, as the proverb went), and in his left hand a knife to modify his text as he composes it. Thus is Adam de la Halle immortalized, as a writer of monophonic songs in Old French. The rubric of this famous painting reads "Adans li bocus fist ces kancons" – *fist* here having the specific sense of making in writing, not singing, for the scribe Adam's mouth is firmly shut as he concentrates on his writerly work.⁶⁸ This same iconographic topos of the trouvère as scribe occurs before Adam and after him, in the famous image of Machaut

65 As I pointed out in Haines, *Medieval Song in Romance Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 151–52.

66 Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 168.

67 Ludwig cited in Friedrich Gennrich, "Adam de la Halle," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 1 (Kassel, 1949–1951), col. 78: "nicht gerade zu den bedeutendsten Werken dieser Zeit."

68 Facsimile in Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 172.

writing on a long parchment roll.⁶⁹ While Adam may not quite literally be “the last Old French songwriter” as stated in the first paragraph of this chapter, since Machaut and others were still composing Old French monophonic songs well into the fourteenth century, he was nevertheless the last man of his kind, a songwriter whose output was dominated by monophonic song. More or less, “the last songwriter.”

If Adam’s pedigree went back to such lights as Gace Brulé and Thibaut de Champagne, he was firmly rooted in a specifically Artesian songwriting tradition, relatively new in his day. The turn of the twelfth to the thirteenth century marked a shift from written-out vernacular song’s courtly roots to a new urban environment, with the bourgeoisie of northern Italy producing deluxe collections of troubadour songs, complete with troubadour portraits.⁷⁰ Thus in the mid-1200s a new kind of songwriter emerged, one who lived in the crowded streets of the city and who thought in new bourgeois ways. The pale outline of the mercantilist, pre-capitalist songbook as a commodity, a phenomenon that would come into full focus a few centuries later, was already visible at the time of Adam’s birth around 1250. Prior to the Artesian bourgeoisie of the mid-1200s, compilers of authorial song collections had been clerics, such as Gautier de Coincy or Filippo of Novara, or counts, even kings: Thibaut was both count of Champagne and king of Navarre. The status of these earlier songwriters may have been as low as a mere nobleman, such as Gace Brulé, but no lower.

Parting ways with these white-shirted predecessors comes the new “subjective” man of the thirteenth century, the blue-collar urban songwriter. Songwriting is his trade, and Arras is his new home. Or at least Arras dominates the written record that has come down to us from the thirteenth century. It cannot be overstated at present that the Artesian bourgeoisie did for Old French song what the Carolingians had done for chant some four centuries earlier. Artesians made themselves for centuries to come the historical center of Old French song by monopolizing the written record, by compiling songbooks filled with poets from in and around Arras.⁷¹ And yet, Old French songs were being sung not just in Arras but all across France, by confraternities very

69 Images in Haines, “Manuscript Sources and Calligraphy,” 307–9.

70 Haines, “Songbook for William,” 70–71.

71 Thus, for example, the almost arbitrary provenance of “Arras” assigned to over half the trouvère *chansonniers* in *Grove Music Online*, s.v. “Sources, MS, §111. Secular Monophony, 4. French,” by Elizabeth Aubrey, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>> (accessed 1 April 2015), as well as the Arras-centric view in Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 133–70.

similar to the now famous *py* of Arras; in Lille, for example, or in Paris, where an entire “rue des jongleurs” plied its musical trade.⁷² Unfortunately, these songs were not written down that we know. Arras wrote itself into existence as the center of Old French song, the hub of the *trouvères*. Ms. *M-trouv.*, compiled in the late 1250s, documents the transition from the older international songbooks to the parochial Artesian ones of the late thirteenth century in a dramatic way. The book’s first half (gatherings 1–12) reflects the courtly world of its intended owner Prince William, and the second half, from gathering 13 onwards, shifts the reader over to Old French song’s new urban home: Arras.

The questions that have still to be adequately studied concerning Adam de la Halle’s written-out songs are the same ones asked earlier in this chapter about Old French song in general. When did Adam begin writing down his songs, what kind of transmission was it, and where did this transmission activity take place? And the answers to these questions lie in the path taken by Gröber and Schwan, namely the extrapolation of lost sources from those that survive.

When Schwan tackled the forty some surviving books and fragments with songs in Old French, he began, not surprisingly given their striking contents, with mss. *M-trouv.* and *T-trouv.* As he compared their contents using Gaston Raynaud’s recently published inventory of songs, Schwan noted these two manuscripts’ similarities and discrepancies.⁷³ Chief among the latter were the songs of Adam de la Halle not found in *M-trouv.* The source for Adam’s songs that the compilers of *T-trouv.* had apparently used, Schwan called “Adam de la Halle’s songbook” (*Liederbuch des Adam de la Halle*). Schwan assigned to this lost source the siglum *h*; *T-trouv.*’s version of it he labelled *Th*. Among the sources common to *M-trouv.* and *T-trouv.* was the lost songbook of Thibaut de Champagne that Schwan called *Mt* and *Tt*, respectively.⁷⁴ At the very end of his landmark study, Schwan returned to the subject of *Liederbücher*, and summarized what could be said about authorial compilations in light of all the surviving sources of Old French song. Aside from a smaller book of a dozen songs by Jehan de Renti found in *T-trouv.*, there had been mainly two songbook-type ancestors, Schwan wrote: the songbooks of Thibaut de Champagne (*t*) and of Adam de la Halle (*h*). Of these two, the most prolific in surviving

72 John Haines, “The Lost Chapel of the Saint-Julian Minstrels’ Guild,” *Imago Musicae* 21–22 (2004–2005): 229–62.

73 Gaston Raynaud, *Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles, comprenant la description de tous les manuscrits, la table des chansons classées par ordre alphabétique de rimes et la liste des trouvères* (Paris: Vieweg, 1884), 2 vols.

74 Schwan, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften*, 17–22.

books was *t*, since it had been used as a source for a dozen of the extant *chansonniers*.⁷⁵ Adam's lost songbook, although attested in only four extant sources, had been drawn up much closer to the time of the extant *chansonniers* than *t*, and thus presented few deviations (*Abweichungen*) from the original book made by Adam or by a later collector, in Schwan's words.⁷⁶

The four descendants of the original Adam de la Halle songbook were, as Schwan saw it, the following extant trouvère *chansonniers*, listed here by order of Schwan's ranking, a ranking confirmed by the findings laid out in Alison Stones's recent *magnum opus*.⁷⁷

The source Schwan considered the closest to Adam's *Liederbuch* is ms. *P-trouv*, a book likely produced sometime before 1278, although this is not the date of the section featuring Adam.⁷⁸ Adam's songs are found at the end of this book (gatherings 27–29, fols. 211–28) and are notated in a different hand from the rest of the manuscript; presumably this hand still dates from the late thirteenth century, but this cannot be said with certainty.⁷⁹ *P-trouv* gives all thirty-four (Schwan counted thirty-three) songs of Adam in their original order, the only surviving manuscript to do so. Incidentally, this source opens with what might be considered a descendant of Gace Brulé's *Liederbuch* from around 1200. Gace's songs take up the first three gatherings (fols. 1–24, three full quaternions), with the last part of the third gathering left blank, indicating that this was conceived as a self-contained unit in keeping with its existing exemplar, clearly a booklet containing only Gace's songs.

The second descendant of Adam's songbook listed by Schwan is trouvère *chansonnier Q*, written in 1310.⁸⁰ This codex presents almost as many of Adam's songs as ms. *P-trouv* but these songs are, by Schwan's calculation, out of their original order.

The source ranked third by Schwan is the already mentioned ms. *T-trouv*, a precious collection in many respects (see also Chapter 5 by Judith Peraino). Among other things, *T-trouv* opens with what amounts to a Thibaut

75 Ibid., 227–29.

76 Ibid., 223: "wir haben in ihnen Abkömmlinge eines (von dem Dichter selbst oder von einem Andern gesammelten) Liederbuchs."

77 Ibid., 223–27. Schwan believed all four sources to be from the fourteenth century; Alison Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1260–1320* (London: Harvey Miller, 2013).

78 Stones dates the paintings in *chansonnier P-trouv* as "most likely earlier than the period considered here" (i.e., 1278). See *ibid.*, 160. However, she is not speaking of the later Adam de la Halle section.

79 The dating of "1270–80" to the entire manuscript given in Aubrey, "Sources," is not justified and is suspiciously exactly the same as several other *chansonniers* in this article.

80 Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, Part 1, 1:86.

booklet: three discrete gatherings presenting a complete set of Thibaut's songs (fols. 1–8, 9–16 and 17–22), with the last few folios (20–22) left blank. In addition to containing a treasure trove of songs by the Arras bourgeoisie, *T-trouv.* ends its main song section with what Schwan considered a mini *Liederbuch*, that of Jehan de Renti; the rubric introducing his songs on fol. 172v reads *J. de Renti les fist*. The section of Adam's songs, like Thibaut's codicologically discrete and in a different hand, was written up in the early fourteenth century. *T-trouv.*'s presentation of Adam's songs is similar to *Q* in that the songs are not in the same original order as *P-trouv.*

The final and fourth descendant of Adam's original *Liederbuch* is ms. *W*, the so-called "Adam de la Halle *chansonnier*" from around 1300 that presents the first half of Adam's original *Liederbuch* only, but like *P-trouv.* with the songs in their original order.⁸¹

If we consider the earliest extant copies of Adam's *Liederbuch*, ms. *P-trouv.*, presumably from the late thirteenth century, and ms. *W-trouv.* from around 1300, we are faced with an unusually felicitous situation in the transmission of medieval vernacular song, for these sources were compiled very close to Adam's time, possibly even before his death sometime shortly before 1289.⁸² The time gap between these extant copies of Adam's *Liederbuch* and the attested literary activity of Arras's most famous son in the 1270s is only, at the most, a few decades. So the state of the Adam's songs as found in *P-trouv.* is likely only one or two sources removed from the original exemplars of Adam's song collections. Considering the general transmission of medieval literature prior to 1200 discussed above, including song anthologies, the extant sources in this case come extraordinarily close to Adam's time and to his *Liederbuch*. To reiterate, Gröber and Schwan's notion of a *Liederbuch* should not be lampooned as a single Urtext. Rather, the *Liederbuch* concept was intended as a shorthand for multiple original copies. In fact, Schwan saw Adam's original *Liederbuch* as consisting of two entities: a collection of songs (assigned the siglum *hl*) and a collection of *jeux-partis* (*hj*). The exact nature and number of the earliest written versions of Adam's songs, and how these relate to the extant mss. *P-trouv.*, *T-trouv.*, *Q* and *W-trouv.*, is likely a question that will never be answered. Schwan

81 See, above all, Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, Part 1, 2:167–74. See also Dorothy Keyser, "Oracy, Literacy, and the Music of Adam de la Halle: The Evidence of the Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale f.fr.25566" (PhD dissertation, University of North Texas, 1996); Aubrey, "Sources, MS, §111. Secular Monophony, 4. French."

82 Badel in *Œuvres complètes*, 12.

certainly did not try to answer it, and speculated only general genealogical diagrams of sources (*stemmae codicum*) with *hl* and *hj* as beginning points.⁸³

A more pressing question in Adam's case, and one that Schwan only began to address, concerns songbooks created by earlier songwriters in Arras, songwriters whose literary accomplishments may well have inspired Adam to make a songbook in the first place, legendary Artesian *auctoritates* whose compelling models may have driven Adam to become a great author-songwriter himself. In his overview of the origins of the extant *chansonniers*, Schwan surmised an original group of collections (*Sammlungen*) that had originated in Arras, a theory that still makes much sense. This prototypical "series of manuscripts" (*Serie von Handschriften*) from Arras began with a group he labelled *s*¹. The earliest of the *s*¹ group Schwan labelled μ after ms. *M-trouv*.⁸⁴ Whether or not smaller authorial songbooks made up this source μ , the bedrock of ms. *M-trouv*. from the 1250s and also of ms. *T-trouv* several decades later, Schwan did not venture to guess.

But, in the present chapter's spirit of reckless hypothesizing, it is worth trying to guess. If we take ms. *M-trouv*., the earliest and most significant witness to the Artesian literary ambition that would have such a long-lasting influence on the historiography of Old French song, one poet from Arras stands out in this book, both chronologically and codicologically: Guillaume le Vinier (d. 1245).⁸⁵ Schwan obliquely suggested that Guillaume had a prominent place in the lost μ prototype by listing the number of songs for each poet likely found in this proto-songbook; "Williaume," Schwan notes, has the most, a full fifteen songs.⁸⁶ Further archival work since then has confirmed that Guillaume had the status of a kind of head *trouvère* in Arras by 1240 or so.⁸⁷ The compilers of ms. *M-trouv*. chose Guillaume not only to head up the entire second half of the book (starting at gathering 13) but the entire manuscript, leading off the book with Guillaume's poems in honor of the Virgin Mary. Ms. *M-trouv*. could be labelled a kind of tribute to *maistre* Guillaume, as he is called at one point. Other Artesian poets in the book such as Colart le Boutellier refer to *maistre* Guillaume's poetic talent in their songs with due respect.⁸⁸ At the very least, ms. *M-trouv*., a book created in France for a prince of Outremer, makes clear that, a full decade after the master *trouvère*'s death, Guillaume le Vinier had a well established

83 Schwan, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften*, 225–26.

84 *Ibid.*, 231–42.

85 The other witness being the Artesian booklet of *cantiones frangine* mentioned earlier that was used as an exemplar in 1254.

86 Schwan, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften*, 231.

87 Philippe Ménard, *Les poésies de Guillaume le Vinier* (Geneva: Droz, 1970), 1–11.

88 Haines, "Songbook for William," 74 and 94–95.

reputation as Arras's most prestigious poetic export. Of all the songwriters in Arras that could have had a *Liederbuch* dedicated to them in the decades leading up to Adam's activity, of all the men whose literary-poetic status would have likely inspired Adam to become the self-promoting songwriter that he turned out to be, *maistre* Guillaume le Vinier stands out as the prime candidate.

It was in the 1270s, when Adam was at the peak of his literary activity, that Arras's new master poet entered the service of Robert of Artois, the nephew of one of the thirteenth century's most powerful and ambitious characters, Charles of Anjou. In his paean to Charles, *Roi de Sezile*, Adam calls him "the good king Charles, lord of lords."⁸⁹ During the course of his meteoric ascent from count of Anjou and Provence to king of Sicily, Charles needed at one point to ingratiate himself with Prince William of the Morea. More than likely Charles commissioned ms. *M-trouv.* for the prince at this time, so in the 1250s.⁹⁰ The *chansonnier* was almost completed when, unexpectedly, the wheel of fortune turned, months after William's marriage to Anna Doukaina of Epiros in late 1258 or early 1259, likely the occasion for which Charles had planned the *chansonnier* as a gift. At the Battle of Pelagonia in the late summer of 1259, Prince William was taken captive and imprisoned for three years. Even though he would return from captivity to head up his principality once again, the decline of Frankish Greece had already begun. It was finalized at the Treaty of Viterbo in 1267, when Charles of Anjou became king of Sicily and ruler of the Morea. From then on, Prince William was prince of the Morea in name only.⁹¹ Probably during the chaotic 1260s or early 1270s, when the nearly finished *chansonnier* was likely repossessed by Charles of Anjou, Charles's chancery scribes added some songs to its empty pages, including a piece praising Charles, "Ki de bons est."⁹² Around this time or shortly after it, the book fell into the wrong hands and some of its gilded paintings were cut out. It was also around this time that Adam's patron Robert of Artois, with Adam in tow, left for Sicily to assist his uncle Charles of Anjou in the wake of the Sicilian Vespers (1282). Shortly after, Adam entered Charles's service.

Adam had come too late to be entered anywhere in the annals of ms. *M-trouv.* – not even in the margins of the book – as Arras's latest master poet. He had missed by only a few decades being included in the luxurious *Liedersammlung* conceived for Prince William. When a sick and grieving William died

89 Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 376: "bon roy Charlon, le seigneur des seignours."

90 Haines, "Songbook for William," 93.

91 *Ibid.*, 100–103.

92 *Ibid.*, 104–5.

in 1278, the ruler once known for his “cultivation of love” and “courtliness”⁹³ was bankrupt and his principality long lost to him. By the time Charles of Anjou died seven years later and Adam mourned him in his *Roi de Sezile*, the old courtly song of noblemen and kings had run its course. The new urban song of the thirteenth century was well on its way to being codified, as scribe after scribe, copy after copy, made permanent the mythic connection between Arras and Old French song, sending this legend out across the European continent to the far corners of the Mediterranean Sea.

93 Ibid., 58.

Taking *Notae* on King and Cleric: Thibaut, Adam, and the Medieval Readers of the *Chansonnier de Noailles (T-trouv.)*

Judith A. Peraino

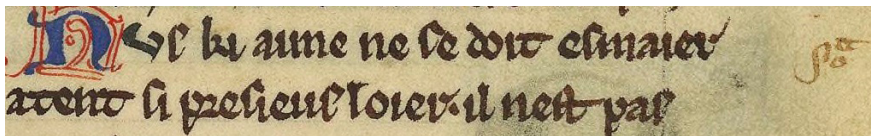
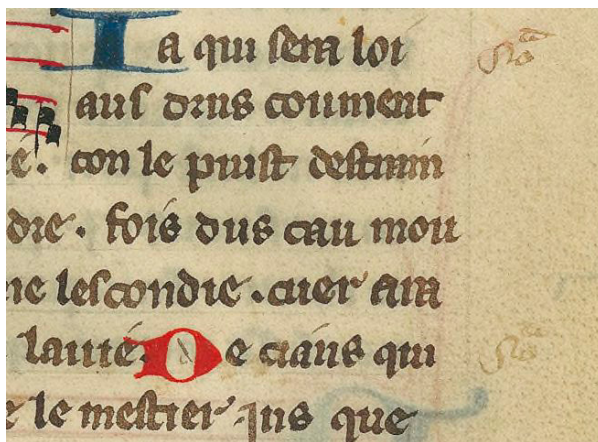
The serpentine flourishes of the monogram No^{ta} in light brown ink barely catch the eye in the marginal space beside a wide swath of much darker and more compact letters (see Figure 5.1). But catch the eye they do, if not in the first instance, then at some point over the course of their fifty-five occurrences throughout the 233 folios of ms. *T-trouv.*, also known as the *Chansonnier de Noailles*.¹ In most cases the monogram looks more like No^a – where the “a” and the “t” have fused into one peculiar ligature. Variations of the monogram indicate a range of more or less swift and continuous execution (see Figure 5.2), but consistency in size and ink color strongly suggest the work of a single annotator. Adriano Cappelli’s *Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane* includes a nearly exact replica of this scribal shorthand for *nota*, which he dates to the thirteenth century.² Thus the *notae*, and the act of reading they indicate, took place soon after its compilation in the 1270s or 1280s.

Ms. *T-trouv.* conveys the sense of a carefully compiled, ordered, and executed compendium of writings, some designed with music in mind, others not. Four distinct collections are physically set apart from one another by blank folios (see Table 5.1).³ Two discrete *libelli* of monophonic songs by single au-

1 Some portions of this essay have been adapted from Chapter 3 of my book *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

2 Adriano Cappelli, *Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane sesta edizione* (Milan: Hoepli, 1985), 237.

3 For descriptions of the handwriting and contents of ms. *T-trouv.*, see Eduard Schwan, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften: ihr Verhältniss, ihre Entstehung und ihre Bestimmung* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1886), 19–38; Mark Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York: Garland, 1989), 175–81; and Roger Berger, *Littérature et société arrageoises au XIII^e siècle: les chansons et dits artésiens*, Mémoires de la Commission Départementale des Monuments Historiques du Pas-de-Calais 21 (Arras: Commission Départementale des Monuments Historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1981), 17–19. An inventory of the monophonic songs appears in Gaston Raynaud,

FIGURE 5.1 *T-trov.* fol. 7rFIGURE 5.2
T-trov. fol. 226r

thors bookend two more substantial interior collections of diverse authors, genres, and formats.

“*Li roi de navare*” refers to Count Thibaut IV of Champagne (1201–53) who inherited the kingdom of Navarre in 1234; *chansonniers* that name authors always use his royal title, and seven major collections place his songs first.⁴ “Adam li boçus” refers, of course, to Adam de la Halle (ca. 1244–ca. 1288); *li boçus* or *li bossu* means “crippled,” “hunchback,” “twisted,” or “awkward,” denoting an unrefined subject, either himself disfigured, or one who disfigures language. All but two of the sources that preserve Adam’s works designate him with this epithet – a striking contrast to Thibaut’s honorific; the two exceptions, ms. *W-trov.* and ms. *P-trov.*, give Adam his full name and title, *maistre Adan de le Hale*, thus acknowledging his clerical status.⁵ The physical

Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1884), 1:153–72.

4 The seven manuscripts are: ms. *K-trov.*, ms. *N-trov.*, ms. *R-trov.*, ms. *T-trov.*, ms. *V-trov.* (without rubric), ms. *X*, ms. *a-trov.* Charles d’Anjou, despite being a king of Sicily and Naples (and even Jerusalem at one point) is always listed as *li cuens d’Angou*.

5 See Deborah Hubbard Nelson, introduction to *The Lyrics and Melodies of Adam de la Halle* (New York and London: Garland, 1985), xv.

TABLE 5.1 A schematic inventory of *T-trouv.*

I. 3 gatherings

1r–20r	“Li Roi de Navare fist ces chançons. cz. liiii.” (55 songs, 4 with melodies)
20v–22v	Blank

II. 20 gatherings

23r–61v	30 poets
62r–75v	13 <i>lais</i> (with separate rubrics, including 2 in Occitan)
76v–170r	51 poets (plus scattered anonymous songs)
170v–172r	6 anonymous songs
172v–176v	11 songs by Jehan de Renti (separate scribe)
177r–178v	Blank

III. 7 gatherings

179–197r	91 motets (none by Adam de la Halle)
197v–199r	4 lyric songs of Artois
199v–216r	24 <i>dits</i> from Artois
216v–217v	Blank
218r–222r/a	<i>Vers de la mort</i> by Robert le Clerc d'Arras
222r/b–223v	Blank (filled with the <i>Dit du corps</i> in a fifteenth-century hand)

IV. 2 gatherings

224–233v	“Les chançons Adam li Boçus” (33 songs, 12 with melodies)
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Thibaut and Adam on opposite ends of a compendium, whether intended or not, reflects the historical shift in the social world of the *chanson d'amour*, the principal vernacular lyric genre of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Despite their social and temporal gulf, the anonymous reader marking ms. *T-trouv.* with *notae* bound king and cleric together, and, indeed, drew attention to more lines in Adam's songs, and with the highest concentration, than any other author (in section II, the songs by the non-noble trouvère Gontier [de Soignies] contain the next highest number with five *notae* in four songs from a total of twenty-two songs assigned to him). Table 5.2 below provides the distribution of the *notae* within each section.

TABLE 5.2 Distribution of *Notae* in each section of *T-trouv*.

I.	6 in the Thibaut collection (in 6 songs), fols. 5r, 5v, 7r, 8v, 10v, 17v
II.	24 in the trouvère section (in 20 songs):
	1 Maistre Williaumes, fol. 29v
	1 Audefrois li bastars, fol. 56v
	1 Vilaines d'Arras, fol. 60r
	1 Jakemes li Viniers, fol. 61v
	1 Chevaliers, fol. 98v
	1 Mesire Quenes and conon de Bethune, fol. 100r
	1 Mesire Hughes de Bregi, fol. 105r
	5 Gontiers, fols. 110r, 111r (2), 114v, 117r
	2 Moniot d'Arras, fols. 117v, 121r
	2 Mesire Andrius Contredis, fols. 137v, 139v
	4 Gautier Dargies, fols. 141v, 145r (3)
	1 Guis de Digon, fol. 153v
	2 Li Chastelains, fol. 154v (2)
	1 Jehans de Renti, fol. 176r
III.	8 in the <i>Vers de la mort</i> by Robert le Clerc, fols. 219v (2), 220r, 221r (3), 221v (2)
IV.	17 in the Adam collection (in 9 songs), fols. 226r (4), 226v (3), 226*r (2), 226*v (2), 227r, 228r (3), 231r, 232r

What governed the choices of this later reader? What words of wisdom or beauty merited a *nota*? What does such cherry-picking of words and sentiments do to the voices of the authors? And how do these *notae* reconfigure the social world of song? In the following study I will try to answer these questions about this medieval reading of the songs in ms. *T-trouv*, especially within the *libelli* of Thibaut and Adam. The situation of these *libelli* at the outer edges of this collection is analogous to the marginal *notae*; their framing function calls attention to the contents they surround and their significance within a changing cultural meaning of the *chanson d'amour*.

1 A Note on *Notae*

Nota bene – “mark well” – enjoins the reader to focus on, if not also to vocalize and memorize, the text proximate to the monogram. Isidore of Seville, in *Libri etymologiarum*, I, xxi, describes a particular *nota* called the *diple* (>) used to

indicate “the testimony of Holy Scripture,” providing an early seventh-century witness to the practice of singling out particular sentences on the basis of content that a reader has a moral imperative to know.⁶ Monograms derived from the word *nota* begin to appear as early as the first half of the ninth century in manuscripts from Corbie Abbey in Picardy.⁷ In his study of these Carolingian manuscripts, David Ganz remarks that these early *notae* flagged passages “concerned with doctrine and dogma” in the writings of Augustine, Jerome, and other early Christian writers, and thus enlarged the pool of noteworthy sentences beyond Holy Scripture to include human scripture. Marginal images of heads, animals, and hands with an extended index finger (*manicula*) also functioned to highlight passages and provide memory aids.⁸

In some cases, the monogram or the word *nota* was meant to prompt writing rather than the special comprehension of a sentence. In his study of the neumed classical poetry in the early Middle Ages, Jan Ziolkowski points out the ambiguity of meaning in one marginal monogram proximate to a neumed passage of Vergil’s *Aeneid*:

The argument could be advanced that the *nota* signified by the monogram on this folio side refers narrowly to musical notation and is directed to a musical notator, in which event we could translate the Latin imperative as the English “notate!” Alternatively, the word could be taken as an injunction to manuscript users to “mark well!” because this passage bears musical notation.⁹

Ziolkowski further observes that a significant portion of the neumed passages were speeches – many by women – and that the neumatation, like the marginal directive “*nota!*,” served to call out these moments of direct address as a special type of language, to be rendered in the voice or in the mind’s ear with a special type of intonation. Sometimes a combination of neumes and *maniculae* clari-

6 See M.B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: Punctuation in the West* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 12, 118n52, and 172–73.

7 See David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Beihefte der Francia 20 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1990), 73–76; for a discussion of similar monograms in tenth- to thirteenth-century manuscripts from Novara, Italy, see Ettore Cau, “Scrittura e cultura a Novara (secoli viii–x),” *Ricerche medievali* 6–9 (1971–74): 57–60.

8 See Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 108, 244–48.

9 Jan. M. Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene: Reading the Classics and Writing Melodies in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 3.

fied for the reader shifts in voice and indexed the location of an important speech.¹⁰

This semantic web, which moves from “to mark well,” “to notate,” and ultimately to do both with a change of voice – to sing – brings us into the lyric world of the *chansonniers*. One occurrence of the word *nota* appears in ms. *T-trouv.*, marking an otherwise blank spot for a historiated initial on fol. 50. The image would have depicted a knight on horseback representing Huon III d’Oisy (fl. 1189), castellan of Cambrai, viscount of Meaux, and vassal of the count of Champagne.¹¹ The absence of this initial is indeed noteworthy given the stock images and many realized initials that surround it, so we can speculate that the illuminator was waiting for some piece of information, perhaps the coat of arms that would add specificity to the otherwise generic illustration of nobility.¹²

Ms. *T-trouv.* contains only two historiated initials: these are the two that inaugurate the *libelli* of Thibaut and Adam. Thus the anthology begins with a nobleman on horseback bearing the coat of arms of Navarre, while the authors who follow him receive only rubrics to announce their personhood. Adam’s collection begins with an elaborately decorated initial; no human form appears to represent him or his social status. Instead, what announces Adam’s collection of songs is a magisterial letter “O” filled with an abstract design of floral shapes and serpentine filigree, surrounded by tendrils and frogs spawn offshoots from the outer circumference (see Figures 5.3 and 5.4).

Both initials burst with action, but of different kinds: the charging steed and uplifting arm of the knight set in a heavy ground of blue paint and gold leaf contrast markedly with the explosion of delicate vegetal and biomorphic flourishes. Given that another *chansonnier* with strong ties to Arras depicts Adam in the act of writing, the initial in ms. *T-trouv.* seems to encode Adam in the calligraphy that could have issued from his own pen.¹³

I have dwelt on these various realizations of “*nota!*” – in margins, in neumatation, and in image production – to suggest their shared operations of delimiting and transmitting forms of knowledge and representation. The later medieval annotator of ms. *T-trouv.* jotting his or her marginal *notae* encountered historiated initials that represented the distinct social worlds of the king and cleric; and, of course, this annotator also encountered musical notation

10 Ibid., 150–66.

11 John F. Benton, “The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center,” *Speculum* 36 (1961): 551–91, at 577.

12 See the initials on fol. 49r and 49v (for Maurice de Craon and Gilles de Beaumont respectively), and 51v (for Jehan de Louvois).

13 For the other depiction of Adam in the act of writing see *A*, fol. 142v (dated 1278).



FIGURE 5.3
Initial for Thibaut in
T-trouv. fol. 1r

that sets the lyrical speeches of these two figures. Did he or she pay attention to these other *notae*? Did the distinction of “king” and “cleric” matter to the choice of sentences to mark? Or did the marginal monograms work against such distinctions? And if so, what might that mean?

2 Social Worlds of Song

In the years leading up to 1250, the approximate date of the first *chansonniers* in both northern and southern regions, the fortunes of the nobility were in decline in the face of a newly strengthened monarchy. During the reign of French king Philip II (Philip Augustus, r. 1179–1223), royal *baillis* (salaried officers) and mercenary armies had largely replaced established feudal vassals and knights as the principal administrators of monarchical power. A revived money economy enabled non-noble merchant and clerical classes to prosper



FIGURE 5.4
Initial for Adam in *T-trouv*. fol. 224r

while the cash-poor nobles increasingly sold off their lands and seigniorial rights.¹⁴ The decisive turn of fate for the landed nobility was Philip Augustus's victory in the Battle of Bouvines in 1214, where he defeated, among others, Ferrand (or Ferdinand), count of Flanders, as well as John, king of England, who held the duchies of Brittany and Normandy.¹⁵ At the height of the struggles during the years 1201–13, a new genre of literature, vernacular prose histories, emerged as an attempt to buttress the culture and ideology of the weakening aristocracy. Gabrielle Spiegel has documented that the patrons of this new type of writing “held lands and tenures in or dependent on the contested region of Artois.”¹⁶ These historical accounts of Charlemagne and Roland, and ancient figures such as Julius Caesar, Alexander the Great, and Aeneas, celebrate aristocratic and chivalric values of prowess, honor, and valor, thus affirming the place of the nobility in the social hierarchy. At the same time, by recounting the civil wars of the ancient past, these histories “displace to linguistic mediation the conflict between king and nobility.”¹⁷ The new prose form added truth-value, for it had no exigencies to conform to rhyme or meter and therefore had no artifice to cast doubt upon the story conveyed.

14 See John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 101–75 and Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 16–23.

15 For an excellent history of the strife between Philip Augustus and the aristocracy of Flanders and Artois, see Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, 11–54; see also Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 191–219.

16 Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, 53.

17 *Ibid.*, 118; see also 54–57, 77–89, 114–15.

None of the northern *chansonniers* were produced in Paris, the site of the royal government; all come from regions that once boasted powerful aristocracies – especially Picardy and Artois, but also Lorraine and Burgundy.¹⁸ Furthermore, many of the song collections give noble authors pride of place at the front, followed by non-noble authors, evident in the distinction between the titles *mesire* and *maistre*, and also in the program of illustrations where included.¹⁹ Table 5.3 provides a comparison of the first fifteen names in six major *chansonniers* (given the many reorderings of ms. *M-trouv.*, I have used the medieval table of contents to indicate the one stage of planning).

Each manuscript in the *KPNX* cluster of trouvère *chansonniers* begins with the early coterie of noble trouvères, many active in the third and fourth crusades (1189–1204), whose deaths fall between 1215 and 1240: these are Blondel de Nesle (d. ca. 1200); Châtelain de Coucy (perhaps Guy de Thourotte, d. ca. 1203); Gace Brulé (d. ca. 1212); Conon de Béthune (d. ca. 1220), Hughes de Bregi (d. ca. 1220); and Gautier de Dargies (d. ca. 1236). Thibaut de Champagne (d. 1253) represents a later generation of trouvères; his high status as *li roi de Navarre* and a prolific composer elevated him above the earlier noble authors.

Composer order, especially at the front of these *chansonniers*, may offer clues about the commission and customization of these anthologies. The medieval table of contents for ms. *M-trouv.* reveals an order of noble authors that likely reflects its commission for the Prince of Morea, Guillaume de Villehardouin (r. 1245–78), who hailed from Champagne, placing Thibaut's songs directly after those dedicated to the Virgin, followed by a collection of noble trouvères with ties to Champagne and each other (Charles d'Anjou, *li roi Jehan* [de Braine], Thibaut II Count of Bar-le-Duc, and Henri III Duke of Brabant). Originally this anthology's plan included only six songs by Thibaut de Champagne, but a separate *libellus* of his songs was integrated into the collection at some point in the thirteenth century, perhaps to bring the collection up to date.²⁰

18 *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Sources, MS, §III: Secular monophony, 4. French," by Elizabeth Aubrey, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>>.

19 The noble titles that appear in the *chansonniers* include: king (*roi*), dukes (*dux*) counts (*quens*); viscounts (*châtelain*, *vidames*), knights (*mesire*, *monseigneur*). See the remarks of Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 60–63; see also 53–64 for a discussion of the organization of *chansonnier* content by class. See also Hans-Herbert S. Râkel, *Die musikalische Erscheinungsform der Trouvèrepoesie* (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1977), 259–61.

20 See John Haines, "The Transformations of the *Manuscrit du roi*," *Musica Disciplina* 52 (1998–2002): 5–39; and also his chapter in this volume. See also Max Prinnet, "L'illustration héraldique du chansonnier du Roi," in *Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature offerts à M. Alfred Jeanroy par ses élèves et ses amis* (Paris: Droz 1928), 521–37.

TABLE 5.3 A comparison of the first fifteen names in six *chansonniers*

<i>K-trouv.</i>	<i>N-trouv.</i>	<i>P-trouv.</i>
1) li rois de navarre	1) li rois thiebaut de navarre	1) mesire gaces brullez
2) monseigneur gace brullez	2) monseigneur gasse brulle	2) li chastelains de couci
3) le chastelain de couci	3) le chastelain de couci	3) blondiau de neele
4) blondiaus de neele	4) blondiaus de neele	4) li roi de navare
5) monseigneur thiebaut de blazon	5) li cuens d'anjou	5) mesire gautiers dargie
6) gautier dargies	6) mesire hugue de bresi	6) moniot d'arraz
7) moniot d'arraz	7) perrin d'angecourt	7) moniot de paris
8) mesires raul de soissons	8) mesire tierriis de soissons	8) moniot d'arraz
9) gillebert de berneville	9) gillebert de berneville	9) moniot de paris
10) perrin d'angecourt	10) tiebaut de blazon	10) tiebaut de blazon
11) mestre richart de semilli	11) gautier dargies	11) mestre richart de fournival
12) li visdame de charter	12) moniot d'arraz	12) mesire gautier d'argies
13) robert de blois	13) mestre richart de semilli	13) jaques d'ostun
14) raoul de ferrieres	14) li visdame de chartres	14) le filz mestre baudoin l'orgueneur
15) la chievre de rains	15) robert de blois	15) li visdame de chartres

A similar chronology of events may have been the case with ms. *T-trouv.*: considered by itself, section II, which forms the principal anthology of songs, begins in an exceptional manner, with the nobleman Jehan de Braine (here called count rather than king), followed by two non-noble trouvères from Arras, Colart le Boutellier and *maistre* Williaumes li Vinier, and a relatively jumbled mix of *maistres* and *mesires* thereafter. To be sure, the *KNPX* trouvère group also interrupts the string of noble authors after the first six or seven; notably, a mysterious *moniot d'Arras* (little monk from Arras) makes a showing early in these anthologies. Yet the partitioning of ms. *T-trouv.*, and the peculiarities of its author order in section II, strongly suggest a transitional moment for song composition in the later decades of the thirteenth century: the veneration of the nobility at the front of these anthologies monumentalized a socio-economic world no longer operative, evident in the intrusion of non-nobles

<i>X</i>	<i>T-trouv.</i>	Table of Contents to <i>M-trouv.</i>
1) le roy thiebaut de navarre	1) li rois de navarre	1) 4 incipits to songs for the Virgin
2) le chastelain de couci	2) jehan li quens de braine	2) li prince [de la mouree]
3) blondiau de neele	3) cholars li boutelliers	3) li quens d'angou
4) mesire thiebaut de blazon	4) maistre williaumes li viniers	4) li quens de bar
5) monseignor gautier dargies	5) ghilebers de berneville	5) li dux de Brabant
6) moniot d'arraz	6) maistre symons d'autie	6) li rois de navare
7) mesire raou de soissons	7) hues le chastelains d'arras	7) li rois jehan [de braine]
8) gilbert de berneville	8) roufins de corbie	8) li quens de couci
9) perrin d'angepcourt	9) sauvaes choses d'arras	9) mesire gasse
10) estace de rains	10) cardons de croisilles	10) li castelains
11) [maistre richart de semilli]	11) rogiers d'andelis	11) mesire jakes de cison
12) le vidame de chartres	12) robbers de blois	12) mesir huges de bregi
13) robert de blois	13) hues de saint quentin	13) mesire tiebaus de blazon
14) raou de ferreres	14) oudars de laceni	14) mesire pierre de corbie
15) robert de rains	15) ernous caupains	15) mesire pierres des vies maisons

into that rarefied and belated world on parchment. As the aristocracy continued to promote their status in cultural forms such as songs, verse narratives, prose histories, and tournaments, so too did the middle class aspire to imitate the aristocracy.

The *libelli* of Thibaut and Adam that frame ms. *T-trouv.* represent not only specific authors but also specific geographical places – Champagne and Artois – with their particular temporal positions in the chronology of the love song. These regions manifestly come together with the many *chansonniers* that have ties to Picardy and Artois, but which give primacy to Thibaut de Champagne and Gace Brulé.²¹ The bulk of these *chansonniers* were compiled between 1270

²¹ The *KPNX* cluster of *trouvère* *chansonniers* exhibits variations on the design that begins with the same four noble authors: two hail from Champagne (li roi de navarre, Gace

and 1280, twenty or so years after Thibaut's death in 1253 (forty or more years after he inherited the title "king of Navarre" in 1234), and at a time when the principalities of Artois and Champagne were linked through the marriage (ca. 1269) of Thibaut's son Henry III, count of Champagne (r. 1270–74) to Blanche of Artois, sister of Robert II, count of Artois (r. 1250–1302), and niece of King Louis IX. With the death of Henry III, Blanche of Artois inherited the counties of Champagne, Brie, Troyes, and Meaux, as well as the kingdom of Navarre, all of which she ruled until 1284, when her daughter and sole heir, Jeanne of Navarre, married the future king Philip IV "the Fair" (r. 1285–1314), and Champagne thus lost its independence (as well as Navarre).²²

Unlike Champagne, the region of Artois had long been part of the royal domain, having been annexed in 1191 from Flanders. Prior to this, however, there existed a division between the Episcopal *city* of Arras, under the lordship of the French king, and the *town*, which had its own representative government but was under the lordship of the abbey of Saint-Vaast and geopolitically part of the independent county of Flanders.²³ In 1237, King Louis VIII established and bequeathed the county of Artois to his second son, Robert (previously the province of Artois did not have the title of "county" but was called "*La terre d'Atrébatie*").²⁴ The county then passed to Robert II in 1250 (d. 1302), patron of Adam de la Halle, who frequently left to fight for the king against the barons of Guyenne and Flanders, as well as for his uncle Charles d'Anjou in Italy. Although Robert II granted a new charter to the town of Arras in 1269 and expanded the power of elected officials (*échevins*), he reserved the right to select the mayor, which began a "cold war" between the commune of the town and their lord.²⁵

Artois and Champagne were both centers of high literary patronage and production. Champagne boasted a lineage to the troubadour Guilhem IX Duke

Brulé), and two from Picardy (le Chastelain de Couci, Blondel de Nesle). The next six authors continue to represent Picardy (Gautier de Dargies, Raul or Tierris de Soison, Moniot d'Arraz, Berneville) and Champagne (Perrin d'Angecourt, Estace de Rains, Jehan de Braine), but also regions to the south of Paris (Charles d'Anjou, Thibaut de Blaison, Hugue de Bregi).

22 M.H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne Tome IV (1181–1285) première partie* (Paris: Durand, 1865), 429–56. Other feudal ties between the two regions include the trouvère Huon III d'Oisy (fl. 1189), who held two offices – castellan of Cambrai and viscount of Meaux. See Benton, "Court of Champagne," 577.

23 Carol Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2007), 31.

24 Edmond Lecesne, *Histoire d'Arras depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'en 1789* (Arras: Rohard-Courtin, 1880; reprint Marseille 1976), 1:125–26.

25 Henry Gruy, *Histoire d'Arras* (Arras: Dessaint, Doullens 1967), 83 and 86.

of Aquitaine through his great granddaughter Marie de Champagne (1145–98), daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine and King Louis VII, and grandmother of Thibaut de Champagne. Many poetic and scholastic luminaries of the late twelfth century addressed their literary works to Marie or her husband Count Henry I (“the Liberal”), including vernacular romance writers Chrétien de Troyes and Gautier d’Arras, the trouvère Gace Brulé, and the churchmen Andreas Capellanus, Pierre de Celle, Guido de Bazoches, and John of Salisbury.²⁶ Arras’s literary scene began with the establishment of the confraternity of *jongleurs* (*Carité de Notre Dame des Ardents*) chartered by the cathedral circa 1175. Despite royal annexation in 1191, tensions and rivalries remained between the ecclesiastical city and the mercantile town and became thematic in the Artesian plays, such as the earliest *Jeu de saint Nicolas* by Jehan Bodel (d. 1210), and the foundational miracle story of the *Carité*, which implicitly criticizes the abbey’s spiritual care of the town. By the middle of the thirteenth century, as Carol Symes notes, “the competing claims of clerical factions were reconciled through the agency of the *jongleurs* who claimed the bishop of Arras as their patron and gradually made alliances with the monks of Saint-Vaast and the mendicants.”²⁷ Artesian literature increased dramatically in the second half of the thirteenth century, created by the abundance of educated clerics from the cathedral school of the city and the monastery school of the town, and by some members of the patrician class. At one time Arras boasted some 200 trouvères (professional and amateur) in a population of 20,000, and perhaps a second patrician literary academy or *puy* (documented only in a few song lyrics).²⁸

The proliferation of trouvères within the burgher class contrasts with the seemingly rarified song production of trouvères within the upper nobility. Among counts, dukes, viscounts, and *vidames*, only Thibaut de Champagne

26 See Benton, “Court of Champagne,” 551–91; June Hall Martin McCash, “Marie de Champagne and Eleanor of Aquitaine: A Relationship Reexamined,” *Speculum* 54 (1979): 698–711.

27 Symes, *A Common Stage*, 92; see 80–87 for a discussion of the politics of the *Carité*’s founding miracle. See also Berger, *Littérature et société arrageoises*, 25–115 for a detailed study of Arras society in the thirteenth century.

28 Gruy, *Histoire d’Arras*, 72. For details about the history of the confraternity, see Symes, *A Common Stage*, 84–85, 98–120. Symes rejects the idea that there was a separate patrician literary academy or *puy*, citing the lack of documentary evidence (see 216–17 and Chapter 1 of this book); see also 41–49 for a discussion of the relationship between the city and the town of Arras. For arguments regarding the existence of the *puy* see Marie Ungureau, *La bourgeoisie naissante: société et littérature bourgeoises d’Arras aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Arras: Commission des monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1955) and Louise Barbara Richardson, “The *Confrérie des jongleurs et des bourgeois* and the *Puy d’Arras* in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Literature,” in *Studies in Honor of Mario A. Pei*, ed. Jon Fisher and Paul A. Gaeng (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 161–71.

TABLE 5.4 Repertory comparison of four trouvères

Gace Brulé (knight from Champagne, fl. 1180-1213)

79 chansons d'amour (8 with a repeating refrain)

1 pastourelle

1 jeu-parti

1 aube (with refrain)

Thibaut IV (count of Champagne, and king of Navarre, fl. 1225-1253)

37 chansons d'amour (4 with a repeating refrain; 1 with changing refrains)

2 pastourelles

9 jeux-partis

5 débats or tensos

3 chansons de Croisade

1 serventois

4 chansons à la Vierge

1 lai religieux

Willlaume li Vinier (cleric from Arras, fl. 1225-1245)

15 chansons d'amour (3 with a repeating refrain)

1 "balade" (with a refrain)

5 pastourelles (2 with a repeating refrain; 1 with changing refrains)

2 descorts

7 jeux-partis

3 chansons à la Vierge

Adam de la Halle (cleric from Arras, fl. 1270- ca. 1288)

33 chansons d'amour (1 with a repeating refrain)

1 chanson de femme

18 jeux-partis

2 chansons à la Vierge

16 polyphonic rondeaux

5 motets

1 pastourelle play with musical interpolations (*Le jeu de Robin et Marion*)1 satiric play (*Le jeu d'Adam ou de la feuillée*, including 1 refrain)1 *Congé* (non-musical poem)1 incomplete *chanson de geste* (*Chanson du roi de Sezile*)

produced a substantial oeuvre comparable to the two most prolific trouvères, Gace Brulé and the cleric Adam de la Halle. Yet conservative imitations also accompanied liberal innovations. Non-noble authors coming from Artois and Picardie, composed courtly *chansons* in the high style of the troubadours and early trouvères as well as hybrid and new forms that joined lofty love rhetoric, filled with dichotomies of agency and submission, with the pithier emotional statements found in refrains (see Table 5.4).

The inventories of Table 5.4 illustrate the proliferation of song genres over time, from Gace's concentration on the classic troubadour-derived *chanson d'amour* (with only one surviving *jeu-parti*) to the increasing variety of topics and forms – notably the rise of *jeux-partis* and other multi-voiced genres including Adam's polyphonic *rondeaux* and motets. This increasing play of voices and points of view also extends to the use of refrains (repeating or changing) in the *chanson d'amour*, which sets exclamatory or aphoristic language against the more extended and abstract ruminations of the stanzas proper. But in this regard, Adam's *chansons d'amour* appear surprisingly conservative and high-brow, avoiding refrains that would fragment his authorial voice.

3 Lyric Profiles of King and Cleric

As count of Champagne, Thibaut may have been particularly emblematic of the nobility's conflicts with the crown in the thirteenth century. Legendary for his lackluster commitment to King Louis VIII (r. 1223–26), his rumored love affair with Queen Blanche of Castile, and clashes with her son King Louis IX (r. 1226–70),²⁹ Thibaut and his songs represent a final heroic assertion of independent noble identity and culture before its obsolescence. Indeed, Marie-Noëlle Toury argues that Thibaut “affirms his independence” from literary tradition as well, with images that run directly contrary to received motifs, themes, and symbols inherited from the troubadours and earlier trouvères.³⁰

29 Thibaut had to enlist the aid of the crown to defend his territories against invasion by his rival barons from 1229 to 1234. See Kathleen J. Brahney, *The Lyrics of Thibaut de Champagne* (New York and London: Garland, 1989), xiii–xvii; A. Wallensköld, ed., *Les chansons de Thibaut de Champagne, roi de Navarre: Édition critique* (Paris: Champion, 1925), xii–xxvii; and Sidney Painter, “The Historical Setting of Robert veez de Perron,” *Modern Language Notes* 52 (1937): 83–87. For comprehensive historical accounts of Thibaut de Champagne, see d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs*.

30 Marie-Noëlle Toury, “Les chansons de Thibaut de Champagne: l'écriture et le livre,” in *Thibaut de Champagne: Prince et poète au XIII^e siècle*, ed. Yvonne Bellenger and Danielle Quéruel (Lyon: La Manufacture, 1987), 45–55.

His lyrics are filled with irresolvable antitheses, warring forces, and negations. The personified figure of Love, often merging with the lady, appears in Thibaut's lyrics as a cruel overlord whom Thibaut nevertheless serves with bravery, as in this stanza.

From "Chanter m'estuet, car ne m'en puis tenir" (RS 1476), stanza III, lines 17–21:

Ja n'avrai joie, gel sai a escient,	I shall never have joy, I know it indeed
qu'Amors me het et ma dame	for Love hates me and my lady
m'oublie,	forgets me,
s'est il resons: qui a amer entent	yet it makes sense: whoever
	devotes himself to loving
q'il ne dout mort ne paine ne folie.	must not fear death, pain, or
	madness. ³¹

In another stanza, however, Thibaut seems to propose that the song itself is a weapon in a protracted battle with an adversarial Love. From "Savez por quoi Amors a non amors" (RS 2026), stanza II, lines 19–20 and 26–27:

Amors m'a fait tantes foiz corrocier	Love has angered me so many times
qu'en mon corrouz n'a mes point de	that in my anger, I have no more
pooir;	power;
[...]	[...]
Il fait grant bien quant on ose	It does great good to dare to
parler;	speak out;
mieuz en puet on l'assaut d'Amors	one can better withstand the
atendre.	assaults of Love. ³²

While such feudal metaphors of service and recompense are common in both troubadour and trouvère lyrics, Thibaut's sharp-edged combative tone against Love highlights his status as a particularly bellicose love poet, battling not *for* Love but *against* Love. Thibaut even enters a battle of words with Love in

31 See Brahney, *Thibaut*, 84–85. All translations of Thibaut's lyrics have been adapted from this edition. The RS numbers refer to Hans Spanke, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes* (1955; repr., Leiden: Brill, 1980).

32 See Brahney, *Thibaut*, 146–47.

“L'autre nuit en mon dormant” (RS 339) – a dream-poem-*jeu-parti* in which Thibaut accuses Love of falseness and Love chides Thibaut for his inconsistency.³³ But Love finally persuades Thibaut with a standard seigneurial promise of largess and reward. Thus as a king himself – and prominently identified as such in the *chansonnières* – Thibaut represents the highest social and ethical achievement for the lyric aspirant: the noble subject who is subject only to Love's command.

Thibaut, as “*rois de navare*,” was without a doubt an icon of the inherent nobility of *trouvères* and their *connoisseurs*; by the 1270s, he came to symbolize, in a belated way, both resistance and traditionalism, and his prominence in the *chansonnières* promoted the emblematic nature of the anthologies themselves. They express an ideology: the practice of love, self, and song that so ennobles the lyric “I” derives from the actual nobility of star practitioners. But if Thibaut bestows heroism and a measure of sovereignty onto the lyric subject, then Adam bestows craftsmanship, learnedness, and even pedantry, which heralds the end of the love song as an artifact of noble *amateurs*, and advertises the new voice of the professional cleric. Deference replaces antagonism, humility replaces anger, and a new emotion – hope – comes into play, replacing desire as a sustaining force, anticipating the clerical spin on *fin'amors* that characterizes the later lyrics and verse narratives of Guillaume de Machaut.³⁴ The following excerpts from Adam's songs illustrate this significant rhetorical shift.

From “D'amourous cuer voel canter” (RS 833), stanza III:

Je n'i puis merchi trover: c'est ce qui m'aigrie; pour chou le boin esperer ne perderai mie.	I cannot find mercy there: that is what makes me bitter; despite that, I will not lose good hope.
Je ne sarioe ou torner, car puis que premiers la vi, m'a tenu le cuer joli li grans baërie	I would not know where to turn, for since I saw her for the first time, the great longing that I have to catch a glimpse

33 See *Ibid.*, 202–5. See also Philippe Ménard, “Le dieu d'amour, figure poétique du trouble et du désir dans les poésies de Thibaut de Champagne,” in *Thibaut de Champagne: prince et poète au XIIIe siècle*, ed. Yvonne Bellanger and Danielle Quéruel (Lyon: La Manufacture, 1987), 65–75.

34 For a discussion of the shift in love rhetoric from an emphasis on desire to one on hope see Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love*, 238–45.

que j'ai d'un resgart en li
recouvrer.

of her once again
has kept my heart rejoicing.³⁵

From “Or voi jou bien k'il souvient” (RS 1247), stanza 1:

Or voi jou bien k'il souvient
Boune Amour de mi,
car plus asprement me tient
c'ainc mais ne senti.
Çou m'a le cuer esjoï
de canter:
ensi doit amans mostrer
le mal joli.

Now I see that Good Love
remembers me,
for it treats me more roughly
than I have ever before experienced.
That causes my heart to rejoice
by singing:
thus a lover must show
the pleasant suffering.³⁶

“Or voi jou bien k'il souvient” begins the collection of Adam's *chanson d'amour* in ms. *T-trouv.*, but comes much later in the other two major collections of his songs in mss. *P-trouv.* and *W-trouv.* These begin with “D'amourours cuer voel canter” (From a loving heart I want to sing) – an appropriately annunciatory and concise expression of the trouvère's very being. One can only speculate about the reasons behind the unusual initial placement of “Or voi jou bien k'il souvient” in ms. *T-trouv.*: perhaps it was the rote copying of a disordered exemplar; or the elaborate decoration afforded by the capital O; or perhaps here the act of remembering *the trouvère* by Good Love, which initiates this song, also provided an appropriate opening for the *libellus* of old-fashioned *chansons d'amour* by a native son of Arras who can challenge the legacy of the noble trouvères, and especially the bellicose Thibaut.

4 Creating and Archiving Courtly Knowledge

Jennifer Saltzstein has argued convincingly that “refrain quotation was a vehicle used by the trouvères of Arras to define their authorial status in relation to their contemporaries and competitors” and that “Adam's refrain usage exhibits similar tendencies.”³⁷ By quoting refrains from earlier *arrageois* trouvères and by deploying the same refrain in multiple contexts across different genres,

35 See Nelson, *Adam de la Halle*, 2–3. All translations of Adam's lyrics in this essay have been adapted from this edition.

36 See Nelson, *Adam de la Halle*, 114–15.

37 Jennifer Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry*, Gallica Series 30 (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2013), 123.

Adam constructs his poetic genealogy and asserts his learned status as an *auctor* of vernacular writing and wisdom.³⁸ But as I have noted above, refrains are absent from his *chansons d'amour* (with the one exception of a repeating refrain without concordances).³⁹ Rather, Adam's refrain quotations appear in his interpolated plays such as his *Jeu de la feuillée* and *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, his *rondeaux*, and his motets. This segregation of his *chanson d'amour* from the intertextual muddle of public and private voices represented by refrains implies another means of self-assertion as *auctor* and *magister* of love. The later annotator of ms. *T-trouv.* seemingly followed Adam's pedantic distinction between the pure voice of the *chanson d'amour* and the polyphony (in both the musical and intertextual sense) of refrain forms, for no *nota* monograms appear in the motet section; nor do any monograms call out refrains when present in the songs. Thus while refrain quotation displayed vernacular knowledge and authority among the *arrageois* trouvères, the annotator of ms. *T-trouv.* created another distinct catalogue of vernacular knowledge from the verses of named authors (see Table 5.2).

In *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture: Glossing the Libro de Buen Amor*, John Dagenais argues that a “reader-centered paradigm” – as opposed to a writer-centered paradigm – in assessing and understanding medieval literacy allows for the inclusion of new types of texts generated from the act of reading, as well as new “textures of reading, its starts and stops and bumps and skips” that in essence create radically different texts as a result.⁴⁰ Just as present-day readers, especially academic readers, may first peruse a book's index for key words and concepts, then read from the given page numbers outward rather than reading from cover to cover, medieval readers also employed a wide range of reading strategies to suit their particular interests, and did not necessarily experience a text as a unified whole, or feel the imperative to read it as such. In some cases the text itself, such as the *Libro de Buen Amor*, may present incomprehensible passages of mangled Latin, confusing digressions, and grammatical and scribal errors. As Dagenais remarks:

The discontinuous ethical reading, the reading for exempla, proverbs, and quotable quotes ... merely echoes what must have been a discontinuous reading at the level of the letter on the manuscript leaf. There must have been many places in the *Libro* that readers skipped over, left out.

³⁸ I am paraphrasing Saltzstein, *Refrain and the Rise*, 124–26.

³⁹ This is “Li douse maus me renouviele” (RS 612), ref. no. 1444.

⁴⁰ John Dagenais, *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture: Glossing the Libro de Buen Amor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 26 and 27.

Given the texts at their disposal, there seems to be little possibility that they interpreted Juan Ruiz's text as a "unity," at least as we understand the term.⁴¹

Despite the difficult readings of the extant texts, a narrative thread nevertheless binds the parts of the *Libro de Buen Amor* into a whole, albeit complex and fragmentary. The reader of ms. *T-trouv.*, by contrast, was met with a collection of song lyrics by many authors from different generations and social classes. Only the over-arching topic of love, and the presumption of singing, provides the thread that connects one lyric to the next. The love lyrics of troubadours were also subjected to scribal note-taking; three troubadour manuscripts from Italy display *notae* monograms that point to proverbs embedded in the lyrics.⁴² In her book *Proverbs in Medieval Occitan Literature*, Wendy Pfeffer argues that "proverbs were an integral part of the literary corpus of the troubadours and of their audiences, and that there were audiences and performer expectations of proverbial production in troubadour verse."⁴³

Pfeffer's phrase "proverbial production" admits the gray area between quotation and coinage that proverbial language creates, and begs the question of the significance of that distinction. Nearly thirty collections of Old French proverbs and sayings survive from the late twelfth century through the fifteenth century. Some embed proverbs as a formulaic conclusion at the end of vernacular verses, such as the *Proverbes au vilain* (ca. 1170), others provide alphabetical lists of hundreds of pithy sayings for scholastic usage, such as the *Incipiunt proverbial vulgaria et latina* (Paris, BnF, lat. 18184, fol. 143v, late thirteenth or early fourteenth century), which follows each vernacular proverb with a list of concordances. Treatises on rhetoric and poetry encouraged the use of proverbs and *sententiae* (and impersonal propositions), and the vogue for using this persuasive language is abundantly clear in thirteenth-century *chanson*, *jeux-partis*, and verse romances.⁴⁴ Such language is sometimes preceded by introductory phrases such as "savez bien" (as you well know), or "j'ai toz jorz oï ditz" (I've always heard it said), implying the citation of a verbal

41 Ibid., 150.

42 These manuscripts are ms. *K-troub.* (thirteenth century), Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo Laurenziana Plut. XLI cod. 42 (early fourteenth century); Oxford, Bodleian Douce 269 (thirteenth century). See Wendy Pfeffer, *Proverbs in Medieval Occitan Literature* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 20–21, and 72.

43 Ibid., 111.

44 See Ibid., 1–11; Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, *Les recueils de proverbes français (1160–1490)* (Paris: Champion, 2011); and Paul Zumthor, "L'épiphonème proverbial," *Revue des sciences humaines* 61 (1976): 313–28.

phrase that preexists the text at hand and takes its authority precisely from the communal voice behind those words. But just as often such proverbs or proverbial phrases are introduced as the words or opinion of the specific author. In the final line of the second stanza from “Jou senc en moy l’amor renouveler” (RS 888), Adam de la Halle quotes a well-documented proverb (italicized below) as his own saying:

Et ne pour quant bien fait a
 pardouner,
 car, quant dame est noble et de
 haut afaire,
 et biele et boine et gent set
 honorer,
 tant desiert mix c’on l’aint par
 essamplaire,

et doit estre deboinaire
 enviers povre home en otriant
 merchi
 sauve s’ounor, car jou di:

Ki de boins est souëf flaire.

Nevertheless, Love does well to
 pardon me,
 for, when a lady is noble and of
 high rank,
 and beautiful and good and
 knows how to honor people,
 she deserves much more to be
 loved in an exemplary
 fashion,
 and she must be gracious
 toward the poor man by
 granting mercy,
 without harming her honor, for
 I say:
 Whoever is of good quality is
 sweetly fragrant.

The proverb “Ki de boins est souëf flaire” – which points to the belief that the inner character of a person is manifested in an outward quality – appears in numerous anthologies of proverbs from the late thirteenth century through the fifteenth century,⁴⁵ and it also serves as the opening line of a unique late thirteenth-century hybrid *chanson-lai* added to the last folio of ms. *M-trouv.* and dedicated to Charles d’Anjou, king of Naples, and one of Adam’s patrons.⁴⁶ All three of the earliest witnesses for this proverb are roughly contemporaneous, thus Adam’s *chanson* may have been the origin point of the proverb.

Similarly, in the Prologue of *Yvain*, Chrétien de Troyes specifies that a proverbial phrase is his opinion, though not, like Adam, his saying:

45 See Joseph Morawski’s catalog *Proverbes français antérieurs au xve siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1925), no. 1886.

46 “Ki de boins est souëf flaire” also exhibits a pedantic exposition of a different rhythmic mode for each stanza; see Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love*, 117–18, 157–59, 162–63, and 182.

Mes or parlons de cez qui furent, si leissons cez qui ancor durrent, car <i>molt valt mialz</i> , ce m'est a vis, <i>uns cortois morz c'uns vilains</i> <i>vis.</i> ⁴⁷	But let us speak of those who were, and leave those who still live, for in my opinion, <i>a courtly man is</i> <i>worth</i> <i>a great deal more dead than a crude</i> <i>man who is living.</i>
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The italicized lines do appear in an anthology of proverbs – one from the fifteenth century – so it is likely that the source of the saying was indeed Chrétien, and that his playful creation of a proverb served a literary purpose.⁴⁸ Marie-Louise Ollier points out that the semantic oppositions between *cortois/vilain* as paired with *mort/vie* and in terms of value would not have been “popular” in origin (whereas “*Ki de boins est souëf flaire*” reflects a popular belief);⁴⁹ rather, Chrétien’s somewhat satirical proverb also encapsulates the tensions between honor and shame, and love and duplicity, which drive the narrative of *Yvain*.⁵⁰

The semantic opposition between love and death may have played a role in the choices made by the annotator of ms. *T-trouv.* as well for in addition to cherry picking courtly aphorisms on love from named authors in the *trouvère* corpus, he or she also annotated the *Vers de la mort* (written between 1266 and 1271) by Robert le Clerc d’Arras, the only non-lyric composition with marginal *notae*.⁵¹ It is possible, then, that this later reader-annotator, given his or her

47 Crétien de Troyes, *Yvain ou le Chevalier au Lion*, ed., Jan Nelson and Carleton W. Carroll, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968), lines 29–32.

48 See Morawski, *Proverbs*, no. 1257.

49 On popular beliefs about smell in the Middle Ages, see C.M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), esp. 120–23 on the widespread belief about smells and character.

50 Marie-Louise Ollier, “Proverbe et sentence: le discours d’autorité chez Chrétien de Troyes,” *Revue des sciences humaines* 41 (1976): 327–57, esp. 342–44.

51 In its most complete edition, this long verse meditation on death is comprised of 241 twelve-line strophes, each of which begins with the word *Mors*. The version preserved in ms. *T-trouv.*, recorded in the two-column format of the *dits* of Artois but not the compositions with musical notation transmits only fifty-four strophes and ends abruptly in the middle of the left column (though after a complete strophe). The remaining space of the right column on fol. 222r and the following three folios are filled with the unrelated *Dit du corps* in a fifteenth-century hand. Given the pattern of separating each section with three or more blank folios, it is plausible that the abridged version of the *Vers de la mort* was intended, which fits with the design of this manuscript as a sampler of the *arrageois* literary genealogy and legacy. For a critical edition of this verse and translation into modern French, see Robert le Clerc d’Arras, *Les Vers de la Mort*, ed., Annette Brasseur and Roger Berger (Geneva: Droz, 2009), esp. the introduction, 15–80.

focus on named authors and exclusion of *lais*, motets, and *dits*, intended to create an archive of proverbial sentences from authoritative voices for their literary merit as part of a courtly digest or anthology, and for their sagacity as an archive of knowledge. The *notae* in the collections of Thibaut de Champagne and Adam de la Halle account for nearly half of the total *notae* and thus these collected lines represent the annotator's reading of two well-substantiated and distinct authorial voices. Tables 5.5 and 5.6 list the lines of text proximate to the marginal monograms in the opening *libelli* of Thibaut's and Adam's songs respectively. In most cases throughout the *chansonnier* the *notae* appear close to a decorated initial that begins an interior stanza, and the citation – or at least its beginning – is unambiguous. I have indicated the stanza, the line of verse, and the shortest complete sense-unit that follows from the placement of the *nota*. We can readily see that all the excerpts have in common the language of proverbs – general pronouncements, devoid of the first-person subject, or any other attributable “voice” for the statement. Are there proverbs to be found in these excerpts? In my own searches of editorial notes and proverb collections, I have found that only one of the twenty-three *notae* listed in Tables 5.5 and 5.6 can be linked to a pre-existing proverb in content only:⁵² Adam *nota* no.14 is a reworking of the topos of the fickle woman, found in medieval proverb collections as the pithy line “cœur de femme est tout mué.”⁵³ “Ki de boins est souëf flaire” is not flagged by a *nota* in ms. *T-trouv*, nor is another proverb Adam quotes in one of his *chansons*: “Tan grate kievre en graviële / k'ele est mal gisans” (A goat scratches in the gravel until it lies uncomfortably).⁵⁴ Thus our annotator was not calling out pre-existing proverbs, or even all proverbial expressions, but rather marking proverbial production with specific content.

Turning to the *notae* in Thibaut's songs, his sharp forthright style yields clear pearls of wisdom on the topic of Love and loving. The excerpted sentences can be read as an alternative text with their own logical flow: the first makes an announcement about Love's own custom of turning pain into pleasure, utilizing a war metaphor that is the only marker of Thibaut's particular voice; the next four excerpts offer sententious sayings cued by the formulaic words *qui* (he who), or *nus qui/nul* (no one who; there is none who). These sayings refine

52 I consulted the following sources on medieval proverbs: Ernest Langlois, *Anciens proverbes français* (Paris: n.p., 1899); Morawski, *Proverbes*; James Woodrow Hassell, Jr., *Middle French Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1982). The lyric editions I have consulted are: J.H. Marshall, *The Chansons of Adam de La Halle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971); Nelson, *Adam*; Wal-lensköld, *Les chansons de Thibaut de Champagne*; Brahney, *Thibaut*.

53 Morawski, *Proverbes*, no.435; Hassell, *French Proverbs*, F44 (*les femmes sont muables*).

54 This is the opening line of the third stanza from “Li dous maus me renoueviele” (RS 612).

TABLE 5.5 Noted lines in the Thibaut *Libellus of T-trow*.

5r: *De ma dame souvenir* (RS 1467)

1. Stanza 3 line 1:

Une costume a Amors

ki amis forment guerroie;

plaire li fait ses dolors.

Love has a custom,

if anyone wages war strongly against a lover

she makes his pain pleasing.

5v: *Tout autresi con fraint nois et yvers* (RS 906)

2. Stanza 3 line 1:

Nule paine, qui guerredon atent.

There is no suffering for those who await
reward.

7r: *De grant joie me sui tous esmeus* (RS 2126)

3. Stanza 5 line 1:

Nus qui aime ne se doit esmaier

se fine amors le destraint et maistroie.

No one who loves ought to be dismayed

if true love distresses and troubles him.

8v: *Li dols pensers et li dols sovenirs* (RS 1469)

4. Stanza 2 line 1:

Sens et honor ne peut nul maintenir

s'il n'a encois senti les maus d'amer.

No one can maintain wit or honor

if he has not thus felt the suffering of love.

10v: *Mi grant desir et tout mi grief torment* (RS 741)

5. Stanza 4 line 1:

Qui la vauroit souvent ramentevoir

il n'avoit mal ne l'estuest garir.

Whoever might wish to remember her,

he would not have a sickness that couldn't be
cured.

17v: *Foille ne flors ne vaut riens en chantant* (RS 324)

6. Stanza 1 line 8:

C'un malades en garist bien souvent

pour un confort quant il ne puet mangier.

For a sick person is often cured

by a comforting word when he cannot eat.

the message of the first: love is suffering, and that suffering is pleasing and honorable. The theme of (love) sickness and (love) cures introduced by excerpt no. 4 (“Whoever might wish to remember her / he would not have a sickness that couldn’t be cured”) is amplified by the last marked phrase in the group (“For a sick person is often cured / by a comforting word when he cannot eat.”), which reinforces the notion that love – like war, like sickness – attacks the body, and that only a gesture of love (a memory, a kind word) can act as a palliative against the noble suffering. Although loss of appetite was associated with lovesickness in the Middle Ages, eating here could easily be read as a metaphor for sex – a reading corroborated in the annotations from Adam’s songs.⁵⁵

Table 5.6 provides the sentences associated with the *notae* in Adam’s songs. Despite Adam’s clerical status, his lyrics yielded less tidy didactic sentences, though the annotator flagged seventeen – more than twice those flagged in Thibaut’s lyrics. As with the sentences drawn from Thibaut, Adam’s series begins with a statement about “sweet suffering,” but also mobilizes the idea of hope – as opposed to love – as the cause of pleasure, which particularizes Adam’s voice just as the war metaphor particularized Thibaut’s. The topics of chastity, service, desire, moderation, loyalty, and humility follow, yet there are some surprising twists and turns in the ethical understanding of love and its effects. For example, the second and third excerpts speak to the power of love and desire over chastity, and excerpt no. 5 echoes this sentiment by linking danger and desire. The long excerpt no. 7, with its recourse to the story of Daedalus and Icarus, offers council to dangerous desire with the mythical lesson of moderation, which connects in turn to the topic of haughtiness in excerpt no. 9, and humility in excerpt no. 12.

Along with these aphorisms about the dangers of love and the remedies of moderation and humility, a few statements stand out for their less courtly tone: “No one conquers by serving faithfully / or by keeping faith to his lady” (no. 13), and the ribald “One sees that in order to better wait for the great dinner / one often prefers to eat a snack earlier” (no. 16). This last aphorism seems to pick up from Thibaut’s theme of eating or not eating as a metaphor for sex, and gives a cheeky rejoinder to the wasting lovesick subject in Thibaut’s song (see Table 5.5 excerpt no. 6 above). The final *nota* in the manuscripts points to a summary statement: “There is great pleasure and a sweet life / in honoring

55 On lovesickness and wasting, see Mary Frances Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages: The Viaticum and its Commentaries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), esp. 151; on food and eating as sexual metaphors in the Middle Ages, see April Harper, “The Food of Love’: Illicit Feasting, Food Imagery and Adultery in Old French Literature,” in *Medieval Sexuality: A Casebook*, ed. April Harper and Caroline Proctor (New York and London: Routledge, 2008), 81–97.

TABLE 5.6 Noted lines in the Adam *Libellus* of *T-trov*.226r: *Je n'ai autre retenance* (RS 248)**1. Stanza 2 line 1:**

Il n'est si douche souffrance
que de vivre en esperant.

There is no suffering as sweet
as living in hope.

2. Stanza 3 line 1:

Cil qui plus sont d'astenance
et plus sage et plus souffrant
aroient droite escusance
s'il devenoient amant
en desirrant.

Those who are most chaste
and most wise and most suffering
would have a just excuse
if they became lovers
through desiring.

3. Stanza 4 line 1:

Tele est d'Amours la poissance
qu'ele fait l'ome astenant
desirrer sans atenpranche

Such is the power of love
that it makes a chaste man
desire without restraint.

226r: *Il ne muet pas de sans celui qui plaint* (RS 152)**4. Stanza 2, line 1:**

Cil ens qui d'amor essaucier ne se faint
ne puet avoir en li servant damage.

He who is not backward in exalting love
cannot be hurt by serving it.

226v: *He las il n'est mais nus qui aint* (RS 148)**5. Stanza 2 line 1:**

Et tant amans en dangiers maint
k'amie se fait desirer.

A lover remains in danger
as long as the beloved remains desirable.

6. Stanza 3, line 2

Ne qui saroit bel sermonner
N'aime pas pour ce s'il se plaint.

And he who would know how to preach well
does not love, even though he laments.

7. Stanza 4 line 5

Moienement^a couvient aler;
Dedalus qu'ansi vaut ouvrer
le senefie
et ses fix ki par sa folie
fu tous ars par trop haut voler

It is proper to act moderately;
Daedalus, who works in that way,
proves it,
and also his son, who through his foolishness
was totally burned by flying too high.

226*r *Pour quoi se plaint d'amours nus* (RS 2128)**8. Stanza 2 line 1**

Ja qui sera loiaus drus,
comment c'on le puist destraindre,
n'iert de servir receus.

He who will be a loyal suitor,
however much he be tormented,
will never be ready to give up serving.

9. Stanza 3 line 1

De ciaux qui sont au desus d'amour
voit on plus remaindre.

Among those who are haughty in love
one sees more abandoning [love].

TABLE 5.6 Noted lines in the Adam *Libellus* of *T-trov.* (cont.)

226*^v *Ki a droit veut Amour servir* (RS 1458)

10. Stanza 2 line 1

Ki s'esmaie pour mal souffrir
ne qui prent garde a son tourment
il ne puet amer longuement.

He who despairs because he suffers pain
or takes notice of his torment
cannot love for very long.

11. Stanza 3 line 1

Par rire et par biaus dis oir
et par joili contenment
vient Amours au commencement.

By laughing and hearing pleasant words
and by merry manner
Love comes in the beginning.

227^r *D'amoureuse cuer veuil chanter* (RS 833)

12. Stanza 4 line 1

Ancois voit on refuser
celui qui trop prie
que celui desamonter
qui plus s'umelie.

One prefers to see refused
a person who begs too much
rather than see disappointed
a person who humbles himself.

228^r *Helas! Il n'ès mes nuz qui n'aint* (RS 149)

13. Stanza 3 line 1

Ne nus par biau servi n'i n'aint n'i vaint
ne par sa dame foi porter.

No one conquers by serving faithfully
or by keeping faith to his lady.

14. Stanza 4 line 1

En amour a de vises maint
mes nus n'i fait tant a blasmer
que ce que fame change et fraint.

In love there are many faults
but none is so blameworthy
as the fact that woman is changeable and
destructive.

15. Stanza 5 line 1

Cuer qui bien sont d'amour enpraint
doivent leur vie ainsi mener:
se celle tien trop et destraint
son ami, cils doit endure.

Hearts which are imprinted with love
must lead their lives in this way:
if the lady holds too tight and torments
her lover, he must endure it.

231^r *Mout plus se painne amours de moi esprendre* (RS 632)

16. Stanza 5 line 1

On voit pour miex le grant disner atendre
souvent un rehaignet aincois mengier.

Ones sees that in order to better wait for the
great dinner
one often prefers to eat a snack earlier.

232^r *Grant deduit a et savoureuse vie en bonne* (RS 1237)

17. Stanza 1 line 1

Grant deduit a et savoureuse vie
en Bonne Amour honnourer et server.

There is great pleasure and a sweet life
in honoring and serving Good Love.

a This word is written as *moi---enement*, as if to accommodate a melisma.

and serving Good Love.” But despite its clichéd recourse to honor and service, and to the abstract object *Bonne Amour*, we can also detect the topic of sensual gratification in *deduit* (bearing connotations of sexual pleasure) and *sa-voureuse* (bearing connotations of taste, deliciousness). Such games of language, and the possibility for duplicity, are called out in no. 6: “He who would know how to preach well / does not love, even though he laments.” Here, like Chrétien de Troyes, Adam creates binary oppositions – love/knowledge, preaching/lamenting – in what amounts to a pithy statement of suspicion, if not an outright critique, of the entire love lyric tradition. In these two short lines Adam warns that the courtly lamentations and exhortations of the lyric may be more learned style than emotional content – an excess of *cortoisie* that leads to “false seeming,” which is the antithesis of “good love.” Earlier in the collection our annotator took note of these lines from another clerical *arra-geois* author, Maistre Williaumes (or Guillaume) li Viniers:

Cil qui par fainte semblance	He who by false seeming
veut amie recouvrer	wants to regain the beloved
fait sa grant deshounourance.	causes her great dishonor. ⁵⁶

While the lyrics of Thibaut, Adam, and other trouvères yielded proverbial phrases that could stand alone, the lines called out by the annotator in the *Vers de la mort* are less proverbial and less extricable from their context. Since every strophe begins with an address to *Mors*, many of the noted lines require that address to make sense, as is the case below (the bold line indicates the proximate line to the *nota*):⁵⁷

Mors, ...	
L'autre a le mort soubite caces;	you drive the other to sudden death;
au miex parlant fais lange mue,	you render mute the tongue of those who speak the best,
au plus cler veant orbe vue:	you render blind those who see the best.

This first of eight *notae* in the *Vers de la mort* seems particularly relevant to the network of themes we have encountered in the other excerpts; here, it is not Love who causes sudden affliction to the body as a sickness, but Death who causes the ultimate bodily demise.

⁵⁶ Ms. *T-trouv.* fol. 29v, stanza 3, line 1 from “La flours d’iver sour la brance” (RS 255).

⁵⁷ 219v, verse 23, nota at line 3.

As part of his reader-oriented paradigm of medieval literacy, Dagenais argues that:

[O]ne system constantly invoked by readers of the medieval text must have been the ethical system. That is, in many passages, a choice of what is right and wrong (not just grammatically, but ethically), of which activities are socially acceptable or advisable, of what works in the real world and what does not, of what is to be praised or blamed, can guide the reader in evoking sense in a given passage. The ethical system, then, is part and parcel of the act of reading the handwritten text.⁵⁸

For the annotator of ms. *T-trouv.*, reading through an ethical lens may have helped make sense of the many authorial voices brought together in this one collection, from a past bellicose king remote in time and place, to contemporary clerics native to Arras who strove to carve a place for their own voices and words of wisdom within a long and saturated tradition of the courtly *chanson d'amour*. That the annotator read song lyrics as literary texts perhaps indicates a moment of waning interest in the *chanson* art form itself, that is, as the delivery of words through melodies and singing. This mining of song lyrics for quotable quotes destined for some non-musical context marks a significant shift in the social meaning of these *chansons d'amour* from a courtly pastime to an object of study.⁵⁹ This peculiar cleaving of lyric from melody does, however, convey a pointed interest in the poetics of courtly ethics as originally formulated with singing in mind. In other words, the original context of song allowed for proverbial productions that spoke directly to emotional and embodied reactions to the love, and the problem of knowing right from wrong, and authentic expression from false seeming.

58 Dagenais, *The Ethics of Reading*, 151–52. Elizabeth J. Bryan, *Collaborative Meaning in Medieval Scribal Culture: The Otho Lazamon* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999) counsels scholars not to equate reading marks made by a “single hand” with the point of view of a “single reader”: markings made in manuscript by a single hand often represent a past accumulation of different readers. *Ibid.*, 101. In the case of ms. *T-trouv.* it is probable that the annotator’s choices reflect a communally shared system of ethical and hermeneutical interests.

59 The *notae* in ms. *T-trouv.* and their effect of creating quotable quotes and an archive of knowledge relates to Sarah Kay’s study of the use of troubadour song quotations in didactic quotation contexts as a repository of vernacular poetic knowledge that influenced later Italian and Catalan vernacular poetry; see her *Parrots and Nightingales: Troubadour Quotations and the Development of European Poetry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

Proverbs, refrains, adages, clichés – all such communal language muddy the distinction of voice and authority. The annotator of ms. *T-trov.* extracted sayings that did not necessarily preserve the nuances of theme and rhetoric that differentiate Thibaut and Adam. Rather, this annotator utilized a mode of reading and note-taking that functioned in effect as a mode of self-expression, crafting a unique meta-voice that created an interactive archive of ethical concerns and courtly knowledge for later readers to ponder.

PART 3

Genres in Context



The Northern *Jeu-parti*

Daniel E. O'Sullivan

Medieval audiences loved a good debate. Debate was fundamental, in fact, in medieval society, for scholastic *disputationes*, formalized debates based on traditional written authoritative sources in order to uncover truths of theology and science, formed the base of medieval higher education. This is not to say that debate was confined to exclusive or Latinate *milieux*: debate in vernacular literature abounded: from debates among the fictive characters of Chrétien de Troyes to Old Occitan *tensos* to the thirteenth-century Middle English poem *The Owl and the Nightingale*, the medieval public reveled in witty repartee between two or more participants, be the topic serious or comic, sacred or profane. Adam de la Halle was a prominent participant in the production and, presumably, performance of a particular genre of debate songs: the *jeux-partis*. While the genre did not originate in Arras, it was among the bourgeois, clerical poets of Arras that these lyric debates peaked in popularity.

1 Rules of the Game

The *jeu-parti* was sung and, in terms of meter and melody, shared important characteristics with Old French courtly love songs: poems are composed of rhyming stanzas that retain the same metric and rhyme schemes throughout; the same melody is sung to each stanza (though surely some improvisation occurred in the performance of the songs); one or more *envois* – shortened stanzas reprising the last few verses of the stanzaic scheme, and thus, presumably the corresponding melody – finish off the song. The genre's themes are also derived from the courtly love song inevitably, though again exceptions are plentiful, the debate centers on some point of love casuistry: the relative merits of a woman's external beauty and her character; the conditions under which a suitor should persevere or give up a suit; the choice between making love to one's beloved without seeing her or seeing her every day and talking with her; and myriad other possible topics for discussion. Combining form and theme, one can discern the basic outline of the *jeu-parti*: in the first stanza, one participant puts an either/or question to his or her collaborator; in stanza two, the collaborator chooses one side and leaves the other to the initiator to defend;

after six stanzas, judges are named by each participant in the *envois*. Judgments may have been rendered, but they were, to the best of our knowledge, never recorded.

While the majority of *grant chants* comprise five to six stanzas with one or two *envois*, there is no formal necessity for such a structure. For the *jeu-parti*, there is some logic behind the dominance of the six-stanza structure with two *envois*. An even number of full stanzas is desirable because it gives each participant in a two-person *jeu-parti* the same opportunities to speak. Similarly, the inclusion of two *envois* lets each participant name his or her own judge. Exceptions to this general trend exist, of course, including Adam de la Halle's marathon twenty-stanza debate with Jehan Bretel (RS 1675).¹ Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin suggest poets veered from the typical form to bring out a bit of variety.² By the same token, the usual number of participants is two, but songs with more participants are attested, and undoubtedly this too was done to experiment with variation.³

As Michelle Stewart has shown, the stanzaic and melodic properties of the *grant chant* and *jeu-parti* are essentially the same. Indeed, countless critics have pointed out that while the troubadours delighted in formal experimentation, the trouvères seemed to have come to some tacit acceptance on the formal parameters appropriate to the Old French love song. Verse and stanza length retain a fair degree of variation – Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin identify 167 different rhyme and metrical schemes among the 182 songs they edit – but most stanzas come in around eight verses and the average length of

1 Interestingly, Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin omit this song from their *Recueil général des jeux-partis français*, 2 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1926) (hereafter *LJB*). Out of the 182 poems in their anthology, only five are comprised of more than six stanzas. Six-stanza songs with two *envois* are most numerous (87), followed by thirteen songs with six stanzas with one *envoi* and forty-three six-stanza songs with no *envois*. Only thirty-four songs are comprised of fewer than six stanzas. I take all references to *jeux-partis* from *LJB*, with the exception of those by Adam de la Halle, which I take from Adam de la Halle. *Œuvres complètes*, ed. and trans. Pierre-Yves Badel (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1995). Trouvère songs are conventionally identified by their Reynaud-Spanke (hereafter RS) number from Hans Spanke, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des Altfranzösischen Liedes* (Leiden: Brill, 1955). For *jeux-partis*, I include a Roman numeral after the RS number corresponding to the song's place in *LJB*. All translations are mine.

2 *LJB*, vi.

3 In "Cuvelier et vous, Ferri" (RS 1042), Jehan Bretel addresses Cuvelier, Lambert Ferri, and Jehan de Grieviler who respond together. Bretel and Ferri combine forces to debate both the Trésorier d'Aire and Cuvelier in "Biau sire Tresorier d'Aire" (RS 155). The most complicated situation arises in "Concilliés moi, je vos pri, / Rolant" (RS 1078): Burnekin addresses Rolant de Reims and Jehan de Baion together in stanza 1; Rolant answers in stanza 2 and Jehan de Baion does the same in stanza 3. The remaining stanzas are exchanged only between Jehan and Rolant.

verses is eight syllables. The same holds true for melody: fluid musical compositions like the *oda continua*, while not entirely absent from the French corpus, are far more frequent in the troubadour corpus. The trouvères showed a predilection for the regular AAB pattern that may be further expanded into ABABx where the melody accompanying verses 1 and 3 and those over verses 2 and 4 are identical and the rest of the melody takes on a different, often more free-flowing form.⁴

One very important musical distinction between the *canso* and *jeu-parti* comes in the origin of the melodies, for many composers of *jeux-partis* used existing melodies for their compositions. This practice is known as contrafacture and it was a widespread practice in medieval music (modern as well, especially in church music and advertising). There is even a medieval poetic treatise that prescribes the practice for debate songs: In the late thirteenth-century *Doctrina de compondre dictats*, the author (possibly Jofre de Foixà or Raimon Vidal) offers the following observation: “Si vols far tenso, deus l’apondre en algun so qui haia bella nota, e potz seguir les rimes del cantar o no” (If you want to make a tenso [Occitan for debate poem], you must join it to some melody that has beautiful notes, and you can follow the rhymes of the song, or not).⁵ There may be various reasons for the practice, but the main one related to memory: the participants and their audiences could focus more on the arguments and the banter back and forth between the interlocutors when they were already familiar with the melody. Because the melody adopted was originally set to love songs, another level of critical rapprochement and distance between the genres could be added.⁶ Then when the same music was put to additional texts, even more occasions for commentary and parody presented themselves.⁷

4 See Michelle F. Stewart, “The Melodic Structure of Thirteenth-Century ‘Jeu-Partis,’” *Acta Musicologica* 51 (1979): 86–107 and Biancamaria Brumana Pascale, “Le musiche nei jeux-partis francesi,” *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell’Università di Perugia* 13 (1975–76): 509–72.

5 J.H. Marshall, ed., *The “Razos de trobar” de Raimon Vidal and Associated Texts* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 97. The translation is mine.

6 Composers of vernacular religious songs also engaged widely in contrafacture. See Daniel E. O’Sullivan, *Marian Devotion in Thirteenth-Century Lyric* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005); Kathryn A. Duys, “Books Shaped by Song: Early Literary Literacy in the *Miracles de Notre Dame* of Gautier de Coinci” (PhD diss., New York University, 1997); and Anna Drzewicka, “La Fonction des emprunts à la poésie profane dans les chansons mariales de Gautier de Coinci,” *Le Moyen Age* 91 (1985): 33–51 and 179–200.

7 See Daniel E. O’Sullivan, “Contrafacture, Lyrical Exchange, and Self-Parody in Thibaut de Champagne’s Debate Poetry,” in *Parodies courtoises, parodies de la courtoisie*, ed., Margarida Madureira et al. (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2016), 511–24; and O’Sullivan, “On connaît la chan-

More than metrical and musical schemes, however, the *canso* and the *jeu-parti* shared fundamental thematic and discursive traits, for they both take their primary inspiration from courtly conceptions of *fin'amor*. This bourgeois poetry was thereby firmly rooted in aristocratic traditions.⁸ The *canso* is, according to Paul Zumthor's famous analysis, an ultimately self-referential genre: the *je* is abstract, universal, and both the song's subject and object are the same. That is, the *je* sings about his (or her, in the case of *troveresse* song) own experience of love: the *canso* becomes the embodiment of *fin'amor*. The *jeu-parti*, however, is of another discursive order. The debaters do not actually engage in *fin'amors*: rather, they discuss it at a remove:

Aucun participant des jeux-partis ne prétend "chanter": ils "disent", "affirment", "parlent", prononcent des "paroles", ou des "mots". De la même manière, les verbes ou les locutions modales appartiennent à la fois au discours amoureux repris au second degré ou au métalangage des jeux. Ces déplacements dus à la transformation du discours et du statut du locuteur et tout particulièrement à la modification de la valeur référentielle du pronom *je*, ne permettent, somme toute, de répéter que de courtes formules lyriques, créant finalement l'illusion qu'il s'agit du même discours que dans la Chanson.⁹

(No *jeu-parti* participant claims to "sing": they "say," "affirm," "speak," say "words." In the same way, verbs and modal constructions derive from an imitation of amorous discourse or from the metalanguage of games. These displacements, resulting from the transformation of that discourse and in particular to speaker *I*'s referential value, allow only, in the end, repetitions of short courtly lyric formulas, thus creating the illusion that it is the same discourse as in the love song.)

Singers of both *canсос* and *jeux-partis* use expressions like "fine amour," "courtoisie," "talent," and "dangier," but while the singer of the love song intends to

son: la contrafacture des mélodies populaires dans le *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* d'Adam de la Bassée," *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes* 26 (2014): 109–28.

8 Michèle Gally's *Parler d'amour au puy d'Arras: Lyrique en jeu* (Orléans: Paradigme Publications Universitaires, 2004) represents the most thorough thematic and poetic study of the *jeu-parti* to date. See also Philippe Vernay, "Jehan, d'amour je vous demant: quelques considérations sur le jeu-parti français," in *Il genere «tenzone» nelle literature romanze delle origini*, ed. Matteo Pedroni and Antonio Stäuble (Ravenna: A. Longo, 1999), 189–201. Recent studies include Georges Lavis, "Le Jeu-parti français: jeu de réfutation, d'opposition et de concession," *Medioevo romanzo* 16 (1991): 21–128.

9 Gally, *Parler d'amour*, 64.

show how well he can enact the courtly ethos, the debaters attempt to show how well they can manipulate these ideas in a critical discourse. As Gally argues persuasively, they stand at a critical distance (“au second degré”): the amorous *je* of the love song becomes the hypothetical *il* or *elle* in the analysis that the *je* and *tu* of the debate song flesh out verse by verse, stanza by stanza, song by song.

On the surface, the *jeu-parti* presents itself as a spontaneous interaction between two poets, however, we know nothing at all about how these songs were conceived. Did each party compose his own stanzas? Are these originally improvised performances in the manuscripts, or was there a more improvised but less poetically polished debate *in viva voce* that was then cleaned up when written down? What about those debates in which the other party is not named explicitly as in debates between Perrot de Beaumarchais and “une dame” (RS 878 and 876/CXLV)? We can never know the answers to these questions since we have no record of the practices according to which poets performed these texts. Nevertheless, when a poet calls upon another to engage in a debate or to “partir un jeu,” because he needs advice, it can sound convincingly sincere. Jehan Bretel begins his debate with Jehan de Grieviler (RS 862/XXIV), “Conseilliez moi, Jehan de Grieviler, / J’en ai mestier, par la foi que je vous doi” (Lend me some advice, Jehan de Grieviler / I am in need of it, by the faith that I owe you, vv. 1–2). The use of proper names, the familiar tone, and the claim to need help all converge to make these texts sound like authentic and spontaneous encounters between two people in a society densely populated by learned and poetically engaged individuals.

Whereas in scholastic disputes, debaters stay close to established and recognized authorities in the sanctioned fields of philosophy, theology, grammar, and dialectic, the vernacular sources on which our poets found their arguments are less official. Nonetheless, the subtlety and finesse with which they are treated brings them very close to the more official world of *disputationes de quolibet* or “disputations about anything at all” that became increasingly popular in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Alex J. Novikoff contrasts this form to the *disputatio ordinaria*, and notes how participants and audience members came from all walks of life.¹⁰ Accordingly, participants in these freer debates had to draw upon a great number of sources, not just canonical texts of the Scholastic school.

Participants in *jeux-partis* had also to make arguments of general appeal, and so in debating the nobility and experience of love, debaters had several

10 Alex J. Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation: Pedagogy, Practice, and Performance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 143.

techniques at their disposal, such as metaphors, proverbs, and sentential pronouncements.¹¹ Metaphors taken from daily objects were particularly useful, as when Adam de la Halle employs a smoke metaphor in his debate with Jehan Bretel (RS 1066/CXIX):

Car au grant fu qui esprent
 Couvient il espurgement:
 Parole doit pour le cuer esclarchir,
 En liu de femeril, par bouche issir. (vv. 29–32)

Like a large fire that rages
 Must expel smoke:
 Words must purify the heart
 By leaving through the mouth, its own chimney.

Every person listening to the debate knows about fire and smoke, and so the comparison to words is striking. Guillaume le Vinier uses a proverb about the foolish who believe in unfulfilled promises when debating Adam de Givenci (RS 1085/CXXVIII): “De proumetre sans doner sont servi, / Amis, li fol, ch'est dit communaument” (They say it all the time, / Friend, the foolish are served by promising without delivering). Sentential pronouncements are rhetorically structured like proverbs, and so they often sound logical and thus authoritative. The Dame de la Chaucie, for instance, advises a young woman (“damoisele”) when she asks if she should listen to a suitor or walk away without listening (RS 1112/CXLIII): “Ja pour oïr homme n'iert fame pire, / S'el ne se veult obeïr a folour” (A woman is never worse off for listening to a man, if she does not want to obey folly, vv. 27–28). The use of absolutes – *ja* (“never”) here – endows her advice with a universally applicable ring. Finally, song citation, especially refrains, which like proverbs and sentential statements are formulaic, abounds in the *jeu-parti*. Like proverbs, refrains are often repeated in various contexts, thus investing them with vernacular authority.¹² More than that,

¹¹ Gally, *Parler d'amour*, 97–115.

¹² The standard index of refrains is Nico H.J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969). Eglal Doss-Quinby studies the formulaic nature of the refrain: *Les Refrains chez les trouvères du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1984), 17–55. For text and music in refrains, see Jennifer Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry*, Gallica Series 30 (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2013); Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 75–86 and “Repetition and Variation in the Thirteenth-Century Refrain,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 116 (1991): 1–23. A recent, comprehensive study of refrain

Jennifer Saltzstein argues, certain refrains may have held connotations with specific Artesian *trouvères*, and so by highlighting associations with other poets, especially well-known and respected poets of the local *puys* or poetic guild, a poet could add weight and authority to his own argument.¹³

2 From Thibaut's Court to Adam's City

Although at least two *jeux-partis* would seem to predate his activity, Thibaut de Champagne, count of Brie and king of Navarre, popularized Old French debate song.¹⁴ As the grandson of Marie de Champagne and thus great-grandson of Eleanor of Aquitaine, Thibaut came to age in a *milieu* imbued with vernacular poetics, especially Old Occitan song. The southern tradition already had a repertoire of debate songs: *tenso*s were general debates, while the *partimen* (sometimes called the *joc partit*) was more akin to the *jeu-parti* in that an either/or proposition is offered and then each singer takes a side.¹⁵ Of his fourteen extant debate songs, seven resemble *tenso*s, and seven are like *partimens*. Accordingly, Wallensköld separates the king's debate poetry into two categories that

insertions in Old French narrative appears in Anne Ibos-Augé, *Chanter et lire dans le récit médiéval: la fonction des insertions lyriques dans les œuvres narratives et didactiques d'oïl aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), from which an online, searchable database has emerged: <<http://refrain.ac.uk/>>.

13 Saltzstein, *Refrain and the Rise*, 89.

14 RS 840/I, "Bernart, a vos vueil demander" between a Count of Brittany and Bernard de la Fierté and RS 948/II, "Gasse, par droit me respondez" between a Count of Brittany and ostensibly, but unlikely, Gace Brulé. See *LJB*, xi–xix.

15 For editions of *tenso*s and *partimens*, see Ruth Harvey and Linda Patterson, eds., *The Troubadour Tenso and Partimens*, Gallica Series (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010) and Pierre Bec, *La Joute poétique: de la tenson médiévale aux débats chantés traditionnels* (Paris: Belles-Lettres, 2000). On the troubadour *tenso* and its relationship to the *partimen* or *jeu-parti*, see Michel-André Bossy, *Medieval Debate Poetry* (New York: Garland, 1987), xiii–xvi; Michèle Gally, "Entre sens et non sens: approches comparatives de la tenso d'oc et du jeu-parti arrageois," in *Il genere «tenzone» nelle literature romanze delle origini*, ed. Matteo Pedroni and Antonio Stäuble (Ravenna: A. Longo, 1999), 223–35; and Dominique Billy, "Pour une réhabilitation de la terminologie des troubadours: tenson, partimen et expressions synonymes," in *Il genere «tenzone»*, 237–313. For a comparative study of Thibaut's *cansos* and *jeux-partis*, see Michèle Gally, "Jeux-partis de Thibaut de Champagne: poétique d'un genre mineur," in *Thibaut de Champagne: prince et poète aux XIIIe siècle*, ed. Yvonne Bellinger and Daniella Quérueil (Lyon: La Manufacture, 1987), 89–97. A study of Thibaut's *jeux-partis* in their manuscript context appears in Daniel E. O'Sullivan, "Words with Friends, Courtly Edition: The *Jeux-Partis* of Thibaut de Champagne," in *Games and Gaming in Medieval Literature*, ed. Serina Patterson (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), 61–78.

reflect this distinction: his songs XXXVII–XLV are grouped under the rubric “jeux-partis” while songs XLVI–L are gathered together and called “débats.”¹⁶

Thibaut's debate partners, when they can be identified, point to the king's connection to the Arras region.¹⁷ However, the Philip addressed in “Phelipe, je vous demant: / Dui ami” (RS 334/III), “Phelipe, je vous demant / Que est” (RS 333), and “Par Dieu, sire de Champaigne et de Brie” (RS 1111) is undoubtedly Philip de Nantueil, who undertook the crusade of 1239 with Thibaut, and the trouvère also addresses him in the *envois* to a number of songs.¹⁸ As Philip inherited the castle of Nantueil-le-Hardouin in the Picardy region (present department of the Oise), it is easy to see a connection between the North and Thibaut through Philip. Moreover, the Guillaume of “Sire, ne me celez mie” (RS 1185) is most likely Guillaume le Vinier, the well-known trouvère from Arras, and the Raoul who participates in “Sire, loëz moi a choisir” (RS 1393/VII) is Raoul de Soissons, another fellow crusader.¹⁹ Soissons, of course, also lies in the Picardy region (present department of l'Aisne), and, interestingly, Raoul is named as a judge in a *jeu-parti* between Henri III, Duke of Brabant and Gilbert de Berneville (RS 491). Therefore, if Thibaut was responsible for popularizing the genre of the *jeu-parti*, it is clear the process included several members of the Northern community of poets.

Certain manuscripts like ms. *T-trouv.* provide more evidence of Thibaut's influence on Artesian poetics. Compiled circa 1280 around Arras, the codex's importance for understanding medieval Artesian literary culture can hardly be

16 The manuscripts preserving Thibaut's work cluster songs together by genre, but the compilers made no distinction between these two types when clustering Thibaut's debate poetry. Wallensköld's edition, the standard until the twenty-first century, does not include music and employs a somewhat outdated editorial policy, and so the present author, with Christopher Callahan and Marie-Geneviève Gossel, published *Thibaut de Champagne. Les Chansons. Textes et Mélodies* (Paris: Champion, 2018). See Axel Wallensköld, ed., *Les Chansons de Thibaut de Champagne, Roi de Navarre: édition critique* (Paris: Champion, 1925).

17 The Robert in “Robert, veez de Perron” (RS 1878) may be Robert d'Artois, Robert de Reims, or another Robert in Thibaut's poetic circle, and the identity of Girart d'Amiens, despite the specificity with which Thibaut addresses him in “Girart d'Amiens, Amours, qui pouoir” (RS 1804/XI) remains a mystery. See Wallensköld, *Chansons*, 158. *LJB* omits Thibaut's songs that Wallensköld called *débats*, as well as excluding RS 1675, the twenty-stanza debate initiated by Jehan Bretel with Adam de la Halle. I comment on this song below.

18 “Nus hons ne puet ami reconforter” (RS 884); “Je me cuidoe partir” (RS 1440); “Chanter m'estuet, que ne m'en puis tenir” (RS 1476); and “Mauvés arbres ne peut florir” (RS 1410). In “Au tens plain de felonnie” (RS 1152), Philippe is addressed in stanza 3, verse 5, instead of the *envoi*.

19 *Grove Music Online*, s.v. “Raoul de Soissons,” by Theodore Karp, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>>. Like Philippe, Raoul is addressed in the *envois* of three of Thibaut's songs: “Tuit mi desir et tuit mi grief torment” (RS 741); “Empereor ne roi n'ont nul pouoir” (RS 1811); and “Qui plus aime plus endure” (RS 2095).

overstated. This manuscript and its contents have been studied in depth in Roger Berger's 1981 *Littérature et société arrageoises au XIII^e siècle: les chansons et dits artésiens*.²⁰ In the quires that bookend this collection, we find a section dedicated to Thibaut's songs in the beginning and Adam de la Halle's songs at the end. Whereas the other sources to preserve Thibaut's *jeux-partis* intermix these with his other songs, the compiler of ms. *T-trouv.* makes a break with this format.²¹ Thibaut's love songs come first in a long series and then, after his only *lai lyrique*, Thibaut's other songs, including the *jeux-partis*, are written down. Then in the final quires, a collection of Adam de la Halle's love songs, and only his love songs, written in a later hand, are added. As Judith Peraino highlights in Chapter 5 of this book, this signals a kind of passing of the torch from the aristocratic courts as the epicenter of trouvère production to more urban and diverse social settings. The fact that a series of *jeux-partis* survive in this most Artesian of manuscripts makes connections between Thibaut, Arras, and debate song all the stronger.

3 The Flourishing of the *Jeu-Parti* in Arras

The *canço* was born of courtly culture. The court was a strictly hierarchical space: the lord rules, the lady stands on the dais by his side; his knights, sworn to serve him in times of peace, but especially war, surround him, and their squires stand ready to serve the knights who retain them. The lady had her own

20 Roger Berger, *Littérature et société arrageoises au XIII^e siècle: Les chansons et dits artésiens* (Arras, Commission Départementale des Monuments Historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1981).

21 Mss. *K-trouv.*, *M-trouv.*, *N-trouv.*, *V-trouv.*, and *X* present clusters of love songs and of debate songs and interposed series of generically heterogeneous songs (religious songs, *pastourelles*, etc.). See Judith Peraino's essay, "Taking *Notae* on King and Cleric: Thibaut Adam, and the Medieval Readers of *Chansonnier de Noailles (T-trouv.)*" in this volume. See also Emmanuèle Baumgartner, "Présentation des chansons de Thibaut de Champagne dans les manuscrits de Paris," in Bellinger and Quéruel, *Thibaut de Champagne*, 35–44. A comprehensive picture of song order across all manuscripts can be reconstructed from tables in Wallensköld. For variations on this "canonical" ordering, see Daniel E. O'Sullivan, "Thibaut de Champagne and Lyric *Auctoritas* in MS Paris, BnF fr. 12615," *Textual Cultures* 8 (2013): 31–49. The similarities across manuscripts suggest a *libellus* preserving an "official" Thibaut songbook circulated among scriptoria, the clearest evidence of which comes in *Mt*, an interpolated section in ms. *M-trouv.* dedicated to Thibaut's lyrics. See John Haines, "The Songbook for William of Villehardouin, Prince of the Morea (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 844): A Crucial Case in the History of Vernacular Song Collections," in *Viewing the Morea: Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese*, ed. Sharon Gerstel (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2013), 57–109, at 58, 99–100.

entourage: *dames* and *demoiselles*, with their attendants; heralds appear; minstrels sing; and servants serve. Interaction among these individuals was highly ritualized: clothing marked social standing; meals were served according to prevailing notions of etiquette; people were addressed differently according to rank; and all of these codes of conduct are essentially exclusive.

The same notions of hierarchy and exclusivity did not prevail in urban centers such as Arras. As Berger so clearly explains, despite the complexity of the social landscape, the powers that prevailed over social, economic, and political life were many and they overlapped considerably. The *cit * involves layers of temporal and ecclesiastical authorities.²² In the *Ville* or city, the Abbey of Saint-Vaast, which actually predates the *cit *, and its school accounted for the lion's share of education in the area (Arras did not boast a university), but there was also a cathedral school associated with Notre Dame d'Arras. In the legal and juridical spheres, several competing offices and organizations jockeyed for jurisdiction: the lord of the province paid homage to the count of Flanders and, at one time at least, the *ch telain* represented aristocratic interests. Later, the bailiff (*bailli*) would take over many of his functions. The * chevins* or urban magistrates exercised considerable legal powers over wills, fines, and, after 1269, investigations over murders and arson.²³ Over time, these elected members of the bourgeoisie took on more and more authority, not only from ecclesiastical but also aristocratic institutions.

All of these bodies required a literate and highly trained cadre of clerics to keep the bureaucracy running smoothly. Berger estimates that as many as 25% of adult males in thirteenth-century Arras had received some formal education, which seems rather high, but the two schools of Arras could accommodate up to 400 boys, and so between 8,000 and 10,000 boys could be educated over a century.²⁴ Clerics applied their learning both to their official duties and to poetry, making the identities of *trouv re*, cleric, and *jongleur* quite fluid.²⁵ These poets would have been trained in the scholastic liberal arts and a mastery of the *trivium* – grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic – would have provided excellent debating tools to *jeu-parti* participants.

One institution was most important in promoting poetic production, especially the *jeu-parti*. The *Confr rie des jongleurs et des bourgeois d'Arras* (or *Carit  des ardents*) was a poetic guild, the first of its kind, that organized competitions and other activities that held together local poets and attracted

22 Berger, *Litt rature et soci t  arrageoises*, 55–59.

23 *Ibid.*, 71–73.

24 *Ibid.*, 110.

25 Jennifer Saltzstein, "Cleric-Trouv res and the *Jeux-Partis* of Medieval Arras," *Viator* 43 (2012): 147–64, at 150.

visiting artists from all over the north of France. Solid documentation extant for the *confrérie* – bylaws and regulations, plus a necrology survive in Paris, BnF, fr. 8541 – is largely absent in the case of early *puys*. Then again, where the word “confrérie” is not attested in any poem, the expression “puy” crops up in many trouvère texts, and later *puys* in Amiens, London, and elsewhere are well attested.²⁶ Although there has been discussion about whether the *puy* and confraternity were one or two distinct organizations, Carol Symes believes the two Artesian organizations were, in fact, one and the same up to at least 1328.²⁷ Besides organizing poetry contests, the confraternity took good care of its members and their families through the establishment of hospitals, payment for the burial of members, and other charitable endeavors.

Jehan Bretel, the Artésian trouvère, named thrice the “Prince of the Puy,” seems to have formed the epicenter of *jeu-parti* production.²⁸ Bretel, who lived from around 1210 to 1272, was born to a well-connected and wealthy family.²⁹ Gally notes that his prestige in larger society was doubled inside of the *puy* as well:

Seul le respect dont on entoure Jehan Bretel – sire Jehan ou sire Bretel – renvoie à la fois à sa situation sociale et à sa situation sociale et à sa position au sein du puy. Double notoriété qui lui vaut être paré à trois reprises de son titre prestigieux de “Prinches del Pui.” Il n’y a qu’Adam de Givenchi, doyen de Lens, pour le nommer “compains Jehan.” Beaucoup d’appellations se réfèrent plus clairement à des liens amicaux et à une sorte de fraternité poétique: Bretel appelle parfois Grieviler “frere.”³⁰

26 Berger, *Littérature et société*, 85–88; Gally, *Parler d’amour*, 33–40; Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 136–38. See also Carol Symes’s essay, “The ‘School of Arras’ and the Career of Adam,” in this volume as well as her book *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), in which the *confrérie* and its links to medieval theater are mentioned throughout, but on 98–105 Symes overviews some of the technical details of the establishment and running of the association. Figures from Paris, BnF, fr. 8541 are included, though this manuscript can now be viewed here: <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9060843g>>. For work on the later, more established *puys*, see Gérard Gros, *Le poète, la Vierge et le prince du puy: étude sur les puys marials de la France du Nord du XI^e siècle à la renaissance* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1992), and Gros, *Le poème du puy marial: étude sur le servantois et le chant royal du XI^e siècle à la renaissance* (Paris, Klincksieck, 1996).

27 See Carol Symes’s essay, “The ‘School of Arras’ and the Career of Adam,” in this volume as well as her book, *A Common Stage*, 218.

28 Michelle Gally’s chapter, “Le cercle des poètes,” in *Parler d’amour*, 41–45, presents a concise treatment of the people involved.

29 *Grove Music Online*, s.v. “Jean Bretel,” by Theodore Karp, www.grovemusiconline.com.

30 Gally, *Parler d’amour*, 42.

(Only the respect that surrounds Jehan Bretel – sir Jehan or sir Bretel – refers back to both his social status and his position at the heart of the *puy*. A double notoriety that earns him three times the title of “Prince of the *Puy*.” Only Adam de Givenchi, dean of Lens, calls him “[my] friend Jehan.” Many epithets refer more clearly to amical relations and a kind of poetic fraternity: Bretel often calls Grieviler “brother.”)

Bretel appears in eighty-nine *jeux-partis*, over half of the extant corpus, and nearly forty poets active around Arras in the mid-thirteenth century participate or are named as judges in them, including Adam de la Halle, Jehan de Grieviler, Jehan le Cuvelier d'Arras, Lambert Ferri, Perrin d'Angicourt, and other, lesser known, poets.³¹ Interestingly, Adam de la Halle's debates with Bretel are not collected among anthologies of Bretel's songs, but those dedicated to Adam. After an overview of major *jeu-parti* sources, we will turn to Adam's debate songs.

4 Major Sources of the *Jeu-Parti*

Jeux-partis are transmitted in not fewer than fourteen manuscripts, which testifies to their popularity. The earliest trouvère witness, ms. *U*, contains only one – RS 1448/CLI, “Gautier, un jeu vos veul partir” between Bestorné and Gautier – while one of the latest manuscripts, ms. *I-trouv.*, contains dozens. An exhaustive examination of all sources would be unwieldy, but certain manuscripts are worthy of comment.

4.1 *Ms. A and ms. a-trouv.*

Two manuscripts compiled in or around Arras in the late thirteenth century are very similar in their songbook sections.³² Known as the *Chansonnier d'Arras*, ms. *A*, with ms. *T-trouv.* (examined briefly above and exhaustively by Berger), represent Artesian literary tastes at the end of the thirteenth century well. Madeleine Tyssens hypothesizes that both came from the same source where ms. *a-trouv.* looks like a larger, more amplified copy than ms. *A*.³³ While

31 See *ibid.* See also *LJB*, xxvi–xxx for a synthesis of Bretel's partners and circle. A more recent treatment of the poet in his poetic and cultural context appears in Davide Checchi, “*Fin'amor e amour soufisant*e nella lirica arrasiana del XIII secolo,” *Medioevo Romanzo* 38 (2014): 287–327.

32 Ms. *A* opens with several moral or religious texts, then the songbook follows.

33 Madeleine Tyssens, ed., « *Intavolare* »: *tables de chansonniers romans* (série coordonnée par Anna Ferrari). II *Chansonniers français*, 1. a (B.A.V., Reg. Lat. 1490), b (B.A.V., Reg. Lat.

ms. *a-trouv*. is a dedicated songbook, ms. *A* opens with several moral and religious texts, then comes the songbook, and a fragment from the *Roman de Sept Sages* and another from the *Marques de Rome* close out the manuscript.

Both songbooks bear the marks of a clerical origin. The first section of ms. *A* is dedicated to aristocratic poets, but the poets represented become progressively more bourgeois and linked to Arras. Though the first three folios of the songbook are missing, they likely corresponded to the opening section of ms. *a-trouv*'s songbook with a selection of the Thibaut de Champagne's songs. Miniatures mark the beginning of song sections dedicated to the Chastelain de Couci (fol. 130r), Gautier de Dargies (fol. 133r), Hugues de Bregi (fol. 135r), Richard de Fournival (fol. 140r); and Adam de la Halle (fol. 142v). The *jeu-parti* section's miniature is of two men debating, and their clothing suggests they are clerics.³⁴ The opening *jeu-parti*, furthermore, is between two lesser-known trouvères, Gilles le Vinier and Simon d'Autie ("Maistre Symon, d'un essample nouvel" [RS 572/CXXXI]). As Saltzstein sees it, "Opening the collection in this way invites readers of the chansonnier d'Arras to perceive the *jeu-parti* as a vernacular musical practice with a noticeably scholarly sensibility."³⁵ One can wonder then how the manuscript's framing texts, with their emphasis on moral, religious, and didactic texts, might have further highlighted those qualities in the *jeux-partis*.

The songbook of ms. *a-trouv* begins with love songs attributed to Thibaut de Champagne. However, as the first folios are missing from the codex, we must rely on the table that opens the collection for that hypothesis.³⁶ Like the ms. *A*, the collection opens with noble poets and focuses on love songs before giving way to bourgeois and clerical trouvères like Guillaume le Vinier, Richard de Fournival, Moniot (d'Arras), Adam de la Halle, and others. However, once the love song section is complete, we don't come straight to the *jeux-partis* as in ms. *A*. First, the reader encounters a series of *pastourelles*, motets and *rondeaux*, and songs in honor of Mary. Then a series of non-musical pieces – the *Dits d'Amour* of Adam de la Halle, Nevelon Amion, and Guillaume d'Amiens; the beginning of Adam's *Jeu de la feuillée*, and the first two stanzas of Guillau-

1522), *A* (Arras, *Bibliothèque Municipale* 657), *Studi e testi* 388 (Cité du Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1998).

34 Saltzstein notes that analogous depictions of debate were common in medieval manuscripts. See "Cleric-Trouvères," 153 n42.

35 *Ibid.*, 158.

36 Tables of contents and contents are often at odds, but Tyssens has noted the close relationships in terms of *mise en texte* and *mise en page* between mss. *A* and *a* and calculated that the number of folios, columns, and lines that are missing would have been precisely enough space to transmit the songs listed in the table: « *Intavulare* ».

me d'Amiens's "Puis qe chanters onkes nul houme aida" – appear.³⁷ Only then do the *jeux-partis* appear. Therefore, as a collection, ms. *a-trow* finds middle ground between two main ways trouvère compilations are organized: earlier collections are arranged by authors, and later collections by genre.

The *jeux-partis* receive special treatment in ms. *a-trow* from the outset: the codex's table of contents is interrupted on fol. 3v, and the rubric "Ce sont parures" appears atop fol. 4r. Similarly, the last Marian song, "Douce dame par amours," is listed as occupying fol. 124 and the first *jeu-parti*, "Maistre Simon .i. essample nouvel," fol. 125. Thus as originally conceived, the compiler wanted the debate songs to stand out.³⁸ While Thibaut de Champagne makes his presence felt at the beginning of the debate song section – he is a participant in four of the first ten debates – he is surrounded by many bourgeois poets – Guillaume le Vinier, Gilles le Vinier, Richard de Fournival, Adam de Givenci – and even a poet identified only as the Moine d'Arras. Clearly, just as the *jeu-parti* intermingled courtly values with more urbane characters, the compiler makes it a point to showcase the eclectic array of participants.

The *partures* section ends with a cluster of songs involving Adam de la Halle. This quire (originally a quaternion) was supposed to contain ten of the trouvère's extant eighteen *jeux-partis* (the last folio was cut away). The first song in this section is RS 1675, the twenty-stanza debate with Jehan Bretel, intimating immediately Adam's prowess in debate. The remaining eight songs are RS 1094, 1798, 277, 950, 494, 1584, 690, and 703, most of which are not initiated by Adam and in which Jehan Bretel is the adversary, which is in keeping with Adam's *jeux-partis* as a corpus (see below). In ms. *T-trow*, Adam's aristocratic love songs finish out the manuscript to show how well the courtly ethos has passed on to a new, diverse public. Here, it would seem that the *jeu-parti* has supplanted the *canço* as the mark of poetic prestige.

4.2 Ms. b

In ms. *b*, the *jeux-partis* do not finish out the codex; rather they take center stage. The manuscript is divided into three sections and a collection of sixty-six *jeux-partis* occupies the middle slot (fols. 139–60). The first section contains a richly illustrated copy of the *Roman de la rose* in fols. 1a–139b, and the last section is dedicated to *Le Tournoiement aus dames de Paris* by Pierre Gencien on fols. 160c–172c. As the hand looks to be the same throughout, we might

37 The entire text of Guillaume's "Puis qe chanters" appears in its complete form earlier in the manuscript on fol. 86b.

38 A partially mutilated quaternion whose folios do not show the same red numerals on the top of the recto side is interpolated here.

wonder why these seemingly separate works were copied together.³⁹ Tyssens comments that we have “deux oeuvres dont le thème commun est la casuistique amoureuse et une oeuvre d’une tout autre inspiration.”⁴⁰ But there are several other features that bring these three together. The *Tournoiement* prologue contains the line “L’autre jor je songe un songe” (The other day I dream[ed] a dream) which brings it right in line with the *Roman de la Rose*, another work about a dream. The combative nature of the tournament, silly though it may be, would seem to take the adversarial nature of the *jeu-parti* to a whole new level.⁴¹ Moreover, like the *jeu-parti*, with its desire to export the courtly ethos into an urban, bourgeois milieu, the *Tournoiement* not only names women as combatants in courtly entertainment, but bourgeois women at that. As Millard-Bove puts it:

Dans cette perspective, l’originalité majeure du *Tournoiement as Dames de Paris* est le fait qu’il mette en scène des bourgeoises, ce qui induit un certain nombre de changements fondamentaux. Le plus frappant se lit d’emblée au niveau de l’onomastique : à la place des châtelaines et des comtesses, combattent la femme de Jean Marcel ou de Jean Bourdon, la fille de Philippe Boucel, et d’autres pourvues de noms plus savoureux, forgés à partir du nom ou du surnom de leur mari : la Barbete, la Gyffarde, la Paelee, la Bigeuse⁴²

(From this perspective, the principal originality of the *Tournoiement as Dams de Paris* lies in the featuring of bourgeois women, which brings about a number of fundamental changes. The most striking of which is

39 Other codicological evidence pointing to the deliberate collection of these works includes the quire structure, decoration, and illustrative style. The manuscript is composed of twenty-two quaternions (two of the last folios are excised, thus leaving the codex with 174 folios). The *Rose* ends on fol. 139r, on the third folio of a quire xvi, while the *jeux-partis* begin on fol. 139v. Furthermore, the *chansonnier* ends on fol. 160r, the recto side of last folio of quire xx, and the *Tournoiement* begins on fol. 160v. The decoration and style of the illustrations is also consistent. Clearly, someone wanted these works copied together.

40 Tyssens, « *Intavulare* », 158.

41 Bénédicte Millard-Bove reviews the paucity of studies dedicated to the work in “Lectures croisées du *Tournoiement as dames de Paris* de Pierre Gencien,” *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales* (2007): 259–75. Alison Stones sees it as a feminist or anti-feminist spoof (“The Illustrated Chrétien Manuscripts and their Artistic Context,” in *Les manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. Keith Busby, Alison Stones, and Lori Walters (Amsterdam-Atlanta: Rodopi, 1993), 1:265), and Raymond Cazelles, the historian of Paris, mentions it in passing as semi-comical, semi-serious, in *Etienne Marcel, champion de l’unité française* (Paris: Tallandier, 1984), 42.

42 Millard-Bove, “Lectures croisées,” 262.

immediately apparent in onomastics: instead of *chastelaines* and countesses, the wife of Jean Marcel or of Jean Bourdon do battle, as do the daughter of Philippe Boucel and others adorned with lively names, built upon the family or first names of their husbands: Barbete, Gryffarde, Pa-elee, Bigeuse)

Ms. *T-trouv.*, examined above, highlights the most courtly of songs by Thibaut de Champagne, aristocratic trouvère *par excellence*, and here the collator of ms. *b* begins with a courtly, allegorical romance and ends with another that delights in naming particular bourgeois women engaged in court-sanctioned violence. The *jeux-partis* come at the crux of this binding of courtly to urban diversion, though the song's lyric qualities are deemphasized since there is no music preserved or even originally planned for this collection.

Like ms. *A* and presumably ms. *a-trouv.*, the *jeux-partis* section of ms. *b* opens with a miniature of two men debating. Here they are seated instead of standing, which may or may not reflect a variant performance style; however, it does emphasize a lack of social hierarchy between the two and intimacy or, at least, familiarity. The two participants may embody the *jeu-parti* in general or the participants of the first song who call each other "Frere" (Brother) and "Sire" (Lord). The song, "Frere, qui fet mielz a prisier" (RS 1293/CXXX), is attributed to the brothers Gilles le Vinier and Guillaume le Vinier elsewhere. Both were born into a rich bourgeois family; Guillaume was a cleric and prolific trouvère, while Gilles, though less productive, was also a composer of songs as well as a canon of churches in Lille and Arras.⁴³

Thibaut de Champagne and Adam de la Halle who, respectively, sometimes open and close collections are virtually absent from ms. *b*. The king of Navarre, who graces the opening folios of mss. *A*, *a-trouv.*, and *T-trouv.*, appears in only two songs. "Sire ne me celés mie liquels vous ert" (RS 1185/v) is the second song in the sequence, and "Dame une riens vous demant" (RS 335) is the sixty-fourth. In the most shadowy of ways, therefore, Thibaut appears at the open and close of the collection. There is no rubric to accompany the first song – perhaps it was already well-known enough? – while the latter's rubric stipulates the debate takes place between the king of Navarre and Queen Blanche of Castile.⁴⁴ Adam appears in only one debate with Jehan Bretel on fol. 147v in

43 Grove Music Online, s.v. "Le Vinier, Guillaume," by Theodore Karp, and Grove Music Online, s.v. "Le Vinier, Gilles," by Elizabeth Aubrey, www.grovemusiconline.com.

44 Other explanations for the lack of rubric include a late decision to add rubrics or a simple oversight – the first song has no rubric either, but the participants of all other songs are identified – as well as a strategy that I suggest in "Words With Friends": the brothers of the first song have been attested elsewhere to be Guillaume le Vinier and Gilles le Vinier.

“Adam cuidai engané le marchié” (RS 1094/CXXIII).⁴⁵ Adam de la Halle could be the judge named on fol. 160r in the debate between Hues le Maronniers and Symon d’Arliies or it could be Adam de Guivenchi who debates elsewhere in the collection.

The real star of ms. *b* is Jehan Bretel: he participates in more than half of the collection’s debates. While his adversaries are varied, his most frequent opponent is Jean de Gréwillers. Surrounding them are the “Who’s Who” of *arrageois* society: besides the Vinier brothers, we encounter Lambert Ferri, Simon d’Autie, Jehan le Cuvelier, Richard de Dargiés, Colart le Boutellier, Gadifer d’Avion, Gillebert de Berneville, and many others. There’s even an attestation to Gace Brulé, though he was Champenois and long dead before *confréries* and *puy*s became powerful institutions. Besides these luminaries, the compiler includes myriad relatively minor figures: Perrot de Neele, Jean de Marli, Audefroi le Bastart, the Trésorier d’Aire, a “monk of Arras,” and the Dame de Gosnai, who is known only for this song, among others still. And, of course, when the judges are taken into account – Dragon seemed to be a favored arbiter in this community, but Perrin d’Agincourt also serves frequently – we find a large, diverse, but organized society brought together by a love of song, debate, and companionship. Jehan Bretel may be the poet whose presence is the most felt, however, the main figure is really not one individual but the *puy* as a powerful social institution of thirteenth-century Arras with Bretel serving as an anchor.

4.3 Ms. *W-trouv*.

Thibaut de Champagne may have had a role in anthologizing his own songs, but the speculation surrounding Adam de la Halle’s contribution to the preservation of his works is even greater. Ms. *W-trouv*. represents the earliest extant single-author collection beyond simple collections of songs in *chansonniers*. A table on fol. 1r (with some inaccuracies) begins as follows:

Che sont li encapitulement
des coses si sont en cest livre

Les cancons adan de le hale
Ses partures

Thibaut’s partner in the following song is identified only as Guillaume, and so the lack of rubric makes it look as though Guillaume le Vinier is Thibaut’s partner. In this way, aristocratic and bourgeois publics are fused from the outset of the *jeux-partis* section of the manuscript.

45 Curiously, Badel omits this source from the list of manuscripts in his 1995 edition. See *Œuvres complètes*, 29–30.

Ses rondiaus
 Ses motes
 Li jus du pelerin
 Li jus de robin & de marion
 [...]

Sylvia Huot shows how rubrics and miniatures in the following quires are equally important to shaping the reception of Adam's work as a collected volume.⁴⁶ Importantly, Adam's lyric works come first, followed by his dramatic works, stanzaic compositions like the *Roi de Sezile*, and other non-musical works.⁴⁷ Within the lyric section, another hierarchy is apparent, one seen in other song collections: Adam's aristocratic love songs receive top billing, followed then by this "partures" or *jeux-partis*.⁴⁸ Furthermore, as Huot sees it, the location of Adam's oeuvre at the outset of the codex is important: it serves as a prologue to this important collection of works that focuses on Arras as well as the themes of love and social satire.⁴⁹

Much like the *jeu-parti* section in ms. *b*, the "partures" section of Adam's works opens on fol. 23v with a miniature of two men debating. The figure on the right wearing red is likely meant to represent Adam, since on fol. 10r, in the

46 Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987), 67–68. More recent work on Adam in this collection includes Federico Saviotti's "Precisazioni per una riletura del ms. BnF, fr.25566 (canzoniere francese W)," *Medioevo romanzo* 35 (2011): 262–84 and "À la recherche d'Adam: tradition et fortune d'un motif et d'un texte dans la France médiévale," *Romania* 131 (2013): 5–24. See also Yasmina Foehr-Janssens and Olivier Collet, eds., *Le recueil au Moyen Âge: le Moyen Âge central, Texte, Codex, & Context* 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

47 Pierre-Yves Badel replicates the compilational order of this manuscript. He writes: "Oeuvres complètes d'Adam? Pas tout à fait, puisque d'autres manuscrits font connaître deux chansons et deux jeux-partis supplémentaires et que, inversement, le *Jeu du pèlerin*, qui donne des informations sur la carrière de l'artiste, n'est pas de lui. A ces corrections près, la première partie de *W* résulte bien d'un effort pour que ne se perdent les oeuvres d'Adam et pour les présenter comme un ensemble ordonné" (Complete works of Adam? Not exactly, since two other manuscripts alert us to two more love songs and two more *jeux-partis* and the *Jeu du pèlerin*, which provides information on the artist's career, was not authored by him. With these indications in mind, the first part of *W* is the result of an effort to preserve Adam's works in a coherent order). Badel, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9.

48 Similarly, the *jeux-partis* follow the *chansons* in ms. *Q*, but this collection is only of the poet's love songs and *jeux-partis*, interpolated at the end of quires in a later hand with very few melodies. See Edith Brayer, "Notice du manuscrit. Paris, BN fr. 1109," in *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Félix Grat*, ed. Émile-A. van Moé et al. (Paris: En dépôt chez Mme Pecqueur-Grat, 1946–1949), 2: 223–50.

49 Huot, *From Song to Book*, 73.

miniature preceding the love songs, the figure singing is also wearing red. Whereas in ms. *b* rubrics identify the participants in each debate (with few exceptions), no rubrics are needed here: Adam participates in each one, and his partner will be named by and by in the song. The careful attention to alternate red and blue initials at the outset of every stanza, though not an uncommon practice in lyric manuscripts, has the effect here of highlighting the alternation of voices in the debate. Whereas RS 1675, the twenty-stanza debate with Bretel, opens other Adam *jeu-parti* collections, it is here located towards the center of the collection. Visually, the song has the most impact on fol. 29r: every other page has musical accompaniment somewhere, but on this page, only words are visible, highlighting the verbal, rhetorical weight of the debate.

5 The *Jeux-Partis* of Adam de la Halle

Adam de la Halle participated in eighteen *jeux-partis*, if one admits the twenty-stanza debate with Jehan (RS 1675) among the repertory, and considering the compiler of ms. *W-trouv* counted them among the *partures*, there is little reason to exclude it, in spite of its length. Adam initiates only four songs (RS 1584/CXI; RS 1443/XCVII; RS 690/CXXII; RS 1679/CXX) and his preferred partner would seem to be Jehan Bretel. Table 6.1 lists Adam's *jeux-partis* in the order in which they appear in ms. *W-trouv* by incipit, catalogue numbers, partner, and debate content. Formally, they conform, for the most part, to the typical scheme: six stanzas followed by two *envois*. Only three songs stray from this scheme, most notably the twenty-stanza RS 1675, to which we return below.

TABLE 6.1 The *jeux-partis* of Adam de la Halle.

RS no. LJB no.	– Incipit – Partner – Judges	Initiator: Question	Formal schemes
1026 CVIII	– “Adan, s’il estoit ensi” – Jean Bretel – Audefrois; Dragon	Sire Jean: were your lady to grant her favors to you ten times over a lifetime, would you wait or no?	Six stanzas 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 a b a b c c d d Two <i>envois</i> of four verses
1798 CIX	– “Adan, vaurriés vous manoir” – Jean Bretel – Gréவில்; Cuvelier	Sire Jean: would you stay in Arras if you were rich and had a beautiful lady on the condition that you never leave and only see her?	Six stanzas 7 7 7 7 7 7 10 10 a b a b c c d d Two <i>envois</i> of four verses

TABLE 6.1 The *jeux-partis* of Adam de la Halle

RS no. LJB no.	– Incipit – Partner – Judges	Initiator: Question	Formal schemes
331 CX	– “Adan, d’amour vous demant” – Jean Bretel – Lambert Ferri; Gréville	Sire Jean: does love bring more good or bad to a loyal lover?	Six stanzas 7 7 7 7 10 10 a b a b c c Two <i>envois</i> of three verses
1584 CXI	– “Sire Jehans, ainc ne fustes partis” – Jean Bretel – Audefro; Dragon	Adam: Which man loves better, the one who brings his suit with joyful abandon or the one who uses discretion?	Six stanzas 10 10 10 10 10 7 10 7 a b a b c c b b Two <i>envois</i> of four verses
703 CXII	– “Adan, se vous amiés bien loialment” – Jean Bretel – Grévillers; Lambert Ferri	Sire Jean: If you were sincerely in love, would you prefer to have Love with you but not your lady or your lady with you, but not Love?	Six stanzas 10 7 10 7 10 10 10 a b b a a c c Two <i>envois</i> of four verses
950 CXIII	– “Adan, a moi respondés” – Jean Bretel – Lambert Ferri; Grévillers	Sire Jean: Would you prefer to win your lady through deceit or serve her all your life with the only reward of seeing her happy?	Six stanzas 7 7 7 7 7 7 10 10 5 7 a b b a c c d d e e Two <i>envois</i> of five verses
494 CXIV	– “Adan, qui aroit amee” – Messire – Lambert Ferri; Dragon	Sire Jean: After serving a lady for seven years with no reward, can a lover abandon her and seek out solace from another lady?	Six stanzas 7 7 7 7 5 7 10 10 a b b a c c d d Two <i>envois</i> of four verses
CXV 1817	– “Adan, vous devés savoir” – Messire – Lambert Ferri (named by both participants)	Sire Jean: Which fear is worse, being eschewed by one's beloved without having ever had any reward or losing what one has already gained?	Six stanzas 7 7 7 7 5 5 7 7 7 7 a b a b c c d d e e Two <i>envois</i> of five verses
277 CXVI	– “Adan, mout fu Aristotes sachans” – Jean Bretel – Evrart; Lambert Ferri	Sire Jean: The wise Aristotle was ridden like a horse by a lady who did not keep her promise. Would you do the same were the lady to keep her word?	Six stanzas 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 a b a b c c d d Two <i>envois</i> of four verses
1833 CXVII	– “Adan, amis, je vous dis une fois” – Messire (likely Jean Bretel) – Dragon	Messire: Is it better to serve one's lady faithfully for one, two, or three years or to ask her for her love immediately?	Six stanzas 10 10 7 7 10 10 7 a b c c b a c One <i>envoi</i> of four verses

TABLE 6.1 The *jeux-partis* of Adam de la Halle (*cont.*).

RS no. LJB no.	– Incipit – Partner – Judges	Initiator: Question	Formal schemes
1675	– “Adan, amis, mout savés bien vo roi” – Jean Bretel – Lambert Ferri; Audefroï; Dame de Danemoi	Sire Jehan: Please instruct me in the way of love, how and why you serve it?	Twenty stanzas 10 10 10 10 10 5 7 10 a b a b b c c b No <i>envoi</i>
1443 XCVII	– “Compains Jehan, un jeu vous voel partir” – Jean Bretel – None	Adam: Given the choice between two equally beautiful and respected ladies, do you prefer she who has never loved or she who has rightly and honorably ended a love affair?	Five stanzas 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 a b a b c c b No <i>envoi</i>
359 CXVIII	– “Adan, si soit que me feme amés tant” – Roger – La Thieuloye; Lambert Ferri	Roger: Suppose you love my wife and I yours, but we are not loved in return. Would you want us to go any further so that I would be welcomed by yours and you by mine?	Six stanzas 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 a b a b c c d d Two <i>envois</i> of four verses
1066 CXIX	“Adan, liquels doit miex trouver merchi” – Jean Bretel – Lambert Ferri/Dragon	Jean Bretel: Which man should be welcomed more by his lady, the one who does not hesitate to court her openly in public or the one who would rather die than show his love?	Six stanzas 10 7 10 7 7 7 10 10 a b a b c c d d Two <i>envois</i> of four verses
690 CXXII	– “Assignés chi, Grivilier, jugement!” – Gréவில்lers – None	Adam: Does the one who wishes to exalt love spend his time better by preaching the perseverance of loyal lovers or by trying to convert those who are treacherous?	Eight stanzas 10 10 10 10 10 4 10 4 a b b a a b a b No <i>envois</i>
1094 CXXIII	– “Avoir cuidai engané le marchié” – Jean Bretel – Lambert Ferri	Sire Jean: I have courted a lady and she has received me graciously, but I notice that she greets everyone the same. Have I gained or lost my suit?	Six stanzas 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 a b a b c c b a One <i>envoi</i> of four verses
CXX 1679	– “Sage, assés sage vous voi” – Messire – Audefroï; Robillard du Quesnoy	Adam: If I love a lady, should I be more happy when, carried away by passion, I reveal my love to her or when my request is	Six stanzas 7 5 7 7 7 7 5 7 7 5 a b b a c c a c c a Two <i>envois</i> of four verses

TABLE 6.1 The *jeux-partis* of Adam de la Halle (*cont.*).

RS no.	– Incipit	Initiator: Question	Formal schemes
LJB no.	– Partner – Judges		
2049	– “Adan, du quel cuidiés vous”	Sire [Bretel]: Which lover is more	Six stanzas
CXXI	– Sire – Gréவில்lers	unhappy, the one who delights in his lady’s favors but who is jealous or the one who has received nothing but feels no jealousy?	7 7 7 7 7 7 10 10 a b a b c c d d One <i>envoi</i> of four verses

Adam debates exclusively with three partners: Jehan Bretel, Roger, and Gréவில்lers. Bretel is his partner in sixteen of the eighteen surviving *jeux-partis*, but a caveat is necessary: in many songs, Adam only addresses his partner “Messire,” which critics have accepted to be Bretel as he is addressed by that title elsewhere. Adam debates with Roger only in one song (RS 359/CXVIII), and the same is true for Gréவில்lers (RS 690/CXXII). Also noteworthy is how Adam does not most often initiate debates. He challenges Gréவில்lers, but not Roger, and of the sixteen encounters between Adam and Bretel, the prince instigates their encounter twelve times. Moreover, when he does so, he speaks to Adam with deference, sometimes noting his superior education:

Adan, a moi respondés
 Con lais hom a cest affaire
 Car ne sai point de grammaire
 Et vous estes bien letrés. (RS 950/CXIII, vv. 1–4)

Adam, respond to this question
 this time as a lay person
 since I know nothing of grammar
 and you are well learned.⁵⁰

Not that Adam doesn’t feel that Bretel represents a worthy opponent:

Sire, assés sage vous voi

50 I choose to translate the terms “grammaire” and “letrés” rather literally. In his modern French translation, Badel opts for “latin” and “latiniste.” Of course, in learning the *trivium*, medieval students would have learned grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, and the first encompassed learning to read and interpret Latin texts.

Pour moi consillier
De chou dont vous vuel proier. (RS 1679/CXX, vv. 1–3)

My lord, I know you to be wise enough
to advise me concerning
that which I wish to ask you.

Or a willing one:

Adan, bien sui de respondre garnis:
Nus n'en ira ja escondis de moi
Se il me part. (RS 1584/CXI, vv. 9–11)⁵¹

Adam, I am ready to respond.
I would never brush off anyone
who proposed a *jeu-parti*.

Reading one *jeu-parti* after another between Adam and Bretel gives the impression of being in the presence of friends of mutual respect who enjoy each other's company. Whether or not that is historically true, it is a rhetorical effect that goes to the heart of the *jeu*.

The questions Adam debates are typical of the *jeu-parti*, and they do not stray too far towards preciosity or bawdiness. The importance of patience and loyalty come out most often, either in the pursuit of a lady's favor or in their enjoyment. In RS 1833/CXVII, for instance, Bretel asks Adam if a lover should claim his reward immediately after serving the lady or wait a while, and in RS 1026/CVIII, he asks, given his lady were to agree to be with him ten times over a lifetime, would Adam space out those encounters or not. The question's artificiality, its pure hypothetical nature, typifies such debates: after all, has any lady anywhere ever granted such a request? But these debates are not about preparing for realistic encounters with the beloved: it was the performance, not the question that speakers and listeners relished.

Adam and his partners employ metaphors from various semantic fields to support their arguments. Although the poets are bourgeois, a few feudal and chivalric images, vestiges of the *jeu-parti*'s origins, are detectable. In RS 1817/CXV, for example, Bretel compares the anxiety of asking one's lord for land to asking a lady for her favor:

⁵¹ Similarly, in the first verses of RS 1833/CXVII, Bretel confesses, though he once told Adam and Jean de Marly that he would never undertake another *jeu-parti*, that he can't help himself.

Adam, qui terre ou manoir
 Requier en court de seignour,
 Il se doit plus douter, voir,
 Entreus qu'il atent le jour
 Que drois doit oïs,
 Que, quant ens est mis,
 De reperdre, se demie
 A de sens ne de voisdie. (vv. 41–48)

Adam, the one who requests
 land or a manor of his lord,
 must surely be more fearful
 while he awaits the day
 of decision's announcement
 than, when he already possesses those things,
 to lose his rights, even if he has only
 half of his reason and good sense.

A tournament metaphor appears in RS 1679/CXX:

Sire, quant en un tournoy
 Prendés chevalier
 Pour lui faire fiancier,
 Loes le devés laisser de quoy
 Qu'il est a fiance mis. (vv. 41–45)

Sire, when in a tournament,
 You choose a knight
 and ask that he give you his word,
 you should leave him alone
 from the moment he has made his promise.

Adam proceeds to compare the situation to his lady who has promised him her heart, which by extension gives him no right to complain about waiting for the outcome. While these comparisons may point to a world beyond the daily life of most *arrageois* listeners, they are readily understood even by the most non-aristocratic audience members.

Domestic metaphors to which people could relate easily abound in Adam's debates. Metaphors of consuming food and drink are prevalent. In the debate about a lady granting her lover ten amorous encounters, Breteel believes it is foolish to go hungry when food is at hand:

On doit tenir pour failli
 Chelui qui famine aigrie
 S'il mangier apresté gage. (RS 1026/CVII, vv. 11–13)

One should fault the man who
 lets hunger torment him
 while pushing away ready food.

In another song, RS 2049/CXXI, Bretel and Adam debate about jealousy in love, and Adam believes it is better to have what one desires and be jealous than to prolong desire and not feel jealous:

Mius vient, au tesmoing de tous,
 Le ventre avoir trop tendant
 Pour un peu de mal souffrir
 Que de famine langhir. (vv. 27–30)

It is better, everyone agrees,
 to have the belly overfull
 and suffer a bit from it
 than starve to death.

When Bretel asks Adam if he would agree to stay in Arras all his life, provided he had both riches and only his lady for companionship, Adam compares such a life to being in an abbey, which did have its material rewards:

On entre en une abbeie
 Pour mengier oes et caus flans.
 Encore est deduis plus grans
 D'estre d'avoir et d'amie aaisiés. (RS 1798/CIX, vv. 28–31)

One joins an abbey
 to eat eggs and warm flans.
 The delight is greater still
 in being both rich and with one's beloved.

Wine, of course, also provided a perfect metaphor for pleasure and its deferral:

Sire, onques ne m'abeli
 Vins c'on a boire detrie
 Qui du tonnel ore issi;

Car si savereus n'est mie,
Tant sai bien de beverage. (RS 1026/CVIII, vv. 41–45)

Sire, it never pleased me
to wait to drink wine
what one has just taken from the barrel;
it does not have the same taste,
if I am a good judge of drink.

Everyone is Adam's world understood hunger and thirst: eating, drinking, and, by extension, fasting provided immediate, concrete imagery to the diverse public before whom these songs were performed.

Adam's public also understood work, and the need to work in order to live was something the Artesian public could understand. Bretel's answer to the query of ten favors is that he would space out the encounters:

Adan, chil sont escarni,
Quant ont leur messon cueillie,
Qui tost le despendent si
Que ne s'en sent lour maisnie
Parmi le tans ivrenage. (RS 1026/CVIII, vv. 35–39)

Adam, they are ridiculous,
those who take in their crops
and consume it so quickly
that their household has nothing
for wintertime.

It is a reasonable and pithy comparison, even if one is not a farmer. Similarly, one doesn't have to be a mason to grasp the truth of Adam's assertion when trying to convince Gréவில் he should spend his time counseling loyal lovers rather than converting the disloyal:

Jehan de Griviler, seur fondement
Foivle et mauvais fait mal edefier.
Laissies le faus amant a justichier;
Si vous tenés a chelui qui ne ment,
C'on voit par défaute d'ensengnement
Maint desvoier
Et mainte tour qui n'a retenement

Adamagier. (RS 690/CXXII, vv. 17–24)

Jehan de Griviler, on weak and crumbling
foundations one does not build.
Forget about counseling the false love;
Pay attention to the one who is true,
for one sees many stray for
a lack of learning
and many towers fall down
for a lack of supports.

Even some of the rarer of professions come into the picture, like Adam's messenger in RS 1833/CXVII, the debate on whether a lover should ask for his reward immediately or wait:

Sire, d'amant est mout grans estrelois,
Qui prie loeus c'Amours l'a assailli,
Aussi c'uns courliex sur voie. (vv. 8–10)

Sire, a great abuse takes place when
a lover wants recompense as soon as Love torments him,
like a courier en route.

Adam's listeners, medieval or modern, may not be farmers, masons or couriers, but everyone can understand these metaphors for caution in love suits.

Adam's daily life, of course, included clerical pursuits. Clerics were trained in theology and in argumentation, and in thirteenth-century France, Aristotle loomed large in their academic pursuits. For this reason, the *jeu-parti* "Adan, mout fu Aristotes sachans" (RS 277/CXVI) deserves some special consideration for its use of the example of the *Lai d'Aristote*, a *dit* that circulated among manuscripts of the time, and especially in Artesian circles.⁵² In this *lai*, Aristotle, the very epitome of reason and sober judgment for medieval thinkers, reproaches Alexander the Great, his student, for having neglected political and military affairs for the love of a woman. Alexander rebuffs the woman who,

52 Following the analysis of François Zufferey in "Un problème de paternité: le cas d'Henri d'Andeli. II. Arguments linguistiques," *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 68 (2004): 57–78, the case for attributing the *lai* to Henri de Valenciennes rather than Henri d'Andeli is surer. The text survives in six manuscripts: Paris, BnF, Arsenal 3516; Paris, BnF, fr. 837; Paris, BnF, Fr. 1593; Paris, BnF 19152; Paris, BnF NAF 1104; and Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale 68. There is also a German version of the *lai* known as "Aristotle and Phyllis."

vexed, seeks revenge. Walking in a garden one day, dressed carelessly, she enflames desire in Aristotle and agrees to give in to him, but only if he agrees to let her ride him around like a horse. Aristotle agrees, and Alexander, who is in on the ruse, sees them and laughs; Aristotle, ashamed, admits he was wrong to criticize the king. It is a *lai* that plays on well-known notions of how love conquers even the mightiest – Alexander – and wisest – Aristotle – of men.

Bretel's question of Adam is quite straightforward: in Aristotle's place, would he have done the same? He approaches the subject, knowing full well the legend is known to Adam:

Adan, mout fu Aristotes sachans
 Et si fu il par Amours tes menés
 Qu'enselés fu comme chevaus ferrans
 Et chevauchiés, *ensi que vous savés*,
 Pour cheli que il voloit a amie,
 Qui, en le fin, couvient ne li tint mie.
 Vaurriés vous estre atournés ensement
 De vo dame, se vous tenoit couvent? (vv. 1–8, emphasis added)

Adam, Aristotle was very wise
 and yet Love dominated him so thoroughly
 that he was saddled like a horse
 and ridden, *as you well know*,
 for the love of the one whom he desired,
 who did not keep her promise after all.
 Would you be treated the same way
 by your lady, if she were to keep her word?

Bretel indicates that he and Adam are not only familiar with Aristotle, the learned – *sachans* – philosopher, but also with vernacular textual traditions, thus presenting a prime example of what Saltzstein calls a “confluence of learning and the vernacular” which typifies cleric-trouvères of the time.⁵³ He manipulates the terms of the example, however, by stipulating that Adam's lady, unlike Aristotle's, would keep her word. Adam's response proves he is equal to the task of balancing the two traditions of Latin learning and vernacular poetics:

Sire, qui prent as fais des souffisans

53 Saltzstein, *Refrain and the Rise*, 147.

Essample et cuer n'en doit estre blamés:
 Aristotes fu de moi plus vaillans
 En renommee, en scienche, en bontés;
 Et quant il ot le plaisanche acomplie
 De sa dame, [n']en ot il mie aïe.
 Dont doi je bien faire tel hardement,
 Qui mains vail, et s'arai alegement. (vv. 9–16, original brackets)

Sire, one should not blame someone
 who follows the example of the best people:
 Aristotle was superior to me
 in reputation, science, and moral value;
 and although he had accomplished the wish
 of his lady, he received no reward.
 Therefore I have every reason to be just as audacious
 when I am less worthy and will be rewarded.

Adam makes an appeal to authority, which is in keeping with debate tactics in the Middle Ages, and acknowledges Aristotle's reputation as wiser and more worthy than him. However, he takes Bretel's twist – the lady will grant him her favors – and turns the tables to rehabilitate Aristotle's choice: Aristotle, a wiser man, did as much for less reward, so why shouldn't he follow suit?⁵⁴

Bretel's reply is a two-fold attack, one based on both clerical procedure and courtly ethics. He blames Adam for being a poor cleric and a lazy lover:

Mout en avés abaissie clergie!
 Mais je sai bien pereche vous maistrie:
 Pour esquiever le peine c'on en sent
 Au deservir, volés goïr vieument. (vv. 21–24)

You have disgraced the station of cleric!
 But I know well that laziness drives you:
 in order to circumvent the pain that one feels

54 Saltzstein focuses on the import of the word “essample” here: “When Jehan asks whether Adam would allow his lover to ride him like a horse, as Aristotle does in the *Lai*, Adam responds that one cannot blame those who would follow the example (essample) of a writer such as Aristotle, who Adam claims has surpassed him in renown, knowledge, and value. The word “essample” underscores the origin of the debate in another work of literature, and it is the strength of Aristotle's legacy in letters that would prompt Adam to assent to so humiliating a model of behavior.” See Saltzstein, “Cleric-trouvères,” 160.

by serving [love], you wish to earn your reward cheaply.

In one fell swoop, Bretel tries to undermine the clerical foundation of Adam's argument but also his *savoir faire* in terms of courtly love: rather than show himself to be a good lover who is willing to be patient and obedient, Adam is taking a short cut and devaluing the noble art of loving. Adam begs to differ:

Car biens d'Amours est de tel signerie
 C'on n'i puet emploier mauusement
 Honte a souffrir diffame ne tourment. (vv. 30–32)

For rewards of Love are so noble
 that one could not do badly to
 suffer shame, dishonor, or torment for them.

The argument goes to the heart of the courtly tradition: did not Guinevere spurn Lancelot at first because he hesitated to suffer the infamy of climbing into the cart? The rest of the debate goes back and forth about what one should and should not do for love, but it is a wonderful example of Adam and Bretel's abilities to marshal arguments and examples from learned and vernacular spheres of influence.

Finally, should the twenty-stanza song between Bretel and Adam, "Adan, amis, mout savés bien vo roi" (RS 1675) be considered a *jeu-parti*? Of course, medieval compilers and scribes clearly thought so. Both mss. *A* and *a-trouv.* open the series of *jeux-partis* involving Adam de la Halle with this song, and in ms. *W-trouv.* it takes a nearly central position in the debate collection. Yet, the song is omitted from *LJB*, likely for two reasons: first, Bretel does not pose a choice to Adam; rather, he only asks for advice in love. In this respect, it resembles Occitan *tensos* or the songs that Wallensköld labels *débats* in the work of Thibaut de Champagne. Second, RS 1675 is so much longer than any other *jeu-parti*, it stretches the formal properties of the genre perhaps too far. However, upon closer examination of the song, this second objection can be satisfactorily countered.

The song may begin with an open question, but it stays in a typically clerical register. Bretel asks Adam about why and how he serves love, and he specifically asks for a lesson in the subject:

J'ai bien mestier de vo *enseignement*,
 Car je n'en sai mie
 Le maintien ne le *maistrie*;

Sel voeil *savoir* de vous, *aprendés* m'ent! (vv. 5–8, emphasis added)

I have great need of your instruction,
 since I know nothing of
 its workings or its authority;
 and I wish to learn from you, so teach me!

The italicized words belong to the same clerical semantic field found in so many other Artesian *jeux-partis*. The word “maistrie” is particularly rich in its meaning: it connotes not only “authority” – in both a learned and a legal sense – but also “mastery” and “superior knowledge.”⁵⁵ Adam responds he serves Love wholeheartedly to win his beloved’s heart through joyful song, desire, and proper conduct. Jehan seems unimpressed, and he complains that he knows all this already. He has come to learn more from Adam: “Se vous plus a l’autre fie / Ne me moustrés, je n’apendrai noient!” (If you don’t show me more this time, I will learn nothing). Clearly, this debate, perhaps more than others, is a contest of who can showcase his learning better: the prince of the *puÿ* or the learned cleric. Adam complains Bretel asks too much, for his knowledge on the subject would far surpass the time they have together:

Moustrer ne puis quanques il i aprent,
 C’Amours me tarie
 Et tant me diversefie
 Que j’en diroie articles plus de chent! (vv. 29–32)

I cannot lay out everything there is to learn,
 for Love moves me
 and torments me so
 that I’d have more than a hundred subjects to touch on!

Once again, Adam returns to a learned vocabulary: the word “article” meant in a technical sense parts of a statute, treatise, or contract.⁵⁶ Knowledge of love, intimates Adam, amounts to a formalized, organized body of information that one learns like the law, philosophy, or even theology – after all, the word is still used in the expression “articles of faith.”

55 Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l’ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle* (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1888), 5:100–101.

56 *Ibid.*, 8:193.

While the majority of *jeux-partis* are six stanzas long with two *envois*, RS 1675 acknowledges this pattern. In stanza VII, Bretel calls for Lambert Ferri's judgment:

Adan, or estes vous en meilleur ploi,
 Mais nel prenc mie encore en paiement.
 Vostre repons a Lambert Ferri proi
 Qu'il estudit bien et soigneusement
 Se vous en avés fait souffissaument
 Saine vo partie. (vv. 49–54)

Adam, your case is now better made,
 but I don't buy it at all.
 I ask Lambert Ferri to
 study your response carefully and thoroughly
 to see if you have sufficiently
 defended your case.

Adam agrees to the choice of judge: "Je m'i metrai aussi" (I will submit to him as well, v.60). From the audience's perspective, it seems as though that Adam and Bretel are about to close out their debate. However, Adam reinterprets the designation of judges from a conventional appeal to an outside authority to an accusation of dodging the question:

Je m'i metrai aussi, car autrement
 Ne vous porroie oster legierement
 De vo enredie.
 Vous esmustes ceste aillie,
 Mais trop vous en partés honteusement! (vv. 60–64)

I will submit to him as well, for otherwise
 I would not be able to move you easily
 from your stubbornness.
 You sought this debate,
 but now you shamefully back away from it.

At this point, Bretel exclaims he is not backing down and will gladly continue as long as Adam wants. From there, the two go back and forth about a number of issues including whether the young or the old know more about love (vv. 72–80), if Bretel would more easily abandon love or money (vv. 108–9), and if

Adam's time is better spent loving or studying (vv. 110–24). At one point, the debate gets quite heated when Bretel accuses Adam of speaking “hunchback-like” (*bochuement*), to which Adam, who was reputedly hunchbacked and sometimes called Adam *le bossu*, takes umbrage: “Sire, vers vous m'umeli et souploi / Et vous me rampronés vilainement” (My lord, I come and talk humbly with you / and you mock me viciously, vv. 89–90).⁵⁷ Attention is now turned away from the arguments themselves and to the ethics of debate. Bretel, seemingly repentant, replies:

Adan, par outrage ne par buffoi
 Ne vaint on pas se cause, voirement,
 Mais par raison, par sens et par castoi.

Adam, surely, one does not triumph with one's case
 through insults or arrogance,
 but through reason, good judgment, and teaching.

As we saw above, according to Gally, the *jeu-parti* is only putatively about love; rather, it is about debating love. In this song, the interlocutors go a step further: from a debate about love, they debate debating.

By the end, both agree debates should be civil, and Adam offers to forgive and forget on the condition they revisit the question of judges:

Sire, adés fait bon laisser l'esbanoi

⁵⁷ In just one other *jeu-parti* does Adam seem to get so riled. In RS 359/CXVIII, Roger asks Adam to suppose that they loved each other's wives, but the women did not reciprocate. He wants to know if Adam would agree to his continued pursuit of her to the point of earning his reward, provided Adam succeed equally well with Roger's wife. Adam seems scandalized by the very notion. This is not to say that the two opponents disparage each other rarely. On the contrary, that is all part of the game: “Si les allusions personnelles concourent à discréditer l'adversaire de diverses manières, les procédés de disqualification concernent presque exclusivement sa connaissance vs ignorance en matière d'amour, elles recouvrent l'opposition vrai vs faux et attirent l'attention sur son habileté vs maladresse dans l'art de l'argumentation. En un mot, ils renvoient au jeu lui-même et ne parlent que de la façon de le conduire dans la mesure où toute proposition concernant le sujet est refusée préemptoirement ou retournée en son contraire” (If personal allusions work to discredit the opponent in various ways, the techniques of disqualification are almost exclusively concerned with his knowledge or ignorance of amorous matters, they obscure the opposition between truth and falsehood and draw attention to the opponent's ability vs his haplessness in the art of argumentation. In short, they refer back to the game itself and how to conduct it in such a way that each claim is immediately deflected and turned on its head). Gally, *Parler d'amour*, 118.

Entreus qu'il est biaux et sans mautalent.
 Je vous pardoins le honte et le desroi
 Que sans raison m'avés fait, par couvent
 Qu'encore un home ou deus soingneusement
 Prendons sans boisdie. (vv. 137–42)

My lord, one does well to leave the game
 while it is pleasant and without bitterness.
 I forgive you the insults and torment that you
 have done to me without reason, on the condition
 that we carefully consider and without deceit
 one or two judges.

Adam reiterates that Lambert Ferri remains acceptable. Bretel agrees and names another arbiter:

Adam, mout bien me plaist, et si l'otroi,
 Qu'a vous ne voeil riote ne content,
 Mais bien en pais. En signeur Audefroi
 M'en mech: or penst bien curieusement
 Se vous avés respondu passaument. (vv. 145–49)

Adam, much does it please me, and I agree,
 I don't want to argue or quarrel,
 but rather be at peace. I agree to
 my lord Audefroi: let him now carefully consider
 if you have responded reasonably.

In order to make the debate time even, Adam sings one more stanza and names yet another judge, for he did suggest to Bretel that they name “one or two” more. Adam names a lady this time:

Autrui que vous, dame de Danemoi,
 N'i voeil avoir pour mi nommeement.
 Or serés vous en jugement tout troi,
 Vous, Audefroi et Ferris ensement.

No one but you, Lady of Danemoi,
 would I want to name.
 All three of you shall stand in judgement,

you, Audefroï, and Ferri as well.

Naming more than two judges, rare but possible, allows Adam to call into question the *jeu-parti* convention of naming judges.⁵⁸

In the final analysis, RS 1675 belongs to the genre both in spite and because of how it stretches the conventions of the *jeu-parti*. In a way, it is like a double *jeu-parti*: the first eight stanzas, taken alone, constitute a conventional example of the genre, though the question is posed more openly than in other debates. The debate reopens, thus altering a listener's horizon of expectation and prodding him to wonder about what kind of *jeu-parti* this is. By the time the song comes to a close with a triplicate designation of judges, Adam and Bretel have spurred the public to a higher consciousness of the conventions that characterize the *jeu-parti*. How should a subject be posed? How many and when should judges be named? How long should a *jeu-parti* last? What kind of comments are out of bounds? While evoking these questions, the debaters manage to touch upon major themes of the *jeu-parti*: loyalty, youth/age, honesty, singing, service, and, of course, knowledge. RS 1675 sets a bar, I would argue, against which all other examples may be judged.

6 Conclusion

In conclusion, as Gally puts it:

L'oeuvre d'Adam de la Halle emblématise, en un sens, le rapport *critique* des Arrageois aux formes dont ils héritent et à leur propre milieu. Les jeux qui se déroulent entre lui et Jehan Bretel, le prince du puy, forment l'ensemble le plus brillant et le plus éclairant sur le sens de ces pièces au sein de la communauté du puy et globalement sur le sens de la lyrique chez les Arrageois.⁵⁹

(The corpus of Adam de la Halle emblemizes, in a sense, the *critical* relationship established by the *arrageois* between the poetic forms they inherited and their own social milieu. The debates that occur between him and Jehan Bretel, the prince of the *puy*, form the most brilliant and illuminating subgroup as they transpire in the heart of the community of

58 In the debate between Tierri and Raoul (RS 1296/CL), Raoul calls on “dames plainnes de mercit” (v. 52) to judge their argument, and Tierri agrees.

59 Gally, *Parler d'amour*, 157.

the *puy* and more globally within the wider significance of lyric song in the *arrageois* community.)

In calling Adam's work emblematic of the *critical* relationship between courtly lyric heritage and urban, bourgeois culture, she obviously means not only *critical* in the sense of debate, discussion, and critique, but also essential for understanding the cultural import of the *jeu-parti* to late thirteenth-century Arras. A study of his *jeux-partis* in context – historical, literary, material – reveals the simultaneous rigidity and plasticity of the genre: Adam combines registers, plays with conventions, and even leads us to critically examine what makes the *jeu-parti* a coherent lyric genre, even as it was perhaps less critically accepted as a social and aesthetic vogue in his time.

The Songs of Adam de la Halle

Isabelle Ragnard

In the *Jeu de la feuillée*, two fairy godmothers grant Adam de la Halle the essential gifts every lyric poet needs: “Morgue veut qu’il soit li plus amoureux / Qui soit trouvés en nul pais” (Morgue wants him to be the best lover of any country) and Arsile “qu’il soit jolis / Et bons faiseres de canchons” (Arsile wants him to be joyous and a good composer of songs).¹ Even though scholars have primarily focused on the *arrageois* composer’s polyphonic songs and plays, which are considered pioneering, the trouvère himself seems to have given more importance to his monodic production, which is placed at the beginning of the manuscript collection of his works.²

Writing in *langue d’oil*, Adam de la Halle stands out as the principal poet of the third and last generation of trouvères, who were active during the second half of the thirteenth century. His abundant lyrical output, thirty-six monodic songs, puts him in third place among the most prolific composers, after the *champanois* Gace Brulé (ca. 1160 – after 1213), who is credited with sixty songs, and Thibaut de Champagne (1201–53) who wrote about forty-seven.³ While Jacques Bretel wrote significantly more *jeux-partis* than him, Adam is the most prolific Artesian trouvère in the *grand chant courtois* tradition. He wrote a good dozen more than the Artesians Jehan Erart (d. 1258 or 1259), Guillaume le Vinier (d. 1245), Gautier de Dargies (ca. 1165 – after 1236) and Moniot d’Arras (fl. ca. 1250–75).

The urban milieu of the cities in the north of France privileged the emergence of “light” songs – *pastourelles*, *chanson de toile*, *rotruenges* or *aubes* – in which narrative content and forms that use the refrain predominate. Leaving behind this “popular” register – he only composes one *chanson de femme*, or

1 All citations by Adam are from Adam de la Halle, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. and trans. Pierre-Yves Badel (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1995), edition, and modern French translation after manuscript fr. 25566. Here, *Le Jeu de la feuillée*, vv. 662–65, *ibid.*, 334–37. All English translations are by the translator of this article.

2 Fr. 25566. For the other manuscripts and their abbreviations, see Appendix I. While there is a large discography for Adam’s “rondeaux,” albums of the monodic songs can be counted on one hand. Only one recording offers a collection of eleven songs by the trouvère: *Adam de la Halle, d’amoureux cuer voel chanter*, by Les Jardins de Courtoisie, Zig-Zag Territoires, 2007.

3 Critics disagree on how many songs may be attributed to the two trouvères.

woman's song (xv/RS 658) and one *chanson à refrain* (x/RS 612) – Adam devoted himself to the creation of lyrical works in the noble style of the *grand chant*. These were on love, sometimes close to the *serventois* (xxiii/RS 1383 and xxv/RS 432), or transcending it, in dedication to Mary (xxxiv/RS 495 and xxviii/RS 1180).⁴ These songs mark the end of a secular tradition begun by troubadours from Aquitaine at the beginning of the twelfth century. Adam respects the formal rules and courtly rhetoric of this tradition while demonstrating his very own personal creativity, using a variety of tones and a diversity of structures. While his polyphonic *rondeaux* anticipate the fixed form of the *ars nova* contrapuntal songs, his monodic songs without refrains are the last brilliant sparks of monodic lyric poetry in France.

1 The Sources

1.1 *Number of Songs and Order*

Unlike the works of other trouvères, the authorship of Adam de la Halle's lyrical poetry cannot be contested because it is confirmed by material evidence: the name "bossu d'Arras" (the hunchback of Arras) appears at the beginning of manuscripts or fascicles that contain his works or even before each song; these rubrics are often redundant.⁵ Finally, thirty-six songs are attributed to Adam de la Halle in thirteen manuscripts and two copies of the *Dit de la panthère*,⁶ meaning that there are more copies of them than of any other of his works.⁷

4 To identify each song, I will use Coussemaker and Badel's system of roman numerals and the general classification number of the trouvères *chansons*, based on the alphabetic order of rhymes, by Gaston Raynaud (1884) and Hans Spanke, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des alfranzösischen Liedes* (Leiden: Brill, 1955). See note 9.

5 In A, the collection bears the title "Adans li bocus fist ces kancons," and there is a rubric at the beginning of each song: "adans li bocus darras" or "adans li bocus" or "adans" or "adan." Conflicting attributions result from late and faulty additions. In *R-trouv.*, which doesn't contain any original attributions, two modern annotations (n°14a Blondiaus and n°10 Perrin d'Angecot), most probably by Fauchet, are mistaken.

6 Fr. 24432, fols. 153v–171 and Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, fr. Q.v.xiv.3, fols. 46–64. For a description, see Henry A. Todd, *Le dit de la panthère d'amours par Nicole de Margival, poème du XIII^e siècle*, Société des anciens textes français (Paris: Didot, 1883), vi–xii (published after the manuscripts of Paris and Saint Petersburg).

7 See Table 7.1. The medieval sources are summarily described in John H. Marshall, ed., *The Chansons of Adam de la Halle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), 14–17; modern copies are indicated by Nigel Wilkins, *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle: Chansons, jeux-partis, rondeaux, motets*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 44 (Stuttgart, Hänssler 1967), 3–29. For the main musicological studies of these manuscripts, see: John Stevens, "The

No manuscript contains all of the songs, but manuscripts *W-trouv.*, *T-trouv.*, and *P-trouv.* include almost the complete collection; only two songs are missing in *W-trouv.* and *T-trouv.*, and only three in *P-trouv.*, all of which are among the less well-known songs of the trouvère.⁸ These manuscripts were chosen as sources for modern editions of the songs.⁹

Adam's manuscript (*W-trouv.*, fols. 10–23v) opens with his monodic lyrical works and there is some evidence to suggest that Adam's songs circulated independently as a special collection. They are collected into independent fascicles (*Wx-trouv.* and *Q*), sometimes added at a later date to the main body of a collection (*P-trouv.* and *T-trouv.*) or inserted as a group in anthologies (*A* and

Manuscript Presentation and Notation of Adam de la Halle's Courtly Chansons," in *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. Ian Bent (London: Stainer & Bell, 1981), 29–87; Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 64–74; and Mary O'Neill's synthesis, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 23–25.

8 xxxv/RS 1237 and xxxvi/RS 1599 are missing in *W-trouv.*; xv/RS 658 and xxxvi/RS 1599 in *T-trouv.*; xxii/RS 1273, xxxiii/RS 1577 and xxxv/RS 1237 in *P-trouv.*

9 The texts of Adam's songs are edited by: Rudolf Berger, *Cançons und Partures des altfranzösischen trouvere Adan de le Hale le Bochu d'Arras* (Halle-an-der-Saal: M. Niemeyer, 1900); Fabienne Gégou, "Recherches biographiques et littéraires sur Adam de la Halle, accompagnées de l'édition critique de ses chansons courtoises" (PhD diss., Paris iv, 1973); Marshall, *Chansons of Adam de la Halle*, and Badel, *Œuvres complètes*; for the poems and their melodies: Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaeker, *Œuvres complètes du trouvère Adam de la Halle: poésies et musique*, (Paris: Durand and Pédone-Lauriel, 1872), 1–130; Wilkins, *Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle*; Hendrik van der Werf, *Trouvères-Melodien*, 2 vols. Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 11–12 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1977–79), 2:483–680; Deborah H. Nelson (texts and English translations) and Hendrik van der Werf (melodies), eds., *The Lyrics and Melodies of Adam de la Halle*, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, Series A, 24 (New York: Garland, 1985); Hans Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition*, 15 vols. Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 107 (Neuhausen: American Institute of Musicology, Hänssler-Verlag, 1997). Werf and Tischler propose a synoptic edition with all the sources, while the other editors choose one base manuscript. The two distinct modern numbering systems of Adam's songs are based on the order of the pieces in the manuscripts *W-trouv.*, on the one hand, and *P-trouv.*, on the other. In the first edition of his complete works, (1872), Coussemaeker reproduces the thirty-four songs in manuscript *W-trouv.* in their order of appearance. After that, Wilkins and Badel, using the same base manuscript, follow the same numbering system, adding at the end of the list the two missing pieces from *T-trouv.* (with correction from *R-trouv.*) for no. xxxv/RS 1237, and *P-trouv.* and *Wx-trouv.* for no. xxxvi/RS 1599. For his part, the German philologist Rudolf Berger (1900) based his numbering system on *P-trouv.*, reproducing the order but randomly inserting the three songs missing from this source (nos. xxii/RS 1273, xxxv/RS 1237, xxxiii/RS 1577). Marshall's literary edition follows his example, using *T-trouv.* for the three missing songs, while the studies of O'Neill and Jean Maillard [*Adam de la Halle: perspective musicale* (Paris: Champion, 1982), 19–66] also adopt his approach.

a-trouv.), or disseminated according to a classification system that is unique to a particular *chansonnier* in a way that hints at their common origin (*O* and *I-trouv.*).¹⁰ In the *chansonniers R-trouv.* and *V-trouv.*, which don't contain any authorial attributions, the organization of Adam's songs is more confused, even though several small unified groups appear.¹¹ Finally, three manuscripts conserve one (*B*) or two (*f* and *U*) isolated songs without music.

With the exception of companion pieces that have similar titles – “*Helas, il n'est mais nus qui aint*” (v/RS 149) and “*Helas, il n'est mais nus qui n'aint*” (vi/RS 148) – which form a pair sung to the same melody, no internal logic seems to determine the order of the songs, which in fact varies from one source to another. Nevertheless, reoccurring series of songs suggest the existence of a compilation initially organized by Adam himself, or by his nephew, Jehan Madot.¹² The first fourteen songs (1/RS 833–xiv/RS 500) of three of the manuscripts (*W-trouv.*, *Wx-trouv.*, and *P-trouv.*) are thus copied in the same order; the first five songs are also at the beginning of *A* – and probably *a-trouv.*, before the first folios went missing – while the first three are also in *Q*. The fact that these pieces are at the start of several collections could also indicate that they are older. The lines from the *Jeu de la feuillée* cited above in my introduction suggest that Adam composed songs from the beginning of the 1270s, but it is impossible to date them precisely.

There is not a single *unicum* in all of Adam's lyrical works. The two most broadly disseminated songs, “*Puis que je sui de l'amoureuse loi*” (xxvii/RS 1661) and “*Li jolis maus que je senc ne doit mie*” (11/RS 1186), have thirteen and twelve copies respectively, of which eight have music. The first serves as a model for two religious *contrafacta* that borrow its structure and its incipit.¹³ At

10 In the musical part of *A* (fols. 129–160), Adam's songs are separated into two sections (fols. 152–56 and fols. 157–60, and fols. 129–35) by *jeux-partis* (fols. 136–51). Eight songs are integrated into the alphabetic sections of *chansonnier O-trouv.*, making it hard to see the unity of the composer's work, yet they appear at the end of each group. In *I-trouv.*, ten appear in the section of *grands chants* and one (no. 15/xxx1) in the section of the *ballettes*.

11 In *R-trouv.*, there are several sub-sections: [i] fols. 98v–105 (8 songs) (but on fol. 99v, the song *Bien doi chanter* is not by Adam); [ii] fols. 159v–169v (13 songs); [iii] fols. 152–153v (2 songs) and [iv] fols. 178–179 (2 songs), finally two duplicates are isolated: fols. 108v–109, fols. 131v–132. In *V-trouv.*, the songs xxvii/RS 1661 (fols. 95v–96) and x1/RS 2128 (fols. 97v) on the one hand and x111/RS 2024 (109 r–v) and xiv/RS 500 (111 r–v) on the other, are close to each other. Three others (xiv/RS 500, I/RS 833 and 30/xxvi) are grouped together (fols. 117v–119).

12 Huot, *Song to Book*, 67.

13 *Puisque je sui de l'amoureuse loi, Bien doit celui en chantant essaucier, Qui anonça premièrement la foy* (RS 1661a) is inserted into the *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* by Alain de Lille [Anne Ibos-Augé, ed., *Chanter et lire dans le récit médiéval: la fonction des insertions*

the other extreme, the most rare ones (XXXIII/RS 1577 and XXXV/RS 1237), which are both absent from *P-trouv.* (“Grant deduit a et savoureuse vie” (XXXV/RS 1237) is also absent from *W-trouv.*), only appear in two sources.¹⁴ The lack of scribal interest in “De tant com plus aproime mon païs” (XXXIII/RS 1577) can be explained by its being exceptionally short (only two stanzas) and missing a melody, two facts which may indicate that it is unfinished. The songs cited in the *Dit de la panthère* are not necessarily the most frequent in the *chansonniers*; Nicole de Margival, for example, knew XXXV/RS 1237.¹⁵

1.2 *The Music in the Sources*

A perfect example of the medieval lyric poet, Adam de la Halle put to music all of his songs, with the exception of one poem, “De tant com plus aproime mon païs” (XXXIII/RS 1577), which was probably unfinished. For the thirty-five other songs, the presence of music varies according to the source. Seven *trouvère chansonniers* (*W-trouv.*, *Wx-trouv.*, *P-trouv.*, *R-trouv.*, *V-trouv.*, *O-trouv.* and *A*) contain complete notation, while two literary *chansonniers* (*C* and *I-trouv.*) and two secondary exemplars (*U* and *f*; *panthère*) do not transmit any of Adam’s melodies.

Three sources contain partial musical notation (*T-trouv.*, *Q*, *a-trouv.*). No space was foreseen in *Q* for the music of the first three songs (fols. 311r–v), but the twenty-three that follow have notation (fols. 311v–319v). The opposite is the case in *T-trouv.*, since the presence of music progressively diminishes: first the melody is given (fols. 224–226v), then the staves are left blank (fols. 226v–231), then, at the end, no space at all is left for the music (fols. 231–233). In total, twenty-two out of the thirty-four songs that are in this important source for Adam’s lyrical works are transmitted without their melodies. In the center of the collection dedicated to Adam in *a-trouv.* (fols. 46–55), a group of six songs has no notation (fols. 49–52).¹⁶ The musical notation ceases after the first five songs that the manuscript has in common with *chansonnier A*, suggesting that

lyriques dans les œuvres narratives et didactiques d'oïl aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles, 2 vols. (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 1:1161] and “Puisque je sui de l'amoureuse loi, Que Jhesu Cris vaut croistre et essaucier” (RS 1662) by Guillaume de Béthune.

14 The presence of a song in the three main sources doesn’t necessarily mean it was widely transmitted: “Se li maus c’Amours envoie” (XXIX/RS 1715) can only be found in *W-trouv.*, *T-trouv.* and *P-trouv.*

15 The order in which the songs appear in the *Dit de la panthère* is: XVIII/RS 1458, I/RS 833, II/RS 1186, XI/RS 2128, XXXV/RS 1237, XXV/RS 432, XXVI/RS 1247 and XII/RS 1973. See Ibos-Augé, *Chanter et lire*, 836–54.

16 Conversely, the Marian chant (XXVIII/RS 1180), isolated at the end of the manuscript *a-trouv.* (fol. 126), has notation.

the scribe of *a-trouv.* used a copy with lacunae as his model, but only for the middle section.

Finally, *chansonnier R-trouv.* has two peculiarities: first, two songs are copied twice (XIV/RS 500 and XXVII/RS 1661), on folios that are very far from one another;¹⁷ second, and this is very rare, the same melody, with some variation, is set to the first two stanzas of “Or voi jou bien qu’il souvient” (XXVI/RS 1247, f. 169 and 169v).

1.3 *Number of Copies and Musical Variants*

Adam’s melodies are some of the most widely transmitted compositions among the extant trouvère songs. There exist from one to nine musical sources for each of the thirty-five songs that have melodies.¹⁸ Their number is not exactly proportional to the total number of copies for one piece: thus, the two songs known from thirteen sources only have eight musical variants while, in contrast, the melodies of “Je n’ai autre” (III/RS 248) and “Helas il n’est” (V/RS 149) are copied into nine out of ten manuscripts. The *contrafactum* of this last song, “Helas il n’est mais nus qui n’aint” (VI/RS 148), is much less well known than its model and it only has musical notation in five out of six sources.

Compared to other trouvères, the transmission of Adam’s lyrical works seems at first remarkably stable, although it does contain some important variation.¹⁹ As such, while their melodies are almost identical, ten songs end with different *finalis* in *A*, *V-trouv.*, and *R-trouv.*;²⁰ in these *chansonniers*, known for the singularity of their melodies in comparison to other trouvère manuscripts, variations are occasionally a result of partial transpositions. Finally, seven songs have two or three completely distinct melodies.²¹ The existence of different traditions for these copies does not explain this musical fluctuation

17 These are copied into a group of Adam’s compositions (*R-trouv.*: fol. 161 and fols. 168–169) and isolated (*R-trouv.*: fols. 131v–132 and 108r–v).

18 See Table 7.1.

19 See the synoptic edition of all the musical sources by van der Werf, *Lyrics and Melodies*.

20 The *finalis* of songs IV/RS 152, XIV/RS 500, X/RS 612, XXVII/RS 1661, XXX/RS 1771, XIII/RS 2024, XX/RS 2038 are unique to *R-trouv.*, XXVI/RS 1247, XI/RS 2128 to *V-trouv.* and III/RS 248 to *A*.

21 “D’amourous cuer voel vueil chanter” (I/RS 833): two melodies (*V-trouv./A*, *P-trouv.*, *Wx-trouv.*, *W-trouv.*); “Li jolis maus que je sent ne doit mie” (II/RS 1186): two melodies (*O-trouv./A*, *P-trouv.*, *R-trouv.*, *T-trouv.*, *V-trouv.*, *Wx-trouv.*, *W-trouv.*); “Helas, ils n’est mais nus qui aint” (I) and (II) (*V/RS 149* and *VI/RS 148*): two melodies for the codas, (*R-trouv./A*, *O-trouv.*, *P-trouv.*, *Q*, *T-trouv.*, *Wx-trouv.*, *W-trouv.*, *a-trouv.*) and (*R-trouv./Q*, *P-trouv.*, *Wx-trouv.*, *W-trouv.*); In addition, in *R-trouv.*, the melodies of the two songs contain numerous variants; “Ma douche dame et amours” (XVII/RS 2025): two or three melodies (*O-trouv./Q*, *P-trouv.*, *W-trouv./a-trouv.*, *R-trouv.*); “Glorieuse vierge Marie” (XXVIII/RS 1180): three melodies (*Q*, *a-trouv./P-trouv./W-trouv.*); “De cuer pensieu et desirant” (XXXII/RS 336): two

because manuscripts *P-trouv.*, *Q*, *W-trouv.* and *a-trouv.* are sometimes concordant and sometimes not. Some variants clearly reflect modifications that result from oral transmission, but when the melodies are completely different it is risky to try and determine which one Adam originally composed.

1.4 *Notation and Rhythm*

The rhythmic interpretation of the monodic songs of the trouvères has been a controversial subject for more than a century.²² The use of two types of notation in one source (*W-trouv.*), one mensural for the *rondeaux* and polyphonic motets and another one, unmeasured notation, for Adam's monodic songs, has long intrigued scholars. For Stevens, the "scribes were positively *avoiding* clear mensural patterns and metrical schemes composed of long and short notes measured in strict proportion" because it fits perfectly with the monodic aesthetic, distinct from polyphony, which privileges "syllable-by-syllable presentation of the melody" and might suggest 'iso-syllabism' rather than 'modal rhythm'.²³ Recently, Mary O'Neill has remarked that Adam's compositional process, which is based on the repetition of short melodic motifs, implies a rhythmic flexibility that goes against the conception of a measured rhythm.²⁴ Finally, only Hans Tischler has maintained the existence of rhythmic modes, proposing a transcription that has measures, while other editors, given the absence of reliable indicators in the sources, prefer to include only the melody.²⁵

2 Adam, Preacher of Courtly Love

In the miniature that opens the section containing songs in *W-trouv.*, Adam, or his interpreter, is represented as an orator in front of an audience of lay men and women.²⁶ The trouvère resembles the preacher in that he has faith in a doctrine – the doctrine of courtly love – and that he is a master of rhetorical

melodies (*Q*, *a-trouv./A*, *P-trouv.*, *W-trouv.*); "Qui n'a pucele ou dame amée" (xxxiv/RS 495): three melodies (*Q/P-trouv./W-trouv.*).

22 See van der Werf's synthesis in *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and Their Relation to the Poems* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1972), 35–45 and for the historiographical quarrels see John Haines, "The 'Modal Theory', Fencing, and the Death of Aubry," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 6 (1997): 143–50.

23 Stevens, "Manuscript Presentation and Notation", 52–53.

24 O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, 196.

25 These are the editors we have chosen to follow, always with reference to van der Werf's edition.

26 See Huot, *Song to Book*, 60 and the contributions of Alison Stones and Alain Corbellari in the present collection.

techniques. As Badel says, “the song is a speech in which one reasons, and Adam can’t keep himself from arguing.”²⁷ At the center of this discourse is a persistent question, expressed in the famous incipit “On demande mout souvent qu’est amours” (XIII/R.2024, v. 1) (So often we ask what love is), a question which Adam seems to be perpetually answering. Besides the doctrinal knowledge methodically taught in the treatises of the time,²⁸ the poet defines what true love is through singing, praising the lady who is worthy of such a sentiment and outlining the rules one has to follow to become a courtly lover. The lyrical works of the last *trouvère* thus contain an underlying ethical program. Love is at once the end result and the pathway of a virtuous apprenticeship to which the true lover must sacrifice all:

Qui a droit veut amours servir
 Et chanter de joieus talent,
 Penser ne doit as maus qu’i sent,
 Mais au bien qui n’en puet venir. (XVIII/RS 1458, I, vv. 1–4)

He who wants to serve Love rightly / and sing with joyous desire / Must
 not think of the pain he feels / But of the good that can come of it.

2.1 *The Virtue of Serving Love*

Throughout his songs, Adam draws the idealized portrait of a woman who would be worthy of the love of a perfect lover. She is beautiful – because the ugly do not spontaneously inspire love (XXIII/RS 1383, vv. 14–16) – but this beauty can be reduced to a few physical stereotypes: she is “blanche comme flours” (white as flour) (XVII/RS 2025, v. 17), or “vermeille [comme] rose en mai” (red as a rose in May) (XIX/RS 52, v. 31), her sweet face glows and her bright eyes shine (ex. III/RS 248, vv. 10–11), her skin is delicate (XVII/RS 2025, v. 18), and her body is nice to look at (“gente de cors, delitable a veïr,” XII/RS 1973, v. 10). She is reserved (“contenance coïe” IX/RS 1454, v. 34), or even humble (XI/RS 2128, v. 40), yet she has a joyful character. Adam attaches particular value to this quality, often saying that his lady is *jolie* (joyful) or *envoisie* (cheerful)

²⁷ “la chanson est un discours où on raisonne et Adam ne se prive pas d’argumenter.” Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 13.

²⁸ For example, at the end of the twelfth century, Andreas Capellanus (André le Chapelain), *De Arte honeste amandi* or *De Amore*, translated into modern French by C. Buridant, *André le Chapelain. Traité de l’amour courtois* (Paris: Klincksieck, 2002), English translation by John Jay Parry, *Andreas Capellanus: The Art of Courtly Love* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941).

(I/RS 833, v. 44 and v. 52), noting her smile or her laughing eyes (*rians*). He thus gives joyfulness at least as much power as beauty when it comes to inspiring love:

Par rire et par biaux dis oïr
 Et par joli contenment
 Vient amours au commencement, (XVIII/RS 1458, vv. 19–21)

Through laughing and hearing beautiful words / And with a joyful
 attitude, / Love begins to come.

According to the courtly tradition, the lover should promise his love to a lady in a superior social position. For Adam, however, her nobility, her *vailance*, does not seem to be associated with her aristocratic social status; it is her noble and generous heart (“frans cuers gentiex,” XI/RS 2128, v. 34) that makes her superior. Finally, she who is “Li mieudre entre les meillours, Essample de courtoisie” (The best of the best and an example of courtliness, XVII/RS 2025, vv. 19–20) distinguishes herself through the wisdom of her acts and words (III/RS 248, v. 48).

All of these qualities, both physical and moral, explain why the lady naturally wields power over those who see her.

Sage est et bonne et bele et gracieuse,
 Chascuns pour se valour li porte foi. (XVI/RS 1018, vv. 17–18)

She is good and beautiful and gracious; / each one serves her for her
 merits.

In the end, her numerous perfections incite those in service to her to control their behavior in the name of virtue, such that they improve themselves:²⁹

Car me dame est tant douche a resgarder,
 Que mauvaistés ne porroit demourer
 En cuer d’omme qui le voie. (XXX/RS 1771, vv. 26–28)

My lady is so sweet to look at, / that no vice can live / in the heart of the
 man who sees her.

²⁹ See also XXXVI/RS 1599, vv. 20–22.

Adam reaffirms the civilizing role of the ideals of courtly love, which had been maturing through two centuries of medieval literature, both lyric and narrative, as he defends their ethical value. The poet loves to use the oxymoron – the *dous*, the *jolis*, the *plaisant mal* (the sweet, the joyful, the pleasing evil) brings *douches douleurs* (sweet pains) – to describe the paradoxical effect of service to a “god” that he names Good Love (*Bonne Amour*, XXX/RS 1771, XXXVI/RS 1599) and who is more often a “good evil” (“bon mal”).³⁰ This servitude brings real joy because the lover gives it freely; the emotional state caused by love activates him and brings him to life. Adam thus resolves the tension between *joi* and *dolor* (joy and pain), which are the two original and fundamental poles of *fin’amor*, explicitly going against the attitude of his predecessors and contemporaries, affirming twice:³¹ “car mes espoirs vaut d’autrui le joïr” (My hopes are worth another’s pleasure, IX/RS 1454, v. 3 and XII/RS 1973, v. 45).

The joy of the lover comes from contemplating the perfection of the lady, not from the expectation of the satisfaction of physical desire. Love has, above all, profound emotional and ethical benefits.

2.2 *A Didactic Language*

Marshall qualifies Adam as a “courtly moralist,” remarking that a number of his songs open with a general observation about love, cited as a preamble to an introspective passage (XXXV/RS 1237, XXX/RS 1771, XXXII/RS 336, XXXVI/RS 1599) or leading to a personal experience (IV/RS 152, V/RS 149, XI/RS 2128, XIII/RS 2024, XXIX/RS 1715, XXIV/RS 632, XXXVI/RS 1599), while the reverse is rarer (XXII/RS 1273, XXV/RS 432);³² two songs are devoted to demonstration (VI/RS 148, XVIII/RS 1458). Adam also makes use of a typical rhetorical and didactic tool: sententious diction.³³ A general remark, introduced by “on” (we/one), “qui” (he who), or “celui qui” (the one who), opens a song (IV/RS 152, vv. 1–2 and vv. 9–16; V/RS 149, vv. 1–2; VI/RS 148, vv. 1–2) or closes a part of its argument (I/RS 833, vv. 31–34, XXI/RS 1060, vv. 10–12). A maxim cautions impatient (XXXII/RS 336, vv. 35–36; I/RS 833, vv. 38–40) or presumptuous (II/RS 1186, vv. 9–11) suitors. He embellishes his argument with a dictum (VI/RS 148, v. 16) or introduces a proverb – “Tant grate kievre en gravele, / Qu’ele est mal gisans!” (The

30 The nouns *mal* (evil) and *douleur* (pain) are associated with the adjectives *dous* (sweet/soft), *joli* (joyful/pretty), or *plaisant* (pleasing/enjoyable) in twelve songs.

31 See the comparative study of the vocabulary of Adam, Gace Brulé and Thibaut de Champagne by Gioia Zaganelli, “Sul canzoniere di Adam de la Halle, sistema lessicale e itinerario ideologico,” *Medioevo romanzo* 6 (1979): 247–70.

32 Marshall, *Chansons of Adam de la Halle*, 5.

33 Roger Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise: contribution à l’étude de la rhétorique médiévale* (Genève: Slatkine, 1979), 45–48.

goat digs in the gravel so much / that she sleeps poorly x/RS 612, vv. 19–20) – whose triviality surprises the reader.³⁴ In contrast, *exempla* from learned culture – the mythological, biblical or legendary figures that embellish the sermons of preachers – are rare and superficial. While allusions to Icarus, referred to as the son of Dedalus, (v/RS 149, vv. 29–32), to Ganelon's felony (*Guedelon*) (xxiii/RS 1383, v. 26), and to Lucifer's pride (xvi/RS 1018, vv. 37–38) may be conventional, Adam distinguishes himself from other writers in that he uses them to admonish that lady, guilty of being excessively aloof. His discourse becomes decidedly moralizing when he broaches subjects that are typically debated in lyric poetry – protestation against the inconstancy of women and the decadence of courtly morals, denunciation of the wiles of false lovers, etc. – and it even starts to resemble a *sirventes* when the poet becomes so jealous that he loses his temper with his lady (xxiii/RS 1383), reproaching her for being proud of her beauty (xvi/RS 1018; xxi/RS 1060).³⁵

2.3 *Dramatic Artifice in the Songs*

Even though lyric poetry is essentially “personal” and expressed in the first person singular,³⁶ *trouvères* try to create the illusion of dialogue through the use of different rhetorical devices, “designed above all to combat the danger of monotony in the genre.”³⁷ Thus, typical interjections (*Ahi!*, *Helas!*, *Hé!*), which Adam uses quite often, betray the poet's emotions, and rouse the attention, or even the empathy, of the audience. Elsewhere, brief expressions taken from everyday speech (*Diex nous benie!*, *Levés sus!*, *Va te voie!*) are used in sketches where the poet stages himself, playing out dramatized anecdotes, real or imaginary, featuring an indifferent lady who sends away her unwanted suitor (xxvii/RS 1661, v. 37, xix/RS 52, vv. 17–19, xxv/RS 432, v. 21), or a distracted lover

34 A similar proverb, “Tant grate chievre que mau gist,” is cited in *Li proverbe au vilain* (end of the thirteenth century), Joseph Morawski, *Proverbes français antérieurs au xv^e siècle* (Paris: H. Champion, 1925), 83, no. 2297.

35 *Sententia* and moralizing discourse are particularly cultivated in Arras; see Alfred Jeanroy and Henri Guy, *Chansons et dits artésiens du xiii^e siècle* (Bordeaux: Féret et fils, 1898), introduction III: “Pièces morales.”

36 Paul Zumthor writes about closed or personal poetry, replacing the lyrical, “pour désigner toute espèce de poésie (à l'exception du théâtre) caractérisée par l'usage prédominant de la 1^{er} et de la 2^e personnes” (to designate all types of poetry (except for theater) that is characterized by the predominant usage of the first and second persons). Zumthor, “Entre deux esthétiques: Adam de la Halle,” in *Mélanges de langue et de littérature du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance offerts à Jean Frappier*, ed. Jean Charles Payen and Claude Régner (Geneva: Droz, 1970), 2:1155–71, 1157n.11.

37 “destinés surtout à vaincre le danger de monotonie du genre.” Dragonetti, *Technique poétique des trouvères*, 41.

lost in thought (xvii/RS 2025, vv. 12–16).³⁸ Finally, Adam’s use of the technique of poetic interrogation is very fruitful in his *grand chants*, where one can find most of the technical modalities that Dragonetti identified in the *trouvère* repertory.³⁹ The addressee is either Love personified (xvi/RS 1018, vv. 9–12), the lady, a third person, the poet himself or the audience, the true intended recipient of the exchange. Adam uses multiple modalities: *correctio*, when the *trouvère* corrects himself (xvi/RS 1018, vv. 9–12), *communicatio*, when he speaks directly to the public (xi/RS 2128, v. 1: “Pour coi se plaint d’Amours nus?” [Why do we complain of love?]), and *subjectio*, when he replies to himself. Finally, everything comes together to produce *ratiocinatio*, when the *trouvère* pretends to confide his inner monologue to the audience:

Pour coi me vois si dolousant?
Trop me puis bien desconforter. (xxxii/RS 336, vv. 33–34)

Why am I suffering so? / I may be exaggerating my despair.

These elegant turns of phrase, sought primarily for variety, create a dramatic illusion that must have greatly appealed to an author who wrote “character plays.” In contrast to his contemporaries in northern France, however, Adam did not write any *pastourelles*, the best example of a genre that is both lyrical and dramatic.⁴⁰ Though the lady is at the center of the poet’s concerns, dictating his actions, her voice is absent. The poet does not give her any direct discourse and only speaks directly to her in the second to last or last stanza, using the second person plural form “vous,” (xi/RS 2128, str. 4 and 5), and sometimes in the *envoi* (ii/RS 1186, v/RS 149, xxxii/RS 336, xxxiv/RS 495).⁴¹ These roles are reversed in his only “chanson de femme,” when the speaker calls directly to her lover in the last stanza (xv/RS 658, vv. 21–30).⁴²

The *grand chant* were intended more for an audience of listeners than for an intimate declaration of love. In the *envoi*, the introspective monologue opens resolutely outwards. The poet sometimes addresses a third character – a mes-

38 For other examples of similar sketches, see Marshall, *Chansons of Adam de la Halle*, 6–7.

39 Dragonetti, *Technique poétique des trouvères*, 41.

40 The content of song X/RS 612 resembles a *pastourelle* but it does not contain any dialogue. Adam preferred to bring together the quintessential elements of the genre in his *Jeu de Robin et de Marion*, creating a new dramatic form.

41 In xxxiv/RS 495 the lady is the Virgin Mary.

42 The only indication that the speaker is a woman is the unique reading in *W-trouv*. “mendous amis,” which three other scribes replaced with the feminine form *ma douce amie*. See Marshall, *Chansons of Adam de la Halle*, 126–27.

senger, friend or patron – to whom he confides his song. In one case, Adam asks for his advice, as if the poem were a *jeu-parti*.

Sire d'Amiens, dont j'ai bien dire oï,
 Faic jou savoir ou folie,
 Qui me tieng en la baillie
 D'amours par mi le mal que j'ai senti? (XXI/RS 1060, vv. 46–49)

Lord of Amiens, whom I have heard much good of / Is it sense or folly /
 That keeps me under the dominion / Of Love even though I have
 suffered?

In a prime example of dramatic artifice, Le Bossu himself seems to reply to the question he asked in the song that follows:⁴³

Tant me plaist vivre en amoureux dangier
 Qu'a paines ai pensée a guerredon (XXII/RS 1273, vv. 1–2)

It pleases me so much to live under Love's dominion / That I think little
 of what I will get in return.

2.4 *The Envois*

Twenty-two of Adam's songs end with an *envoi* – a final, shorter stanza that is sung to the melody of the *cauda* or more rarely the *pedes*⁴⁴ – in at least one of the manuscript sources. This final peroration is not indispensable and scribes do sometimes omit it, especially when they deem it outdated.⁴⁵ To these we may add three songs (I/RS 833, XIX/RS 52 and XVIII/RS 1458) whose last stanzas (5 or 6), though of the same length as the ones that precede it, present content similar to that of an *envoi*.⁴⁶ In Adam's work, the song itself, or in one

43 The songs follow one another in *W-trouv.* (fols. 17v–18v) and in *a-trouv.* (fols. 49–50v).

44 Three *envois* have the same versification as the *pedes* and are sung to the same melody: XXXII/RS 336, XXI/RS 1060 and II/RS 1186. The choice of musical reply is less clear in XXIII/RS 1383.

45 Seventeen *envois* appear in *T-trouv.* and *P-trouv.* but only sixteen, sometimes different ones, appear in *Q* and *W-trouv.* The name of the addressee may be replaced by an anonymous reference. For details on the presence of absence of an *envoi* by manuscript, see Marshall's critical apparatus. On the function of the *envoi*, see Dragonetti, *Technique poétique des trouvères*, 304–10.

46 There is a dedication, to the lady or to Robert Nazart, and references to the gift of the song, with the verbs “présenter” (to present (someone with something)) and “offrir” (to offer).

case the spring breeze “of very sweet May and April” (“tres dous mais et avriex” xxix/RS 1715), replaces the traditional messenger (xxii/RS 1273).

In courtly fiction, Love is the instigator of the song, and the Lady is the avowed or suggested addressee (I/RS 833, IV/RS 152, V/RS 149, XI/RS 2128, XIV/RS 500, XIX/RS 52, xxxii/RS 336, xxxiv/RS 495). It seems that one song was written for a high-ranking lady even though she herself was not the one the poet longed for. Adam insists at length on this distinction, at the beginning and the end of the song (“Sans espoir d’avoir secours,” xx/RS 2038, vv. 5–12 and 41–50).

Ai faite canchon;
 Si n’en ai autre ocoison
 Fors c’une dame m’en prie,
 Qui est de tel singnourie
 C’on doit a li obeïr
 Dusc’au morir.

I have written a song; / I had no other occasion to / Other than that a lady
 asked me to, / She is of such nobility / That one must obey her / Until
 death.

Et nepourquant me dolours
 Muet d’autrui; (xx/RS 2038, vv. 1–12)

And nevertheless I suffer / Silently for another;

Only five men are named in seven of the songs’ *envois*, however; some have been identified as belonging to the Artesian milieu.⁴⁷ There are not many nobles among them: The Lord of Saint-Venant (xiii/RS 2024) and perhaps the Lord of Amiens (xxi/RS 1060).⁴⁸ Three others are dignitaries from rich *arrageois* families – the Wion and the Nazart – who sponsor poets.⁴⁹ Adam

47 Several studies have been written on the bourgeois of Arras mentioned by the poets. See in particular: Jeanroy and Guy, *Chansons et dits*, 104–52, and Holger Petersen Dyggve, *Onomastique des trouvères* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Tiedeakateman Toimituksia, 1934).

48 The first is probably Robert II de Wavrin seneschal of Flandres and Lord of Lillers and Saint-Venant (near Béthune), who died in 1273 (Marshall, *Chansons of Adam de la Halle*, 118); the second has not been identified (*ibid.*, 123).

49 The Brotherhood of *jongleurs* and bourgeois of Arras (La Confrérie des jongleurs et des bourgeois d’Arras), the oldest charitable association of French minstrels, founded in 1175, proves that the ties between the two groups go far back in time. See Roger Berger, *Le nécrologe de la confrérie des jongleurs et des bourgeois d’Arras (1194–1361)*, 2 vols. (Arras:

addresses his songs to Jakemon Wion (11/RS 1186), who is also lauded in Baude Fastoul's *Congé*, and to "Wyonis d'ounerance" (an honorable Wyonis), who probably belonged to the same family but remains unidentified (VII/RS 1711). In particular, Adam benefits from the favors of Robert Nazart, who he names in three songs (XVIII/RS 1458, XXX/RS 1771 and XXXI/RS 1438) and in his *Congé*. The song "Qui a droit veut amours servir" (XVIII/RS 1458), one of the most formal *grand chant* that he wrote, is the *pleige*, the guarantee, of a debt that he contracted with a rich merchant. This song, which is an artistic creation representative of the kind of financial transactions that took place between moneyless poets and the affluent, proves that, in the prosperous commercial city of Arras, bourgeois generosity did not come without a price.⁵⁰

3 Poetic and Musical Structures

3.1 General Structures

In accordance with the model of the *grand chant* he inherited from his predecessors, thirty-two of Adam's songs contain five or six stanzas of the same length, followed by a shorter *envoi* of four lines (except for XI/RS 2128 which has a five-line *envoi*).⁵¹ However, four songs of less than five stanzas have distinguishing characteristics that set them apart from traditional courtly lyric. With its two stanzas and no melody to speak of, "De tant com plus aproime mon pais" (XXXIII/RS 1577), appears to be unfinished; after a rather unwieldy metaphor of a female tiger who is looking at herself in the mirror, Adam may have given up on finishing the song. Three stanzas suffice in his *chanson de femme* (XV/RS 658) and in a diatribe against flatterers (XXV/RS 432), but four couplets alternate with a refrain in the only *chanson à reprise* composed by Adam ("Li dous maus," X/RS 612). In the same way as the first two, the content of this song distinguishes it from the traditional corpus: the beginning, inspired by the topos of *reverdie* (v. 12), and the end call to mind the *pastourelle* (vv. 32–33 "Mar fui a le fontenele / Ou je vous vi l'autre jour." Poor me, I was at the little fountain / Where I saw you the other day). In these three cases, the short form is not the result of a problem with the material text, but rather reflects differences in subject or style.

Commission départementale des Monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1963–1970) and Chapter 1 by Carol Symes in this book.

50 See also Eliza Zingesser's chapter in this volume.

51 Thirty songs have five stanzas, with *envoi* (22) or without (8); in the two songs with six stanzas (I/RS 833 and XVIII/RS 1458) the content of the last couplets, even though they are the same length as the preceding ones, approximates an "*envoi*" (see note 46).

3.2 *Versification*

The stanzas, from eight to twelve lines, are divisible (*cum diesis*) and have a melodic repetition in the first quatrain (*pedes*), while the second part is usually continuous (*cauda*).⁵²

Within this framework, which is open to modification, Adam's versification encompasses a wide range of formal styles, thanks to a diverse combination of meter and rhyme. In addition, not a single structure is identically repeated from piece to piece,⁵³ aside from the twin songs "Helas, ils n'est mais nus qui aint" (v/RS 149) and "Helas, ils n'est mais nus qui n'aint" (vi/RS 148) which form a diptych (similar beginnings, identical versification and melody). The formal similarity between these two songs highlights, *a contrario*, their antithetical discourses, calling to mind the *jeu-parti*.

3.3 *Metrics*

Adam distances himself from the courtly tradition of *langue d'oïl* literature with its isometric lines, privileging the heterometric (31/36 songs). He does not, however, follow regional usage since metrical variety is less pronounced in the work of other *arrageois* trouvères: it can be found in only a little over half of Gautier de Dargies's songs, while it is actually in the minority in the works of Moniot de Paris, Audefroï le Bastard or Jehan Erart.⁵⁴ Out of Adam's five songs composed in isosyllabic verse (iv/RS 152, xvii/RS 2025, xxiii/RS 1383, xxxvi/RS 1599 and xxxiv/RS 495), only "Il ne muet pas de sens chelui qui plaint" (iv/RS 152) corresponds to the "decasyllabic 'chained-embraced' stanza (*abab baab*) of eight or seven lines" identified by Dragonetti in the trouvère repertoire.⁵⁵ This hapax is also remarkable because, in addition to having a rigorous composition, it also contains a rhyme that is unique to his work (-age). It has two equal parts, one that includes general, sentential considerations on love (vv. 1–20), and another on the poet's personal situation (vv. 21–40). This is followed by a very traditional *envoi*, in which the poet begs his messenger to transmit his song to his lady. This song thus fits the archetype of the *grand*

52 On the how the trouvères divided their stanzas, see Dragonetti, *Technique poétique des trouvères*, 382–85. Literary criticism uses the same terms invented by Dante in the *De vulgari eloquentia*, Book II, chap. IX and X 4. Even though Dante names *frons* the indivisible upper part of the stanza, modern critics use it, rather imprecisely, to describe the first part of the stanza in general, whether it is divided into two *pedes* (the norm in courtly song) or not (extremely rare).

53 See Table 7.1: versification.

54 O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, table 6.2, 185.

55 "la strophe décasyllabique enchaînée-embrassée (*abab baab*) de huit vers ou de sept vers..." Dragonetti, *Technique poétique des trouvères*, 386–87. Adam's song is composed of eight decasyllabic lines with the schema *abab bccb*.

chant in every way. The heptasyllable prevails in the three other isometric eight-line (XVII/RS 2025 “Ma douche dame et Amours,” XXXVI/RS 1599 “Onkes nus hom ne fu pris”) or nine-line (XXIII/RS 1383 “Dame, vos hom vous estrine”) songs. Finally, the octosyllabic eight-line “Qui n’a puchele” (XXXIV/RS 495) is a “square” stanza, composed of as many syllables as there are lines, and its refined metrics are rare in Adam’s time.⁵⁶

The length of the line not only imposes a formal frame, it also implies a conventional hierarchy of literary genres. For Dante, the decasyllabic line “rules them all, since its solemn rhythm best meets the demands of the tragic style of the courtly *grand chant*. (...) The seven-syllable line comes next because, after the decasyllabic line, it has the most renown (...): it is an unevenly divided line and for this reason it is superior to the octosyllabic line, which he treats with a certain disdain.”⁵⁷ This hierarchy can be confirmed by analyzing the poems of the *langue d’oïl* poets: 60% of isometric stanzas are decasyllabic, 25% are heptasyllabic, and 15% are octosyllabic.⁵⁸ In addition, while the eight-syllable line characterizes narrative verse (*romances*, *dits*, and *congés*) and dramatic poetry (character plays) almost exclusively, ten- and seven-syllable lines are typical in lyrical creations.

Adam de la Halle follows this traditional practice.⁵⁹ The heptasyllabic line predominates (29 songs): it is the favorite meter in the *cauda* and the six *frons* are entirely composed of seven-syllable lines.⁶⁰ Meanwhile, even though it is more rare (in 17 songs), the decasyllabic line plays an important role in determining the structure of the stanza: this noble meter can be found in the *frons* of fifteen songs, and it is used for the linking line in eight *caudae*. The octosyllabic line has far less importance and is used in only six songs. Adam seems to associate this meter with language that has a certain purpose: prayer (XXXIV/RS 495 and XXVIII/RS 1180), debate (V/RS 149 and VI/RS 148) or didactic discourse (20/XVIII). Finally, the octosyllabic line reminds one of the strength of language when it comes to expressing emotions:

56 Dragonetti counts 47 octosyllabic eight-line poems in the trouvère repertory, without indicating their subject matter.

57 Dragonetti, *Technique poétique des trouvères*, 389.

58 These proportions are calculated from the meters of 574 isometric stanzas by Dragonetti, 387.

59 The metric frequency in Adam’s songs is as follows: 7 syllables (29 songs), 10 syllables (17 songs), 5 syllables (16 songs), 4 syllables (13 songs), 8 syllables (6 songs), 3 syllables (4 songs), 6 syllables (2 songs). Variants exist, according to the edition, in particular for the short lines that can be grouped together.

60 Adam distinguishes himself from Jehan Erart and Moniot de Paris who prefer short lines of 5, 6 or 7 syllables rather than ten-syllable lines. O’Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, 185, n. 21.

De cuer pensive et desirrant
 Vient qui bouche muet a parler;
 Car ele sert de chou moustrer
 Que cuers vait premiers devisant. (XXXII/RS 336, vv. 1–4)

The pensive and desiring heart / invites the silent mouth to speak; / for its purpose is to demonstrate / that which the heart first tells.

Short lines, of three to six syllables long, only appear in heterometrical stanzas where they introduce metrical breaks to prevent the monotony of longer lines. When they are coordinated with rhyme play, they create an even stronger sense of dynamic contrast. Adam thus favors the “broken” line – a short, isolated line that rhymes with a long one in a dominant series – which he places strategically at the pivot point (verse 5) of the two isometrical (or almost) parts of the stanza (for example a8 / a4 or b10 / b5).⁶¹ Dragonetti even notes the “re-bounding” use of this technique in the *cauda* of the song “Je n’ai autre retenanche” (III/RS 248) (a7 b7 a7 b7 / b4 c7 b7 c7 b4 b7 c4).⁶² Line breaks depend on who has edited the text and it would even be possible to bring together two lines of seven and four syllables to form a hendecasyllabic line, especially at the end of a stanza.⁶³ This is the case with the *chanson de femme* (x/RS 612) because *pedes* and *cauda* end with short lines that could form two long imparisyllabic lines of 11 and 13 syllables respectively, which contain an internal rhyme.⁶⁴ In *langue d’oïl* verse, especially from Artois, this meter is associated with popular genres.⁶⁵

By his choice of metrics, Adam positions himself at the junction of two different esthetics. The regularity of a noble style predominates while heterogeneous elements indicate the influence of *arrageois* tendencies.

61 III/RS 248, XII/RS 1973, XXVII/RS 1661, XVIIII/RS 1458 and XXXII/RS 336; the broken line appears at verse 6 in V/RS 149 and VI/RS 148.

62 Dragonetti, *Technique poétique des trouvères*, 392–93.

63 Oreste Floquet suggests this hypothesis for four songs (III/RS 248, XXV/RS 432, XVI/RS 1247, XXX/RS 1771), based on a punctuation mark that appears in manuscript *W-trouv*. as vertical bars written on the stave. See Floquet, “Considérations sur la musique et la métrique des chansons d’Adam de la Halle dans le chansonnier La Vallière (W),” *Romania* 123 (2005): 123–40.

64 Editors do not agree on how to separate the verses; compare Marshall, *Chansons of Adam de la Halle*, 103–4 and Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 72–74.

65 Floquet mentions some examples by the *arrageois* trouvère Jehan Renti, four *chansons à refrain* by Perrin d’Angicourt and Jean Bretel, two *rotruenges* by Gontier de Soignies, and also some songs by trouvères from Eastern France: three by Colin Muset and one by Gautier d’Espinal.

3.4 *Rhymes*

Adam adheres strongly to the principle of the *coblas unissonans*, which can be observed in almost half of the preserved trouvère songs, with a repeating rhyme scheme in every stanza.⁶⁶ There is only one exception to this rule: “De chanter ai volenté curieuse” (xvi/RS 1018) is a variant of *coblas doblas* which requires a change in rhyme every two stanzas (2+2+1); here, the first rhyme scheme (-euse, -oi) lasts for the first three stanzas, while the second (-aie, -i) lasts for the two final stanzas and the *envoi* (3+2+1).⁶⁷ This form is not unique, but it only appears once in the work of fifteen trouvères, nine of which evolved in an Artesian milieu.⁶⁸ Adam asks his lady to test him so that she finally realizes that he is her only true lover. With this exceptionally refined form, the poet proves that he is worthy of being compensated, demanding to be “paid” in return:

Canchons, di li que doi que ne me paie
 Selonc l'amour qu'ele a trouvé en mi;
 Quant aura cest mant oy,
 Or proi Dieu que biens m'en caie. (xvi/RS 1018, vv. 41–44)

Song, tell her that I do not need to be paid / According to the love that she has found in me; / When she has heard this many times, / I pray to God that good comes to me of it.

Adam adds a diversity of final sonorities to his rhythmic variation of meter. The corpus of thirty-five rhymes that Adam uses in his songs reveals his penchant for variety in tone: thirteen rhymes are used only once (-age, -ai, -aïe, -aindre, -ele, -endre, -euse, -iaus, -ine, -ort, -ous, -ui, -ure), and six only appear in two songs (-ant, -é, -ée, -ient, -ius, -oi).⁶⁹ He often mixes feminine and

66 Dragonetti, *Technique poétique des trouvères*, 446.

67 Elsewhere, the rhyme scheme (aio' b10 aio' b10 / aio' b10 b7 a7') of song xvi/RS 1018 can be found in “Amour grassi, si me lo de l'outrage” (RS 32) by the *arrageois* trouvère Guillaume le Vinier (RS 32) but in the form of a *coblas unissonans* and with other rhymes. See Philippe Ménard, *Les poésies de Guillaume le Vinier* (Geneva: Droz, 1983), 58–61.

68 Moniot d'Arras, Gautier de Dargies, Carasaus d'Arras, Gillebert de Berneville, Colart le Boutellier, Robert de Castel, Jehan Erart, Martin le Béguin de Cambrai, Jehan le Cuvelier d'Arras. The non-Artesian trouvères are: Chrétien de Troyes, Guiot de Provins, Vidame de Chartres, Eustache le Peintre, Robert de Mauvoisin and Renaut de Trie. Dragonetti, *Technique poétique des trouvères*, 447n.5.

69 For a complete list of rhymes and their occurrences see Marshall, *Chansons of Adam de la Halle*, “Table of rhyme endings,” 28–29; for a catalogue of the words he uses in rhyme position, see Gégou, *L'art épique d'Adam de la Halle*, 1–17.

masculine desinences in a single stanza at a time when it was not yet required of poets to alternate them regularly. He uses the masculine stanza in six songs, one of which is “Amours m’ont si douchement” (xv/RS 658), the only piece composed of single-rhyme stanzas.⁷⁰ The trouvères do not seem to value this form, which Dante considered to be unaristocratic.⁷¹ Without reaching the exceptional heights of Gautier de Coincy and Rutebeuf, Adam embellishes his lyrical poems with Leonine rhymes and homonyms (or equivocal rhymes) more often than most poets who mix them in accidentally with simple rhymes.⁷²

Adam’s poetic style has the appearance of simplicity, but it is in fact skillfully crafted. His language is “a kind of *koiné*, lightly tinted with Picard, imposed by the conservative and traditional genre of high courtly lyric.”⁷³ Evidence of Picard *scripta* is especially apparent in the rhymes – often “-ie,” or rarely “-iaus” (xxviii/RS 1180), “-ine” (xxiii/RS 1383) – which will disappear in Francien. In his exemplary analysis of “Merveille est” (xix/RS 52), Zumthor admits that the “vocabulary renews itself with almost every stanza ... it would be hard to get, with such voluntarily meager means, a higher concentration of allusion.”⁷⁴ This philologist also notes the abundance of enjambments, at the heart of a stanza or following one another from one stanza to the next, which allow for “a contrast between a frame and what it contains: an unstable and dynamic kernel (the syntactical arrangement and accent of the phrase) is enclosed within a rigid container (the stanza, as a whole).”⁷⁵ In the quality of the

70 The others are xii/RS 1973, xviii/RS 1458, xxvi/RS 1247, xxvii/RS 1661 and xxxii/RS 336. Dragonetti has identified five single-rhyme masculine songs out of more than one thousand in the trouvère corpus. Dragonetti, *Technique poétique des trouvères*, 445.

71 Adam remains more faithful to Dante’s spirit than the other trouvères; these six exceptions represent 16.66% of his songs compared to 28.67% (289/1008) out of the entire courtly corpus. Dragonetti, *ibid.*

72 “Special” rhymes are noted in Ulrich Mölk, and Friedrich Wolfzettel, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie lyrique française des origines à 1350* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1972).

73 “une sorte de *koiné*, légèrement teintée de picard, imposée par le genre traditionnel et conservateur de la haute lyrique courtoise.” Gégou, “La langue du poète Adam de la Halle dans ses chansons courtoises,” in *Mélanges de philologie et de littératures romanes offerts à Jeanne Wathelet-Willem*, ed. Jacques de Caluwé (Liège: Association des romanistes de l’Université de Liège, 1978), 175–88, 188. See also Marshall, *Chansons of Adam de la Halle*, 12–14.

74 “vocabulaire s[’y] renouvelle presque totalement à chaque strophe (...) [et qu’il] serait difficile d’obtenir, avec des moyens aussi volontairement réduits, une plus haute concentration allusive.” Zumthor, “Entre deux esthétiques,” 1164.

75 “un contraste entre un cadre et ce qu’il embrasse: un noyau instable et dynamique (l’agencement syntaxique et accentuel de l’énoncé) est enchâssé dans une enveloppe rigide (la strophe, en tant qu’elle forme un tout).” *Ibid.*, 1158.

language he chooses to compose his *grand chants*, Adam de la Halle thus remains faithful to the *stylus grandiloquus*.

3.5 *Rhyme Schemes*

Metrically, the structure of a stanza forms two distinct parts. The first part is repeated, either with crossed rhymes, *abab* (28 songs), or enveloped rhymes, *abba* (7 songs); the only exception (*aaaa*) comes from the song “Amours m’ont si douchement” (xv/RS 658) whose stanzas are built on a single rhyme. In the second part, the rhyme schemes are more varied but the enveloped rhymes (*bccb* or *abba* or *acca*) are more frequent, in particular in stanzas of eight lines; in the stanzas of nine lines, the schema is often stretched out (3/9 songs), by the doubling of the last rhyme (*bccbb*). Finally, almost a third of the songs are built on the scheme of three rhymes that combine crossed and enveloped forms: *abab bccb* (8 *chansons*), *abab bccbb* (2 *chansons*).⁷⁶ The variant which has two rhymes *abab abba* is more rare.⁷⁷ The inverse rhyme scheme (enveloped/crossed: *abba abab*) only appears in the religious song “Qui n’a puchele” (xxxiv/RS 495). One or two shared rhymes in the two sections unify the stanza. In most cases, these two sections are connected by the placement of the same rhyme on either side of the *diesis*, in lines four and five.⁷⁸ The rhymes of the *cauda* are entirely renewed in only five songs; the series is then composed in rhyming couplets (*ccdd*, *ccdde* or *ccddc*).⁷⁹ The metrical structure, but not the rhymes, of seven of Adam’s songs can be found in the works of other trouvères.⁸⁰ Even when he uses the eight-line archetypal form with crossed/enveloped rhymes (*abab bccb*), Adam never repeats the same verse structure. He continually renews his metrical combinations, holding together in his songs a delicate balance of unity and diversity.⁸¹

76 xii/RS 1973 and xxiv/RS 632.

77 ii/RS 1186 and xvi/RS 1018.

78 This connection is *b/b* in twenty songs and *a/a* in five songs.

79 xi/RS 2128, xx/RS 2038, xxix/RS 1715, xxxv/RS 1237 and xxxvi/RS 1599.

80 I/RS 833; Richart de Fournival, “Ains ne vi grant hardement” (RS 685); vii/RS 1711: anonymous, “Li bien qui font ciaux avoir soutenance” (RS 252); xiv/RS 500: Aubertin d’Airaines, “Remembrance que m’est ou cuer entreie” (RS 514) and an anonymous *sotte chanson*, “Chans de singe ne poire mal pellee” (RS 537); xxvii/RS 1661: “Puisque je sui l’amoureuse loi, bien doi amour en chantant esaucier” (RS 1661a) in the *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* by Alain de Lille and “Puisque je sui l’amoureuse loi, Que Jhesu Cris vaut croistre et esaucier” (RS 1662) by Guillaume de Bethune are sung to Adam’s melody; xvi/RS 1018: Guillaume le Vinier: “Amour grassi, si me lo de l’outrage” (RS 32) dedicated to Thomas Castel; xxxvi/RS 1599: anonymous, “Plus amouusement pris” (RS 1594).

81 The only two poems that are metrically identical are so by design, in the diptych v/RS 149 and vi/RS 148.

3.6 *Musical Structure*⁸²

Compared to the versification, which is diverse and refined, the musical structure of the poems at first seems to lack originality. Hendrik van der Werf thus considers that: “Convention and lack of sophistication in the form of the melody are typical, while originality and attention for detail are exceptional.”⁸³ However, John Stevens propounds an entirely different opinion: “The ‘noble style,’ the *stylus grandiloquus*, is musically speaking one of considerable complexity.”⁸⁴ These two extremes reflect an analysis of Adam’s works as a whole, which ought to be nuanced with observations that focus on micro-structural elements.

Existing musical analysis of the songs suffers from the lack of a catalogue equivalent to a “metrical repertory,” which would bring together all the characteristics of trouvère melodies. Several musicological studies have highlighted certain fundamental principles, however.⁸⁵ For example, it is generally accepted that the musical construction is in large part beholden to the versification. The link is purely formal, since the musical iteration of the stanzas proves that the esthetic of the courtly song forgoes any attempt at textual illustration – all the couplets are sung to the same music, which is noted only once. With few exceptions, the length of the musical phrase matches the length of the line of verse, and the number of notes or groups of notes corresponds to the number of syllables in a line.⁸⁶ Current transcriptions highlight these equivalencies, usually adopting a colometric presentation of the lines under each other, with a numbered separation of the syllables.⁸⁷

Most of the time, the melodic form is based on the division (*diesis*) of the stanza into two, often unequal, parts, or two *pedes* of two lines each and then one *cauda* of 4 to 8 lines. The first quatrain is sung over two repeated phrases

82 All of my observations on the music are based on the manuscript *W-trouv.*, except for the two pieces that are missing from this source (xxxv/RS 1237 and xxxvi/RS 1599), which come from *R-trouv.* and *P-trouv.*, respectively.

83 van der Werf, *Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 63.

84 John Stevens, “*La grande chanson courtoise: the songs of Adam de la Halle*,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 101 (1974–1975): 11–30, 18.

85 The tables presented here are an attempt to give some of these elements for Adam’s songs.

86 This rule is sometimes broken by “musical enjambments” if a short line is attached to a longer line; see *infra*.

87 On the advantages of this type of presentation, see Gérard le Vot, *L’œuvre lyrique de Blondel de Nesle: mélodies* (Paris: Champion, 1996). It is adopted by van der Werf. For a definition of “colometrie,” see Denis Muzerelle (IRHT), *Vocabulaire codicologique: répertoire méthodique des termes français relatifs aux manuscrits, avec leurs équivalents en anglais, italien, espagnol*, édition hypertextuelle, version 1.1, 2002–2003 (établi d’après l’ouvrage édité à Paris, Editions CEMI, 1985 <<http://codicologia.irht.cnrs.fr>>).

ABAB (or AB¹AB²) while the *cauda* brings new musical material to the listener, with no iteration (CDEF etc.). Seventeen of Adam's songs follow this traditional model, while fifteen propose more or less extreme modifications, and three others stray from it entirely (XXIII/RS 1383, XXXIV/RS 495 and XV/RS 658).⁸⁸

Sometimes the *pedes* scheme can be upset by a third phrase – ABAC or A¹BA²C, exceptionally ABCB (“Qui a droit veut Amours servir,” XVIIII/RS 1458) – or by an iteration of the same melody with two endings (A¹A² A¹A²). Two “crossed melodies” (ABAB) with their variants can be applied to crossed rhymes (*abab*) as well as to enveloped rhymes (*abba*). Only once does the axial symmetry of two rhymes give rise to a similar melodic structure: A¹BC¹A² (“Je ne chant pas reveleus de merchi,” XXI/RS 1060). This proves that the pattern of the first four rhymes only has a slight influence on the succession of musical phrases. Metrical specificities, however, can modify the musical construction. Thus the pattern ABAC only appears in two songs (XX/RS 2038 and XIX/RS 52), with the same succession of two short lines in a *pes* (7+3 syllables). Musically, they are grouped into a decasyllable, because B and C are in fact two desinences, open and closed, in one musical phrase, as seen in Example 7.1.⁸⁹

As opposed to the *frons*, the *cauda* is in many ways unpredictable. The iterations of the meters or the rhymes do not influence the melody, which is generally continuous, and it is rare that an entire musical phrase that has been heard before is repeated in the *pedes*. For example, in the two twin songs (V/RS 149 and VI/RS 148), the *cauda* ends with the exceptionally iterative phrase of the *pedes* (A¹A²A¹A² BCDA²).⁹⁰ In two other cases, the repetition happens over two lines of the same length in the two sections:

- “Qui a droit” (XVIII/RS 1458): ABCB DBEFG: a8 b8 b8 a8 / a4 b8 a8 a8b4
- “Je ne chant pas” (XXI/RS 1060): A¹BC¹A² DEFC²G: a10 b7' b7' a10 / a7 c5 c5 d7 d5

This is not a general principle, however, for in “Li jolis maus” (II/RS 1186) the same melody has two different meters, a decasyllable in the *pedes* and a heptasyllable in the *cauda* (a10' b10 a10' b10 / a10' b7 b7 b7: AB¹AB¹ CDB²E); the phrase (B) is thus shortened by three groups of notes, as seen in Example 7.2.

88 See Table 7.1: musical structures. Manuscript *W-trov.* served as a reference for the study of these structures. Other schemes sometimes appear in other sources. The musical archetype *pedes* + *cauda* can also be applied to the single-rhyme stanza of XV/RS 658 but XXIII/RS 1383 and XXXIV/RS 495 are composed following the *oda continua* model (*frons* + *cauda*).

89 In “Pour chou” (XXV/RS 432), the same principle of musical enjambement and open/closed desinences is applied to two lines of the *pedes* (7+5), following the pattern AB¹AB².

90 In “Grant deduis” (XXXV/RS 1237), the less literal reprise (AB¹AB² CDEB³) is unlikely original because it comes from the only manuscript to transmit the melody (*R-trov.*).

EXAMPLE 7.1 XIX/RS 52, vv. 1–4

1. Mer-veille est quel ta - lent j'ai 2. De chan - ter
3. Car je ne puis ne ne sai 4. Tant pen - ser

EXAMPLE 7.2 II/RS 1186, v. 2 and 4 (B¹), v. 7 (B²)

2. Que de chan - ter me doi - ve plus te - nir.
4. Et bien es - poir pour lon - ge - ment souf - fri.
7. Com - ment nus a cuer d'o - ïr

Other examples of formal sophistication appear within the *cauda*, when entire phrases reoccur with slight variations:

- “Merveille est” (XIX/RS 52): ABAC D¹EFD²GH
- “De cuer pensieu” (XXXII/RS 336): ABAB CD¹ED² [*W-trouv.*, *P-trouv.*, *A*]; A¹B¹CB² A²DEF [*Q*, *a-trouv.*]
- “Li maus d’amer” (IX/RS 1454): ABAB CD¹D²E
- “Glorieuse Vierge” (XXVIII/RS 1180): ABAB C¹DEC²F [*W-trouv.*]; ABAB CDEFG [*P-trouv.*]; ABAC DE¹FE²G [*Q*, *a-trouv.*]
- “Pour chou” (XXV/RS 432): AB¹AB² CD¹D²EFGH

Elsewhere, even if the overall scheme contains no reoccurrences, the melody is divided into similar musical motifs that unify the stanza. As O’Neill writes, “repetitive devices play a crucial role in the structuring of the chansons melodies.”⁹¹ Stevens observes the similarity of certain endings in “Tant me plaist” (XXII/RS 1273) and “Au repairier” (XIV/RS 500), all the more remarkable because Adam usually varies the structure of his cadences.⁹² O’Neill highlights the small me-

91 O’Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, 194.

92 Stevens, “*La grande chanson courtoise*,” 19–23. He says he has found: “in the first twelve melodies about 60 different melodic formations.” *Ibid.*, 22.

lodic units that generate longer phrases in “Il ne muet pas” (IV/RS 152) and “Je sench en moi” (VIII/RS 888).⁹³ Lawrence Gushee does the same for xxxvi, xv and xxx, proving through paradigmatic analysis that these songs (xviii/RS 1458 and xxi/RS 1060; xi/RS 2128 and xxxv/RS 1237) share similar melodic motifs.⁹⁴ These examples are not unique; on the contrary, an examination of the entire corpus shows that twenty-four songs contain organic reoccurrences of this type.⁹⁵ Such formulaic composition may reflect the oral origins of the *grand chant*.⁹⁶ Adam shows great ingenuity, however, with the way he places them in the stanza, in the *pedes* or *cauda*, for intonation or ending. Their musical contours and the way that he adapts or varies them are numerous and would not have functioned as medieval topical memory devices.⁹⁷ Thus, in contrast to the centonization that can be observed in some very ornate examples of plainchant, here the reoccurrences are unpredictable because they are not tied to a static structural function.⁹⁸

These combined observations on the versification and the musical structure of Adam’s songs show that his typical stanza is heterometric and eight lines long, mixes masculine and feminine rhymes, can be metrically divided by crossed rhymes and enveloped rhymes (*abab bccb*) and is musically divided into a *pedes* and a *cauda* (ABAB CDEF). In reality, only two songs reflect all of these characteristics (xxxi/RS 1438, viii/RS 888); others resemble it, differing perhaps only in one way: masculine rhymes (xxvi/RS 1247), isosyllabic stanzas (iv/RS 152 and xvii/RS 2025), or nine lines long (xii/RS 1973 and xxiv/RS 632).

The songs furthest from this model are:

- “Amours m’ont” (xv/RS 658): ten-line, with a single masculine rhyme, divided into two equal parts after the fifth short line (*a7 a7 a7 a7 a4 / a7 a7 a7*

93 See the analytic transcription of these two melodies in O’Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, 203 and 204.

94 Lawrence Gushee, “Analytical Method and Compositional Process in Some Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Music,” in *Aktuelle Fragen der musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung: Texte zu einem Basler Kolloquium des Jahres 1975*, Forum musicologicum: Basler Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte, 3 (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1982), 169–80.

95 *V/RS 149–VI/RS 148; *IV/RS 152; *II/RS 248; xxxii/RS 336 (*W-trov., P-trov., A, and Q, a-trov.*); xxv/RS 432; *xxxiv/RS 495; *xiv/RS 500; *X/RS 612 (two contrasting essential motifs); xxiv/RS 632; I/RS 833; viii/RS 888; xxi/RS 1060; II/RS 1186; xxxv/RS 1237 (R); xxii/RS 1273; ix/RS 1454 (*cauda*); xviii/RS 1458; *xxxvi/RS 1599; xxix/RS 1715; xxx/RS 1771; xii/RS 1973; xiii/RS 2024; xvii/RS 2025; xi/RS 2128 (*cauda*). The asterisks indicate the most pertinent examples.

96 This is the opinion of the author in O’Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, 194.

97 The construction of “Je n’ai autre retenanche” (111/RS 248) is particularly significant.

98 On centonization, see Paolo Feretti, *Esthétique grégorienne ou traité des formes musicales du chant grégorien* (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 1938).

a7 a6). The melody is repeated identically (except it is *open* and *closed*) over the two halves of the stanza ($AB^1B^2CD^1 AB^1B^2CD^2$).

- “Dame, vos hom” (XXIII/RS 1383): eight-line, isometric (heptasyllables), based on symmetrically enveloped rhymes, without a musical *diesis* (*a7’b7 b7 a7’ b7 a7’b7 b7 a7’*: ABCDEFGHI).
- “Qui n’a puchele” (XXXIV/RS 495): eight-line, isometric (octosyllables), “inversed” enveloped rhymes, then crossed (*a8’b8b8a8’/ a8’b8 a8’ b8*), known with three different melodies without iterations (ABCDEFGH [*Q* and *W-trouv.*], except for $A^1BCD EA^2FG$ [*P-trouv.*]).

These three exceptions also stand out from the rest of Adam’s corpus and the corpus of courtly *grand chant* in general because of their subject matter: the first is the only *chanson de femme*, or woman’s song, the second adopts the tone of a *serventois*, and the last is one of the two Marian songs written by the *arrageois* trouvère.

3.7 Modality

In general, the modality of secular music is not reducible to the theory of the eight ecclesiastical modes and Adam’s works are no exception. The *finalis* of Adam’s songs is, in order of decreasing frequency, *F* (16), *C* or *c* (9), *G* (6), *D* (3) and *a* (1). Consequently, the “major” scales are most common (31/35) while the “minor” scales are more rare (in *D/ré*: I/RS 833, III/RS 248, XIII/RS 2024, in *A/la*: XIX/RS 52), and the mode of *E/mi* is totally absent.⁹⁹ These observations concur with Tischler’s conclusions based on all of the two thousand melodies in the trouvère corpus.¹⁰⁰

The most frequent ambitus is the ninth (21/35 songs), the octave (7 songs) and the seventh (3 songs). The sixth in “De cuer pensieu et désirant” (XXXII/RS 336) is exceptionally narrow, while the melody stretches to the tenth in “Il ne muet pas” (IV/RS 152) and “Je ne chant pas” (XXI/RS 1060), or even to the eleventh in “Merveille est” (XIX/RS 52). Even when the ambitus is less than a ninth, the modal octave is generally stretched below by the sub-*finalis*; consequently, the *finalis* is lower than the ambitus, as it is in the authentic modes of the octo-echos. The plagal aspect is evident, however, when the *finalis* is at the octave

99 The distinction between the modal scales of *F/fa*, *C/do* and *G/sol* is delicate because of the presence of alterations (B flat in *F*, F sharp in *G*). The *finalis* C can indicate a transposition of the mode of *F/fa* (*cantus mollis*). No alteration is given as a key signature on all of the staves of a song and the alteration *si* (flat or sharp) is a result of the rules of solmization and not of transpositions.

100 Hans Tischler, “On Modality in Trouvère Melodies,” *Acta Musicologica* 71 (1999): 76–81.

EXAMPLE 7.3 XXI/RS 1060, v. 4 and v. 5

W-trouv. 4. Con - fort dou mal qui n'a pas de - ser - vi.

W-trouv. 5. Trop hau - te - ment a choi - si

above (*c*: XII/RS 1973 and XXIV/RS 632; *a*: XIX/RS 52)¹⁰¹ and in four songs where the *finalis* *G* is at the center of the ambitus.¹⁰²

When the ambitus is wide, the difference between the two registers helps to structure the melodic evolution of the stanza; in eight songs the passage at the diesis is marked by a significant change in tessitura.¹⁰³ For example, “Je ne chante pas” (XXI/RS 1060) has a *finalis* *F*, with a slightly wider ambitus than usual (10^e: *D*–*f*). However, while the *pedes* limits itself to the plagal register (*D*–*c*), with low rests (–61|–71), the *cauda* opens towards an authentic register (*E*–*f*) and the rests are primarily above the *finalis* (/523–71).¹⁰⁴ The comparison is particularly remarkable between v. 4 and v. 5, because the differing registers (*E*–*B* / *c*–*f*) are accentuated by the repetition of a similar melodic motif transposed to the fifth above, as seen in Example 7.3.

Generally the second *pes* and the *cauda* finish on the *finalis*.¹⁰⁵ The rest on another degree – second, third, fifth degree above or below – marks the diesis in at least a third of the songs (10/34).¹⁰⁶ When the basic scheme (ABAB) is modified (AB¹AB², A¹BA²C and ABAC), the two *pedes* finish on the *finalis*, and

101 In XXIV/RS 632, the rest on *F* at the diesis clearly marks the plagal division of the octave (*F*–*c*–*f*).

102 VII/RS 1711, VIII/RS 888, IX/RS 1454 are found in consecutive order in the main manuscripts, but XVI/RS 1018 is separated from this series.

103 V/RS 149–VI/RS 148; XVI/RS 1018; *XXI/RS 1060; XXII/RS 1273; IX/RS 1454; VII/RS 1711; *XIII/RS 2024.

104 The numbers indicate the degree of the rests; the negative sign (–) indicates that the degree is under the *finale*; for example, the sub-*finalis* is noted –7. The forward slash (/), corresponds to the diesis and the vertical line (|) indicates the separation between the *pedes*.

105 The song XXIII/RS 1383 “Dame, vos hom vous estrine” does not have a diesis because the melody is continuous.

106 See Table 7.1: musical structures, column “rests at the end of the line.”

the melody vacillates between open and closed.¹⁰⁷ In contrast, in structures such as A¹A²A¹A² (v/RS 149-v1/RS 148, XIII/RS 2024) and A¹BC¹A² (RS 1060), the two *pedes* finish closed; the cadences can be distinguished with the odd (open: A¹) and even (closed: A² or C¹) lines of each *pes*.

4 Melodic Style

4.1 *Incipits*

Fifteen songs begin with a repeated note, from the medium (*c* or *d*) or high (*f* or *g*) register of the ambitus, which generally corresponds to the fifth (sometimes the fourth for the plagal modes) or to the high/superior *finalis* of the mode.¹⁰⁸ The middle position of the most common note, *c*, is comfortable for the voice and allows for endless possibilities of extension. The melodic profile, descending or ascending, then aims for these poles, indicating the modal scale:

EXAMPLE 7.4 (1): XIV/RS 500 v. 1 mode of *fa/F*, (2): XXX/RS 1771 v.1 mode of *fa/F*
and (3): XXV/RS 432 v. 1 mode of *sol/G*

1. Au re - pai - rier en la dou - che con - tre - e.

1. Dous est li maus qui met le gent en voi - e,

1. Pour chou se je n'ai es - té

107 In “Merveille est” (XIX/RS 52), this order seems to be inverted: *pes* 1, “closed” on *a*, *pes* 2 “open” on *D*. In reality, this anomaly is due to modal ambiguity: *D* is perceived as the true *finalis* while *a* (v. 10) seems to be the dominant of the mode of *ré*.

108 In XXX/RS 1771 and XII/RS 1973, the repeated note (*c* and *f*, respectively), is the fourth degree of the plagal modes of *sol/G* and *fa/c*. I/RS 833 is an exception: *c* is the second modal degree, which could have been chosen not because of the mode, but out of habit.

The formulas that result from this principle are endlessly varied. Two songs have the same incipit (xxxiv/RS 495 and xxiv/RS 632) in the same mode (*fa*) but with one exception: the repeated note is at the third (*a*).

Because there is no indication of rhythm, it is difficult to measure the dynamic weight of the two repeated notes. If they were long, the iteration would be a call pattern that would have captured the audience's attention. This oratorical effect is convincing in the musical exordium of "Pour coi se plaint d'amour nus?" (xi/RS 2128) because the ascending profile of the melody ends on a high note that imitates and amplifies the intonation the question has when spoken:

EXAMPLE 7.5 xi/RS 2128, v. 1

W-trouv.

1. Pour coi se plaint d'a - mours nus?"

4.2 *Melodic Profiles*

Adam composes very diverse melodies; while not many identical formulas circulate from one song to another, there are several types of reoccurring melodic profiles.

In twenty-seven songs, the voice has a wide range (a seventh or even a ninth) over a single line, in an almost conjoined movement. Certain stanzas are built on the accumulation of these melodic "sweeps," which play on the opposition of their ascending or descending melodic profile.¹⁰⁹

EXAMPLE 7.6 (1): iv/RS 152 (A) vv. 1 and 3, (C) v. 5, and (D) v. 6

W-trouv.

1. Il ne muert pas de sens che - lui qui plaint
3. Pour chou ne puis ve - oir que chieux bien aint

5. Qui n'est souf - frans et de sta - ble co - ra - ge,

¹⁰⁹ iv/RS 152, xxvii/RS 1661, xxix/RS 1715, xxx/RS 1771.

W-trouv. 
6. Il ne se doit en - tre - mes - tre d'a - mer:

A stanza of VII/RS 1711 opens with a spectacular syllabic cascade over a seventh (v. 1 and 3, A).

EXAMPLE 7.6 (2): VII/RS 1711

W-trouv. 
1. On me def - fent que mon cuer pas ne croi - e,


The wide range (spanning an eleventh) of “Merveille est” (XIX/RS 52) is almost entirely covered by the melody of line 7 (spanning a tenth):


EXAMPLE 7.6 (3): XIX/RS 52, v. 7

W-trouv. 
7. On a par faus - ser go - i.

Sinuuous musical profiles offer a point of contrast. Their melodies, slightly ornamented or syllabic, cover a narrow range, turning on one or two pivot notes.

EXAMPLE 7.7 (1): XXXII/RS 336, vv. 1 and 3, (2): XXXIV/RS 495, v. 2, and (3): XXIII/RS 1383, v. 6

W-trouv. 
1. De cuer pen - sieu et de - sir - rant
3. Car e - le sert de chou mous - trer

W-trouv. 
2. Ou n'a fors de che - vanche et vent,


W-trouv. 

6.A tort m'en por - tés cue - ri - ne;

The Marian song “Glorieuse Vierge” (xxviii/RS 1180, v. 1, v. 3, and v. 9) opens and finishes with two motifs of this type in *W-trouv.*, while in *P-trouv.*, and especially in *a-trouv./Q*, the melodic slope is clearly asserted. In “On demande souvent” (xiii/RS 2024, vv. 1 and 3, v. 2 and 4), each line of the *frons* begins with an identical motif, turning around the *mi*; only the cadence on *a* of the open (*A'*) is able to open up the range to the sixth.

The melodies that feature short chains of thirds or triads are few in number. They are often confused by plicas:

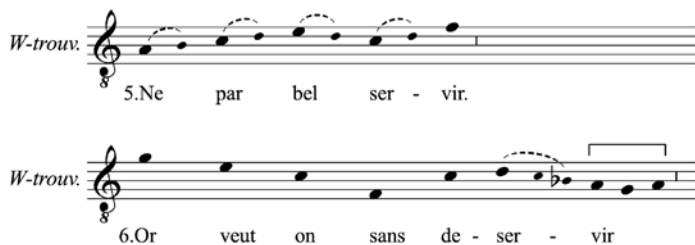
EXAMPLE 7.8 (1): VIII/RS 888, v. 8

W-trouv. 

8.Trop haut, drois est qu'il y pai - re.

Their appearance sometimes highlights a structural element of the stanza. Thus, the diesis in “Pour coi se plaint” (xi/RS 2128) is marked by a double triad, which evolves in the opposite direction and ties a short line to a long one (vv. 5 and 6):

EXAMPLE 7.8 (2): XI/RS 2128, vv. 5 and 6

W-trouv. 

5.Ne par bel ser - vir.

6.Or veut on sans de - ser - vir

In “Li jolis maus” (ii/RS 1186) the two elements founded on thirds make up a characteristic phrase that unifies the *pedes* and the *cauda* (example 7.2).

Other melodic movements, all of them ascending and almost conjoined, stand out because of their syllabic flow. Adam often syllabically fills the ascending sixth, and this motif becomes a common one in his vocabulary.¹¹⁰ It is an element of contrast that generally appears in the *cauda*, but a movement of this type also appears in the incipit of XXIX/RS 1715:

EXAMPLE 7.9 XXIX/RS 1715, vv. 1 and 3 (mss. *W-trouv.* and *P-trouv.*)

1. Se li maus c'a - mours en - voi - e

3. Nus ne le pe - üst lonc tans

1. Se li maus k'a - mors en - voi - e

3. Nus ne le pe - üst lonc tans

In the melodies that are founded on these conjoined movements and several thirds, leaps of a fourth or a fifth, more often ascending than descending, create a surprise that Adam introduces into a large number of songs, usually limiting its occurrence to a single line.¹¹¹ The disjointed interval sometimes

¹¹⁰ This motif can be found in eighteen songs: XIX/RS 52; V/RS 149–VI/RS 148 (6th); III/RS 248 (4th); XXXII/RS 336 (*Q* and *a-trouv.*); XXXIV/RS 495; *XIV/RS 500; *X/RS 612; VIII/RS 888; *XVI/RS 1018; XXVIII/RS 1247; XVII/RS 1458; XXXVI/RS 1599; XXVI/RS 1661; *XXIX/RS 1715 (incipit); *XII/RS 1973 (5ths and 4ths); XVII/RS 2025 (*a-trouv.*); XI/RS 2128 (almost conjoint).

¹¹¹ The leaps can be found in: XIX/RS 52 (v.10); III/RS 248 (v. 1, 3); XXXIV/RS 495 (v. 3); XIV/RS 500 (v. 2); I/RS 833 (v. 8); XVI/RS 1018 (v. 8); XXVIII/RS 1180 (v. 7 in *W-trouv.*); XXXV/RS 1237 (v. 5 in *R-trouv.*); XXVI/RS 1247 (v. 1, 3); XXXI/RS 1438 (v. 5); IX/RS 1454 (v. 5); XXVI/RS 1661 (vv. 1, 3); VII/RS 1711 (vv. 2, 4); *XXX/RS 1771 (vv. 2, 4 and 7); XII/RS 1973 (v. 9); XX/RS 2038

highlights the fragmentary structure of the melodic phrase by isolating the motifs that make it up (VII/RS 1711, vv. 1–3 and 2–4). Elsewhere it allows for a permanent change in register (XXXIV/RS 495). While in line one, after the momentum of the triad (*fa la do*), the melody falls, the jump of a fourth in line three, placed just after the same motif, resolutely launches the melody towards the upper register. Here, as elsewhere, a musical break does not correspond to an equivalent division in the text and even goes against its meaning, breaking the word *savoir* in two.

EXAMPLE 7.10 XXXIV/RS 495, vv. 1–4

W-trouv. 8
1. Qui n'a pu - chele ou dame a - mee

W-trouv. 8
2. Ou n'a fors de che - vanche et vent,

W-trouv. 8
3. Par rai - son doit sa - voir com - ment

W-trouv. 8
4. Li Vier - ge doit estre hon - ne - re - e,

Adam's songs cannot be described in a general way because the lyricism of this last, great trouvère is rich and varied. He stays within the formal confines of the *grand chant* without ever completely conforming to its most typical examples; he also plays with the ruptures between metrical and musical structures that, despite having a common formal frame, are not completely interchangeable. Having inherited a "classical" lyrical patrimony, Adam enriched it with new metaphors that came from the commercial milieu he belonged to; he borrowed tools of versification from his fellow *arrageois* trouvère while refusing

(v. 8); *XI/RS 2128 (v. 5, 6, 10, 11: 3x / text); the descending leaps in: *XIV/RS 500; I/RS 833 (v.9); *XIII/RS 2024; XVII/RS 2025 (6th).

their popularizing tendencies. Without refrains to hum along to, without catchy, rhythmic phrases, and without easily recognizable musical repetition, Adam's lyric poetry demands a lot of today's listener; maybe it was the same for a listener at the end of the thirteenth century. His monodic songs come from a refined milieu, and they do not cater to the hurried traveler.

Translated by Amy Heneveld

TABLE 7.1 Musical patterns in Adam's monophonic songs

n° Badel/ Wilkins	n° Badel/ RS	Titre	n° Marshall	n° Tischler	MW
1	I/R.833	<i>D'amourous cuer voel canter</i>	1	495	843.2
2	II/R.1186	<i>Li jolis maus que je senc ne doit mie</i>	2	675	776.12
3	III/R.248	<i>Je n'ai autre retenanche</i>	3	147	1028.1
4	IV/R.152	<i>Il ne muet pas de sens chelui qui plaint</i>	4	089	1045.5
5	V/R.149	<i>Helas, il n'est mais nus qui aint (I)</i>	5	087	1045.3
6	VI/R.148	<i>Helas, il n'est mais nus qui n'aint (II)</i>	6	087	1045.3
7	VII/R.1711	<i>On me deffent que mon cuer pas ne croie</i>	7	987	1048.8
8	VIII/R.888	<i>Je sench en moi l'amour renouveler</i>	8	527	1045.23

Sources	Strophes	Syllabes	Rimes	Schéma musical	Finalis	Ambitus
<i>5/8: A, P-trouv., Q°, T-trouv.°, V-trouv., Wx-trouv., W-trouv., Dit de la panthère°</i>	6 (VI = envoi)	7 5' 7 5' / 7 7 7 5' 7 3	abab accbca	ABAB CDEFGH ; ABC ₁ C ₂ EFGHI [V]	D	9 C-d
<i>8/13 : A, I-trouv.°, O-trouv., P-trouv., Q°, R-trouv., T-trouv., U°, V-trouv., Wx-trouv., W-trouv., a-trouv.°, Dit de la panthère°</i>	5 + 4*	10' 10 10' 10 / 10' 7 7 7'	abab abba	AB ₁ AB ₁ CDB ₂ E ; A ₁ B ₁ A ₂ B ₁ C ₁ C ₂ DB ₂ [O]	F	9 E-f
<i>9/10 : A, I-trouv.°, O-trouv., P-trouv., Q, R-trouv., T-trouv., Wx-trouv., W-trouv., a-trouv.</i>	5 + 4	7' 7 7' 7 / 4 7 7 7 4 7 4	abab bcbcbbc	ABAB CDEFGHI	D	9 C-d
<i>8/8 : A, P-trouv., Q, R-trouv., T-trouv., Wx-trouv., W-trouv., a-trouv.</i>	5 + 4	10 10 '10 10' / 10' 10 10 10'	abab bccb	ABAB CDEF	C	10 B-d
<i>9/10 : A, I-trouv.°, O-trouv., P-trouv., Q, R-trouv., T-trouv., Wx-trouv., W-trouv., a-trouv.</i>	5 + 4	8 8 8 8 / 8 4' 8' 8	abab bccb	A ₁ A ₂ A ₁ A ₂ BCDA ₂ ; A ₁ A ₂ A ₁ A ₃ BCA ₄ D [R]	C	8 B-b
<i>5/6 : P-trouv., Q, R-trouv., T-trouv.°, Wx-trouv., W-trouv.</i>	5 + 4	8 8 8 8 / 8 4' 8' 8	abab bccb	A ₁ A ₂ A ₁ A ₂ BCDA ₂ ; A ₁ A ₂ A ₁ A ₂ BCDA ₂ [R]	C	8 B-b
<i>7/7 : P-trouv., Q, R-trouv., T-trouv., Wx-trouv., W-trouv., a-trouv.</i>	5 + 4	10' 10 10' 10 / 7 7' 7' 10 7	abab bccb	ABAB CDEFG	G	8 D-d
<i>5/6 : P-trouv., Q, R-trouv., T-trouv.°, Wx-trouv., W-trouv.</i>	5	10 10' 10 10' / 7' 10 7 7'	abab bccb	ABAB CDEF ou AB ₁ AB ₁	G	7 E-d

TABLE 7.1 Musical pattern (*cont.*)

n° Badel/ Wilkins	n° Badel/ RS	Titre	n° Marshall	n° Tischler	MW
9	IX/R.1454	<i>Li maus d'amer me plaist mieux a sentir</i>	9	822	1045.22
10	X/R.612	<i>Li dous maus mi renouvelle</i>	10	354	1342.5
11	XI/R.2128	<i>Pour coi se plaint d'Amours nus</i>	11	1219	1236.3
12	XII/R.1973	<i>Merchi, Amours, de le douche dolour</i>	12	1124	1048.9
13	XIII/R.2024	<i>On demande mout souvent qu'est Amours</i>	13	1152	1083.4
14	XIV/R.500	<i>Au repairier de la douche contree</i>	14	290	1079.34
15	XV/R.658	<i>Amours m'ont si douchement</i>	31	384	8.1
16	XVI/R.1018	<i>De chanter ai volenté curieuse</i>	17	595	776.11
17	XVII/R.2025	<i>Ma douche dame et Amours</i>	18	1153	1045.37
18	XVIII/R.1458	<i>Qui a droit veut Amours servir</i>	20	826	1301.1
19	XIX/R.52	<i>Merveille est quel talent j'ai</i>	19	036	1083.14
20	XX/R.2038	<i>Sans espoir d'avoir secours</i>	21	1162	1233.36
21	XXI/R.1060	<i>Je ne chant pas reveleus de merchi</i>	22	615	1342.3

Sources	Strophes	Syllabes	Rimes	Schéma musical	Finalis	Ambitus
				CB ₂ DA ₂ ou A ₁ BA ₁ B C ₁ A ₂ C ₂ A ₃ D		
4/6 : <i>P-trouv., Q, T-trouv.</i> °, <i>Wx-trouv., W-trouv., a-trouv.</i> °	5 + 4	10 10' 10 10' / 10' 5 7 7'	abab bccb	ABAB CD ₁ D ₂ E	G	8 D-d
5/6 : <i>P-trouv., Q†, R-trouv.,</i> <i>T-trouv.</i> °, <i>Wx-trouv., W-trouv.,</i> [<i>fincomplete</i>]	4	7' 5 7 7' / 7' 7 7 4 6	abba accDD	A ₁ BA ₂ C DEFGH	C	9 B-c
8/11 : <i>I-trouv.</i> °, <i>O-trouv.,</i> <i>P-trouv., Q, R-trouv., T-trouv.,</i> <i>V-trouv., Wx-trouv., W-trouv., f</i> °, <i>Dit de la panthère</i> °	5 + 5	7 7' 7 7' / 5 7 7' 7' 5 7 7'	abab ccddeed	AB ₁ AB ₂ CDEFGHI	F	8 F-f
5/7 : <i>P-trouv., Q, R-trouv.,</i> <i>T-trouv.</i> °, <i>Wx-trouv., W-trouv.,</i> <i>Dit de la panthère</i> °	5	10 10 10 10 / 5 7 7 7 10	abab bccbb	ABAB CDEFG	c	9 g-a'
7/8 : <i>I-trouv.</i> °, <i>P-trouv., Q,</i> <i>R-trouv., T-trouv., V-trouv.,</i> <i>Wx-trouv., W-trouv.</i>	5 + 4	10 10 10 10 / 7 7' 7' 7 7 7'	abab bccddc	A ₁ A ₂ A ₁ A ₂ BCDEFG	D	9 C-d
8/9 : <i>I-trouv.</i> °, <i>P-trouv., Q,</i> <i>R-trouv., R-trouv., T-trouv.,</i> <i>V-trouv., Wx-trouv., W-trouv.</i>	5 + 4	10' 10 10' 10 / 7 7' 7' 7 5	abab bccdd	ABAB CDEFG	F	9 E-f
2/4 : <i>I-trouv.</i> °, <i>O-trouv.</i> °, <i>P-trouv., W-trouv.</i>	3	7 7 7 7* + 4 / 7 7 7 7 + 6 [*rime b dans str. 1]	aaaa aaaaa	AB ₁ B ₂ CD ₁ AB ₁ B ₂ CD ₂	F	8 F-f
3/5 : <i>P-trouv., Q, T-trouv.</i> °, <i>W-trouv., a-trouv.</i> °	5 + 4	10' 10 10' 10 / 10' 10 7 7'	abab abba	ABAB CDEF	G	9 C-d
6/7 : <i>O-trouv., P-trouv., Q,</i> <i>R-trouv., T-trouv.</i> °, <i>W-trouv.,</i> <i>a-trouv.</i>	5 + 4	7 7' 7 7' / 7' 7 7 7'	abab bccb	ABAB CDEF [QPW]; ABAB CD ₁ ED ₂ [a]; AB ₁ AB ₂ CDEF [R]	G	9 F-g
6/7 : <i>P-trouv., Q, R-trouv.,</i> <i>T-trouv., Wx-trouv., W-trouv.,</i> <i>a-trouv.</i>	6 (VI = envoi)	8 8 8 8 / 4 8 8 8 4	abba abaab	ABCB DBEFG	F	7 E-d
5/5 : <i>P-trouv., Q, R-trouv.,</i> <i>W-trouv., a-trouv.</i>	5 (V = envoi)	7 3 7 3 / 7 7 7 5* 7' 5 [*7 dans III et IV]	abab bccddc	ABAC D ₁ EFD ₂ GH	a	11 C-f
5/6 : <i>P-trouv., Q, R-trouv.,</i> <i>T-trouv.</i> °, <i>W-trouv., a-trouv.</i>	5	7 3 7 3 / 5 7 7' 7' 7 4	abab ccddee	ABAC DEFGHI	F	9 E-f
3/4 : <i>P-trouv., R-trouv., W-trouv.,</i> <i>a-trouv.</i> °	5 + 4*	10 7' 7' 10 / 7 5 5 7 5	abba accdd	A ₁ BC ₁ A ₂ DEFC ₂ G	F	10 D-f

TABLE 7.1 Musical pattern (*cont.*)

n° Badel/ Wilkins	n° Badel/ RS	Titre	n° Marshall	n° Tischler	MW
22	XXII/R.1273	<i>Tant me plaist vivre en amoureux dangier</i>	15	721	1038.1
23	XXIII/R.1383	<i>Dame, vos hom vous estrine</i>	26	779	1359.1
24	XXIV/R.632	<i>Mout plus se paine Amours de moi esprendre</i>	27	366	1048.5
25	XXV/R.432	<i>Pour chou se je n'ai esté</i>	28	250	1078.1
26	XXVI/R.1247	<i>Or voi jou bien qu'il souvient</i>	30	704	1045.44
27	XXVII/R.1661	<i>Puis que je sui de l'amoureuse loi</i>	16	960	1083.6
28	XXVIII/R.1180	<i>Glorieuse Vierge Marie</i>	36	672	645.1
29	XXIX/R.1715	<i>Se li maus c'Amours envoie</i>	23	989	1435.1
30	XXX/R.1771	<i>Dous est li maus qui met le gent en voie</i>	29	1018	867.1
31	XXXI/R.1438	<i>Amours ne me veut oïr</i>	24	812	1045.41
32	XXXII/R.336	<i>De cuer pensieu et desirrant</i>	32	196	1335.3
33	XXXIII/R.1577	<i>De tant com plus aproime mon país</i>	33	∅	1084.1
34	XXXIV/R.495	<i>Qui n'a puchele ou dame amee</i>	35	286	1303.4
35	XXXV/R.1237	<i>Grant deduit a et savoureuse vie</i>	25	700	1209.45
36	XXXVI/R.1599	<i>Onkes nus hom ne fu pris</i>	34	923	1209.87

Sources	Strophes	Syllabes	Rimes	Schéma musical	Finalis	Ambitus
<i>3/4 : R-trouv., T-trouv., W-trouv., a-trouv.</i> ^o	5 + 4	10 10 10 10 / 10 5' 7' 7 7 7'	abab bccaac	ABAB CDEFGH	F	9 E-f
<i>3/5 : P-trouv., R-trouv., T-trouv., W-trouv., a-trouv.</i>	5 + 4	7' 7 7 7' / 7 7' 7 7 7'	abba b abba	ABCDEFGHGI	F	9 E-f
<i>3/5 : P-trouv., Q, T-trouv.</i> ^o , <i>W-trouv., a-trouv.</i> ^o	5	10' 10 10' 10 / 10 7' 7' 5 7	abab bccbb	ABAB CDEFG	c	9 E-f
<i>3/4 : P-trouv., R-trouv., T-trouv.</i> ^o , <i>W-trouv.</i>	3	7 5 7 5 / 7 7' 7' 5 7' 7 4'	abab bccdcdc	AB ₁ AB ₂ CD ₁ D ₂ EFGH	G	9 F-g
<i>7/9 : I-trouv.</i> ^o , <i>O-trouv., P-trouv., R-trouv., T-trouv., V-trouv., W-trouv., a-trouv., Dit de la panthère</i> ^o	5 + 4	7 5 7 5 / 7 3 7 4	abab bccb	ABAB CDEF	C	9 B-c
<i>8/13 : C</i> ^o , <i>I-trouv.</i> ^o , <i>O-trouv., P-trouv., Q</i> ^o , <i>R-trouv., R-trouv., T-trouv., U</i> ^o , <i>V-trouv., W-trouv., a-trouv., f</i> ^o	5 + 4	10 10 10 10 / 5 7 7 7 7 5	abab bccddc	ABAB CDEFGH	C	9 B-c
<i>4/5 : P-trouv., Q, T-trouv.</i> ^o , <i>W-trouv., a-trouv.</i>	5	8' 8 8' 8 / 8' 8' 8 10 10'	abab aabba	ABAB C ₁ DEC ₂ F [W]; ABAB CDEFG [P]; ABAC DE ₁ FE ₂ G [Qa]	F	7 E-d
<i>2/3 : P-trouv., T-trouv.</i> ^o , <i>W-trouv.</i>	5 + 4	7' 5 7 7' / 7 7 7 7 7 4	abba ccddcc	A ₁ BA ₂ C DEFGHI	F	9 E-f
<i>5/7 : I-trouv.</i> ^o , <i>O-trouv., P-trouv., Q, R-trouv., T-trouv.</i> ^o , <i>W-trouv.</i>	5 + 4	10' 10 10' 10 / 10 7' 7' 7 7' 7 4	abab baababb	ABAB CDEFGHI	F	9 E-f
<i>5/6 : P-trouv., Q, R-trouv., T-trouv.</i> ^o , <i>W-trouv., a-trouv.</i>	5 + 4	7 7' 7 7' / 5' 5 7 7'	abab bccb	AB ₁ AB ₂ CDEF	F	8 F-f
<i>5/6 : A, P-trouv., Q, T-trouv.</i> ^o , <i>W-trouv., a-trouv.</i>	5 + 4*	8 8 8 8 / 4 8 8 8	abba acca	ABAB CD ₁ ED ₂ [WPA]; A ₁ B ₁ CB ₂ A ₂ DEF [Qa]	C	6 B-g
<i>o/2 : T-trouv.</i> ^o , <i>W-trouv.</i> ^o	2	10 10 10 10 / 7 4 7 7' 7' 7 7 7'	abab bccddccd	∅	∅	∅
<i>3/5 : P-trouv., Q, T-trouv.</i> ^o , <i>Wx-trouv.</i> ^o , <i>W-trouv.</i>	5 + 4	8' 8 8 8' / 8' 8 8' 8	abba abab	ABCDEFGH [W]; A ₁ BCD EA ₂ FG [P]; ABCDEFGH [Q]	F	9 E-f
<i>1/3 : R-trouv., T-trouv.</i> ^o , <i>Dit de la panthère</i> ^o	5	10' 10 10' 10 / 10' 7' 7 10	abab ccdd	AB ₁ AB ₂ CDEB ₃ [R]	F	9 E-f
<i>1/3 : I-trouv.</i> ^o , <i>P-trouv., W-trouv.</i> ^o	5	7 7 7 7 / 7' 7' 7 7	abab ccdd	AB ₁ AB ₂ CDEF [P]	F	9 E-f

PART 4

Traditions and Transformations



Adam de la Halle: Cleric and Busker

Alain Corbellari

Adam de la Halle shares with his compatriot Jehan Bodel the honor of being one of the most unclassifiable, or even elusive, authors of the thirteenth century. In the prologue to his only *chanson de geste*, the *Chanson des Saisnes*, Jehan Bodel wrote that there were *matières* enough throughout the rich kingdom of France, even though, to our knowledge, he didn't write anything based on the material of Britain or Rome, preferring to win fame through the registers of the *fabliau*, the theater and personal lyric, which he doesn't even mention in the prologue to the *Saisnes*. It's true that these genres weren't yet recognized as such and that Jehan Bodel's own role in the emergence of this new material is, apparently, quite considerable. Two generations later, in the rich poetic melting pot of the city of Arras, Adam de la Halle is in many ways his heir. Adam de la Halle only competes directly with Jehan Bodel in the genres of theater and personal lyric, but one can see how his open spirit, along with the liberty he displays when composing in recognized forms, come directly from the example of his illustrious predecessor, as well as from the cultural possibilities of a city which may well have been the second most important in France at that time.

Indeed, two essential facts help define Adam de la Halle as a poet at the crossroads of the genres and sensibilities of his time, a time when French literature, which had already been flourishing for more than a century, was about to undergo profound changes. These are, first, his rootedness in the urban environment, and second, his status as a cleric, which is strongly tied to the first.

Should Adam be listed among the poets of love or the poets of the "personal"? Among the spontaneous musicians or those adept at learned music? Among the intellectuals or the entertainers? We can't solve the problem by calling him a "cleric," since the cleric – neither wholly secular nor wholly religious – is precisely at the crossroads of the "estates of the world." We know that, in the Middle Ages, an ecclesiastical vocation was not a condition *sine qua non* for a clerical calling; whether it was because it allowed for an escape from poverty or, more likely, because it was in reality the only way to be able to benefit from a slightly more advanced education, a clerical career couldn't help but seduce young men who weren't attracted to the art of war, or who did not

want to spend their lives in service to the glebe or to a handicraft. Adam's contemporary Rutebeuf declares, not without pride, that he is "not a worker who uses his hands,"¹ in seeming anticipation of Rimbaud's distinction between "the hand of the pen" and "the hand of the plow."² At the same time, since they were not restricted to the celibacy of monks and priests (although their ability to marry – we'll come back to this later – was subject to certain restrictions), clerics could aspire to an almost "normal" life in the city: etymologically speaking, their designation as that "portion reserved for God"³ was only minimally constraining. Adam thus remained immersed in the populace even though his education separated him from everything associated with city-dwellers, and he was as interested in the life of simple folk as in the life of intellectuals: this becomes obvious with the simple confrontation of his two plays – the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* and the *Jeu de la feuillée*. Similarly, love and politics seem to demand his equal attention: in his works, love's casuistry sits alongside the important discussions that troubled his era. In addition, his position makes him an experimenter: the first trouvère to write polyphonic songs, he propels the art of Western music forward one solid step by increasing the suppleness of learned music in a brand new way, allowing it to benefit from his profoundly ironic mind.⁴ Under these conditions, it's not surprising that Adam crowned himself king of the mask and the double deal.

Nevertheless, hunting down the cleric in Adam de la Halle is not always easy. For as rife with typically clerical allusions one play like the *Jeu de la feuillée* is, many of his other works don't even mention this affiliation! Upon closer inspection, however, one can discern in one song or another traces of Adam's culture and education, but it always pays to remain prudent because the boundary between learned culture and a *jongleur's* subject matter is not always very clear. Fortunately, we have for our author something completely exceptional for an artist before the fifteenth century – a precious external testimony:

1 v. 98. "pas ovriers de mains." Rutebeuf, *Li Mariages Rutebeuf*, ed. Michel Zink (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2001), 268.

2 Between "la main à plume" and "la main à charrue." Arthur Rimbaud, "Mauvais sang," *Une Saison en enfer* in Arthur Rimbaud, *Poésies complètes* (Paris: GF Flammarion, 1964), 118.

3 "Du grec *klêros*, propr. 'lot reçu par le sort ou par héritage,' qui traduit dans la Bible l'hébreu *na'ala*, mot par lequel Dieu se déclare l'héritage des Lévites" ("From the Greek *klêros*, 'portion received by destiny or by inheritance,' a translation of *na'ala* in the Hebrew Bible, a word by which God declares himself to be the inheritance of the Levites."). Oscar Bloch and Walter von Wartburg, eds., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française*, Quadrige dicos poche (1932; repr. Paris: PUF, 2002), 136.

4 All things being relative, his *rondeaux* in three voices are to the severe *organa* of the School of Notre Dame what Offenbach's music is to Wagner's.

that of the anonymous author of the *Jeu du pèlerin*. In this text, all mentions of Adam clearly highlight his clerical status:

Par Puille m'en reving, ou on tint maint concille
 D'un clerc net et soustieu, grascieus et nobile,
 Et le nomper du monde: nés de ceste ville.
 Maistre Adans li Bochus estoit chi apelés.
 Et la, Adans d'Arras. [...] (vv. 22–26)

(I've come back through the Pouilles, where one hears much about a cleric, fine and subtle, gracious and noble, who in this world has no equal: he was born in this town. Here he is called Adam the Hunchback, and there, Adam of Arras.)

[...] Chis clers don je vous conte
 Ert amés et prisiés et honnerés dou conte
 D'Artois, si vous dirai mout bien de quel aconté.
 Chieus maistre Adam savoit dis et chans controuver,
 [...] (vv. 34–37)⁵

(This cleric I am telling you about was loved, cherished and honored by the count of Artois, and I will tell you the reasons why: Master Adam knew how to compose poems and songs.)

[...] Il parole
 De maistre Adan, le clerc d'onneur,
 Le joli, le largue donneur,
 Qui ert de toutes vertus plains.
 [...] (vv. 80–83)⁶

(He is speaking of Master Adam, the honorable cleric, the elegant and generous, who was filled with all the virtues.)⁷

It's not surprising to read in this dithyrambic eulogy that Adam was endowed with all perfections, but the two terms “cleric” and “master” stand out in

5 Adam de la Halle, *Le jeu de Robin et de Marion*, ed. and trans. Jean Dufournet (Paris: Flammarion, 1989), 166.

6 *Ibid.*, 170.

7 All English translations are by the translator of this article.

particular, and seem to be inseparable from any mention of him. “Master” is used, without a doubt, to indicate someone who has studied at a university but who hasn’t necessarily reached the level of teacher. Indeed, “master” is a denomination that will later be liberally applied to Villon, who was unlikely to have completed his studies. It remains the case, however, that this term was rarely used for poets: only eight of the 137 *Minnesänger* listed in the Manesse manuscript (copied in Zurich at the end of the thirteenth century, exactly when Adam de la Halle was active) are attributed the title *Meister*.

Moreover, Adam’s interlocuteurs never use the title of “Master” in the *jeux-partis*: whether it is Roger, Gréville or Jehan Bretel, they only ever call the poet “Adam,” while Adam himself addresses them by “Messire,” thus identifying himself, if not as inferior to them, at least as their younger brother.

In *jeu-parti* number 1X, Jehan Bretel reminds Adam of the story, popularized a half a century earlier by Henri de Valenciennes,⁸ of Aristotle being ridden like a horse by Alexander’s mistress. Adam’s response suggests that he had a certain familiarity with the great Philosopher, though it is impossible to infer from it whether or not he had a broader knowledge of scholastic teachings. It is significant, moreover, that the initiator of the debate proposes this example; while he seeks above all, because Adam is a cleric, to make a parallel between Adam and Aristotle, our author replies that his situation is nothing like the philosopher’s because, although he is worth less than Aristotle, he at least knows he can count on his lady’s pity:

Adan, mout fu Aristotes sachans
 Et si fu il par Amours tes menés
 Qu’enselés fu comme chevaux ferrans
 Et chevauchiés, ensi que vous savés,
 Pour cheli que il voloit a amie,
 Qui, en le fin, couvent ne li tint mie.
 Vaurriés vous estre atournés ensement
 De vos dame, e vous tenoit couvent?

Sire, qui prent as fais des souffisans
 Essample et cuer n’en doit estre blamés:

8 I’d like to remind the reader here that the now dated attribution of authorship of the *Lai d’Aristote* to Henri d’Andeli has been refuted, definitively in my opinion, by François Zufferey. François Zufferey, “Un problème de paternité: le cas d’Henri d’Andeli. 11. arguments linguistiques,” *Revue de linguistique romane* 68 (2004): 57–78 and Zufferey, “Henri de Valenciennes auteur du *Lai d’Aristote* et de la *Vie de saint Jean l’évangéliste*,” *Revue de linguistique romane* 69 (2004): 335–58.

Aristotes fu de moi plus vaillans
 En renommee, en scienche, en bontés:
 Et quant il ot le plaisanche acomplie
 Da sa dame, [n']en ot il mie aïe.
 Dont doi je bien faire tel hardement
 Qui ains vail, et s'arai alegement.⁹

Adam, Aristotle was very wise
 And yet he was so led on by Love
 That he was saddled like a grey horse,
 And ridden, as you know,
 By the one he wanted to have as lover,
 Who, in the end, did not keep her promise to him.
 Would you like to be treated thus
 By your lady, if she kept her promise to you?

Sire, he who takes the acts of the best
 to heart as example ought not to be blamed.
 Aristotle was more valiant than me
 In renown, in science and in goodness:
 Yet when he had fulfilled the pleasure
 Of his lady, he was not helped by it.
 So I can afford to do such a hardy thing,
 I who am worth less and will have relief.

Adam thus resists an assimilation with clerkliness that he feels is a trap, and, in fact, his love songs – unlike the *Jeu de la feuillée!* – show no trace of any clerkly distaste. The famous song V, in which he laments that no one knows how to love anymore (“Il n'est mais nus qui aint”), doesn't blame women, as some of Jean de Meun's characters will later do, but instead puts the blame on the lovers:

Chascun amant orendoit faint
 Et veut goïr sans endurer.¹⁰

9 Adam de la Halle, *Œuvres complètes*, trans. and ed. Pierre-Yves Badel (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1995), 150–151.

10 *Ibid.*, 48–49.

Every lover today feigns [love]
 And wants pleasure without suffering.

Certainly one finds some satirical references to clerics in song xxviii, but it is a prayer to the Virgin Mary, not a love song:

D'Orgueil a ja traite clergie
 Et Jacobins de bons morsiaus,
 Car en aus regne Gloutrenie:
 Mais ceux espargne de Chitiaus.
 Moines, abbés a tait d'Envuie
 Et chevaliers de Reuberie:
 Prendre nous cuide par monchiaus.
 Encor a fait pis li mauvais oisiaus,
 Car de Luxure a toute gent plaïe.

With Pride, [the devil] has struck the clergy
 As he has the Jacobins with choice pieces
 Because Gluttony reigns over them:
 But he spares those of Citeaux.
 He has struck monks and abbots with Envy,
 As well as knights with Robbery:
 He thinks he will take us by the cart-load.
 The evil bird has done even worse:
 He has wounded everyone with with Luxury.

Adam has never been so close to Rutebeuf: a pointed attack on a religious order and the moralising use of allegorical personifications resemble Parisian clerical satire. Yet it is significant that this is the only attack of its kind in Adam's works: while Rutebeuf found both the ideal target and the ideal audience for his poems in Paris, the provincial Adam seems to have been unable to count on a sufficient density of clerics to understand and appreciate this genre of poetry.

In addition, in the *Jeu de la feuillée*, he uses a different approach to the problem of the clergy: he is not direct, since he lacks support (one might say combatants) and can't afford to be. He finds a middle way, one that belongs to someone who suffers from not being in the center of the action, who is far from "where things are happening." The *Jeu de la feuillée* thus stages a clash between a *here* and an *over there*, thematised on all possible levels, both spatially and temporally. This opposition is represented from the very first lines of the play:

Segneur, savés pour quoi j'ai mon abit cangiet?
 J'ai esté avoec feme, or revois au clergiet.

Ladies and Gentlemen, do you know why I have changed my habit?
 I was married, now I am joining the clergy.¹¹

The *re* in *revois* has led to a misinterpretation by editors and translators, it seems to me; Pierre-Yves Badel translates it as “I am returning to my studies”¹² and Jean Dufournet offers the following: “I now take up again my place among clerics.”¹³ In reality, it seems that here the *re* should be taken as distributive, which, in Old French, doesn’t indicate the repetition of an action but rather its coordination with a parallel action, here the fact that he “went” with a woman. Adam doesn’t reengage with a preexisting clerical career, on the contrary, he decides, as he says in the lines that follow, to fulfill an old dream that he had not yet been able to realize:

Si avertirai chou que j'ai piecha songiet.

I am going to realize a very old dream.¹⁴

In the same way, when Master Henri says to his son “*reva t'ent*” (v. 185: “Go away”), the *re* clearly acts as an “intensifier,” as Claude Mauron rightly notes, though he is still tempted to believe that Adam had “known about and practiced goliardic poetry” during an initial stay.¹⁵ Mauron also doesn’t hesitate to mention that if the *Jeu de la feuillée* was composed in 1276, as most people today agree, then it is chronologically closer to Jean de Meun than to Rutebeuf, and, in any case, it is not “necessary to have gone to Paris to have been in the satirical lineage that goes from Rutebeuf to Jean de Condé.”¹⁶

In any case, it remains that it is a dangerous proposition to read the *Jeu de la feuillée* as an autobiography. Even if many textual clues suggest it (to start with, the presence of many of the same people who appear in the *Nécrologe des jon-*

11 Ibid., 286. My translation: “Messieurs-dames, savez-vous pourquoi j'ai changé d'habit? J'ai été marié: maintenant je rejoins les clercs.”

12 Ibid., “je retourne aux études.”

13 “je reprends maintenant ma place parmi les clercs.” Adam de la Halle, *Le Jeu de la feuillée*, trans. and ed. Jean Dufournet (Gand: Story-Scientia, 1977), 19.

14 Ibid.

15 “connu et pratiqué la poésie des goliards.” Claude Mauron, “Le Voyage d'Adam de la Halle à Paris d'après le *Jeu de la Feuillée*,” *Senefiance* 2 (1977): 183–94, 193.

16 “nécessaire d'être allé à Paris pour se situer dans la ligne satirique qui va de Rutebeuf à Jean de Condé.” Ibid., 194.

gleurs et bourgeois d'Arras)¹⁷, can we, without any other interpretative attempts, keep going back to Adam the author, main character of the play? The opposite approach, examining Adam's other works, might offer us a way forward here: the admission of a clerical vocation that appeared late in life could explain the small number of learned references in Adam's lyrical works. Instead of a cleric who turned to writing pleasing songs, our author could have been a *trouvère* who was tempted by the world of learning at a later stage in life. This explains the double game played by Adam who exaggerates his protagonist's naivety in the play, because, at the same time as he gives voice to his desire to become a cleric, he proves that he is already very well informed on the clerical debates of the day. Indeed, everything seems to point to the fact that Adam wrote the *Jeu* with a headstart on his hero: it's as an already confirmed cleric that he stages the misadventures of this weak-willed double-talker, whose position as a victim he has long outgrown.

We don't find the appellation "master" in the songs: it is, however, present in the *Jeu de la feuillée*, but the seriousness with which one should treat it is doubtful, since the other characters clearly use it ironically in regards to Adam. Thus, in the first scene, Guillot, who is worried about what will become of Adam's wife, calls his friend "master" twice, as if to better highlight the clash between his old position (which he has not yet completely abandoned) and his new one (which is still taking shape), that of a self-proclaimed cleric:

Maistres, il n'ira mie ensi
 [...]

 Maistres, tout che ne vous vaut nient
 Ne li cose a che point ne tient.¹⁸

Master, it will not go that way.
 [...]

17 Many *dits arrageois* (see Roger Berger, *Littérature et société arrageoises au XIII^e siècle: les chansons et dits artésiens* [Arras: Mémoires de la Commission départementale des monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1981]) are, in the manner of the *Jeu de la feuillée*, a parade of characters whose names alone suffice to guarantee that the local audience would recognize itself, and it is very tempting to read of the *Jeu de la feuillée* as a magazine in which everyone could recognize his or her own role, even if in order to believe this you have to assume that certain *arrageois* had a solid sense of self-mockery. By constantly playing on verisimilitude and the private joke, the *arrageois* community offers, instead of just the image of a vast and tentacular city, that of a big village where everyone knows one another and where personal allusions are immediately decipherable.

18 V. 37 and vv. 45–46. Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 288.

Master, all this is unworthy of you
 And it doesn't hold together.

Next, it's Riquier's turn to say that if Adam doesn't want to do it, he will gladly take care of "la Maroie." Incidentally, this seems to relegate the unfavorable description that Adam just gave of his wife to the rank of pure, made-up slander:

Maistres se vous le me laissiés,
 Ele me venroit bien a goust.¹⁹

Master, if you leave her to me,
 She will be to my taste.

The title "master" thus seems here to give Adam a kind of antiphrastic aura, of which the characters are well aware: it is primarily because he is not worthy of her that he is given this title. Guillot and Riquier insist upon the obvious contradiction of calling oneself a cleric when one has not gotten out of the conjugal pit.

Here again, there is nothing that indicates that the title of master had not already been given to the author before he wrote the play; the author of the *Jeu du pèlerin* will give it to him without any trace of irony. If there is any personal projection, it would appear to be as if from a distance, in order to accentuate the contradictions of a character who, in anticipation of the heros of Samuel Beckett, is unable to escape from a place in which he is invariably stuck.

This being the case, the *Jeu de la feuillée* certainly gives free reign to a bitterness that, in the thirteenth century, is the most visible expression the discomfort surrounding the figure of the "bigamous cleric." However, as we've already said, everything is double in this play: the fool is the double of Adam, and the fathers of these two characters reproduce the same structure in the preceding generation. Arras and Paris are placed back to back in a game that is practically a topos of thirteenth-century literature; here the two towns represent two lifestyles related to the patristic pair of the *vita activa* (Arras, or the ultimate barrenness of an existence free of contemplation) and the *vita contemplativa* (Paris, or the potential disappointment of a serious life devoted to study). Finally, the fact that the beginning consists of a double portrait of Maroie has to have some significance in a play that gives such prominence to the problem of "clerical bigamy!" Certainly, the "bigamy" that was then condemned by the

¹⁹ Vv. 175–76. *Ibid.*, 296.

Church did not mean having more than one wife at a time, as we define the term today, rather it meant getting remarried after being widowed or repudiated: by aligning the old Marois with the new one,²⁰ Adam, beyond the problem of verisimilitude that we have already mentioned, disturbs temporal logic and makes us wonder which of the two *semblances* he proposes has more or less truth to it:

Car faitures n'ot pas si beles
 Comme Amours le me fist sanler,
 Et Desirs le me fist gouster
 A le grant saveur de Vaucheles!

For she didn't have such beautiful features
 As Love had made it seem to me
 And Desire had me taste them
 In the grand manner of Vaucelles!²¹

At the same time, the *jeu's* subtlety lies in the fact that the topic of the bigamous cleric, as it is thematized in the dialogues that follow, instead of being illustrated by Adam's hesitation between two women, appears through the linguistic and fantasmagoric materialization of schizophrenia that menaces him at every level of the play. If, as Jean-Marie Fritz²² has argued, madness in the Middle Ages can only be defined at the intersection of the discourses that exclude it, the *Jeu de la feuillée*, by its very structure, allows one to rise above the epistemological obstacle that prevents one from understanding madness because it is nothing other than the constant, alienating possibility that place, language or character may, at any moment, change into a false copy of itself.²³ As we have already mentioned, doesn't the hero introduce himself to the spectator, from the first retort of the play, by saying that he is someone who has "[son] abit cangiet" ("changed his habit")? Such a device suggests that it is the loss of the self that threatens the cleric, and it seems likely that Maroie's double

20 Remember that Edmond Faral sees in the second portrait (of an older Maroie) the origin of the topos that continues, through Matheolus, to Villon's *Belle Heaumière*. See Edmond Faral, *Les Arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècles. Recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Champion, 1924), 77.

21 Vv. 167–70. Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 296.

22 See Jean-Marie Fritz, *Le discours du fou au Moyen Âge*, Perspectives littéraires (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1992), 11–12.

23 For an inspiring reading of the *Jeu de la feuillée*, considered for its newness in relation to society, see Anne B. Darmstätter, "Le charme de la nouveauté ou *Le Jeu de la Feuillée* d'Adam de la Halle," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 47 (2004), 229–48.

description, placed by Adam at the beginning of the play, may be read as an apotropaic gesture designed to repel an outbreak of madness in a character who is having a profound identity crisis.

Here again this anxiety around the dissolution of the self brings Adam de la Halle closer to Rutebeuf, with one important difference: the feelings associated with love, which take up so much of the *arrageois* poet's attention, are just about absent from the *parisien* poet's work. Ironically, however, here it is the very fact that he speaks about love that betrays his clerical condition. If Rutebeuf says that he married an ugly, old wife,²⁴ it is in order to make his audience pity him by exposing his reader to the misery of those who have lost their place in society: the Maroie of the *Jeu de la feuillée*, on the other hand, was (and perhaps still is) the real object of Adam's love and desire, and his drama resides in the fact that he has to consider her as the always already disgraced wife of a cleric.

Jean-Charles Payen has rightly noted that in his *Congé*, which supposedly evokes the same break with *arrageois* society as the *Jeu de la feuillée*, Adam "sings another song altogether, transforming conjugal love into true *fin'amors*":²⁵

Bele, tres douche amie chiere!
 Je ne puis faire bele chiere,
 Car plus dolans de vous me part
 Que de rien que je laisse arriere.²⁶

Beautiful, so sweet, precious friend!
 I cannot pretend to be happy,
 For I am sadder to part from you
 Than from anything else I leave behind.

In his *jeu-parti* number 2, Adam even responds to Jehan Bretel (whom Dufournet insisted on identifying with Robert Sommeillon in the *Jeu de la feuillée*)²⁷ that he would rather stay in Arras with his *amie* than roam the world...

²⁴ See *Le Mariage Rutebeuf*, vv. 35–38, p. 270.

²⁵ "chante une toute autre chanson, transfigurant l'amour conjugal en véritable *fin amors*." Jean-Charles Payen, "La crise du mariage à la fin du XIII^e siècle d'après la littérature française du temps," in *Famille et parenté dans l'occident médiéval*, ed. Georges Duby and Jacques Le Goff (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1977), 413–30, 416.

²⁶ Vv. 61–64. Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 406–7.

²⁷ See Jean Dufournet, *Adam de la Halle à la recherche de lui-même ou le jeu dramatique de la feuillée* (Paris: SEDES, 1974), 178–85.

In these texts, is he referring to the same Maroie? It is a pointless question: it is clear that everything is a question of *register*. Despite the fact that it is a poem in the “personal” style, which breaks in certain ways with the courtly song tradition, the *Congé* appears here to be more tied to the latter than people sometimes think: its elegiac tone appears in any case radically opposed to the sardonic one that Adam adopts in the *Jeu de la feuillée*, as Gioia Zaganelli has rightly demonstrated by relying in particular on the fifth stanza of the *Congé*:

Adieu, Amours! tres douche vie,
 Li plus joieuse et li plus lie
 Qui puist estre fors paradis!
 Vous m'avés bien fait en partie.
 Se vous m'ostastes de cle[r]gie,
 Je l'ai par vous ore repris:
 Car j'ai en vous le voloir pris
 Que je racate los et pris
 Que par vous perdu je n'ai mie,
 Ains ai en vo serviche apris,
 Car j'estoie nus et despris
 Avant, de toute courtesie.²⁸

Goodbye, Love! such sweet life,
 The most joyful and the happiest
 That can exist outside of paradise!
 You mostly treated me well.
 If you took me away from the clergy,
 Thanks to you I have now returned to it:
 For in you I have found my will
 To gain back the praise and glory
 That I didn't lose because of you,
 And I learned while in your service
 Because before I was naked and devoid
 of all courtesy.

Love is seen in this poem as a preparatory stage to the clerical life, one which doesn't contradict it but, on the contrary, one which allows for its blossoming:

²⁸ Vv. 49–60. Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 406–7.

L'etica cortese non è rinnegata, ma integrata in un nuovo ideale che, nell'intima e attiva partecipazione della donna, nelle forme di un amore di nuovo principio e fine dell'umana esperienza, riconcilia *amors* e *clergie* in una ideale armonia.²⁹

(Courtly ethics are not renounced but integrated into a new ideal that, through the intimate and active participation of a woman, in the form of a love that has as a new principle and a new end human experience, reconciles *amors* and *clergie* into an ideal harmony.)

Thus when he writes, a bit further on in the *Congé*, that “Dou fruit n'aront fors li courtois”³⁰ (Only courtly men will have fruit), Adam places himself solidly on the side of courtliness, a value without which the clergy would seem incomplete or even vain.

In the end, the *Jeu de la feuillée* appears to be quite isolated within Adam's collected works. In some of his songs one does find ambiguous references to feminine virtue, but these digs never cause the poem to fall into wilful misogyny; one finds quite the opposite in the *Feuillée*, which effectively belongs to the register of the clerical satire and shows little care for courtliness, as much in the medieval sense of the word as in the modern one! The “real” Maroie (if Adam ever really loved one) thus remains hidden between the two antagonistic portraits given by her lover: there is simply a courtly Maroie, or more specifically an anonymous courtly lover (the one in the songs), standing in contrast to a satirical one (the one in the *Jeu*). In the first case, the absence of a name is a sure sign of the intention of the poet in terms of register: *a contrario*, giving a name to someone marks them as singular and thus desacrilizes them. Once off her pedestal, a woman can only be a vulgar killjoy, a drag, a dead weight that the cleric both wants to let go of and dreads to release. He wants to let go of it because it is an obstacle to his liberty, and he dreads to release it because it is his only remaining link to the secular world. Thus Adam, with his double portrait of Maroie, superposes on the problem of clerical bigamy a bigamy that corresponds more to the modern sense of the term, since these two aspects of woman coexist, if not in his life, at least in his work: Adam's madness also lies in his simultaneous use of the courtly and the misogynous (clerical) registers, which are rigorously incompatible in terms of their representations of women.

29 Gioia Zaganelli, “Amors’ e ‘clergie’ in Adam de la Halle,” *Spicilegio moderno* 7 (1977): 22–35. 35.

30 V. 108. Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 408–9.

One might say as much of the two cities that Adam vacillates between, each of which also has two faces: sometimes a green paradise of love and romance (all evidence suggests that the countryside in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* is Artesian), sometimes a sordid, provincial backwater, Arras stands in contrast to Paris, the city of knowledge, but also the city of exile, if one considers that it is, in the logic of the *Congés* genre, equivalent to Jehan Bodel's leprosy. In fact, if the Arras of thirteenth-century literature seems to be a place of happy, convivial sociability, the Paris of the same period seems, in contrast – at least if we believe Rutebeuf! – to be an agglomeration where one can easily get lost in the crowd. Aside from the actual size of the two cities (Paris's population was undoubtedly much larger, but Arras, with its population of 20,000, was certainly not a small town), Paris, not Arras, had the undeniable reputation of being a real “metropolis,” and the *arrageois* writers seem, in contrast, to have done everything they could to minimize the size of their city. Arras thus appears to be the ideal place for that special activity generally known to be found in villages: gossip. Some artesian *dits* (xvii, xviii, xxiii) seem to consist of little other than petty slander, as the *Jeu de la feuillée* amply demonstrates. While Paris is at once the city of power, knowledge and trade, Arras, “*vile de plait*” (“city of intrigue”), as the *Congé* describes it,³¹ only seems to exist thanks to a shady form of business, in spite of the literature that blossomed there: money is all powerful there, which seems, it's true, fatal to a city made of “*jongleurs et bourgeois*” (listed in the famous *Nécrologe*) who have made a deal which seems to our modern eyes to go against nature. The negative social consequences of this “pre-capitalism” are often deplored,³² yet this doesn't prevent the *arrageois* trouvère from developing a robust parochialism (another trait common to villages!) for which they make the Parisians pay:

Mais a Paris et a Biauvais
Rent uns preudon por .C. malvais.

But in Paris and in Beauvais,
There's one good man for 100 bad.³³

Meanwhile, Adam de la Halle takes this provincial spite and turns it against his own city, having one of his characters in the *Jeu de la feuillée* say “Onques d'Arras bons clers n'issi”³⁴ (A good cleric never came out of Arras).

31 Adam de la Halle, *Congé*, v. 13 (Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 404–5).

32 So says Jacques Le Goff: see his *Marchands et banquiers du Moyen Âge*, Que sais-je? (Paris: PUF, 1956), 40.

33 *Dit artésien* number xx, vv. 73–74.

34 Adam de la Halle, *Le Jeu de la feuillée*, v.13. Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 286.

Was Adam a good cleric? In any case we can't accuse him of being out of touch with the disputes of his time, and, before concluding, there remains the question of the bigamous clerics which demands to be addressed directly as it informs a rather long section (vv. 426–503) of the *Jeu de la feuillée* that Jean Dufournet discusses at length.³⁵

During the last third of the thirteenth century, three popes ruled on the bigamy of clerics: Innocent IV (1243–54), Alexandre IV (1254–61) and Gregory X (1271–77). Given the fact that today critics agree that the play was composed in 1276, it's likely that Adam was referring to the decisions of the third pope. Indeed, Gregory X addressed the abuses of the bigamous clerics twice: once at the Council of Lyon (May–July 1274, attended by Thomas Aquinas), and in a decree condemning them, dated 1 November 1274.

The question of Adam's stance in this debate has given rise to ample discussion. Henri Guy, who was undoubtedly influenced by the anticlerical struggles of his own era (the end of the nineteenth century) reads it as a plea in favor of bigamists (a "plaidoyer [...] en faveur des bigames")³⁶ but for Payen (even though he was a Marxist), "Adam cultivates the attitude of an intellectual who is above the crowd" (Adam cultive l'attitude de l'intellectuel au-dessus de la mêlée).³⁷ This is, in any case, the attitude adopted by that character who has his name in the play, who, according to Dufournet, "hardly participates in the conversation" (ne participe pratiquement pas à la discussion).³⁸ This helps relativize what was written above regarding the relationship between Maroie's double portrait and the theme of bigamy. More precisely, without denying this parallel, the detachment that Adam the character displays in regards to the question of religious politics raised by his friends proves that he does not make the link between the two themes on his own; in other words, the structures that spur on the play do not correspond to the mental representations of its hero. Unless, as Jean Dufournet sensed, it is precisely *because he does not want to see this parallel* that Adam plays at being detached, which would shed a certain light on his protestation in lines 432–33:

Ne bigames ne sui je mie,
Et s'en sont il de plus vaillans!

35 Dufournet, *Adam de la Halle*, 275–86.

36 Henri Guy, *Essai sur la vie et les œuvres littéraires du trouvère Adam de la Halle* (Paris: Hachette, 1898), 19.

37 Jean-Charles Payen, "Les éléments idéologiques dans le *Jeu de saint Nicolas*," *Romania* 94 (1973): 484–504, 503.

38 Dufournet, *Adam de la Halle*, 276.

Neither am I bigamous at all,
But some worth more than me are!

In fact, of the three possible attitudes he could have towards bigamists (support, passivity or hostility), Dufournet thinks that Adam is close to adopting the third. Furthermore, the discussion of bigamy quickly becomes grotesque: don't forget that, as Dufournet mentions, Master Henri, the most vehement defender of bigamists, is also "the most reviled character in the play" (le personnage le plus vilipendé de la pièce)³⁹ and it is clear that, in this debate, everyone is looking for a scapegoat: Guillot mentions a certain Plumus who has gone so far as to insult the Pope, and Hane shamelessly maligns some high-placed figures who have tried to buy undue privileges. Master Henri, however, remains the one who is most taken to task: finding it scandalous that priests in reality have all the women they want (an old anticlerical cliché about the Don Juanism of clerics that, according to historians, isn't entirely unfounded),⁴⁰ he is accused of trying to round up clerical privileges and of hiding wealth that he vehemently denies having. This discussion is definitely one of the passages in the *Jeu de la feuillée* that most resembles our modern theatrical revues, where, in a single carnivalesque evening, all the local scandals, and the names of those who figure prominently in them, are obligingly displayed in public to the great joy of the audience. In this case, *arrageois* society is not improved by this playful massacre and one completely understands that Adam de la Halle bitterly deplored Arras as a "city of intrigue" (*vile de plait*). At the same time, one also understands why the character Adam prudently refrains from engaging in the discussion, preferring to let others take part in gossip of which he doesn't approve. Adam the author thus kills two birds with one stone: he clears his twin of a degrading tendency that he assigns to his other characters, while putting in their mouths the rumors that are a sure way of pleasing his audience!

The question of clerical bigamy definitely appears to be more a means of revealing the seedy underbelly of *arrageois* life than a theme addressed for its own sake. From this perspective, one could say that Adam doesn't reveal himself: his clerical condition renders him sensitive to this social phenomenon, which was very relevant at the time he was writing, and it is tempting to believe that he put aside this problem, which concerned him more than he

39 Ibid., 279.

40 For the fantastical side of this question, see Daron Burrows, *The Stereotype of the Priest in the Old French Fabliaux: Anticlerical Satire and Lay Identity* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005); on its historical aspect, see Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou village occitan*, Bibliothèque des histoires (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), which shows that the cleric Clergue was indeed, in the fourteenth century, the most renowned seducer in the village of Montaillou.

wanted to admit, in order to avoid his own problems. The fact remains that Adam completely avoids exploring the question in depth. In this way he does indeed write a piece of literature, because he does not confuse theatrical dialogue with ideological debate, even if at the same time he escapes his “duty” as a “committed” cleric (his “devoir d’engagement”). It would be easy to see the use of these terms as anachronistic, however, despite the fact that Jean-Claude Mühlethaler was able to argue convincingly that clerics during the era of Charles VI, one century after Adam, can be compared to today’s “engaged writers” (écrivains engagés) in the modern sense of the term (writers who are committed to defending certain social and political views),⁴¹ it seems to me that the same comparison can already be made, however sporadically, with thirteenth-century writers. Exactly contemporaneous with Adam, Rutebeuf “commits” himself to defending the University of Paris against the power grab of the Dominicans, and Jean de Meun, in the second part of the *Roman de la rose*, defends ideas which were then dangerous for him to hold.⁴² And can we not also speak of a form of commitment when, at the dawn of this same century, a Guiot de Provins or a Reclus de Molliens satirized the monastic vices from inside their institutions?

Once again, there is nothing of this sort in Adam’s works, which, incidentally, give no hint as to his knowledge of Latin: did he know it less than his status required of him? What is certain is that moralism and pedantry, which make the works of other writers of his period so wearisome, are completely foreign to him, and nothing, ultimately, seems to interest him other than his personal situation; yet since his personal situation creates a dialectic between the two poles of the courtly and the clerical, it does have something essential to tell us about the “situation” of writers in the thirteenth century more generally. It follows that Adam is perhaps a better observer of the difficulties and contradictions of the position of cleric than many other authors of his day. Theoretically protected by ecclesiastical hierarchy from the vicissitudes of secular life, the cleric is in fact ever held under the menace of sanctions from his

41 Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, “Une génération d’écrivains ‘embarqués’: le règne de Charles VI et la naissance de l’engagement littéraire en France,” in *Formes de l’engagement littéraire (XV^e–XVI^e siècle)*, ed. Jean Kaempfer, Sonya Florey and Jérôme Meizoz (Lausanne: Antipodes, 2006), 15–32.

42 Allow me to refer here to my book, *La voix des clercs: littérature et savoir universitaire autour des dits du XIII^e siècle*, Publications romanes et françaises 236 (Genève: Droz, 2005), whose arguments were influential for the present article, and in which I conclude that thirteenth-century clerics “transmitted to us the most durable of legacies: the one that leads directly to the modern emancipation of literature” (nous ont [...] transmis le plus durable des héritages: celui qui mène en droite ligne à l’émancipation moderne de la littérature). *Ibid.*, 260.

superiors. While Rutebeuf displays this expertly in the *Miracle de Théophile*,⁴³ Adam, for his part, adopts another strategy: he turns the game of theater against himself when, in a scene in the *Jeu de la feuillée*, his double, who is unable to surmount his life's obstacles, feigns indifference towards the debate about bigamists. It is as if the deliberate abandonment of courtliness brings with it the simultaneous disappearance of clerical hope. While the *Congé* speaks to the hope of transcendence of courtliness by the clergy, the *Jeu de la feuillée* reveals itself to be a “long voyage in the night” that ends without a solution: in the last scene, the morning bells ironically salute the mediocrity of the hero who remains stuck in *arrageois* mediocrity. The tavern has won over the university, and, because they were not supported by love, dreams don't come true.

The paradox that the *Jeu du pèlerin* illustrates, perhaps despite itself, is that it exalts the indubitable quality of Adam the cleric while it informs us that the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* could well have been his last work, in spite of the fact that it doesn't contain a single trace of clerical prestige, but this for reasons entirely opposed to those that caused Adam to fail in the *Jeu de la feuillée*. In the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, the triumph of courtliness happens not thanks learning but to the ignorance (*nonsavoir*⁴⁴) of the peasant world that has banished from its heart all nobility and intellectualism, allowing love to reign supreme.

A shameful cleric? A frustrated cleric? Or simply a free spirit who knows – as Aristotle learns the hard way in the eponymous *Lai* – that happiness does not lie in knowledge? Undoubtedly Adam de la Halle is a bit of all of this. Having shown us without an ounce of pedantry that the clerical condition may not deserve all the fuss that is made over it, he remains one of the privileged witnesses to the first growing pains of Western society. At the same time he is one of the most subtle writers of his century, knowing how to entertain us like no one else, touching us by representing the contradictions, the suffering and the hopes that are a part of being human and in which we can still recognize ourselves.

Translated by Amy Heneveld

43 For a reading in the clerical mode of the *Miracle de Théophile*, please refer to chapter 9 of my book *Voix des clercs*, “Le mythe du savoir” (ibid., 233–55).

44 Think of the role this word plays in the repentant monologue of Rutebeuf's *Miracle de Théophile*: “Hé! las com j'ai esté plains de grant nonsavoir” (v. 400).

Refrain Quotations in Adam's *Rondeaux*, Motets and Plays

Anne Ibos-Augé

One cannot address the question of the refrain in the work of Adam de la Halle without discussing the term refrain itself, and, to a certain extent, the term *rondeau/rondet*. Without belaboring the theories developed and discussed by philologists since the end of the nineteenth century,¹ I would like to return to several points that are useful for understanding the process of citation.

The question of terminology must be raised from the outset: indeed, the term refrain rarely appears in the texts themselves. In the entire corpus of refrains, which is still being finalized,² only four narrative works and one *chanson avec des refrains* use the term.³ The term appears again in the famous rubric of fr. 146, where it refers to Jeannot de Lescurel's *diz entez sur refrois de rondeaus*. The term *enté*, also very ambiguous, is associated here with one of the forms that base their structure on the refrain. As the repertoire of the *motets entés* demonstrates, this structural role will ultimately be one of the refrain's main functions, though this sometimes limits the meaning of the term.⁴ This is also one of the rare medieval examples that associate the term refrain with the term *rondeau*, at the same time as being one of the even rarer examples of the term *enté*. Elsewhere, refrains are called *chansons*, *chansonnettes*, or, less often, *motets* or *rondets*. According to the texts themselves, the refrain thus seems to be directly linked to the perception of a work's structure.

1 For an extensive account of these theories, see Jennifer Saltzstein's recent book, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2013), especially p. 8–13.

2 The database REFRAIN, the development of which I have just finished in collaboration with Mark Everist, available on <<http://refrain.ac.uk>>, adds 26 refrains and 9 *rondeaux* to van den Boogaard's repertory.

3 Besides the *chanson*, there is the *Roman de la poire* in which the refrains are part of an acrostic that gives the name of the author and his lady, two strophic texts, and the *Court d'Amours II* in which the refrains accompany a dance scene – with space reserved for musical notation. In four of these cases, the refrain is thus inseparable from the structure.

4 See Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry and Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 75–89.

The question of the refrain's role is also multifaceted. Some appear to be clearly and intimately tied to the overall structure of the host-work, whether or not it is lyrical. These are the fragments that appear in the *rondeaux*, the *chansons à refrain* or *avec des refrains*, the *virelais* and other so-called "fixed" forms, but also the refrains inserted into non-lyrical strophic texts, such as the oft-mentioned *diz entez sur refrois de rondeaus* by Jehannot de Lescurel and some isolated works such as the anonymous *Chastelaine de Saint-Gille*, as well as the entire corpus of the *Saluts d'amour*. Others have an exogenous role, detached from any notion of structure, and appear in motets, non-lyrical works, or even in the middle of a stanza in a *chanson*. The difficulty in such cases lies in trying to isolate these fragments as refrains, since their role is no longer structural but semantic, especially when they only have one occurrence. Of the 1933 refrains gathered by Nico H. J. van den Boogaard,⁵ many are *unica*,⁶ so the question always remains: are they refrains or not? If certain criteria for identification (should we say authentication?) are sometimes proposed, such as the visible separation of the fragment from its original context, whether narrative (with a discursive or lyrical marker) or paleographic (with a paragraph sign or pillow), or indications in the text – whether graphical (the presence of small capitals or *punctum*) or musical (the presence of *tractus*, a change in the rhythmic mode, an eventual correspondence to the tenor)⁷ – there are cases that remain ambiguous until someone finds another occurrence of the refrain to confirm it.

Another issue is variance, which could prompt us to ask: where does the refrain end and the citation begin? Take, for example, refrain vdB 1427 "Onkes n'amai tant com je fui amee, par mon orguel ai mon amin perdue." It is made up of the first and last lines of the first stanza in RS 498 "Onques n'amai tant con je fui amee," attributed to Richart de Fournival, of which several similar occurrences exist. Two others contain important variants, however: one finds, in *Le roman de la poire*, at v. 250, "Onques n'amai tant com je fuis amee, cuer desloiaus a tart vos ai veincu" and in the *Livre d'amorettes*, in insertion 31, "Lasse pourquoy fu ge onques de mere nee, pour mon orgueil ai mon ami perdu." In both cases, the link between the refrain and the song is conserved: either line 1 of stanza I is affixed to the last line of the last stanza, or the last two verses of stanza I are used. Yet the "refrain" no longer resembles itself. It has become a

5 Nico H.J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XII^e siècle au début du XIV^e* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969).

6 We are not speaking here of those *unica* whose structural role in certain works leaves no doubt as to its function.

7 See Robyn Smith, "Gennrich's *Bibliographisches Verzeichnis des französischen Refrains*: Tiger or Fat Cat?" *Parergon* 8 (1990): 73–101.

citation of a fragment of a *chanson*. In a similar way, the incipit of the *duplum* in the motet *Entre Adam et Hanikel* (725) / *Chiés bien seant* (726) / *Aptatur* (O45), is taken up again at the end of the *duplum* in *Se je sui liés et chantans* (39) / *Jolietement* (40) / *Omnes* (M1).

Finally, the study of the refrain in the context of the *rondeau*, the motet or the *chanson*⁸ often begs the question of which appearance of the refrain is anterior to the other. If in certain instances it is possible to retrace the history of the citation – indeed, some appear in the refrains used by Adam⁹ – many cases remain uncertain.¹⁰ The case of some of the *chansons avec des refrains* is particularly interesting; some reoccurrences or changes in the successive refrains follow poetic developments so closely that one rightly wonders whether the composition of the “refrains” did not coincide with the composition of the host-song.

This question of anteriority is relevant to our investigation of Adam de la Halle. He used the refrain in every type of composition he undertook (only in the *chanson* is it less common),¹¹ practicing the reuse of known refrains along with acts of pure creation, sometimes from ideas that seem to have already been “in the spirit of his times.” Though it’s rare,¹² he even goes so far as to use the same refrain in several different compositions, sometimes playing with, by analogy, the texture of the polyphony, as well as with the poetic context of the two works thus brought together. Finally, in his *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, he significantly blurs the boundaries between refrain and citation.

8 This is also the case sometimes in narrative texts. See, among others, Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987); Maureen B. McCann Boulton, *The Song in the Story: Lyrical Insertions in Narrative Fiction, 1200–1400* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) and Anne Ibos-Augé, *Chanter et lire dans le récit médiéval: la fonction des insertions lyriques dans les oeuvres narratives et didactiques d'oïl aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010).

9 Refrain vdB 1633, used for the composition of the initial *rondeau* in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, is one of these cases: first cited in a song, then in a *rondeau* in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, then, slightly modified, in the motet *Mout me fu grief* (297) / *Robin m'aime* (298) / *Portare* (M22), the *rondeau* form it follows even influences the structure of the tenor.

10 The example of the *rondeaux* is rather striking: of the sixty-four refrains that come from *rondeaux* and appear elsewhere, 49% are cited before the *rondeau*, while the others remain hard to date.

11 In the only example of the genre, RS 612, “Li dous maus me renouevele,” the refrain, which is a *unicum*, doesn’t share any material with the rest of the stanza. This case is extremely rare.

12 Only Moniot de Paris, Perrin d’Angicourt and Jeannot de Lescurel also practiced self-citation.

1 The *Rondeaux*-Refrains: Questions Regarding Transmission and Structure

Fourteen *rondeaux*, all of them polyphonic, appear in van den Boogard's collation. All of them are copied into the manuscript fr. 25566; three of them are also copied, in the same polyphonic version as in the former, in manuscript *CaB*; a monodic version – the middle voice – of the *rondeau* “Dame, or sui traïs” – is copied into the manuscript *a-trouv*. Finally, four *rondeaux* figure in the collection of *rondeaux* without musical notation¹³ of manuscript *k*. Ten of these use known refrains while the refrains of the other four do not appear elsewhere. Two of these four *unica* are related to other refrains, however: vdB 1229 “Li dous regars de ma dame me fait esperer merchi” and vdB 1804 “Trop desir a veoir che que j’aim.”

EXAMPLE 9.1 vdB 1227 in the *triplum* of the motet *Ma loiauté m’a nuisi* (25) / *A la bele Ysabelet* (26) / *Omnes* (M1) (*Mo* 225v), vdB 1228 in the *triplum* of the motet *Chascun dit que je foloie* (149) / *Se j’ai amé foloement* (150) / *In seculum* (M13) (*Cl* 384rb) and vdB 1229 in Adam’s *rondeau* (fr. 25566, fol. 32va)

li dous re - gart de la be - le me fet vivre a grant tour-ment.

li dous re - gars de la be - le m'o - cir - ra.

Li dous re - gars de me da - me me fait es - pe - rer mer - chi.

While none of the couplets that mention the beloved's gaze are musically related (Example 9.1), the desire to see the lady is translated by a neighboring melodic idea, marked by a shared polarity around the note *fa*, which at once both binds the two refrains vdB 1804 and vdB 9 to one another as well as to the host-song of the latter, “Je ne sai tant merchi crier” (RS 839), attributed to Colart le Bouteiller (Example 9.2).

¹³ Space was reserved on the page for polyphonic notation but it was never filled in.

EXAMPLE 9.2 vdB 1804 in the *rondeau* (fr. 25566, fol. 34rb), vdB 9 in RS 839 (*M-trouw.* 127rb) and line 1 of RS 839

Trop de - sir a ve - oir che que j'aim.

A - dés de - sir a ve - oir. ce - le qui me fet do - loir.

Je ne sai tant mer - ci cri - er. que ma da - me me vueille o - ïr.

Colart, an *arrageois* who was probably a member of the Bouteiller family, which belonged to the lesser nobility,¹⁴ was active from 1240–60. Furthermore, his compositions, with which Adam was certainly familiar, make significant use of the shared refrains of several *chansons* also composed by *arrageois* trouvères. In the *chanson* “Je ne sai tant merci crier,” the poet complains about his lady while the “je” of the *rondeau* “complains both morning and night” (au main et au soir [se] complain). There is nothing surprising in the fact that a neighboring poetic idea may have, by association, brought along with it what could well be a musical line Adam borrowed from the refrain used by Colart, which currently has no other known occurrence.¹⁵

Among the refrains that have been found elsewhere, seven are mentioned in a single text, *Renart le Nouvel*, which exists in three versions filled with music notation, one of which can be found on folios 109v to 177v of manuscript fr. 25566, the principal surviving collection of Adam’s works. Some refrains can also be found in the repertoire of motets and *chansons*; more rarely are they found also cited in narrative works; finally, no refrain used as a compositional basis for Adam’s *rondeaux* can be found in his theatrical plays. The chronological distribution of the ten refrains that can be found elsewhere covers a long period, from the first quarter of the thirteenth century – refrain vdB 823 is cited in the *Roman de la Violette* by Gerbert de Montreuil – to the first quarter of the fourteenth century – the *Dit enté* “Amours dont tele est la puissance,” inserted into the *Roman de Fauvel*, mentions refrain vdB 80.

In general, the most significant textual variations are found in cases where the refrains are also present in narrative texts and *chansons* without musical

14 The coat of arms of this family can be found in the ms. *T-trouw.*, at the beginning of the section dedicated to this trouvère.

15 See comments in Saltzstein, *Refrain and the Rise*, 86–87.

notation. Thus, all the versions of refrain vdB 823 present different levels of metrical variation. Furthermore, scribes had differing opinions about how to best distribute the lines of text in the manuscript. In the oldest example, fr. 1374, most of the refrain is on the first line, the remainder falling on the next line, mid-word: “[S]ains cors dieu quant averai ce | li cui j’aim.” Metrically, the line can be interpreted as hendecasyllabic, or, more likely, a rhyming couplet A_3B_8 , the second line thus suggesting the same meter and the same rhyme as the line preceding the refrain. This was a common procedure in non-lyrical texts containing musical insertions. The copy conserved in Saint Petersburg (Bibl. Publ. Saltykov-Chtchédrine, fr. 4^o v. XIV. 3)¹⁶ adds an extra syllable, making it an alexandrine or a couplet A_3B_8 that is contradicted by the small capital in the middle of the line “saint vrai corps dieu quant | La verrai celle que j’aim.” A later copy, manuscript New York, Pierpont Morgan Libr. 36, divides the refrain into three regular lines, $A_7A_7B_7$, using small capitals: “HÉ DOUX sires vray fors dieu | Qui tant estes vray et pieu | Quant verray celle que j’aim.” Adam, for his part, divides his refrain into two asymmetrical couplets, “Hé diex quant verrai | cheli que j’aim.” In the same way, the version of the refrain vdB 80 cited in the *Tournoi de Chauvenci*, “Jointes mains douce dame vous pri merci,” even though it is almost contemporary with the one in the *rondeau*,¹⁷ differs from the one used by Adam and the interpolator of the *Roman de Fauvel*: “A jointes mains vous proi douche dame merchi.” Finally, the lesson of vdB 289 is “Bone amor que j’ai mi tient gai” in the *chanson avec refrains* RS 1390, “Quant je voi l’erbe amahir,” attributed to the *arraegois* trouvère Perrin d’Angincourt, and “Bonne amourete me tient gai” in the version used by Adam in the eponymous *rondeau*. The variation does not affect the meter, but it does reveal fluctuations in the transmission, perhaps because of temporal considerations, since Perrin composed his song in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, some time before the reuse of the refrain in the *rondeau*.

The seven *rondeaux* whose refrains are also cited in *Renart le Nouvel* pose numerous problems for the researcher, since they persistently raise the question of the transmission of these short fragments. *Renart le Nouvel*, written in about 1289 and attributed to Jacquemart Gielée, survives in four manuscripts, three of which have complete musical notation. One copy is also in the manuscript fr. 25566, where it demonstrates a remarkable unity in terms of the transmission of the refrains it has in common with the *rondeaux*. The two other

16 This manuscript was supposed to have contained musical notation; there are blank spaces above the lyrical citations.

17 Jacques Bretel, the author, clearly relates that celebrations were organized at Chauvency between 1 and 6 October 1285.

copies of the roman that contain musical notation offer different versions that are rarely related to one another (Annex I). Only vdB 496 “Diex, comment porroie sans cheli durer qui me tient en joie?” is not transmitted in manuscript fr. 25566. One of the versions in manuscript fr. 372 quite closely resembles the version used by Adam, at least for the second part (ex. 9.3).

EXAMPLE 9.3 vdB 496 in the *rondeau* “Dieux, comment porroie” (fr. 25566, fol. 34ra) and in *Renart le Nouvel* (fr. 372, fol. 34va)

Diex com-ment por-roi-e. sans che-li du-rer. qui me tient en joi-e.

Diex com-ment por-roi-e sans che-li du-rer Qui mi tient en joi-e

The version of this refrain in manuscript fr. 372 is related to another refrain that is also cited in the poem *Renart le Nouvel* and in a *rondeau*¹⁸ vdB 1166 (Example 9.4):

EXAMPLE 9.4 vdB 1166 in *Renart le Nouvel* (fr. 372, fol. 47va) and in the *rondeau* “Jolietement” (*Ba* 32rc)

Jo-li-e-te-ment mi tient li maus d'a-mer Jo-li-e-te-ment.

Jo-li-e-te-ment mi tient li mal d'a-mer jo-li-e-te-ment

Furthermore, still in the same manuscript fr. 372 (*RenartC*), these refrains are related to several citations in *Renart le Nouvel* whose melodic frame is quite similar. This assimilates these fragments to the numerous patterns that traverse the poem, in this manuscript in particular (Example 9.5).¹⁹

18 This *rondeau* constitutes the tenor of the motet *Au cuer ai un mal* (868) / *Ja ne m'en repentirai* (869) / *Jolietement*, copied in four manuscripts executed between the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century which contains some variants: *Ba* (32rc), *Mo* (283vb), *Tu* (24v) and *D-motet* (179v).

19 See Anne Ibos-Augé, “Music or Musics?: The Case of the XIIth-century Romance *Renart le Nouvel*,” in *Performance and the Page: Studies in Manuscript Context*, ed. Kate Maxwell, James R. Simpson and Peter V. Davies (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 41–85 and “Récurrences et formules mélodiques dans le roman de *Renart le Nouvel*,” in *La formule au Moyen Âge*,

EXAMPLE 9.5 vdB 496, 1166, 494, 173 and 513, related to one another in manuscript fr. 372 of *Renart le Nouvel* and associated with the melodic material of “Dieux, comment porroie”

Diex com - ment por-roi - e sans ce - lui du - rer Qui mi tient en joi - e

Jo - li - e - te - ment mi tient li maus d'a - mer Jo - li - e - te - ment.

Diex com - ment du - rer por - rai ai - mi a hai Quant a la be - le que j'aim con - gié pren - drai.

a - mours ne se dou - ne mie mais e - le se vent. Il n'est nus qui soit a - més s'il n'a ar - gent.

Diex dou - nés a mon a - mi. pris d'ar - mes et joi - e d'a - mours.

The similarities between some of these refrains can be explained by their proximity to one another in the manuscript: vdB 496 seems to combine elements that are present in Adam's *rondeau* and in the motet *Au cuer ai un mal* (868) / *Ja ne m'en repentirai* (869) / *Jolietement*, while vdB 494, which is poetically closely related, follows directly after vdB 1166. The last two couplets follow each other in the manuscript as well, suggesting that the analogy between them represents a dialogue between the two animals that sing them. Their relationship to the refrain material chosen by Adam is also interesting. Two other versions of refrain vdB 496 are transmitted by *Renart le Nouvel*: one can be found, once again, in manuscript fr. 372, while the other is a later addition to manuscript fr. 1593. These two are not at all melodically related, nor do they resemble other refrains cited in the poem, as is sometimes the case (Example 9.6).

11, ed. Isabelle Draelants and Christelle Balouzat-Loubet (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 259–91.

EXAMPLE 9.6 vdB 496 in *Renart le Nouvel* (fr. 372, fol. 51va and fr. 1593, fol. 34v)

Diex je ne por-roi - e sans ce-lui du - rer Qui me tient en joi - e

Dieu com-ment por-roi - e sanz cel-luy du - rer qui me tient en Joie.

Refrain vdB 496, which also appears, as we shall see, in one of the motets attributed to Adam de la Halle, thus becomes a perfect example of the parallel transmission of a text and its music within a short period of time. Five other refrains common to both Adam's *rondeaux* and Jacquemart Gielée are also examples of the same type of independent, double circulation of a poetic element and its music. The refrain vdB 1074 "Je muir, je muir d'amourete, las, aimi, par defaute d'amiete, de merchi" has three different versions. The two versions copied into manuscript fr. 25566 are closely related to one another, while manuscript fr. 372 and manuscript fr. 1593 both propose different melodies (Example 9.7).²⁰

EXAMPLE 9.7 vdB 1074 in Adam's *rondeau* (fr. 25566, fol. 32va) and in the three versions in *Renart le Nouvel* (fr. 25566, fol. 167vb, fr. 372, fol. 50rb and fr. 1593, fol. 52rb)

JE muir je muir d'a - mou - re - te las ai - mi. par de - fau - te d'a - mi - e - te. de mer - ci.

Je muir je muir d'a - mo - re - tes las ay - mi. par de - fau - te d'a - mi - e - te de mer - ci.

Je muir je muir d'a - mou - re - tes las ai - mi. par de - fau - te d'a - mi - e - te et de mer - ci.

Je muir je muir d'a - mo - re - tes Las ai - mi par de - fau - te D'a - mi - e - te deu mer - ci.

Besides the divergence in melody – the versions in manuscripts fr. 25566 and fr. 372 only share their rhythmic mode – the structure of the refrains is different. Their metrical structure can be understood as either four lines, $A'_7B_3A'_7B_3$, or

²⁰ One of the two versions in manuscript fr. 1593 is an incomplete marginal addition that was apparently copied *a posteriori*, based on the one that appears later in the same volume.

one couplet, $A_{11}A_{11}$. The melodic pattern, clearly defined by the silence of the rest, can be divided into two sections AA' in manuscripts fr. 25566 and fr. 372, which would support the hendecasyllabic solution. In manuscript fr. 1593, however, the melodic structure, paradoxically reinforced by the presence of small capitals, contradicts the poetic text, proposing three phrases ABA' , which would correspond to a curious and heterogenous succession of three rhyming lines, $A'_7B'_6C_7$ (Example 9.8).

EXAMPLE 9.8 Accentuation of the ternary structure of vdB 1074 in manuscript fr. 1593

The image shows a single line of musical notation on a five-line staff in treble clef. The melody is divided into three sections labeled A, B, and A' above the staff. Section A covers the first six notes, B covers the next six notes, and A' covers the final six notes. Below the staff, the lyrics are written in a medieval script with small capitals at the start of each section: $\text{muir je muir d'a-mo-re-tes pas ai-mi par de-fau-te a-mi-e-te deu mer-ci}$. The lyrics are aligned with the notes, with some syllables spanning across bar lines.

In this version it is as if the musician-scribe had based the structure of the melody of the refrain on the ternary poetic structure of the text. This is highlighted by the way the scribe of the text has chosen to format it. As for the refrain vdB 784 “Hareu, li maus d’amer m’ochist,” it has four different versions. The three versions in manuscript fr. 25566²¹ can be perfectly superimposed upon one another, while they are also closely related semantically and melodically to refrain vdB 793 “Hé, amouretes, m’ocirrés vous dont?,” which also appears in the same manuscript in *Renart le Nouvel* (Example 9.9).

EXAMPLE 9.9 vdB 784 in “Hareu, li maus d’amer” (fr. 25566, fol. 32vb) and *Renart le Nouvel* (fr. 25566, fol. 167ra) and vdB 793 in *Renart le Nouvel* (fr. 25566, fol. 166ra)

The image shows three staves of musical notation, each with a treble clef and a 3/8 time signature. The first two staves are for the refrain 'Hareu, li maus d'amer m'ochist' and the third is for 'Hé, amouretes, m'ocirrés vous dont?'. Each staff shows a different melodic setting. The lyrics are written below the notes, with some syllables spanning across bar lines. The first two staves have a triplet of eighth notes for 'maus' and 'd'a-mer'. The third staff has a triplet of eighth notes for 're-tes' and another triplet for 'm'o-cir-rés'.

The other neighboring occurrences of vdB 793 do not have the same characteristic opening, nor do they have the same systematization of three consecutive

21 One is in Adam's *rondeau*. The other two are in different parts of *Renart le Nouvel*.

descending semibreves, which in a way constitutes the “signature” of vdB 784. Furthermore, these notes also characterize the versions of a number of refrains chosen by Adam in manuscript fr. 25566. This confirms that the two couplets in this manuscript are indeed related (Example 9.10).

EXAMPLE 9.10 vdB 793 in the *duplum* of the motet *Amours ne mi tendra mais* (604) / *Adés mient amours joli* (605) / *Kyri[e] eleison* (*Mo* 124r) and in the tenor of the motet *Qui Amours veult maintenir* (880) / *Li dous pensers* (881) / *Cis a cui* (*Mo* 316rb)

hé a - mou - re - tes m'o - cir - rés vous dont.

Hé a - mou - re - tes m'o - cir - rés vous donc.

The three other versions of vdB 784 are completely different. One of these differences can probably be explained by the textual variant at the beginning, where “Hareu” is replaced by “En non Dieu.” Refrain vdB 156 “Amours et ma dame aussi, jointes mains vous proi merchi” poses a similar problem. Serving as the basis for the *rondeau* “Amours et ma dame aussi,” it is also in the three copies of *Renart le Nouvel* that include musical notation. Only the version in manuscript fr. 25566 is the same as the one in the *rondeau*. This refrain is also related to three others in the same manuscript, also found in Jacquemart Gielée’s text (Example 9.11).

EXAMPLE 9.11 vdB 156, vdB 413, vdB 1486 and vdB 200 in manuscript fr. 25566 of *Renart le Nouvel*

A-mours et ma dame aus - si. join - tes mains uous proi mer - chi.

Dame et a - mours li - e - ment vous fach de mon cors pre - sent.

Pi - tés et a - mours pour mi proi - iés ma da - me mer - chi.

A - voec te - le com - pai - gni - e doit on bien joi - e me - ner.

Only the first three of these refrains share semantic similarities and/or grammatical constructions: the pairing *amours/dame* (love/lady) or *pitiés/amours* (pity/love) in the first line and the request for mercy or the offer of a present in the second. Refrain vdB 200, while it does not actually appear to be related to the others, can nevertheless also be found in manuscript fr. 25566 where it is cited in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, also by Adam. This refrain is also cited in the *Salut d'amour* “Celui qu'Amors conduit et maine...”, which was probably written a bit before the *Jeu*,²² and in the *Tournoi de Chauvenci*, which was written afterwards. Because there is no accompanying music in the *Tournoi*, there is no way to compare it to the *arrageois* trouvère's version, but the three versions in *Renart le Nouvel* are, for once, similar.²³ One hypothesis could be that Adam used the music of his *rondeau*, adapting it to the text of the *Jeu*, and that the musician-scribe of the poem adapted two semantically equivalent refrains to the music of the *arrageois* trouvère.

The versions in manuscripts fr. 372 and fr. 1593 seem to get their material from these two manuscripts respectively: in the first, the refrain (vdB 156) resembles vdB 1295 and vdB 429, two very different feminine replies to prayers of love (Example 9.12), and in the second, it is part of a group of conjoined refrains, all based on a polarity of *fa*, that associate the themes of the *prière d'amour* (the prayer of love), the *mal mariée* (a woman who is married to a jealous husband), and the quest of the lover (Example 9.13).

EXAMPLE 9.12 vdB 156, 1295 and 429 in manuscript fr. 372

A-mours et ma dame au-si join-tes mains vous pri mer-ci.

Ma-ri pour coi n'a-me-roi-e puis que vous a-més

A-mi ne m'ou-bli-és mi-e car on-ques ne vous ou-bli

22 This text, which is difficult to date precisely, is part of the corpus of *Saluts d'amour* written during the middle of the thirteenth century. It is included in manuscript fr. 837, copied at the beginning of the fourth quarter of the thirteenth century, after 1278 – the manuscript mentions the disgrace of Pierre de la Broce, who was hung on 30 June of that year – and illuminated north of Paris, perhaps in Arras. See Sylvie Lefèvre, “Le recueil et l'Œuvre unique. Mobilité et figement,” in *Mouvances et jointures: du manuscrit au texte médiéval*, ed. Milena Mikhailova (Orléans: Paradigme, 2005), 205.

23 Of all the refrains in the poem, 74% of the textually identical ones in the three manuscripts that contain musical notation are musically divergent.

EXAMPLE 9.13 Refrains that are based on a polarity of *fa* in manuscript fr. 1593

A - mours et ma dame aus - si Join - tes mains vous proi mer - ci
pour vous da - me de grant pris se - rai jo - lis
Hé. a - mou - rei - tes m'o - cir - roiz vous dont
de cha - pe - let de per - uen - che no - ve - let a - mi fe - rai.
De no com - pai - gni - e ne soit nulz s'il n'est a - mans.
Pi - tié et a - mours pour my. pri - ez a ma da - me mer - ci.
ma - riz pour quoi n'a - me - roi - e puis que vous a - mez
Ne sui pas lez mon a - mi. ce poi - se mi qui veult si m'en croi - e
Vous ne le sa - vez me - ner la bru - ne - te. Lez l'au - noi. la bru - ne - te lez l'au - noi

Finally, two refrains, vdB 746 “Fi, maris, de vostre amour, car j’ai ami” and vdB 289 “Bonne amourete me tient gai,” have two different musical versions which contradict the versions in manuscript fr. 25566 – which may have other neighboring occurrences – and in the manuscript fr. 1593 copy of *Renart le Nouvel*. The first one, on which Adam’s eponymous *rondeau* is based, is also cited at the beginning of the *duplum* of the motet *Dame bele et avenant* (872) / *Fi, mari* (873) / *Nus n’iert ja jolis* and in the versions of *Renart le Nouvel* found in manuscripts fr. 25566 and fr. 1593. The versions in manuscript fr. 25566 and in the motet, whose tenor is also a *rondeau*, are exactly the same. There is also a similarity between some textual elements of the motet and the *additamenta* of the *rondeau* (Table 9.1).

In addition, the polyphonic material at the beginning of the motet is nearly identical to the material at the beginning of the *rondeau* (Example 9.14).

TABLE 9.1 The texts of the *rondeau* and the motet

Text of the <i>rondeau</i>	Text of the motet <i>duplum</i>
<i>Fi, maris, de vostre amour,</i> <i>car j'ai ami!</i>	<i>Fi, mari, de vostre amour!</i> <i>Quar j'ai ami,</i>
Biaus est et de noble atour;	tel com il afiert a mi,
<i>fi, maris, de vostre amour,</i>	qui me sert et nuit et jour
Il me sert et nuit et jour,	sanz sejour
pour che l'aim si.	de cuer mignot et joli.
<i>Fi, maris, de vostre amour,</i>	<i>Vilains, vous demorrés et je m'en vois a li!</i>
[<i>car j'ai ami!</i>]	

EXAMPLE 9.14 The initial polyphonies for the *rondeau* “Fi, mari” (fr. 25566, fol. 33rb) and the motet Dame bele (872) / Fi, mari (873) / Nus n’iert ja jolis (*Mo* 300vb)

Fi ma - ris de vostre a - mour. car j'ai a - mi.

DA - me bele et a - ve - nant et de biau port.

Fi ma - ri de vostre a - mour quar j'ai a - mi.

Nus n'iert ja jo - lis s'il n'ai(me)

In manuscript fr. 1593, a different melody accompanies this refrain and uses, like several other melodies in this manuscript, a point of division that suggests

a later addition.²⁴ Cited in manuscript fr. 1593, which contains *Renart le Nouvel*, refrain vdB 289 is also mentioned in another piece, copied in the *chansonnier M-trouv*. Called a *motet enté* by critics since the work of Friedrich Ludwig and Friedrich Gennrich, who classify it as a motet with a missing tenor,²⁵ this monodic piece is one of the later additions copied onto the blank folios of the manuscript after it was finished, probably during the last quarter of the thirteenth century.²⁶ These additions are hard to date precisely because some of their characteristics²⁷ suggest the very beginning of the following century. No room was left on the page for writing down a tenor of any kind and this piece, like the ones that surround it in the manuscript,²⁸ in fact closely resembles the collection of so-called *motet entés* copied into manuscript *PaN*, where a rubric in the margins signals them in precisely these terms.

The refrain is divided by two breaks, one at the beginning of the piece and the other at the end, as per the usual practice of *enté* composition, with a musical notation that is exactly the same as the one Adam used in his *rondeau*. Once again, however, the version in fr. 1593 is different than the other two in that it reproduces a beginning, which is transposed (but this might indicate a mistake in the key), and a melodic line that is similar to the preceding refrain, which is a musical *unicum* in this manuscript (Example 9.15).

24 At least four different scribal hands seem to have copied the music in manuscript fr. 1593. See Anne Ibos-Augé, "Music or Musics?" 47 and 78–79.

25 In Friedrich Gennrich's work, *Bibliographie des ältesten französischen und lateinischen Motetten* (Darmstadt, 1957), this piece has been numbered 1073.

26 Views on this matter diverge. Mark Everist (*Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* [New York: Garland, 1989], 181–87) thinks the manuscript may be Artesian and dates it to between 1253 and 1265, even 1277. Jean and Louise Beck, authors of the facsimile and of an edition of the songs in the manuscript, date it to between 1254 and 1270, for a manuscript that was commissioned by Charles d'Anjou (*Le manuscrit du Roi, fonds français n° 844 de la Bibliothèque Nationale: reproduction phototypique publiée avec une introduction* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938], i, ix–x). John Dickinson Haines argues that it was made for Guillaume de Villehardouin in the principality of Morée ("The Musicography of the Ms. du Roi" [Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1998], 86–87). In a more recent article, he also suggests it may have come from Champagne ("The Transformations of the *Manuscrit du Roi*," *Musica Disciplina* 52 [1998–2002], 18). See Chapter 4 of this volume for Haines's current view.

27 Most significant are the color of the ink and especially the form of the textual and musical notations.

28 Eight so-called "motets" without tenors are thus copied into the spaces left blank on folios 2v to 5v of the manuscript *R-motet*. They are numbered 1069–76 in Gennrich's repertory. One is damaged, which means there is no way to know if it contained a refrain. Two end with a refrain and six have a refrain "*enté*".

EXAMPLE 9.15 vdB 1012 and 289, one after another in manuscript fr. 1593 of *Renart le Nouvel*

Ja ne se - rai senz a - mour jour de ma vi - e

Bonne a - mou - rei - te mi tient gai

To Adam's fourteen "classic" *rondeaux*, we can add two polyphonic *unica* that researchers have trouble adequately classifying.²⁹ Both of these are in the *rondeaux* section of the manuscript *W-trouv.*, one in the middle of the corpus and the other in the final position, immediately preceding the motets. The first, "Fines amouretes ai",³⁰ is in free meter, $A_7A_8 c'_7c'_7c'_7a_7$, in which the third and the last line of the "strophic" part is followed by a final citation of the refrain. The musical schema of the piece resembles the *rondeau* but only the middle voice has a true *rondeau* structure. The first and last parts as well as the polyphonic texture vary significantly from one phrase to another. This fact may bring an additional element of support to the argument that the *rondeau* was composed around the middle voice, which is the only one to appear in several manuscript versions of monodic *rondeau* in *chansonnier a*. This is also corroborated by the fact that any other occurrences of refrains that structure *rondeaux* are similar to the versions written down as the middle parts of polyphonic works. In particular, the two manuscripts that contain this piece also propose variants that demonstrate the flexibility of the piece when compared to the "conventional" schema of the *rondeau*, once again for the parts at its beginning and its end (Table 9.2).

Furthermore, it seems that a scribal error in *CaB*³¹ is the root of an interval particularly at odds with the rules of consonance at the end of the thirteenth century.

The internal repetitions of the musical schema in "Dieus soit en cheste maison" also make it resemble a *rondeau*, at the same time that it contains numerous examples of the exchange of patterns between voices. The musical

29 "Fines amouretes ai" is classified as a "*virela*" by Falck and Gennrich, who also see "Dieus soit en cheste maison" as a ballade that starts with a refrain. See Mark Everist, "The Polyphonic *Rondeau* c. 1300: Repertory and Context," *Early Music History* 15 (1996): 80 n.40.

30 The piece was also copied into the manuscript *CaB* (Annex IV).

31 The scribe reused phrase A' of the lower voice for the third time instead of coming back to phrase A, required by the structure (Annex IV).

TABLE 9.2 The melodic patterns in the two versions of "Fines amouretes ai"

	fr. 25566								CaB							
Upper voice	A	B	C	D	A	B	A	B	A	B	C	C	A	B	A	B
Middle voice	A	B	A	A'	A'	B	A	B	A	B	A'	A'	A	B	A	B
Lower voice	A	B	A'	A'	A	B	A	B	A	B	A'	A'	A'	C	A	B

material of the refrain, taken up again in the *additamenta* (otherwise known as the rest of the stanza depending on whether you consider this piece to be a *rondeau* or a *chanson*), links together the lines that follow. The analysis proposed in Example 9.16 shows the exchange of distinct melodic and rhythmic cells between the different voices of the polyphony, as well as the elements shared between the refrain and the rest of the piece.

2 The Refrains in Motets: Poetic and Polyphonic Contexts

Three motets attributed to Adam³² cite one or more refrains. The initial fragment of a fourth one is reproduced in a motet copied in fascicle VIII of the Montpellier manuscript,³³ but this was probably written in homage to the trouvère and should not be considered a refrain. In the motet *Aucun* (Adam) *se sont loé d'Amours* (834) / *A Dieu commant amouretes* (835) / *Et super* (*Super te*), which superposes two *congés* (a symbolic one, in the form of a bitter diatribe against love and the beloved lady, and a traditional one) on the refrain vdB 12, on which Adam's motet 73 is based, is divided between the first and the

³² I will mention here, but not explore, the motets sometimes attributed to Adam that include refrains: *Dame bel et avenant* (872) / *Fi, maris, de vostre amour* (873) / *Nus n'iert ja jolis s'il n'aime, Mout me fu griés li departir* (297) / *Robin m'aime, Robin m'a* (298) / *Portare* (M22), *En mai quant rosier* (870) / *L'autrier par un matin* (871) / *Hé! resveille toi!* [*Robin, car on enmaine Marot*], *Bien met Amours son pooir pour a moi grever* (884) / *Dame, alegiés ma grevance* (885) / *Aperis, Theotheca, virgo geralica* (878) / *Las! pour quoi lesloigne tant* (879) / *Qui prendroit a son cuer*. See *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle* (*Chansons, jeux partis, rondeaux, motets*). Corpus mensurabilis musicae 44 (Neushausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology; Hänslér, 1984), and Jean Maillard, *Adam de la Halle: perspective musicale* (Paris: Champion, 1982), esp. 142 and 155–61.

³³ This is the motet *Entre Adam et Hanikel* (725) / *Chiés bien seant* (726) / *Aptatur* (O45), of which the incipit of the *duplum* is cited at the end of the *duplum* of the motet *Se je sui liés et chantans* (39) / *Jolietement* (40) / *Omnes* (M1).

last line of the *duplum*. The music is similar to the music of the *rondeau*, even in its polyphonic texture in some places, while the closely related tenors create striking similarities in vocal overlay (Example 9.17); the beginnings of the texts also share material (Table 9.3).

EXAMPLE 9.16 The *rondeau* “Dieus soit en cheste maison”

Dieus soit en ches - te mai - son. et biens et goie a fui - son.

Nos si - res no - veus nous en - voie a ses a - mis.

ch'est as a - mou - reus. et a cour - tois bien a - pris.

pour a - voir des pai - re - sis a no - hé - li - son.

EXAMPLE 9.17 The two lower voices of the *rondeau* and the motet (fr. 25566)

A Dieu con - mant a - mou-re-tes car je m'en vois sous - pi-rant en terre es-tran - ge.

A Dieu com - mant a - mou-re-tes. car je m'en vois. sous - pi-rant en terre es-tran - ge.

Super te

TABLE 9.3 The beginnings of the *rondeau* and the *duplum*Text of the *rondeau*

A Dieu comment amouretes,
car je m'en vois
souspirant en terre estrange.
Dolans lairai les douchetes,
et mout destrois.

Text of the *duplum*

A Dieu quemant amouretes,
car [je] m'en vois,
dolens pour les doucetes,
hors du pais d'Artois,
qui si est mus et destrois [...]

This refrain does not appear anywhere else, but poetically it seems to be related to the beginning of vdB 13; this correspondence is doubled by a striking similarity in the music as well (Example 9.18).

EXAMPLE 9.18 vdB 12 (*Mo* 288rb) and vdB 13 (*N-motet* 196r)

A Dieu que- mant a - mou-re-tes car [je] m'en vois sous - pi-rant en terre es-tran - ge.

A dieu co - mant je mes a - mours ki les mes gart

In contrast to the couplet used by Adam (vdB 12 “A Dieu commant amouretes”), refrain vdB 13 is transmitted in several places. It can be found in the *Salut d’amour* “Amors, je t’ai lonc tens servi,” in three *chansons avec des refrains*, RS 227 “Amours me tient en esperance,” RS 1700 “Hier matin quant je chevauchois,”³⁴ and RS 1995 “Un petit devant le jour,” whose presence in the oldest part of the *chansonier U* means it was composed in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. The refrain also appears in the motet Quant de ma dame part (673) / Eius (O16). The multiplicity of sources for this refrain, which were copied over a significant period of time, suggests that it was among the most well-known couplets; it is not impossible that Adam adapted the beginning to create a new refrain, using it in two polyphonic compositions, a *rondeau* and a motet that are, in addition, textually linked.

No fewer than four refrains are cited in the motet De ma dame vient (33) / Dieus! comment porroie (34) / Omnes (M1).³⁵ Each one coincides with a new articulation of one of the 12 *ordines* of eight perfections in the tenor: vdB 477 “De ma dame vient” is divided between *ordines* 1 and 2 (perfections 1–2/9–10), where it gives rise to a slightly different repetition of the polyphonic structure (Example 9.19); vdB 496 “Diex, comment porroie” is divided between *ordines* 1 and 8 (perfections 1–3/58–60); vdB 765 “Fui toi, gaite” takes up all of *ordo* 9 (perfections 65–72) while vdB 1473 takes up most of *ordo* 12 (perfections 90–96). In addition, from *ordo* 9 on, as of vdB 765, there is a new rhythmic presentation of the tenor (Example 9.20). This connection between refrain citation and the structure of a polyphonic composition, though it does exist in certain cases, rarely appears in such a systematized way.

All of the refrains have other occurrences, summoning both lyrical and narrative repertoires. “De ma dame vient” is cited at the end of the third stanza in the anonymous *chanson* RS 1449 “Quant voi le dous tens revenir” as well as in the *triplum* of the motet Grant solas me fait Amours (787) / Plëust Dieu qu’ele seüst (788) / Neuma, both times in a similar poetic context (Table 9.4).

34 This *pastourelle*, attributed to Huitace de Fontaine, also contains the refrain vdB 870, cited in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*.

35 The fragment “Savourosset, cui Diex doinst boin jour” (vdB 1661) is one of the “fake” refrains that van den Boogaard catalogued: it has no other occurrence, and it is not distinguished from the rest of the text either by narrative context (there is no change in the discursive mode), material context (there is no small capital or *tractus* at the beginning of the fragment), or by some sort of change in the rhythmical mode.

EXAMPLE 9.19 Polyphonic repetition in motet *De ma dame vient* (33) / *Dieus! comment porroie* (34) / *Omnes* (M1): perfections 1–3 and 9–11 (*Mo* 311r)

DE ma da - me vient li griés maus que je

Dieux cou - ment por - roi(e)

OMnes.

et la grant joi - e que

a - mi - e - te je sui

EXAMPLE 9.20 Two presentations of the tenor (*ordines* 1–7, then 8–12)

Though it is impossible to date the *chanson* precisely, it is copied into manuscripts *K-trouv.*, *N-trouv.*, *X*, and *P-trouv.*, which belong to what Christopher Callahan has called the “Francien group,”³⁶ probably composed in Artois or Picardie between 1270 and 1280.³⁷ Copied into fascicle v of *Mo*, the motet was probably composed between 1240 and 1250, and thus predates Adam’s

36 Christopher Callahan, “La tradition manuscrite et le rôle de la musique pour appréhender la personnalité poétique de Colin Muset,” in *Les chansons de langue d’oïl: L’art des trouvères*, ed. Marie-Geneviève Grossel and Jean-Charles Herbin (Valenciennes: Presses Universitaires de Valenciennes, 2008), 25–37, esp. 26.

37 Mark Everist, *French Motets*, 82.

TABLE 9.4 vdB 477 in RS 1449 (*K-trouv.* 345a) and M 787 (*Mo* 160v)

Text of the <i>chanson</i>	Text of the <i>triplum</i>
Pour ce la servirai: <i>de ma dame vient</i> <i>la grant joie que j'ai.</i>	Et pour sa valour la servirai; <i>car de ma dame vient</i> <i>la grant joie que j'ai.</i>

composition. The last citation of the refrain, in a *rondeau* composed by Guillaume d'Amiens, probably came after the others. This trouvère appears to have been active during the transitional period between the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, which makes him a close contemporary of Adam, though he may have composed a bit later.³⁸ The version transmitted in the *rondeau* takes after the one in Grant solas me fait Amours (787) and is slightly different than Adam's, supporting the theory that the trouvère may have brought his "personal touch" to a body of material that *a priori* already existed. "Diex comment porroie" also appears, as we have seen, in Adam's eponymous *rondeau* in *Renart le Nouvel*. It seems likely that the shift at the end of the two compositions by the trouvère (*sol* in the *rondeau*, *fa* in the motet) was caused by the adaptation of the refrain, which was thus probably borrowed from the *rondeau*, to the polarity of the tenor *Omnes*. "Fui toi gaité" can be found in several slightly later contexts: in the *Tournoi de Chauvenci*, in the *Court d'Amour* – a text written at the end of the thirteenth century or at the beginning of the fourteenth by Matthieu le Poirier – and in a monodic "motet" copied into manuscript *D-motet*, where the refrain is inserted into a similar textual context (Table 9.5).

"Par ci va la mignotise" can also be found in *Chauvenci*, where, like in *De ma dame vient* (33), it is sung "out loud" ("a haute vois"),³⁹ and in a "motet" copied in *D-motet*. Its presence in *l'Abeïe du chastel amourens* and the *Salut d'amour* "Bele, salus vous mande..." – in which one also finds one of the refrains used in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* – nevertheless proves that the couplet is earlier. It can also be found at the end of the motet *Tant me fait a vous penser* (17) / *Tout*

38 Two charters from Amiens dated 1301 refer to a certain "Willelmi pictoris" who may be identified with the trouvère, who is designated as "willammes d'amiens li paignieres" by the preceding rubric in his works in the *chansonnier a-trouv.* Alfred Jeanroy, primarily for semantic reasons, thought that his *Dit d'amour* imitated Adam's (Alfred Jeanroy, "Trois dits d'amour du XIII^e siècle," *Romania* 22 [1893], esp. 48).

39 Jacques Bretel, *Le tournoi de Chauvency*, éd. Maurice Delbouille (Liège-Paris: Droz, 1932), 44.

TABLE 9.5 vdB 765 in *De ma dame vient* (33) and *Fui te gaitte, fai me voie* (1115)

Text of M33	Text of M1115
<p>ains est par envie, k'on en a mesdit, et en leur depit maintenant irai, et pour aus crever ferai melleur semblant, que je ne devoie. <i>Fui toi gaitte, fai moi voie,</i> <i>par ci passent gens de joie.</i></p>	<p><i>Fui te, gaitte, fai me voie,</i> por Deu ne me nusiés mie, car je vois veoir ma mie, liés et joians en chantant; en despit de mesdisans, por faire lor cuers creveir, jai ne lairai lou chanteir, nuit et jor ci k'elle loie, <i>par ci paisse gent de joie.</i></p>

li cuers me rit (18) / Omnes (M1), copied into fascicle V of *Mo*, not far from the one that also contains “De ma dame”. In addition, it is written on the same section of tenor as in Adam’s motet, and it thus reinvests a part of the polyphonic texture of its probable model.⁴⁰ Finally, “Par ci va la mignotise” is one of the few refrains that Adam de la Halle uses several times: it is sung by the fairies in the *Jeu de la feuillée*, with a melody similar to the one used for it in the motet.

The last polyphonic composition to use citation, the short motet *J’ai adés d’amours chanté et servi* (35) / Omnes (M1), uses a refrain that has two other textual occurrences, either contemporaneous or more recent: the incomplete *rondeau* “Est il donc drois k’amours mi laissent?” which is attributed to Guillaume d’Amiens in the *chansonnier I-trouv.* and the *chanson avec des refrains* RS 1286 “Se felon et losengier” attributed to either Philippe Paon or Jeannot Paon, depending on the source. We know almost nothing about Philippe or Jeannot Paon,⁴¹ but this is the second *rondeau* by Guillaume d’Amiens to share a refrain with Adam, and it is copied immediately after the “De ma dame vient” mentioned above. The motet, which only exists in manuscript fr. 25566,⁴² is built on a double system of reoccurrences, of which the refrain is a part; one (a)

40 This phenomenon has already been noted by Jennifer Saltzstein, *Refrain and the Rise*, 128–29.

41 Only *chansonnier P-trouv.* attributes the *chanson* to Jeannot, the rubric indicating that he is “from Paris”. Manuscripts *K-trouv.*, *N-trouv.*, *X* attribute it to Philippe. The *chansonnier R-trouv.*, which is later, doesn’t propose an attribution but the stanza containing the refrain is absent.

42 It is the last of the motets copied into this manuscript, just before the *Jeu du pèlerin*.

of the repeating cells follows the repetitions of the *ordines* in the tenor, each divided into two equal sections made up of twelve perfections each;⁴³ the other (b), in contrast, is divided between the two melodic phrases repeated in this part. The motet is thus constructed in an arc and based upon the material of the second part of the refrain (Example 9.21).

EXAMPLE 9.21 The repetitions in *J'ai adés d'amours chanté* (35) / *Omnes* (M1)

The image shows a musical score for two parts: a voice part and an *Omnes* part. Both parts are in 3/4 time and G major. The voice part has lyrics: "J'ai a - dés d'a- mours chan - té et ser - vi en bon es - poir ma dame et si ai guer - pi pour". The *Omnes* part has lyrics: "li a - voir. es - cole a mis et a - voir est che dont droit k'a- mours mi lais - sent ne - nil voir." Both parts feature a melodic phrase with a trill-like ornament and a triplet. The score is divided into two systems, each with a vocal line and a basso continuo line.

Adam's three motets that use refrains each display three very different aesthetics, which don't necessarily exclude one another. One is self-citation, where the chosen refrain is also present in a *rondeau* of the trouvère. The other two display a significant desire for structure in which the cited element plays a role at several levels, either broadly on the level of the architecture of the tenor, or more precisely on the level of the reoccurring motifs internal to each part.

3 The Refrains in the Plays: In Between Refrain and (Self)-Citation⁴⁴

Refrains and different lyrical elements are spread very unequally throughout Adam de la Halle's plays. Sixteen lyrical citations can be found in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* while the *Jeu de la feuillée* contains only one refrain. Two re-

43 The refrain takes up perfections 7 to 12 of the second *ordo*, exactly one quarter of the composition.

44 I will discuss here all the musical fragments cited in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*: it may seem risky to use the word "refrain" – such is the case for the fragment supposedly from the *chanson* of *Audigier* – while in contrast some citations are strangely absent from the vdB's repertoire. I will not discuss the two fragments in the *Jeu de la feuillée* that lack musical notation: the first one, "Me siet il bien li hurepius" (v. 590 and 836), makes up part of a dialogue and the second, "Aie se siet en haute tour" (v. 1024), suggests the *incipit* of a *chanson de toile* rather than a refrain, strictly speaking.

frains embellish the *Jeu du pèlerin*, which was probably not written by the troubère but which serves, only in manuscript fr. 25566, as a kind of preamble to the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, whose last orphaned rhyme links to it directly, even anticipating the group of three identical rhymes at the beginning of the first *rondeau* sung by Marion:

ROGAUS.

[...]

Alons vers Aiieste à le foire.

WARNÉS.

Soit! mains anchois woeil aler boire;

Mau dehais ait qui n'i venra!

EXPLICIT.⁴⁵

Robins m'aime, Robins m'a;

Robins m'a demandée, si m'ara.⁴⁶

ROGAUS.

[...]

Let us go to Aiieste, to the fair.

WARNÉS.

So be it! But before I want to go drink.

A curse on he who doesn't come!

EXPLICIT.

Robin loves me, Robin has me;

Robin has asked for me, he will have me.

The refrains cited in the plays that appear elsewhere have a remarkable coherence in terms of their transmission. As for the *unica* in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, they participate in a subtle game of intertextual references, on the inside of their host-work. Their function within this discourse varies, from simple entertainment to playful exchange between the characters who use the melodies

45 Adam de la Halle, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Edmond de Coussemaker (Geneva/Paris: Durand and Pédone-Lauriel, 1982), 420.

46 *Ibid.*, 348.

to reply to one another; they propose a game of subtly interwoven elements that reinforce the underlying meaning of the play.⁴⁷

In this regard, the first three insertions in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* are particularly interesting. The first refrain sung by Marion is inserted into a song that resembles a *rondeau* and it has several other occurrences, two of them in *pastourelles* with refrains, the other one in a motet that takes up in its entirety almost exactly the same lyrical material as the play. In RS 85 “A l’entrant de mai,” the knight-poet comes upon the shepherdess and listens to her sing. His proposal of love will be refused, as it is in the play, and the stanza that precedes refrain vdB 1633 also mentions gifts, but these are the ones that the poet promises to give her if she gives herself to him: “suer doucete, | mon cuer vous present, | soiez m’amiete. | fremau d’or et cainturete | vos donrai de fin argent, | chapiau d’orfroiz et bourse, | ouvree mult richement, | a vostre talent.”⁴⁸ These echo the “cotèle | d’escarlate bonne et bèle,” (“a dress / of beautiful and fine fabric”) the “souskanie” (“garment”) and the “chainturele” (“little belt”) of the *additamenta* in the initial *rondeau*. There are no presents in Perrin d’Angicourt’s *pastourelle* “Au tens novel” (RS 573), but the narrator, in contrast to the knight in Adam’s play, is able to “achev[er] trestout [son] desir” (“have all he desires”).⁴⁹ The refrain of the second stanza of this same *pastourelle*, “Bergeronnete, fetes vostre ami de moi” (vdB 250), textually anticipates two of the refrains in the play. The *topos* of the *pastourelle* is thus planted *in media res*, accompanied by its symbols, which are inherited directly from the lively tradition of songs about Robin and Marion. Musically, the initial refrain “gives the tone” of refrain vdB 871, which reuses most of its pivot notes with a rhythmical augmentation of its first section as well as the refrain vdB 251 (Example 9.22). Afterwards, the shepherdess will use the knight’s reply to express her refusal (Example. 9.23).

This type of correlation happens again with the two refrains that mention the “bergeronnete” (“little shepherdess”), one sung by Marion and the other by her love Robin, which, after an introduction, goes back to material already sung by her (ex. 9.24). The same goes for the beginning of the lyrical element in the dialogue that cites the refrain “deure, leure, va,” whose beginning evokes the beginning of refrain vdB 252, all three of which are thus linked to the *rondeau* at the beginning of the play.

47 See also Chapter 10 of this book by Anna Kathryn Grau.

48 “Sweet sister / I present my heart to you, / be my love. / A gold clasp and a little belt / I’ll give you, made of fine silver / An embroidered hat and a little purse / beautifully worked / according to your desire.” Karl Bartsch, *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourelles* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1870), 197.

49 *Ibid.*, 296.

EXAMPLE 9.22 The similarities between pivot notes in vdB 1633, vdB 871 and vdB 251

RO-bins m'ai-me ro-bins m'a Ro-bins m'a de-man-de-e si m'a-ra:
 Hé ro-bin se-tu m'ai-mes par a-mours mai-ne n'ent.
 Ber-ge-ron-ne-te sui mais j'ai: a-mi Bel et cointe et gai.

EXAMPLE 9.23 Insertions 2 and 4 of the play

Je me re-pai-roi-e du tour-noi-e-ment. si trou-vai ma-ro-te seu-lete. au cors gent
 Vous per-dés vo pai-ne sire au-bert. Je n'a-me-rai au-trui que ro-bert.

EXAMPLE 9.24 vdB 251 and the beginnings of vdB 252 and the phrase “Hé, Robecheon”

Ber-ge-ron-ne-te sui mais j'ai: a-mi Bel et cointe et gai.
 Ber-ge-ron-ne-te dou-che bais-se-le-te don-nés le moi vos-tre cha-pe-let.
 Hé ro-be-chon deu-re leu-re va. Car vien a moi. leu-re leu-re va.

Another link, a poetic one this time, ties together the *additamenta* of refrain vdB 252 and the initial *rondeau* of the play: the presents – “Vous averés ma chainturète, | M’auomosnière et mon fremalet”⁵⁰ – given to Marion by Robin in exchange for his rosary. In *pastourelle* RS 974, which opens the section of *pas-*

50 Adam de la Halle, *Œuvres complètes*, 364.

tourelles in the *chansonnier I-trov.*, Marion has been replaced by Marguet, but her friend's name is indeed Robin, and, just as in the play, she refuses to give herself to the knight, though she has a less enviable excuse this time (she risks being beaten by the shepherd): “Robins est an la codroie, | qui revanrait main-tenant. | c'il vos voit ribant, | j'avrai tel niket | de sa massuete.”⁵¹

Two other lyrical citations, both sung to Marion by Robin, are perfectly superimposable. The first is presented as an isolated refrain, vdB 1860 “Vous l'orrés bien dire, belle, vous l'orrés bien dire” and the second is inserted into a longer fragment in which it serves as a refrain, with variations in each stanza (Example 9.25).

EXAMPLE 9.25 vdB 1860 and the refrain of “Robin, par l'ame ten pere”

The image shows two staves of musical notation in a single system. Both staves are in treble clef and have a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first staff contains the melody for the refrain "vous l'orrés bien dire". The second staff contains the melody for the refrain "avant et arrie - re" as it appears in a longer fragment. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. The first staff's lyrics are "vous l'or - rés bien di - re be - le vous l'or - rés bien di - re." and the second staff's lyrics are "a - vant et ar - rie - re be - le a - vant et ar - rie - re."

The particularly original metrical construction of this refrain makes it resemble vdB 1185 “Lai aler le moine, bele, lai aler le moine,” which has no music but is cited in a *Salut d'amour* that is one of the sources for vdB 870, also in the play. The beginning of the insertion “Robin, par l'ame ten pere” which is in a dialogue, is perfectly superimposable over refrain vdB 370, cited at the end of the *duplum* of one of the motets of “bonne vie” (“good life”) copied into fascicle II of the *chansonnier* of Montpellier (Example 9.26),⁵² and also reused at the very end of the interpolated version of the *Roman de Fauvel*. Above and beyond the relatively tenuous semantic connection between these three citations – the ball game *soule* in vdB 1860, the dance and the games in “Robin, par l'ame ten pere” and the taste of good wine accompanying the after-dinner entertainment in vdB 370 – we probably need to see here an example of a melody which had been in circulation for a substantial length of time because it had been used in a wide range of contexts, both monodic and polyphonic.

51 “Robin is in the hazelnut grove, / he could come back at any moment. / If he sees you being lecherous, / I will get such a beating / from his stick.” Bartsch, *Altfranzösische Romanzen*, 147.

52 This is the motet Ce que je tieng pour deduit (89) / Certes mout est bone vie (90) / Bone compagnie (91) / Manere (M5).

EXAMPLE 9.26 vdB 370 (*Mo 52ra*) and the beginning of "Robin, par l'ame ten pere"



ci nous faut. un tour de vin diex car le nos do - nez.
 Ro - bin par l'a - me ten pe - re sés tu bien a - ler du piet.

The refrain vdB 1161 "J'oi Robin flagoler au flagol d'argent, au flagol d'argent" borrows its thematic material from the *pastourelle* sung by the knight and preceded by refrain vdB 1896 (Example 9.27). This refrain is partially used again⁵³ in the anonymous *Rosarius*, which was compiled around 1330 by a friar preacher from Soissons and has been conserved in the manuscript Paris, BnF, fr. 12483. The refrain that directly follows it in the play resembles it in its melodic contour and in its polarity in *fa*.

EXAMPLE 9.27 The beginning of "Hui matin jou chevauchioe" and the refrains vdB 1161 and vdB 870



lés l'o - rie - re d'un bois. Trou - vai gen - til ber - gie - re
 J'oi ro - bin fla - go - ler. au fla - gol d'ar - gent au fla - gol d'ar - gent.
 Hé res-veil - le toi ro - bin car on en mai - ne ma - rot. Car on en mai - ne ma - rot.

Refrain vdB 870 has three other occurrences, two in the form of a couplet with no repetition of the second line. These can be found in the *Salut d'amour* mentioned above, at the end of a stanza that already mentions Robin, his foolishness, and Marion, and in a *pastourelle* with refrains RS 1700, "Hier main quant je chevauchioe," attributed to Huitace de Fontaine, a trouvère whose period of activity must have coincided with Gilbert de Berneville who dedicated RS 1566

53 "Len doit ceste chanson dire: a flagel d'argent, a flagon d'argent" (*i 207vb*). The melody which is superimposed onto the text differs from the one in the *jeu*.

to him, “Merci, Amours, car j’ai vers vous mespris.”⁵⁴ The third version contains the tenor of the motet *En mai quant rosier* (870) / *L’autrier par un matin* (871) / *Hé! resveille toi!*, which was copied into fascicle VII of the Montpellier codex, near Adam de la Halle’s motets and the motet *Mout me fu griés li departir* (297) / *Robin m’aime* (298) / *Portare* (M22). The refrain here uses the same form as it does in the play,⁵⁵ ABB’. Adam, who developed it into a *rondeau*, probably transformed it in this way from the initial couplet. Finally, the last refrain of the play, vdB 1835, “Venés après moi, venés le sentele, le sentele, le sentele lés le bos,” amplifies the motif used by Adam in the pseudo-citation of the *geste* sung by Gautier (Example 9.28), which the company judges to be vulgar and which Perrete contrasts with the final dance in which the refrain appears.

EXAMPLE 9.28 The last two citations of the play

AU - di - gier dist raim - ber - ge bou - se vous di.
 VE - nés a - près moi ve - nés le sen - te - le le sen - te - le le sen - te - le lés le bos.
 Ber - ge - ron - ne - te dou - ce bais - se - le - te Don - nez le moi vos - tre cha - pe - let.
 Ro - bin veuls tu que je le me - te seur ton chief par a - mou - re - te.
 M'en iert il miex se je li met. m'en ert il miex se je li met.

54 Gilbert, who seems to have belonged both to the *puy* and to the Brotherhood of *jongleurs* and *bourgeois* in Arras, was active between 1246 and 1270.

55 This triple form that associates text and music, very rare in the corpus of refrains (there are only eight occurrences out of the one thousand nine hundred and thirty-three refrains catalogued by van den Boogaard), is used four times in the *Jeu de Robin and Marion* alone.

In both musical sources for the play, almost all of the citations are of great melodic simplicity. Their melodic ranges are restrained, their melodic structures are usually repetitive – either bipartite (AA') or tripartite (ABB') – and they are most often in the first rhythmic mode, which further unifies them as a group. They are also, in the majority of cases, built on a liminal generative idea, more or less subject to variation. The best example of this type of composition is probably the insertion “Bergeronnete.” As we have already noted, the refrain, on which the entire melody is based, repeats the material of vdB 251 (Example 9.24), after an introduction. The rest is a shortened version of the first and second parts of the refrain, in two successive phrases, followed by a reminder of the second part of the refrain, but only in manuscript Méjanes 166 (Example 9.29). The insertion ends with the repetition of the whole composition by Robin, with a different text.⁵⁶

EXAMPLE 9.29 The melodic evolution of “Bergeronnete” in manuscript Méjanes 166

Ber - ge - ron - ne - te dou - ce bais - se - le - te Don - nez le moi vos - tre cha - pe - let.

Ro - bin veuls tu que je le me - te seur ton chief par a - mou - re - te.

M'en iert il miex se je li met. m'en ert il miex se je li met.

These examples clearly demonstrate Adam de la Halle's deliberate desire for musical coherence. A trouvère as well as a writer-poet, he pushes the boundaries of refrain citation at the same time as he creates new ties between narrative and lyric. It becomes apparent that for him the musical insertions he sows throughout his play are not only stylistic exercises that follow a fashion popular since the first quarter of the thirteenth century⁵⁷ but also elements that contribute to the broader musical structure of the whole play and that correspond to the poetic obligations of the theater.

⁵⁶ See Annex IV.

⁵⁷ Jean Renart (for romance) and Gautier de Coinci (for didactic-narrative texts) are some of the first to work with this process, the former in *Guillaume de Dole* (ca. 1228), the latter with the *Miracles de Notre Dame* (ca. 1223–27).

I could choose to conclude this discussion of the refrain in the works of Adam de la Halle in several ways. First, the size of the corpus: this is the first time that such a large number of refrains may be associated with a single trouvère. Others – Gilbert de Berneville, Gontier de Soignies, Guillaume le Vinier and especially Perrin d'Angicourt – all tied to Arras, also preferred forms that use refrains, but their works are limited to the genre of the *chanson*. The only composer who uses the refrain in a similar way to Adam is Jeannot de Lescurel, who came after him and whose work is also plural in nature: he wrote both *rondeaux* and *chansons* – he prefers the *virelai* and the *ballade*, the groundwork for which has been laid by Adam's "Dieus soit en cheste maison" and "Fines amouretes ai" – and non-lyrical texts. After Adam, Machaut used citation in his works that combine poetry and music, but the process will have evolved by then into a very different esthetic project.

As a response to this considerable corpus, one can say that Adam used refrains in multiple ways. The refrains in the *rondeaux* seem to be elements that are particularly susceptible to textual and/or musical variation. A large number of them belong to a collective corpus that is directly tied to Arras and to the neighboring city of Lille, *Renart le Nouvel* being the most significant example. The large degree of variation displayed by refrains⁵⁸ speaks to how well these fragments evolved, as well as to how a particular scribe's reading of a work as a whole, refrain and romance, may have influenced them. The citations in motets take us somewhere else; here the borrowings, whether by Adam or from him, evoke instead the world of Paris, where the different fascicles of the Montpellier codex were probably copied. *Ba*, which contains motets that use the same refrains as Adam, was also probably copied there.⁵⁹ The ways in which citation is used in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, as well as in the *Jeu de la feuillée* (which contains a refrain that had already been cited in a motet) seem to stem from a complex phenomenon that ties exterior inspiration – reliance on the

58 This variance is partially explainable in manuscript fr. 1593 by the different levels of scribal activity in the copy. Claude Fauchet, one of the owners of the manuscript, annotated it several times and was probably the author of some of the musical additions. See Anne Ibos-Augé, "Music or Musics?" 44–47 and John Haines, *Satire in the Songs of Renart le Nouvel* (Geneva: Droz, 2010), 22–24. Manuscript fr. 372 is a bit later (beginning of the fourteenth century), which could explain some level of variance in the versions but cannot justify the existence of melodies that are sometimes radically different.

59 Fascicle V, which contains Grant solas (787) / Pléust Dieu (788) / Neuma and Tant me fait (17) / Tout li cuers (18) / Omnes (M1), which may have inspired the trouvère, was copied in the 1270's. The motets that may have been inspired at this source are in fascicle v11, which also contains Adam's motets, as well as *Ba*, which thus ought to be dated to after the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*... unless the polyphonic version of the first *rondeau* of the play preceded the monody, which seems unlikely.

motif of the *pastourelle*, for example, which is almost a cliché yet is anchored in the collective heritage of the *chansons à refrains*⁶⁰ – to the use of internal repetition, for poetic meaning as well as for theatrical argument.

In the end, it is how Adam uses the refrain that gives us an example of a procedure that is more complex than the simple citation of an exogenous element taken from an already familiar musico-poetic environment. No longer limited to a single poetic and melodic element, citation involves other factors. As it borrows from a poetic context, citation creates a particularly dense network of intertextual ties between songs, motets, and *rondeaux*, forming a polyphonic web that gives the refrain a different status from the one it had during the first half of the thirteenth century. By calling upon certain motifs that belong to a kind of “collective imagination” – the lover’s request, desire, or the *pastourelle* – the refrain becomes a musico-textual authority, all the while retaining the musical and poetic heritage that preceded it.

Translated by Amy Heneveld

60 A large number of these come from composers that belonged to the same circle of *arrageois* poets as Adam, Huitace de Fontaine, Colart le Bouteiller, Gilbert de Berneville etc.

The *Pastourelle* and the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*

Anna Kathryn Grau

Je me repairoie du tournoiement,
Si trouvai bergiere seulete au cors gent.

I was returning from a tournament
When I found a beautiful shepherdess alone.

Jeu de Robin et Marion, vv. 9–10)¹



A male speaker, generally a knight, sets off, usually on horseback, and finds a beautiful shepherdess alone in the countryside. These lines are typical of the opening of the Old French lyric poems known as *pastourelles*, and the passage above, from Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, clearly and immediately evokes this genre, and introduces us to its crucial figures. The first person *je* is marked as a knight, fresh from a tournament.² The young woman is explicitly named as a shepherdess (*bergiere*) and is alone; her sexual attractiveness is also quickly established.

In comparison to examples from lyric *pastourelles*, the lines used by Adam are rather compact; the two characters are introduced in the first couplet, efficiently bringing into focus the two voices that are at the heart of the lyric type: the male, privileged, courtly narrator comes into dialogue with the feminine, lower-class character of the *pastourelle* (shepherdess) herself.³ This brief moment of song – the knight does not complete the usual narrative but breaks

1 All textual and musical quotations from the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* come from Shira I. Schwambaird and Milton G. Scheuerman Jr., *Adam de La Halle: Le jeu de Robin et Marion*, Garland Library of Medieval Literature (New York: Garland, 1994), unless otherwise indicated.

2 While the general content and perspective of this refrain is typical, the inclusion of the tournament is somewhat unusual. It is more common for the knight to ride out for his own amusement, or for contemplation. I am unable to identify any other examples that include mention of a tournament in the opening passage.

3 The efficiency of this introduction is somewhat unusual; in most lyric *pastourelles* the narrator takes at least three lines to introduce the shepherdess.

off after these lines – also immediately sets up the first person perspective characteristic of the genre, a central trait that often conflates the authorial persona with the lyric *je*, creating a *chevalier-poète* figure who controls the account.

But Adam's play, often referred to as a "dramatized pastourelle," does not begin with these lines.⁴ Instead, the first scene opens on Marion alone, singing a *rondeau*:

Robins m'aime, Robins m'a,
 Robins m'a demandee, si m'ara.
 Robins m'acata cotele
 D'escarlate bonne et bêle,
 Souskanie et chainturele,
 A leur i va.
 Robins m'aime, Robins m'a,
 Robins m'a demandee, si m'ara.

Robin loves me, Robin has me;
 Robin asked for me, and will have me.
 Robin bought me a dress
 Of good cloth, fine and fair,
 A long gown and a little belt,
 A leur i va!
 Robin loves me, Robin has me;
 Robin asked for me, and will have me. (vv. 1–8)

This musical performance, and its feminine first-person perspective, displaces the typical knight's opening, which does not begin until verse nine. Lyrics that foreground the shepherdess in this way are quite rare, at least among French examples, but the reference to the stock character "Robin" leaves no doubt that we are in the world of the *pastourelle*, even before we hear from the *chevalier*. The framing refrain of Marion's *rondeau* also appears in other lyric *pastourelles* and motets, connecting the drama to an intertextual generic network.

The *Jeu de Robin et Marion* thus evokes the *pastourelle* tradition from its first moments but also, just as quickly, subverts some of the expectations that the genre context would create. While it is generally agreed that Adam's play engages with the tradition of the lyric *pastourelle*, the degree and character of

4 The *Jeu* is discussed this way in a number of studies, including Schwam-Baird and Scheuerman, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, xvi.

Adam's alteration of the genre is more controversial. Ernest Langlois claims that Adam makes little meaningful contribution, changing only the *cadre* of the typical *pastourelle*, but not its content.⁵ Later critics saw a more dramatic transformation, or even parody, of the lyric type, and others have drawn attention to the "hybridization" of lyric and dramatic or narrative forms.⁶ While there are many readings of Adam's *Jeu*, the opening moments of the action suggest that any effect relies on the audience's ability to recognize not only the ways in which the play parallels the lyric *pastourelle*, but also the moments of disjunction.

As this opening scene suggests, among the most important locations of both correspondence and contrast are the stock characters and the role of musical performance and quotation. In both cases, the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* makes use of generically marked features in ways that point to the role of the play in Adam's larger authorial oeuvre. Robin, Marion and the knight have clear connections to the tradition of the *pastourelle*, but their behavior in the *Jeu* also reveals Adam's parodic and innovative destabilization of the genre.

The French *pastourelle* tradition on which Adam draws seems to have centered largely on Arras; among the earliest French versions are five *pastourelles* by Jehan Bodel, including one of the earliest "bergeries."⁷ Many of the other examples of French *pastourelles* that survive from the thirteenth century are also ascribed to poets with ties to the Artois region, including Jehan Erart and Moniot d'Arras. One example that emphasizes the identity of the poet and the narrating knight even foregrounds the location of the author explicitly:

D'Arés a Flandres alloie
Ambanoier on païs;
Par dehors Lile trovoie...

From Arras to Flanders I was going
To amuse myself in the country;

5 Langlois goes on to say that "Le fond, le thème de la pastourelle, n'a donc été en rien modifié par Adam." See Adam le Bossu, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion, suivi du Jeu du pèlerin*, ed. Ernest Langlois, *Classiques Français du Moyen Âge* (Paris: H. Champion, 1924), vii.

6 See, for example, Geri L. Smith, *The Medieval French Pastourelle Tradition: Poetic Motivations and Generic Transformations* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009), chap. 2; Kevin Brownlee, "Transformations of the Couple: Genre and Language in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*," *French Forum* 14 (1989): 419–33; Joseph A. Dane, *Res/verba: A Study in Medieval French Drama* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), chap. 3.

7 Charles Foulon, *L'œuvre de Jehan Bodel*, *Travaux de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Rennes, Sér. 1* (Paris: PUF, 1958), 2:144–47.

Outside Lille I was composing...

(vv. 1–3)⁸

The *pastourelle*, and in particular experimentation with the genre, thus seems particularly tied to the bourgeois poetic milieu of Arras, rather than a Parisian or courtly setting.⁹ Adam de la Halle would have been exposed to this experimentation throughout his career in Arras, and in particular may have associated the genre with the legacy of Jehan Bodel, a famous *arrageois* poet whose career Adam mirrored. It is perhaps surprising, given this connection, that Adam de la Halle left us no lyric *pastourelles*. That he turned to these materials only when writing his *Jeu* makes its creation all the more curious; this anomaly requires us to reconsider the relationship of *Robin et Marion* and its musical insertions to its generic subtext, and its role in Adam's construction of an authorial persona closely tied to the urban milieu of Arras.¹⁰

1 The *Pastourelle* Tradition

Adam de la Halle's adaptation of the *pastourelle* relies on the familiarity of his audience with the major characteristics of this lyric type and its variants. By Adam's time the category seems to have been well established; some songs

8 Text and translation from William D. Paden, *The Medieval Pastourelle* (New York: Garland, 1987), 263 (no. 99).

9 Alfred Jeanroy, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge* (Paris: Hachette, 1889), 44; Langlois, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, vii.

10 This idea of a consistent authorial persona is discussed by a number of scholars of Adam's work, including Sylvia Huot, "Transformations of Lyric Voice in the Songs, Motets, and Plays of Adam de La Halle," *Romanic Review* 78 (1987): 148–64; Jennifer Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry*, Gallica Series 30 (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2013), chap. 4. It is believed that Adam completed this play around 1283, not long before his death. It was later brought back to Arras and seems to have been performed in the author's hometown, along with a newly written prologue, the *Jeu de pelerin*, in which a pilgrim who has returned to Arras reports Adam's death and introduces the poet's work. According to this prologue, Adam wrote the *Jeu* while in Naples in the service of Robert II d'Artois, who commissioned the work, in which Adam was to "prove his wit" (*son sens esprouver*, v. 40). This version of the play in fr. 25566, apparently copied in Arras, also includes additional lines that assert that Robin lives in a suburb of Arras, and that insert characters from the prologue into the *bergerie* section of the *Jeu*. The other two manuscripts, fr. 1569 and Méjanes 166, do not include the prologue or extra lines. The prologue and additional lines appear in Schwam-Baird and Scheuerman, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, Appendices A and B. For a discussion of the milieu in which the *Jeu* may have been produced, see Carol Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), chap. 5.

from the thirteenth century include internal references to themselves as *pastourelles* and a few contemporary manuscripts employ *pastourelle* as a section heading.¹¹ The major characteristics of the genre are stable enough that there is only minor debate among scholars about the basic parameters. By combining definitions from medieval treatises with modern observations, Michel Zink crafts a definition of the *pastourelle* as “la requête d’amour d’un chevalier à une bergère, l’échange de propos moqueurs et piquants, et le dénouement favorable ou non au séducteur qui s’en suivent, le tout raconté sur le mode plaisant par le chevalier lui-même” (The love request of a knight to a shepherdess, the exchange of mocking and biting banter, and an ending that may or may not be favorable to the seducer who pursues it, all recounted in a pleasant tone by the knight himself).¹² This definition accords with those of a number of other scholars, though some emphasize slightly different characteristics: while William Paden’s definition similarly lists the dialogue, cast of two, and the role of the male character as the narrator, he puts more weight than Zink on the combination of narrative with dialogue in the form, and of discovery and seduction in the plot. Paden also includes in his definition the identification of the girl as a shepherdess, but not the social class of the male character, and does not include the description of the tone as pleasant or mocking, but instead emphasizes the “pastoral mode.”¹³ Geri L. Smith is less taxonomic in defining the genre, but, like other scholars, she defines it primarily by content. Like Paden, she does include the interplay of narrative and dialogue as a crucial element, but adds that it “is intended to be humorous,” recalling Zink’s “mode plaisant.” Smith further emphasizes the importance of the *locus amoenus* in which the scene is set.¹⁴

What is included in these definitions – or more importantly, what is not included – reveals that the conclusion to the *pastourelle* encounter is the most variable element.¹⁵ In some examples, the knight is successful in his seduction, either through charm, bribery, or exploitation of the shepherdess’s anger at a neglectful *ami*. In other cases, the shepherdess denounces the knight’s

11 William D. Paden lists mss. *I-trov.*, Bern, Stadtbibliothek 389, and BnF, fr. 856. See Paden, “Reading Pastourelles,” *Tenso* 4 (1988): 1–21, at 4. There is also a “*pastourelle*” heading in ms. *a-trov.* See Mary J. O’Neill, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 21.

12 Michel Zink, *La pastourelle: poésie et folklore au moyen âge* (Paris: Bordas, 1972), 29.

13 Paden, *The Medieval Pastourelle*, ix.

14 Smith, *Medieval French Pastourelle*, 1 and 18.

15 As Helen Dell writes, “The outcome of a *pastourelle* cannot be predicted. The only thing determined about it is its indeterminacy. It is left in doubt, to be discovered *en route*.” See Dell, “Desire and Generic Differentiation in Trouvère Song,” *Parergon* 22 (2005): 17–46, at 30.

advances, even shaming or mocking him, and sends him on his way. Still others end with violence, with the knight raping the country girl and leaving her behind, or the shepherd and his friends returning to beat and exile the knight.¹⁶

Some examples strain the definition enough to inspire the creation, by modern scholars, of subgenres and peripheral groups, such as the *bergerie*, also sometimes labeled the *pastourelle-assemblée*, *pastourelle desintéressée*, or the “objective *pastourelle*.”¹⁷ In these, the knight recedes into the background, a narrator-observer whose presence is not made known to the pastoral characters; he watches from a distance as they play and consort in fields and forests, often singing, playing music, or dancing. These poems are much less common than the “classic” variety, but they are clearly part of a lyric tradition that would be known to the same textual community, particularly a textual community based in Arras – nearly all the surviving *bergeries* are associated with Artesian composers.¹⁸

Despite the variety and scope of the tradition, certain details are remarkably common and stable across sub-genres, and even across languages. Central to all definitions are the genders of the characters, the representation of dialogue, and the perspective of the male narrator. Formulaic openings, which establish the lyric *je* as a nobleman on horseback, are found in the majority of the French works. Incipits that include the phrases “je chevauchois” or “l’autrier,” or both, are strikingly widespread, establishing as the default both a speaker who is a *chevalier*, and the vague, universal, past tense of the story. The male narrator, often identified as a knight, is difficult to separate from the persona of the author, resulting in a figure sometimes referred to as the *chevalier-poète*, despite the fact that many known authors were not nobles. The genre is a *chanson dialoguée*, as Pierre Bec terms it, in the sense that the conversation of at least two characters is included, but it is also a monologue; the conversation is reported

16 According to a count by Paden, rape occurs in some 18% of surviving *pastourelles*; 33% end in other scenarios of “sexual union.” In 41% the knight is unsuccessful, and in 7% the conclusion is unclear. William D. Paden, “Rape in the Pastourelle,” *Romanic Review* 80 (1989): 331–49, at 332. See also Kathryn Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 105.

17 Paden’s anthology includes only two examples: nos. 65 and 89. See Paden, *The Medieval Pastourelle*, x. Merceron finds some twelve examples, seven of them anonymous. The other five are all ascribed to authors associated with the Arras region. Jacques E. Merceron, “Pantomimes dansées et jeux de rôle mimés dans les ‘pastourelles-assemblées,’ les monologues de jongleur et les jeux carnavalesques,” in *Chanson Legière a Chanter: Essays on Old French Literature in Honor of Samuel N. Rosenberg*, ed., Karen Louise Fresco and Wendy Pfeffer (Birmingham: University of Alabama Press, 2007), 163–96 at 184, fn. 2.

18 Henri Guy, *Essai sur la vie et les oeuvres littéraires du trouvère Adan de Le Hale* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1970), 501.

by a single speaker.¹⁹ The *chevalier-poète* is the controlling voice of the *pastourelle*, and the shepherdess's speech is ventriloquized, proscribed and reported by a narrator who may not be trustworthy.²⁰

While the courtly *je* figure is almost never named, the rustic characters draw their identities from a very small stock, with Robin and Marion by far the most popular names for the shepherdess and her mate, regardless of the outcome or details of the narrative.²¹ In both *pastourelle* types, there is prominent opposition between two social groups represented by the knight on horseback and the shepherdess with her companions. Pierre Bec sees this opposition between two characters, "psychologiquement contrastés," as central.²² However, the relationship of *trouvères* to this binary is far from clear; many *trouvères* were not nobles, but they generally worked in "courtly" surroundings, and would see the pastoral as a separate world. Edmond Faral thus interprets the *pastourelle* as a means for the courtly audience to enjoy mocking the lower-class *vilains*.²³ Despite the distance of the clerical and courtly poets from the pastoral world, however, it is not clear that the lower classes are the target of ridicule; the pastoral characters often come out on top, and the knights are as likely to look the fool as the shepherds.²⁴ W.T.H. Jackson suggests instead that the clerical and urban *trouvères* meant to mock the knight, who demeans himself in his interaction with a lowly shepherdess, and may be portrayed as a brutal rapist, or made ridiculous when he is bested by a witty shepherdess or beaten by shepherds.²⁵ Kathryn Gravdal, on the other hand, sees the portrayal of rape in the *pastourelle* as a courtly aestheticization of sexual violence rather than a condemnation.²⁶ Thus while the definition of a *pastourelle* is rarely the subject of much debate, there is greater disagreement about the effects and significance of these characteristics.

19 Pierre Bec, *La lyrique française au Moyen Âge (XII^e–XIII^e siècles)* (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1978), 120.

20 Nancy A. Jones, "The Rape of the Rural Muse: Wordsworth's 'The Solitary Reaper' as a Version of Pastourelle," in *Rape and Representation*, ed., Lynn A. Higgins and Brenda R. Silver (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 207–26, at 225.

21 For a tally of appearances of various names in refrains, see Eglal Doss-Quinby, *Les Refrains chez les trouvères du XII^e siècle au début du XIV^e* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1984), 42. Other common names include Enmelot, Peronnelle, Perrin, and Gautier, among others.

22 Bec, *Lyrique française*, 121.

23 Edmond Faral, "La pastourelle," *Romania* (1923): 204–59.

24 Zink, *La pastourelle*, 62.

25 William T.H. Jackson, "The Medieval Pastourelle as a Satirical Genre," *Philological Quarterly* 31 (1952): 156–70, at 156.

26 Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens*, 110.

As the discussion thus far suggests, definitions and discussions of the *pastourelle* are primarily based on content rather than form, and no definitions suggest musical parameters for defining the genre. Mary O'Neill's analysis of courtly song, however, discusses some formal, musical, and linguistic characteristics that are common in *pastourelles*. Like most medieval lyric, these songs are generally strophic, with the same music repeated for each stanza; within the stanza, many *pastourelles* are also quite melodically repetitive.²⁷ Some fifty-eight *pastourelles* survive with musical settings, and many of those have relatively limited melodic material.²⁸ Strophic structure and melodic repetition results in the performance of the reported discourse of the two characters, the knight and the shepherdess, each with the same musical setting.²⁹ Difference in speaker may be leveled by the musical repetition, reinforcing the sense that the audience is hearing only one voice; in the case of the *pastourelle* this may support the impression that the voice of the shepherdess is ventriloquized.

The role of repetition in the *pastourelle* is further complicated by another prominent formal element, the use of "refrains" as a significant part of the structure.³⁰ "Refrains," in this context, are defined as self-contained lyric units of one or two lines, often with associated melody, which may appear either multiple times within a single work, or relatively intact across multiple works.³¹ About seventy percent of surviving *pastourelles* contain some kind of refrain,

27 O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, 136–37.

28 John E. Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350*, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 471–76.

29 Musical simplicity is often discussed as a matter of "register," although Elizabeth Aubrey argues that the distinction between "high" and "low" cannot reliably be applied to melody. Elizabeth Aubrey, "Reconsidering 'High Style' and 'Low Style' in Medieval Song," *Journal of Music Theory* 52 (2008): 75–122. For the other perspective on this debate, see Christopher Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France, 1100–1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

30 O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, 136–37.

31 There is a rich and complex literature on the refrain, its use, identification and origins. See, among others, Anne Ibos-Augé, *Chanter et lire dans le récit médiéval: la fonction des insertions lyriques dans les oeuvres narratives et didactiques aux XIIIème et XIVème siècles* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010); Saltzstein, *Refrain and the Rise*; Doss-Quinby, *Les Refrains chez les trouvères*; Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Saltzstein differentiates between the two types of repetition, identifying the former as "structural refrains" and the latter as "intertextual refrains," a distinction I will employ here. Saltzstein, *Refrain and the Rise*, 1 and 4.

including more than half of those surviving with music.³² In *pastourelles à refrains*, in which a single structural textual and musical refrain is repeated at the end of each stanza, the unit may be repeated by the shepherdess, or passed between knight and shepherdess. In the vast majority of cases, the shepherdess is (over)heard singing the refrain first; she may repeat her song, or the knight repeats the refrain back to her, asking her for an explanation. In *pastourelles avec des refrains*, which include a different intertextual refrain at the end of each stanza, the use of changing refrains would certainly necessitate a more complex musical performance, as the different refrains were likely associated with specific melodies.³³ This introduces some possibility for musical difference between the two characters, and, because the refrain is often introduced through an anticipatory rhyme, the incorporation of a number of changing refrains at the end of each stanza creates a particular challenge for the poet-composer.³⁴ The *pastourelle* in its French form is thus typically characterized by somewhat repetitive music and the frequent use of refrains, features that are not unique to the genre but are particularly prominent in these songs. Despite their importance, though, these structural characteristics of the genre are rarely invoked in discussions of the ties between Adam's *Jeu de Robin et Marion* and its lyric counterparts.

32 Christopher Callahan, "Hybrid Discourse and Performance in the Old French Pastourelle," *French Forum* 27 (2002): 1–22, at 2; Stevens, *Words and Music*, 473. According to Doss-Quinby, about 45% of *pastourelles* are *chansons à refrains*. See Doss-Quinby, *Les Refrains chez les trouvères*, 86.

33 This is not entirely evident, as most manuscripts only include a melody for the first refrain. To what degree the melody is inseparable from text in refrains is still unclear. For discussion of this issue, Théodore Gérold, *La musique au Moyen Âge* (Paris: H. Champion, 1932), 139; Stevens, *Words and Music*, 466–68; Saltzstein, *Refrain and the Rise*, 16–29; Ardis Butterfield, "Repetition and Variation in the Thirteenth-Century Refrain," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 116 (1991): 1–23. Around 105 *chanson avec des refrains* survive, of which thirty-six are *pastourelles avec des refrains*. A dozen or so of those survive with melodies. Doss-Quinby, *Les refrains chez les trouvères*, 96–110; Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 473.

34 Gérold suggests that these *pastourelles* had become a kind of game for a community of trouvères to demonstrate their mastery of the genre and the refrain repertory, and to keep their audience guessing. "Mais un morceau de ce genre montre clairement que ces pastourelles étaient devenues un jeu de société raffinée. Pour corser l'effet d'une histoire assez banale, le poète a emprunté des fragments de chansons connues. Il va sans dire qu'il ne s'attend pas à ce que l'assistance les entonne; personne ne pouvait deviner d'avance quel serait le refrain." Gérold, *La musique au Moyen Âge*, 144–45.

2 *The Jeu de Robin et Marion*

In its content, Adam's *Jeu de Robin et Marion* unfolds much like a *pastourelle* or *bergerie*. Beginning with Marion's *rondeau* and the knight's arrival, the two central characters have a dialogue of some hundred lines during which he attempts to seduce her and is rebuffed, as Marion declares her allegiance to Robin. Robin arrives and he and Marion talk, picnic, sing and dance. Robin leaves to gather friends to join the couple for a dance, and to help defend Marion should the knight return. The knight does, indeed, return, looking for his bird, and renews his attempts at seduction. The two men clash; the knight abducts Marion, but she quickly frees herself and returns to the others. The knight, fed up with Marion's resistance, calls her a "beast" and storms off at the exact midpoint of the drama. Up to this point, the plot of the play follows that of an extended *pastourelle* variant, with the encounter, attempt at seduction, mocking interchange, and variable finale. However, the *Jeu* also includes elements of the *bergerie*, in which the *chevalier* is present only as an observer. In the *Jeu*, the *chevalier* is removed from the action midway through the play, and the focus turns to the antics of the pastoral characters, led by Robin and Marion. Scholars thus typically divide the play into two sections based on the use of the classic *pastourelle* model in the first half and the *bergerie* in the second. Unlike the narrator of the *bergerie*, however, the knight in Adam's *Jeu* is removed completely, leaving the audience to function as the "objective" observer.³⁵ The remainder of the *Jeu* follows Marion, Robin, and the friends Robin began to gather when he wanted to fight the knight. Freed of the knight's interference, the *bergers* turn to a variety of games, dances, and a picnic, to amuse themselves. These activities are typical of the *bergerie*, but the audience sees them now directly rather than through the report of a *chevalier-poète*.

Scholars disagree dramatically about the overall tone and viewpoint of the play. Some find the play charming, some bawdy, others a satirical commentary. Henri Guy describes the "naïve" character of the play, an adaptation of the theme with "une finesse et une délicatesse" not found in lyric *pastourelles*. Ardis Butterfield's Marion is clever and brave, while Guy sees her as a charming, carefree girl, with nothing on her mind but love.³⁶ Jean Dufournet emphasizes the move from stereotyped *pastourelle* to a more realistic depiction of the shepherdess's world, while Richard Axton sees an idealized aristocratic version

35 Smith, *Medieval French Pastourelle*, 98.

36 Guy, *Essai sur la vie*, 523–24.

of the pastoral.³⁷ Axton and Rosanna Brusegan both read the play as primarily a satire of the *vilains* represented by Robin and Marion, presented in their rustic ignorance for the amusement of urban or courtly audiences.³⁸ But to Jennifer Wollock it is the knight who is “arrogant, stupid, and bumbling,” a “self-centered” suitor put in his place by the annoyed peasants.³⁹ Introducing his edition, Langlois maintains that the themes of the *pastourelle* “n’a donc été en rien modifié par Adam” (are thus not modified in any way by Adam).⁴⁰ In Ardis Butterfield’s reading, the play combines binaries of class, gender, intelligence, and register in unexpected ways, part of a satiric process in which “the genre is so thoroughly scrutinized as to be almost reinvented, piece by piece.”⁴¹ Joseph Dane, on the other hand, draws attention to the more crass jokes, and reads the play not as a *satirical* commentary on social issues, but a *parodic* commentary on the literary object of the *pastourelle*; he takes the point to be that Adam found the *pastourelle* “good for nothing other than a frivolous, ob-scene play.”⁴²

The literature on the *Jeu* is thus both overwhelmingly in agreement about the generic intertexts on which Adam drew and strikingly discordant about the resulting work and its meaning. The lack of agreement about an authorial perspective in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* suggests that Sylvia Huot is correct in identifying in the works of Adam de la Halle an evolution toward literary polyphony: there is no single, irreducible viewpoint at the heart of the *Jeu*, as the characters retain their own voices and identities, in part because of the Marion’s disruption of the typical *pastourelle* opening.⁴³

The polyphony of the *Jeu* also draws on other outside voices. The *Jeu de Robin et Marion* includes several musical insertions, applying a technique other-

37 Jean Dufournet, “Complexité et ambiguïté du *Jeu de Robin et Marion*. L’ouverture de la pièce et le portrait des paysans,” in *Etudes de philologie romane et d’histoire littéraire offertes à Jules Horrent à l’occasion de son soixantième anniversaire*, ed. Jean Marie d’Heur and Nicoletta Cherubini (Liège, 1980), 141–59, at 144–45; Richard Axton, *European Drama of the Early Middle Ages* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1975), 140.

38 Axton, *European Drama*, 141; Rosanna Brusegan, “*Le Jeu de Robin et Marion* et l’ambiguïté du symbolisme champêtre,” in *The Theater in the Middle Ages*, ed. Herman Braet, Johan Nowé, and Gilbert Tournoy (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1985), 119–29, at 119.

39 Jennifer G. Wollock, *Rethinking Chivalry and Courty Love* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2011), 133 and 154.

40 Langlois, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, vii.

41 Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 151–52, 161.

42 Joseph A. Dane, “Parody and Satire in the Literature of Thirteenth-Century Arras, Part II,” *Studies in Philology* 81 (1984): 119–44 at 142. See also Dane, *Res/verba*.

43 For Mikhail Bakhtin’s explication of polyphony, see Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics* [1929], ed. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984). Marion’s role will be discussed in more detail below.

wise used in narrative texts such as *romans* and *dits*. These moments of melody appear in some fourteen percent of the play, sometimes as single lines or couplets, and other times occupying as many as twenty-four consecutive lines of text.⁴⁴ To better understand both the generic play of Adam's *Jeu* and the play of voices, these musical insertions must be considered anew. Discussing motets that use *pastourelle* texts, Huot points out that because of its "narratives of revelry, rivalry, and desire, its witty, fast-paced dialogues, and its representation of shifting and sometimes conflicting emotions, the *pastourelle* has a dramatic quality that lends itself to the proliferation of voices, perspectives, and scenarios – and ultimately of different levels of meaning – typical of the vernacular or bilingual motet."⁴⁵ I would add to Huot's list of characteristics the *pastourelle's* typical inclusion of song, quoted and new. The quotation of songs, and the possibility for musical and textual citation, are also features of both *pastourelle* and motet that lend themselves to this "proliferation of voices." In the move from *pastourelle* to *jeu*, Adam makes use of the possibilities inherent in this aspect of the lyric genre to find voices for his characters.

3 "Refrains" in the *Jeu*

The move toward "polyphony," toward a multiplicity of voices and perspectives, is also part of Adam's adaptation of the musical character of the *pastourelle* to the dramatic form. The lyric *pastourelle* was traditionally a sung genre, and Adam's *Jeu* is shot through with bits of music, sometimes referred to as "lyric insertions," "lyric interpolations" or "refrains." As early as 1950, Jacques Chailley addressed the connection between the use of "refrain" melodies and Adam's experimentation with the *pastourelle*. According to Chailley, it is unlikely that any of the music was written by Adam de la Halle himself; instead he suggests that these insertions draw on a preexisting body of song and are used in ways that recall refrains in lyric *pastourelles*. For this reason, their function has been described primarily in terms of the "pleasure" the audience might find in recognition of these melodies.⁴⁶ Matthew Steel has suggested that

44 Jean Maillard, *Adam de la Halle: perspective musicale* (Paris: H. Champion, 1982), 172.

45 Sylvia Huot, "Intergeneric Play: The Pastourelle in Thirteenth-Century French Motets," in *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context*, ed. William D. Paden (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2000), 297–314, at 312.

46 Jacques Chailley, "La nature musicale du Jeu de Robin et Marion," in *Mélanges d'histoire du théâtre du moyen âge et de la Renaissance offerts à Gustave Cohen ... par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis* (Paris: Nizet, 1950), 111–17, at 111. Dane suggests that perhaps the music is in fact newly composed, as parodic imitation of *pastourelle* music. This could account for

scholars have since neglected the dramatic role of the insertions; other scholars have investigated elements of the use of refrains, and especially their capacity for intertextual reference. Continued examination of the relationship between Adam's experimental *Jeu* and the tradition of the *pastourelle* shows that the musical insertions play a critical role in the generic play at the heart of the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*. As the characters engage in musical conversations, they refer to outside works, repeat and vary the melodies they hear, and share control of the musical language of the work. Detailed consideration of the musical elements of the *Jeu* reveals that, even when there are no extant concordances for the insertions, the presence and the details of the music itself play a role in Adam's experimentation with genre and his creation of literary "polyphony."

The most productive and interesting work on the *Jeu*'s refrains, or *refrains-centons*, as Chailley terms them, has focused on the existence of intertextual networks of quotation and citation between the *Jeu* and examples of the lyric *pastourelle* tradition. Jennifer Saltzstein and Ardis Butterfield have productively explored some of the intertextual quotations that appear in the *Jeu* and how they create "narrative subtexts" that add layers of meaning to the generic implications of Adam's *Jeu*. The deployment of a refrain may evoke the conclusion of another *pastourelle*, its language or tone. As Saltzstein argues, they may also give us a glimpse of a particular literary culture where these refrains circulated – that of Arras – and could even express civic identity by drawing on communal knowledge of the *arrageois* audience. By affirming this identity, Saltzstein suggests that Adam asserts his own authorial persona, authority and place in the *arrageois* literary canon.⁴⁷

Such arguments provide important context for Adam's work, and paint a picture of a localized literary culture in which the *Jeu* participates.⁴⁸ Discus-

the simplicity of musical style that has led many commentators to assert that the music is not by Adam. Dane, *Res/verba*, 101, footnote 20.

47 Jennifer Saltzstein, "Refrains in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*: History of a Citation," in *Poetry, Knowledge and Community in Late Medieval France*, ed. Rebecca Dixon and Finn Sinclair (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2008), 182–84; Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*.

48 Such discussions are complicated, as the authors acknowledge, by the vagueness of most dating of medieval lyrics and other refrain sources; even sources of these refrains which can be dated originate so contemporaneously as to make direction of citation unclear. There is, however, evidence that such a culture of refrain citation existed in Artois, even when direction of quotation cannot be pinned down. See Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 138–42 and Nico van den Boogaard, Henri Roussel, and François Suard, " Jacquemart Giélée et la lyrique de son temps," in *Alain de Lille, Gautier de Châtillon, Jakemart Giélée et Leur Temps*, ed. Henri Roussel and François Suard (Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1980), 33–54.

sion of refrains and musical interpolations in romances and other sources may, however, also obscure part of the way Adam's refrains work. The description of these insertions variably as "refrains," "intertextual refrains," and "refrains-centons" betrays the fact that the identity and nature of medieval French "refrains" is complex. Perhaps the most useful and most problematic contribution to the study of the Old French refrain has been Nico van den Boogaard's catalogue of refrains and *rondeaux*.⁴⁹ Boogaard does not distinguish between refrains found in a single source and those with concordances, and he does not make clear his criteria in identifying "refrains." Many have not survived in other instances, but behave in ways similar to refrains that do have extant concordances: they may appear at the ends of stanzas, especially where other stanzas end in refrains with concordances, or appear in direct discourse and introduced as reported song, or they may appear with music in a work that is primarily non-musical.⁵⁰

Boogaard's inclusiveness creates some challenges for his reader. He identifies twelve refrains in the *Jeu*; however, as Butterfield and Saltzstein point out, only four or five of these have extant concordances and thus can be seen as true intertextual refrains.⁵¹ Referring to all the insertions equally as "refrains" or "refrains-centons" may thus be misleading. Treating refrains as free-floating, autonomous units simply inserted from one source into another implies that all are equally to be treated as preexisting works. Studies such as those of Chailley and Guy thus do not differentiate between those refrains that survive in other forms and those that are unique to the *Jeu*.⁵² The impression that one thus gets from the discussion of "refrains" in much of the scholarly literature is that there are a number of independent and unrelated segments of music in the *Jeu*, some with extant concordances and the others with concordances now lost.

49 This has been the default resource for identifying and comparing refrains since its publication in 1969. A new database established by Mark Everist and Anne Ibos-Augé promises to replace Boogaard's catalogue. The Everist-Ibos-Augé catalogue continues to use Boogaard's numbers, which have been widely used to identify refrains, and I will continue to use those numbers here. (<http://medmus.soton.ac.uk/>)

50 On the perspective and limitations of Boogaard's catalogue, see Saltzstein, *Refrain and the Rise*, 3–4.

51 Saltzstein compiles the information on concordances in a helpful table: Saltzstein, "Refrains in the *Jeu*," 175–76. Most discussions of "refrains" in the *Jeu* leave out the quotation from a mock-epic "Audigier," (in v. 728) although it has concordances. This is perhaps because it is not from a genre generally associated with the "refrain," and, perhaps, because some early editors did not give sources for the scatological line. See Dane, *Res/verba*, 128, who points out this tendency in Langlois's edition.

52 Chailley, "La nature musicale," 112. Guy points out that only five survive in other sources, but accepts that none were composed by Adam. Guy, *Essai sur la vie*, 517–18.

In some cases, this model and its emphasis on intertextuality are very productive, as in the studies discussed above; refrains contribute substantially to the experience and interpretation of a work, and help us reconstruct historical networks. However, it can also obscure relationships within a single work. Matthew Steel addresses Chailley's assertion that Adam did not write the music of the *Jeu*, and the subsequent neglect of the music in most scholarship. Steel shows that the insertions contribute to the drama by ironically juxtaposing the courtly ideals of the refrain with the realism of the spoken text, the traditional *pastourelle* elements with Adam's innovative work. He also argues that, whether or not Adam composed the music, the composer seems to have arranged the melodies according to a coherent plan, perhaps including tonal planning and characteristic tonalities for each of the major figures.⁵³ These are important contributions to our understanding of the music of the *Jeu*, but Steel follows Chailley in not clearly distinguishing between the range of possibilities around those works with concordances, and those that are unica. For example, he refers to the knight's opening lines ("Je me reparioie", etc.) as "the knight's refrain." "Je me reparioie" is unique to the *Jeu*, and includes an unusual reference to the knight's return from a tournament. It is otherwise a passage typical of the beginning of a *pastourelle*, but it is at stanza endings that refrains are more frequently located; in fact, none of Boogaard's refrains begin with the common *pastourelle* openings "Je chevauchioie" or "L'autrier."⁵⁴ It is unlikely to have circulated as a refrain, but actual quotation is hardly necessary for such a stereotypical text to evoke intertextual associations; as we have seen, the text clearly signals "*pastourelle*-ness." Our understanding of this "insertion" is not well served by either intertextual refrain models or those that treat the couplet in isolation.

While the cataloguing of insertions suggests isolation and fragmentation, the appearance of the songs within the *Jeu* is in fact quite cohesive and integrated. In her extensive study of the medieval French refrain, Anne Ibos-Augé agrees with Steel in asserting a kind of musical coherence to the *Jeu*, in

53 Matthew Steel, "A Reappraisal of the Role of Music in Adam de La Halle's *Jeu de Robin et de Marion*," in *Music from the Middle Ages through the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Gwynn S. McPeck*, ed. Carmelo P. Comberiati and Matthew Steel (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1988), 40–55. Pensom similarly argues for the distinction between spoken and sung as reflecting tension between "ideality/reality." Roger Pensom, "From Lyric to Play: Thematic Structure and Social Structure in *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*," in *Shifts and Transpositions in Medieval Narrative: A Festschrift for Dr Elspeth Kennedy*, ed. Elspeth Kennedy, Karen Pratt, and Penny Eley (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1994), 37–52 at 43. Dufournet also points out the ironic disjunction between details of the refrain texts (the "avant-texte") and those of the surrounding dialogue. Dufournet, "Complexité et ambiguïté," 147.

54 The one exception (vdB 1208: "L'autrier dehors Pinquigni") is not a *pastourelle*, and has no concordances.

particular drawing attention to the use of musical repetition, and the construction of small “duets” when multiple insertions are presented consecutively.⁵⁵ The close musical relationships between some of these insertions suggest that they are better considered parts of somewhat larger songs rather than as separate entities. While a “refrain” is typically defined as a passage of only one or two lines, the exact number of “refrains” identified by scholars of the *Jeu* varies, as it depends on how some sequences of melodies are divided. Milton Scheuermann numbers sixteen insertions in the play, plus two later additions; Guy finds fourteen and Saltzstein counts thirteen.⁵⁶ But some eighty-eight lines of the play are sung, making the average length for each “insertion” far longer than two lines. A reassessment of the relationship between the *Jeu* and its sources must take into consideration the variety of forms and functions for musical insertions in Adam’s *Jeu*, rather than attempting to account for all the passages with a single theory.

The two-line nonsense text *Trairi deleuriva* is listed by Boogaard as a refrain (vdB 1896), with no concordances except a second appearance in the *Jeu*; the passage that follows, beginning “Hui main jou chevauchioie,” is not identified as a refrain. However, given the musical relationship of the segments and their consecutive performance, Boogaard’s “refrain” is clearly not a self-contained brief melody, but part of a short refrain song.⁵⁷

Marion:

Trairi deluriau deluriau delurieie
Trairi deluriau deluriau delurot.

The knight:

This morning I was riding along the edge of a wood;
Found a pretty shepherdess, so lovely no king ever saw.
Hey! Trairi deluriau deluriau delurieie
Trairi deluriau deluriau delurot. (vv. 95–100)

55 Ibos-Augé, *Chanter et lire*, 137 and 203–5.

56 Schwam-Baird and Scheuermann, *Jeu de Robin et Marion*; Guy, *Essai sur la vie*, 517; Saltzstein, “Refrains in the Jeu de Robin et Marion,” 175.

57 Ibos-Augé acknowledges this, as she lists this insertion as part of the “parent work” *Hui main*, implying that this section constitutes a single song (see REFRAIN database, <<http://medmus.soton.ac.uk/>>). Scheuermann gives the passage a single identifying number. (Schwam-Baird and Scheuermann, *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, 96–97; no. 6). The manuscript reading contributes to confusion about this refrain, as fr. 25566 presents the first refrain in Marion’s voice, as quoted here, but the other two readings put the entire passage in the voice of the knight. Guy also interprets many passages as longer “duos,” but his groupings seem to be based on contiguous performance rather than musical cohesiveness. See Guy, *Essai sur la vie*, 514n.2.

EXAMPLE 10.1 *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, vv. 95–100

Trai - ri de - lu - riau, de - lu - riau, de - lu - rie - le,
 Trai - ri de - lu - riau, de - lu - riau, de - lu rot.
 Hui main, jou che - vau - choi - e
 lés l'o - rie - re d'un bois;
 Trou - vai gen - til ber - gie - re
 tant be - le ne vit roys. Hé!
 Trai - ri de - lu - riau, de - lu - riau, de - lu - rie - le,
 Trai - ri de - lu - riau, de - lu - riau, de - lu rot.

The double appearance of the “refrain,” with an internal section made up of similar music set to the typical *pastourelle* text beginning “Hui main” creates a kind of *ballette* form.

This *pastourelle-ballette* type is not unique in the *Jeu*; elsewhere, Robin uses the refrain “Bergeronnete, douche basselete” (vdB 252) to address Marion, who responds with almost identical melody. Robin replies with another variation, and then ends with a shortened version of this refrain, which is completed by Marion. The internal section, split between Marion and Robin, uses line endings that correspond to the refrain’s rhyme sounds, and the musical endings match the rhyme sounds, as will later become common in the French

formes fixes chanson. This is further confirmed by the reading of the song in the manuscripts. Ms. fr. 25566 uses (what appears to be) the word “meche” (as in most editions), whereas ms. Méjanès 166 uses the word “mete.” Further, Ms. Méjanès 166 shows an ascent to *a*’ at the cadence of the fifth line, on “amourete,” reinforcing the coordination of musical and textual rhyme, creating a short *ballette*-like song.⁵⁸

EXAMPLE 10.2 *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, vv. 170–80

Robin: Ber - ge - ron - ne - te, dou - che bais - se - le - te, Don - nés le moi, vos - tre cha - pe - let.

Don - nés le moi, vos - tre cha - pe - let.

Marion: Ro - bin, veus tu que je le me - che

Seur ton chief par a - mou - re - te?

Robin: O - ïl, et vous se - rès m'a - mi - e - te;

Vous a - ve - rès ma chain - tu - re - te,

M'au - mos - niere et mon fre - ma - let.

Ber - ge - ron - ne - te, dou - che bais - se - le - te, Don - nés le moi, vos - tre cha - pe - let.

Marion: Vo - len - tiers, men douc a - mi - et.

58 Gérard also sees this as a “composition que l’on peut considérer comme une balette,” and uses this melody to reconstruct what the unnotated *ballettes* of *I-trouw*. may have been like. Gérard, *Musique au moyen âge*, 150.

Unlike *Traire deluriau*, this refrain does have extant intertextual concordances. The manuscript *I-trouv*, which does not include melodies, includes two versions of a song (RS 974) based on the same intertextual “Bergeronnete” refrain; one appears under the heading “pastourelles,” and the other under “balletes.” In the *ballette*, the refrain appears before and after the internal verse, which is a typical *pastourelle* opening. Doss-Quinby et al. suggest that this single stanza is an “aborted attempt to turn the *pastourelle* into a *ballette* by opening the song with the refrain.”⁵⁹ Many other insertions in the *Jeu* function in similar ways, creating a number of short, repetitive songs throughout the play. The passage “Que nous mengerons, Marote, bec a bec, et moi et vous. / Chi me ratendés, Marote, chi venrai parlor a vous” (vdB 1576) is repeated in alternation with other text in vv. 657 to 670. The other lines share a melody, which creates a kind of strophic, *chanson à refrains* effect, rather than the framed *ballette*-style form in our other examples.

Refrains that function this way, as part of larger, repetitive refrain songs, are categorically different from independent refrains and very different treatment is needed. The classification of refrains into either intertextual refrains or repeated refrains becomes unwieldy in these cases, in which refrains are repeated within a single song in one context but, as in the case of the *Bergeronnete* refrain, may also be found in other sources. Certainly, some of the musical insertions in the *Jeu* quote preexisting material. The refrain “Avoec tele compaignie,” for example, appears as an isolated musical phrase to accompany dance, just as it does in other contexts in *Renart le Nouvel* and the *Tournoi de Chauvency*. This kind of relationship suggests that a preexisting tune is being borrowed, and that the refrain is functioning in the way such refrains have traditionally been thought to function: as an intertextual reference, here associated with dancing and perhaps creating an ironic relationship with the other, more courtly, appearances of the refrain. Similarly, the final refrain of the play is an isolated phrase that seems to have a clear identity as a “refrain,” despite the fact that it lacks extant concordances.

Venés après moi, venés le sentele,
Le sentele, le sentele lés le bos.

Follow me, come down the path,
The path, the path along the wood. (ll. 761–62, vdB 1835)

59 Eglal Doss-Quinby, Samuel N. Rosenberg, and Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Old French Ballette: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308* (Geneva: Droz, 2006), 330.

EXAMPLE 10.3

Le Jeu de Robin et Marion, vv. 761–62

8
Ve-nés a - prés moi, ve - nés le sen-te - le, Le sen-te - le, le sen-te - le, lés le bos.

While this phrase does not exist elsewhere, it is more repetitive than most of the insertions. It is also both very general in terms of character and location, and stereotypical of the endings of *pastourelles*, in which either the knight or the shepherd often leads Marion into the woods for some hanky-panky.

There are thus at least two very different types of “refrain” in Adam’s *Jeu*. One functions as part of short internally repetitive forms, creating self-contained songs, often incorporating dialogue, that appear throughout the play. Others are independent and have more of the fragmentary, circulating character of the intertextual refrain. “Bergeronete, touché basselette” functions in both ways, possibly bringing with it connotations of other contexts, but also repeating to create small song forms. The fact that many of the “unique” refrains identified by Boogaard, and other insertions that are not identified as such, share musical material with other melodic sections in the *Jeu* suggests that at least some of the melodies originate in the *Jeu*. If these “songs” are newly composed works, rather than borrowed refrains as we expect in interpolated works, this must necessarily change our approach to the role of music in the work. Refrains are not only a location of intertextual reference or citation, but work to dramatize dialogue and to unify passages of the drama.

The varying functions of musical insertions also illuminate the connection of the *Jeu* to the *pastourelle* genre. Just as in *pastourelles*, the music of these “songs” is repetitive, though it often represents the voices of two speakers in dialogue. The alternation of stanza and changing refrains suggests an experiment not only with the typical content of the *pastourelle* but also with the familiar forms of the *pastourelle avec des refrains*, *pastourelles à refrains*, and *pastourelle-ballette*. Jacques Chailley asserts that the use of *refrains-centons* is part of the *Jeu*’s *filiation formelle* with the *pastourelle*; both genres incorporate refrains in similar ways, so Adam’s use of existing refrains is part of his imitation of his source genre. Chailley is concerned primarily with the formal relationships (meter, rhyme, etc.) between the *refrains-centons* and the surrounding drama, rather than with the relationship between refrains.⁶⁰ My analysis of the

60 Chailley, “La nature musicale,” 112–13. For more on the patterns of use of refrains in *pastourelles*, see Susan M. Johnson, “The Role of the Refrain in the Pastourelles à Refrain,” in *Literary and Historical Perspectives of the Middle Ages*, ed. Patricia Cummins, Patrick W.

variety of strategies Adam employs toward integrating musical insertions suggests that the *Jeu* parallels not only the general use of refrains in the *pastourelle*, but also the diversity and complexity of refrain use across the repertory of the lyric *pastourelle*.

Adam's *Jeu* is generally seen as a relatively isolated experiment; it was the first dramatic work of its kind, in the vernacular and incorporating musical insertions. But if we see Adam's experiment more generally as a kind of "composing-out" of a popular musical-textual genre, exploring its themes and its musical-formal characteristics, it is possible to view the *Jeu* as part of a wider trend. Judith Peraino's discussion of Jacquemart Gielée's *Renart le Nouvel* provides an analogy. In Peraino's reading, the use of musical interpolations in *Renart le Nouvel*, a work that shared the *Jeu's arrageois* literary context, "can be heard as part of a larger musical composition." She asserts that some strings of consecutive refrains seem to be related, forming miniature ABA and other patterns, so that even refrains that are not melodically stable between manuscripts create segments that are tonally coherent. Peraino points out that the reading in *RenartF* alters some of the refrains to create greater tonal coherence, and that the sort of overall melody that results does not contain the kind of exact repetition found in *rondeaux* or troubadour *chanson*, but instead bears comparison to the pieces designated *motet enté*, and to polyphonic motets.⁶¹ If *Renart le Nouvel* is, musically, a sort of *motet enté* writ large, then perhaps Adam's *Jeu* is a *pastourelle* on a larger scale, formally as well as thematically. Unlike refrains in *Renart*, those in the *Jeu* do include the substantial exact repetition one might expect in a refrain form. They also consist largely of dialogue, either between Marion and the knight, Aubert, or between Robin and Marion. In this, too, they mirror *pastourelles* as a genre, which often include strophic texts that alternate speakers. The use of drama as the vehicle for Adam's experiment can thus be seen not as an outlier, but as a natural way of amplifying the *pastourelle's* generic characteristics; the association of these texts with each other and with Arras also suggests that this kind of experimentation with generic amplification might have a place as part of our picture of the *arrageois* literary community.⁶²

Conner, and Charles W. Connell (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 1982), 78–92.

61 Judith A. Peraino, "Et pui conmencha a canter: Refrains, Motets, and Melody in the Thirteenth-Century Narrative *Renart Le Nouvel*," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 6 (1997): 1–16 at 2.

62 For more details on the connections between these works and the literary milieu of Arras, see Carol Symes's chapter in this volume. See also Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The*

Such an approach to reading both *Renart le Nouvel* and the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* may have implications for other contemporary interpolated romances, such as *Guillaume de Dole* and the *Roman de Violette*. These very similar works could analogously be interpreted as narrative amplification of narrative lyric genres such as the *chanson de toile* – both include characters who are introduced through refrains that evoke these genres, and seem to embody the expectations created by the lyric, and further analysis of these romances may reveal formal similarities between the lyric and romance works.⁶³ Works like *Renart le Nouvel* and Jean Renart's *Guillaume de Dole* are typically studied as narrative works to which musical insertions have been added, with more or less success.⁶⁴ The *Jeu de Robin et Marion* is not always included in these studies, because its status as a dramatic work is seen as fundamentally different from the narrative works. But reading all of these works as textually and formally generated from refrains and their connotative associations can transform our understanding of this literature, and emphasize their similarities in strategy as well as their differences.⁶⁵ If musical associations are not incidental but central to the creation of longer works, further musical studies of these works and their lyric correlates are necessary. It is crucial for our understanding of Adam's adaptation and innovation around the genre of the *pastourelle* that we examine the ways in which his play both draws upon and differs from lyric *pastourelles*, musically as well as textually. The voice of the shepherdess Marion is especially important to the perception of the *Jeu* as a large-scale *pastourelle*, as her opening *rondeau* followed by an independent refrain sets up the formal pattern of repetitive refrain forms alternating with independent refrains. The role of Marion and her voice is also one of the primary locations of disjunction between the lyric *pastourelle* and the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, and thus Marion's voice and her use of refrains call for particular attention.

Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 64–74 and Symes, *A Common Stage*, 272–74.

- 63 For my consideration of the role of refrains in these works, see Anna Kathryn Grau, "Representing 'Women's Songs' in Stories: Lyric Interpolations and Female Characters in Guillaume de Dole and the Roman de La Violette," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 27 (2011): 33–44.
- 64 On the tradition of lyric insertion in Old French narrative literature, see: Sylvia Huot, "Voices and Instruments in Medieval French Secular Music: On the Use of Literary Texts as Evidence for Performance Practice," *Musica Disciplina* 43 (1989): 63–113; Jacqueline Cerquiglini, "Pour Une Typologie de L'insertion," *Perspectives Médiévales* 3 (1977): 9–14; Maureen Barry McCann Boulton, *The Song in the Story: Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction, 1200–1400* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).
- 65 Dane, *Res/verba*, 100–101.

4 Marion's Voice

Perhaps the musical insertion that most clearly mimics the deployment of refrains in lyric *pastourelles* follows Marion's opening rondeau. The line "Hé! Robin, se tu m'aimes, / Par amours, maine m'ent" (vv. 11–12, vdB 871), in the voice of the shepherdess, is typical of songs reported in direct discourse at the end of the first stanza of a lyric *pastourelle*. The shepherdess is frequently encountered while she is singing alone, often about Robin or another absent lover. Marion's short lyric here is more typical of these quoted songs than is the full *rondeau* she opens with. Marion's "refrain," unique to the *Jeu*, immediately follows the knight's "Je me repairoie" opening (also unique), which interrupted her singing at the end of the *rondeau*. The knight interrupts Marion's second song to greet her, and then repeats her song back to her, asking why she sings this song.

The knight's move, which allows the repetition of the refrain to appear logically in the narrative, is a common rhetorical technique of the *pastourelle à refrains*. Susan Johnson observes that *pastourelles* tend to have fairly stable conventions regarding the use of refrains; in classic *pastourelles*, the first refrain is usually the shepherdess's song, the song she is singing for herself and that the knight overhears. The refrain begins the action, and explanation or adaptation of the refrain often becomes the goal of the poem, and brings the encounter to an end. In many *pastourelles*, the shepherdess's song is repeated back to her by the knight, who asks her to explain it:

Je la saluoie,
 Leiz li seoir m'aloie,
 Se li demandai en riant,
 "Belle, por c'alezi dixant,
 'Teirlire un don,
 Robeson,
 Musairs viennent et musais vont,
 Teirelire un don tridon."

I greeted her,
 went to sit beside her,
 and asked her with a smile,
 "Pretty one, why do you keep saying,
 'Teirelire don,
 Robeson,

*Fools come and fools go,
Teirelire un don tridon.*" (vv. 9–16)⁶⁶

The male character thus co-opts the song he has heard sung by the female character, and the explanation of the refrain becomes the organizing force for the rest of the poem.⁶⁷

In the opening scene of the *Jeu*, this stereotyped situation, including textual and musical repetition, is dramatized and compressed. The knight's introduction is a condensed version of the opening premise of a *pastourelle*, followed by Marion's typical refrain about Robin. The next five lines of spoken dialogue function like a second stanza in a *pastourelle à refrains*, ending with the knight's repetition of Marion's refrain. However, Adam's shepherdess does not allow explanation of the refrain to become the guiding principle of the story; she explains herself briefly, but then takes control of the narrative and avoids the resolution of the story through the explanation or altering of the refrain, just as she avoids typical resolution of the plot. The *Jeu* parodies the lyric *pastourelle* by clearly signaling what Dane calls Adam's "generating text" in these lyric insertions, while creating a version of the essential *pastourelle* character who does not play according to the rules of the genre.⁶⁸

The resistance of Marion and her voice to the standard narrative of the *Jeu* is among the most important innovations in Adam's treatment of the *pastourelle*, an innovation that is driven largely by the role of musical insertions in the play. Most readings see Marion as more competent and clever than the other characters, and she has the largest role in the play. By the time the knight disappears at v. 380, he has only delivered eighty-four lines to Marion's one hundred and seventy. As we have seen, the first scene opens not with the *je* of the knight, but with the *me* of the shepherdess, Marion. It is not until after Marion, her lover, and their relationship are firmly established by the *rondeau* that we hear the knight singing his typical opening. Her refusal to react to the knight's advances as expected, by repeating or adapting her refrain, further draws attention to her disruption of one of the most defining characteristics of the lyric *pastourelle*: the role of the knight-narrator.⁶⁹ The opening of the play

66 Text and translation from Paden, *The Medieval Pastourelle*, 265, no. 100.

67 Johnson, "The Role of the Refrain," 78–92.

68 Dane, *Res/verba*, 104. Dane suggests that the refrain texts violate the meaning of the action, revealing the *pastourelle* to be meaningless. He also claims that "Marion is the unchanging repetitive refrain," but does not discuss Marion's turn away from refrain repetition. *Ibid.*, 111.

69 Zink, *La pastourelle*, 29.

with Marion's *rondeau* is the first sign of a privileging of the shepherdess's voice that challenges the typical foregrounding of the *chevalier* and complicates the identification of any individual character with the poet.⁷⁰

Throughout the knight's role in the play, his identity and prominence are challenged. His language and courtliness are not impressive to Marion, but are undermined by her misunderstanding of his courtly language: she repeats his words back to him, but always interprets them through the lens of a peasant vocabulary, even declaring that she doesn't know what a "chevalier" is ("Je ne sai que chevalier sont." v. 60). In his attempt to make conversation with the shepherdess, the knight asks if she has seen any "oiseil" (birds), referring to game birds he plans to hunt, but she responds with sightings of songbirds in the bushes. When he clarifies that he is looking for "âne" (ducks) she hears "âne," (donkeys). A request for "hairon" is interpreted as herrings instead of herons. The knight declares that he has been mocked ("gabés") well by this shepherdess (vv. 25–46). In each instance, Marion's misunderstanding both draws attention to the class difference between the two characters, and acts to frustrate the knight in his attempt at small talk.⁷¹

Marion then takes control of the conversation by initiating the next exchange: she asks him questions that suggest her ignorance regarding falconry, and her preference for Robin, his "musete," and his horse, which is gentler than the knight's (vv. 47–82). As in many lyric *pastourelles*, the shepherdess's commitment to her male counterpart is stated immediately, as she rebuffs the knight's advances. At this point, however, Marion's conversation with the knight takes a turn that leads to an abrupt departure from the model of the lyric *pastourelle*. Marion again asserts control over the conversation, and the drama, when she abruptly demands that the knight tell her his name ("coment vous apele on?" v. 82). Pastoral characters in lyric *pastourelles* are frequently given names taken from a stock set of identities, of which Robin and Marion are the most common. But it is virtually unheard of for the knight to be given a proper name. He is always represented as the first-person narrator, the anonymous *chevalier-poète*; to name him would distance the performer from the lyric *je*. In Adam's *Jeu*, however, the verbal dominance of Marion over the male characters extends to her demand that he name himself, putting her in a position of power, and making the knight into just another character like herself.

70 The *rondeau Robins m'aime* also appears as the motetus voice of a three-part motet. On this motet, see Dolores Pesce, "Beyond Glossing: The Old Made New in Mout Me Fu grief/Robin m'aime/Portare," in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 28–51.

71 This passage is discussed in a number of studies, including Dufournet, "Complexité et ambiguïté."

His surprise may be conveyed by the fact that he gives a one-word reply: “Aubert” (v. 81). The knight can no longer be identified with Adam; the *chevalier* has been divorced from the *poète*.⁷²

This destabilization of the knight’s role also extends to his musical representation. Like the knight’s vocabulary, even the knight’s music is altered and repeated back to him. As we have seen, Aubert’s introduction to the play comes through a musical insertion:

I was returning from the tournament,
And I found lovely Marion all alone. (vv. 9–10)

The melody of this insertion, which does not survive in any other extant appearances and is not identified as a refrain by Boogaard, is varied and repeated by Marion, at the end of their introductory conversation, immediately after she asks his name:

You are wasting your time, Sir Aubert.
I will never love anyone but my Robin. (vv. 83–84)

Marion demands the knight’s name, repeats it, and rhymes it with a version of the stock name of her shepherd lover, undermining the knight’s usual position as a generic *je* capable of identification with author and audience. The moment of disruption is emphasized by the use of a musical insertion, and one that recalls the knight’s fruitless attempt to insert himself as that generic *je* in his formulaic opening introduction. Marion has taken control of Aubert’s name, his language, and his music. Through her use of both text and melody, Marion diverts the plot from the expected *pastourelles à refrains* model that moves toward explanation or adaptation of the shepherdess’s refrain; she resists his repetition of her song and the narrative it implies and instead she co-opts the knight’s music.

The prominence of Marion’s voice is a striking departure from the approach Adam uses elsewhere, where his own authorial persona is more obviously central.⁷³ In Adam’s other dramatic work, the *Jeu de la feuillée*, there is a clear correspondence between the authorial voice and that of a particular character, one who bears the name of the author. In the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, on the

72 While the significance of this name is rarely discussed, a possible referent for “Aubert” is Aubert de Longueval, a familiar of Robert d’Artois and the host of an important tournament recounted in the *Roman du Hem*.

73 On Adam’s projection of authorial persona, see Huot, “Transformations of Lyric Voice;,” Symes, *A Common Stage*, chap. 4; Saltzstein, *Refrain and the Rise*, chap. 4.

other hand, there is no obvious correspondence between the story and the life or milieu of its author. Unlike Adam's other works, this *jeu* has no "Adam," no clerical figure, no urban center or university. The urban bourgeois perspective with which Adam is so often associated is not represented by any figure in the play and the primary characters – a knight, a woman, and a shepherd – bear little resemblance to the author.

Sylvia Huot suggests that drama is the last stage in Adam's evolution toward a type of literary "polyphony." While lyric is generally "monophonic," Huot sees a progression in the development of lyric persona from the alternating first- and third-person stanzas of some lyrics to the polyphony of the motet and finally to the dramatic works. She argues that Adam's experimentation first with the genre of the motet, and then with drama, allows him to work toward "polyphony."⁷⁴ While Huot does not include *Robin et Marion* in her discussion, the ambiguity around Marion's level of naiveté contributes to the sense that the work is polyphonic, that there is no single controlling perspective. This is a major area of contrast with the *chevalier-poète* of the lyric *pastourelle* tradition, where the voice of the shepherdess is only present as discourse reported, ventriloquized by the *chevalier-poète* who remains in control of the narrative.⁷⁵ Adam's "dramatization" of a "dramatic" song is thus not simply a change of venue, but a revolutionary move in terms of the representation of the voice. The reported dialogue of the *chanson* is made truly polyphonic; the shepherdess not only speaks her own words, but breaks out of the linguistic control of the knight/poet to speak for herself.⁷⁶

5 Conclusion

The *Jeu* positions its author as connected to and exemplary of the *arrageois* literary culture, perhaps as successor to Jehan Bodel: Carol Symes suggests that

⁷⁴ Huot, "Transformations of Lyric Voice."

⁷⁵ Jones, "Rape of the Rural Muse," 265. Jones points out that while the knight takes the woman's body, the poet also takes her voice. Butterfield discusses the role of this kind of quoted discourse as both represented and representing in Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 130.

⁷⁶ Verbal transgression, attempts at verbal control and berating of male characters is typical of the portrayal of women in thirteenth-century French literature, in which vocal behavior is an important element in the description of gender difference. Repetitive musical vocabulary seems to be associated with loquacious female vocal behavior. On the repetitive character of female-voice song, see my dissertation: Anna Kathryn Grau, "Representation and Resistance: Female Vocality in Thirteenth-Century France," (Ph.D. diss, University of Pennsylvania, 2010).

“perhaps [Adam] saw himself as Jehan’s artistic apostle, composing in some of the styles and formats the former had pioneered in Arras, and offering his own innovations.”⁷⁷ Bodel’s legacy was particularly tied to the history of the *pastourelle*; he is thought to have composed some of the first examples in French.⁷⁸ In addition to his *fabliaux*, Bodel produced a dramatic work (the *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*), his *Congés*, likely a model for Adam’s *Congé*, and five lyric pieces – all *pastourelles*. Bodel’s varied *pastourelles* reveal experimentation with the variety of effects possible within the genre, including the integration of *bergerie* elements and the use of stock names: “Les un pin verdant,” a *pastourelle à refrains*, has a repetitive melody (AABB’C) and a text that features an unnamed shepherdess and her lover Robin, a gang of shepherd friends, and a knight who both observes and propositions. Many other *pastourelles* that share these features, including all extant examples of *bergeries*, appear to have origins in and around Arras.⁷⁹ Saltzstein argues that Adam depicted himself as a “reluctant trouvère,” who would prefer a more scholarly life and was most interested in clerical literary models.⁸⁰ But to fully demonstrate his mastery of *arrageois* poetry and his status as Bodel’s successor, Adam could not neglect the genre of the *pastourelle*, despite the fact that he does not seem to have been drawn to the lyric form.

While he does not present a clear authorial figure within the *Jeu*, Adam’s self-positioning as cleric, trouvère and Artesian is crystallized by the parodic play, which may have been one of his last works. The prominence of Marion in the *Jeu* alters the presentation of the authorial voice, and moves it away from the knight, perhaps into the audience. But Adam’s authorial persona is visible – or audible – in the ways he responds to *arrageois* traditions and models, as he takes on a genre associated with his great predecessor and attempts similar innovation in the genre. The amplification of the *pastourelle* model – its characters, plot elements, formal hybridity and use of refrains – does not seem to have been a simple, nostalgic entertainment for the troops. Adam’s parodic approach to the genre – the comic surplus of *pastourelle* elements, the resistance of Marian to the usual course of things, the clerical idea

77 Symes, *A Common Stage*, 274.

78 Christine Jacob-Hugon, *L’œuvre jongleresque de Jean Bodel: l’art de séduire un public* (Bruxelles: De Boeck Université, 1998), 270–72; Foulon, *L’œuvre de Jehan Bodel*, 2:150.

79 Smith, *Medieval French Pastourelle*, 104. On Arras as a literary community, see also Symes, *A Common Stage*; Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, chap. 8; Adrian Armstrong and Sarah Kay, *Knowing Poetry: Verse in Medieval France from The Rose to the Rhétoriciens* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), chap. 6. On codicological details of other manuscripts that suggest emphasis on the locations of Arras and Champagne, and links between them, see Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love*, 127–54.

80 Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, chap. 3 and 4.

of female vocality – may indicate something of Adam’s “reluctance” to identify fully as a trouvère. The parodic tone of *Robin et Marion*, its use of refrains, and the subversive behavior of Marion, all contribute to the play’s role in Adam’s oeuvre, and to his self-positioning in relation to his identities as cleric, trouvère, and master of his *arrageois* literary heritage.

Friends and Foals: The Polyphonic Music of Adam de la Halle

Mark Everist

1 The Polyphonic Music

It might be thought that Adam de la Halle's output of polyphonic music would be liminal to the oeuvre of an artist best known for his plays, *chansons*, and *jeux-partis*. The evidence shows, however, that not only do Adam's polyphonic *rondeaux* and motets form part of a network of intertextual reference that underpins his entire output, but also that his polyphony stands at the center of this network. It is an indispensable element in understanding the poet, the composer, and his cultural and artistic achievement.

It is therefore surprising that so little attention has been given to Adam's polyphonic music.¹ While many of his sixteen *rondeaux* and five motets have been brought into discussions of other genres, there has never been a systematic account of this part of the repertory.² This is especially strange since Adam's author corpus preserved in fr. 25566 categorizes his works explicitly giving equal weight to his polyphony as to any other genre (folio numbers in parentheses):

Les cancons Adan de la Hale (10–23v)

Les partures Adan (23v–32v)

Li rondel Adan (32v–34v)

Li motet Adan (34v–37v)

Le jus du pelerin (37v–39)

Center of Author Corpus

Li gieus de Robin et de Marion (39–49)

1 Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaker's pathbreaking work on Adam de la Halle (*Œuvres complètes du trouvère Adam de la Halle (poésies et musique)* (Paris: Durand and Pédone-Lauriel, 1872)) contains accounts of both *rondeaux* and motets (lxix–lxxiv).

2 There has been a critical edition of Adam de la Halle's works since 1967: Nigel Wilkins, ed., *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle (Chansons, jeux partis, rondeaux, motets)*, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* 44, 2nd ed. (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology; Hänssler, 1984).

- Le jeu de la Feuillée (49–59v)
 Le Roy du Sezile (59v–65)
 Li vers d'amours (65–66v)
 Li congies Adan (66v–67v)³

The rubrics in fr. 25566 both point to the equal significance of all the genres in the manuscript and show how the *compilatio* of the manuscript sets up an opposition between the musico-poetic works in the first half of the author corpus and the plays and other works in the second. Fol. 39 is the center point of this part of the manuscript with musical and (mostly) non-musical works flanking the *Jus du pelerin*.

Within Adam's works, the musical compositions are arranged generically: *grands chants* are followed by *jeux-partis*; *rondeaux* are followed by motets. Some see this arrangement as being made "in ascending order of difficulty."⁴ This is certainly true in musical terms: polyphonic works follow monophonic ones, and the more complex motets follow the simpler *rondeaux*. But priority is given to the *aristocratisant grand chant*, whereas the *rondeaux* and motets, whose texts veer towards the *popularisant*, are placed at the end. The dramatic works follow, and the corpus is concluded by strophic narrative. The musical and non-musical sections of the author corpus are approximately the same length, and in terms of the number of folios the *Jeu du pèlerin* assumes a central position in this pattern. This work may not be by Adam, and may have been written, or at least adapted, specifically for this book; its relationship to the *Jeu de Robin et de Marion* that follows, unique to this manuscript transmission of the text, is reinforced by its final line which only rhymes with the first line of the first song of the *Robin et Marion* play that follows immediately.⁵ In the *Jus du pèlerin*, Adam moves from being the author of the lyric works to becoming the protagonist – a role fully developed in the *Jeu de la feuillée*. At the same

3 This list replaces the one in Mark Everist, "The Polyphonic *Rondeau* c.1300: Repertory and Context," *Early Music History* 15 (1996): 59–96, 70, which is marred by an inexplicable printing error. For an argument that Jehan Bodel's *Jeu de Saint Nicholas* should be included as the final item, see Carol Symes, "Repeat Performances: Jehan Bodel, Adam de la Halle, and the Re-Usable Past of Their Plays," in *Collections in Context: The Organization of Knowledge and Community in Europe*, ed. Karen Fresco and Anne D. Hedeman (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2011), 275–87, and Chapter 1 of this book.

4 Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 68.

5 *Ibid.*, 70 (from where most of the ideas in this paragraph are also taken). The suggestion that these lines were part of the conjunction of these two texts in this manuscript alone was made in Ernest Langlois, ed., *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion par Adam le Bossu, trouvère artésien du xiii^e siècle* (Paris: Thorin, 1896), 76–82.

time, the plays dramatize the shift from the Pastoral (*Le Jeu de Robin et de Marion*) to the Bourgeois (*Le Jeu de la feuillée*) to the Courtly (*Le Roi de Sezile*).

Although sources for Adam's five motets beyond fr. 25566 are varied, some particular sections of motet manuscripts – the last two fascicles of *Mo* in particular – have close connections with Adam's polyphonic works. Three of Adam's motets (the only three that exist outside fr. 25566) are found in the main portion of the seventh fascicle of *Mo*. Furthermore, four of the *rondeaux* share *refrains* with motets, three of which are in the seventh and one in the eighth fascicle of *Mo*. Adam's motet, *Entre Adan et Hanikiel* (725) / *Chies bien seans* (726) / *Aptatur* (O 45), shares features with six other motets. Of the four pieces that identify names in their opening formulations, three are found in fascicle seven of *Mo* and the remaining two other works that share certain features to be explained below are both preserved in the eighth fascicle of the same manuscript. Adam seems to be either drawing on material, or sharing, with a particularly narrow chronological *stratum* of the motet tradition, one that is Parisian rather than *arrageois* in nature. There is a single exception, and that concerns the tradition into which Adam reverts for his tenor models, and here – quite strikingly – he can be seen going back to the *corpus ancien* of *Mo* and in a single case even earlier.

Sources for Adam's sixteen *rondeaux* beyond fr. 25566 are simpler to explain. Four of the *rondeaux* are also found in *k* among a collection of three-voice works for which none of the musical notation was ever entered: nos 7, 8, 12 and 14.⁶ The works constitute an erratic selection and are not even presented in the same order as in fr. 25566. And although the collection in *k* has been the subject of some attention in terms of its place in the *compilatio* of the volume, it also poses some questions of authorship for the polyphonic *rondeau* in general and for those of Adam in particular.

A second additional source for Adam's *rondeaux* which has received little attention is a single leaf now contained in the collection of fragments, *CaB*.⁷ These have been known to contain the first four of Adam's *rondeaux* in the same order as they occur in fr. 25566. Just as interesting is the fact – known at least since 1872 – that the four *rondeaux* are preceded by the sixth and seventh

6 The implications of the unnotated *rondeaux* in *k* is explored for the *rondeau* repertory as a whole in Everist, "Polyphonic *Rondeau*."

7 The section of *CaB* devoted to the four polyphonic *rondeaux* by Adam has little to do with the rest of the manuscript, for which see Irmgard Lerch, *Fragmente aus Cambrai: ein Beitrag zur Rekonstruktion einer Handschrift mit spätmittelalterlicher Polyphonie*, Göttinger Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten 11, 2 vols. (Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 1987), which supersedes previous accounts of the subject.

stanzas of Adam's last *jeu-parti*, "Avoir cuidai engané le marchié."⁸ With the exception of the Latin lyric, "Adest dies hec tertia" which is preserved in fr. 25566 as an addendum, Adam's *jeu-parti* "Avoir cuidai" immediately precedes the collection of *rondeaux* in both fr. 25566 and *CaB*. It seems inescapable that *CaB* is a fragment of an author corpus similar to fr. 25566 which includes the end of the *jeu-parti* and the beginning of the *rondeau* collections, one which chooses to ignore the Latin song that separates *jeu-parti* and *rondeau* in fr. 25566. Given that *CaB* preserves a quarter of the repertory, it is equally inescapable that the *rondeau* collection was very similar to the sixteen works in fr. 25566, and probable that the original manuscript included all the *jeux-partis*. Whether this putative manuscript included *chansons* and motets is impossible to tell, although given the structure of fr. 25566, it is likely; to what extent it included the non-musical parts of the author corpus moves into the realm of speculation. Even within the single leaf that survives of this mostly lost author corpus is material that permits a greater understanding of Adam's output, most strikingly a radically different version of his *rondeau* "Li dous regars," which presents the only example of two polyphonic settings of the same *rondeau* text apparently by the same composer.

So if fr. 25566 and *CaB* represent a complete author *corpus* of Adam's work and a fragment of a similar manuscript respectively, the third main source that encompasses all genres of Adam's polyphony is strangely a source largely for monophony. The so-called Vatican *chansonnier*, Vat. Reg. lat. 1490, figures in discussions of almost all parts of Adam's polyphonic oeuvre: the middle voice of Adam's polyphonic *rondeau* "Dame or sui" is found as a fully notated monody in the manuscript; the *motetus* of his motet J'os bien a m'amie (198) / Je n'os a amie (199) / In seculum (M 13) is found there without notation; the *refrain* used in another of Adam's motets, J'ai adès d'amours (35) / Omnes (M 1), forms the basis of a monophonic *rondeau* in Vat. Reg. lat. 1490 – this time surviving without notation. Two of the *rondeaux* in the collection that is so closely related to Adam's, *k*, have concordances in Vat. Reg. lat. 1490, and one of the motets from which Adam may have borrowed a tenor pattern, Amoureuement me tient li maus que j'ai (9) / Hé! Amours (10) / Omnes (M 1), is also found in the same manuscript; here, however, it is laid out as a three-voice motet including an incipit for the tenor, although again there is no notation.

The *ordinatio* of Adam's *chansons* and – to a lesser extent – his *jeux-partis* has been examined with some care.⁹ The polyphony has been left to one side

8 Coussemaker, *Œuvres complètes*, xxxiv.

9 John Stevens, "The Manuscript Presentation and Notation of Adam de la Halle's Courtly Chansons," in *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. Ian Bent (London: Stainer and Bell, 1981), 29–64; this article should be

in this regard. Even in the case of Adam's *rondeaux* – which present relatively few difficulties in terms of layout – there are differences in format from one source to another. In fr. 25566, the *rondeaux* are set out in double columns with the notated *refrain* preceding the rest of the poem (the *residuum*) which is left without notation but with cues for the repetition of the *refrain*. This pattern is followed closely in the four *rondeaux* in *CaB* and, it may be reasonably assumed, would have continued throughout the rest of the collection. The other major source for Adam's *rondeaux*, *k*, lays them out very differently: the staves for the three-voice music are laid out in a single line rather than in two columns, and the *residuum* is given at the end of the line after the staves rather than on the next line.

The motets are displayed in a very different way. In the seventh and eighth fascicles of *Mo*, the upper voices are deployed in left and right columns of the same page with the tenor running across the bottom; this is different to the motets in the *corpus ancien* of the same manuscript where the upper voices appear on opposite sides of the same opening. In fr. 25566, the scribe seems to have been aiming for an *ordinatio* similar to that found in the seventh and eighth fascicles of *Mo*, but has had to adapt his methods to accommodate starting his motet group straight after the *rondeaux* and ending it apparently just before the *Jeu du pèlerin*. This means that the three central motets in the collection of five are laid out in ways that work in exactly the same way as in the seventh and eighth fascicles of *Mo*. The first and last, however, differ.

The presentation of the first of Adam's motets in the collection, *A Dieu comant amouretes* (835) / *Adam se sont loé* (834) / *Super te* (U.I.), is inseparable from the way in which the *rondeau* "Dieu soit en cheste maison" is displayed (Figure 11.1).

The music¹⁰ of the *rondeau* occupies the entire left-hand column, and the poetic *residuum* is given at the top of the right-hand column. But above the *residuum* is the rubric which introduces Adam's motets: "Li motet Adan." The *triplum* of the motet then follows with the beginning of the tenor on the last line of the right-hand column; not a note of the *motetus* is given on this *verso*. The following *recto* contains the end of the *triplum*, followed by the *motetus* with the rest of the tenor running across the bottom staff of the page.

read in combination with Stevens, "La grande chanson courtoise: The *Chansons* of Adam de la Halle," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 101 (1974): 11–30.

10 The tenor "Super te" was identified by Catherine A. Bradley as an excerpt from Epiphany responsory, "Illuminare illuminare Iherusalem" in an article that appeared after this chapter was completed. See "Choosing a Thirteenth-Century Motet Tenor: From the *Magnus liber organi* to Adam de la Halle," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 72 (forthcoming, 2019). I am grateful to Professor Bradley for the detail of this relationship before publication.



FIGURE 11.1 Fr. 25566, fol. 34v

Effectively, *A Dieu commant amouretes* (835) / *Adam se sont loé* (834) / *Super te* (U.I.) is copied successively, like motets in some of the oldest manuscripts of the genre.

The *ordinatio* of the last two motets might go some way to clarifying not only the layout of this part of fr. 25566 but also the presence of the otherwise idiosyncratic *J'ai adès d'amours* (35) / *Omnes* (M 1) (Figure 11.2).

The first six staves give the *tripulum* and motetus of *J'os bien a m'amie* (198) / *Je n'os a amie* (199) / *In seculum* (M 13), on the left- and right-hand columns

Chies bien manie apuier les son ma
 ri et tuler et acoler de coste li i lui
 cor jalous clamer. Voïov aussi et
 vos ce se maison enfermer. et vous
 mes bons de maniere adueuer. et
 le nul am faire musier
 Equilyn
 Ai nées canours chaner et serui
 en bon espoir ma dame et li ai guer
 pi pour li amour et cole amis et a
 Omnes.

E nos a manie alet pour son ma
 ri que il ne se puidt de nu garder don
 ner carie ne me plus garder de cost
 re li de son tel maner regarder car
 entie amie et ami amens font a
 cheler li mal damer
 uou est che touz dois hamours
 mi laissent neud uou
 L'ans dn plern.

FIGURE 11.2 Fr. 25566, fol. 37r

respectively. The tenor is given on the seventh staff, running across the two columns; there is every indication that the staff across two columns was ruled in a single stroke, in other words, that it was going to carry the tenor was planned in advance. What is curious is the music on the eighth staff: this is the conclusion of the tenor of the *previous* motet: Entre Adan et Hanikiel (725) / Chies bien seans (726) / Aptatur (O 45). Again the staff-line runs across both columns, but only the first half is required to complete the tenor.

This leaves four stave-lines only for an entire motet; Adam's choice of a two-part motet means that the *motetus* can occupy the first three stave lines of the four – separated into two columns – and the tenor can occupy the final stave of the page. The rubric for *Li ius du pelerin* at the foot of the page almost seems to be bustling the motet off the stage to make room for the new text. But it does leave open the possibility that the Adam closed his motet collection with a two-part work just to make it fit the available manuscript space, and if so this suggests that Adam's composition of these motets and their copying must have been very closely associated.

Although the ligatures of the *rondeaux* in fr. 25566 clearly align themselves with the practices outlined in the treatise *Ars cantus mensurabilis*,¹¹ there remain several problems with the alternation of *longae* and *breves* in the *rondeau* section of the manuscript. While they may be considered scribal lapses (and have been by editors), these types of error in such a competently-produced manuscript are puzzling, but may be understood in terms of a scribe familiar with contemporary (Franconian) notation in the context only of copying in parts rather than in score (as in motets), and hence disorientated by the novel combination of format and notation in the *rondeau* section of fr. 25566. The only sorts of analogies – where score format and mensural notation are found together – are those sources for the *conductus* and *organum* copied at the end of the thirteenth century where unmeasured notations are updated to take account of mensural, and often Franconian, developments.¹²

11 Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles, eds., *Franconis de Colonia Ars cantus mensurabilis*, *Corpus scriptorum de musica* 18 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1974); Robert Todd Scott, "Franco of Cologne's *Ars cantus mensurabilis*: Complete Critical Edition, with Commentary, Translation, *Index verborum*, and *Loci paralleli*" (PhD diss., Boston University, 1999).

12 See Mark Everist, "Reception and Recomposition in the Polyphonic *Conductus cum cauda*: The Metz Fragment," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 125 (2000): 135–63, 151 and 159, together with the sources and literature cited there. Arguments surrounding the date and authorship of *Ars cantus mensurabilis* remain without resolution. While thirteenth-century sources vacillate between an attribution to Franco of Cologne and Johannes de Burgundia, modern views of the dating of the treatise range from the early 1260s (Michel Huglo, "De Francon de Cologne à Jacques de Liège," *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 34 (1980–81): 44–60; Huglo, "La notation franconienne: antécédents et devenir," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 31 (1988): 123–32; Huglo, "Recherches sur la personne et l'œuvre de Francon," *Acta Musicologica* 71 (1999): 1–18) to the 1280s (Wolf Frobenius, "Zur Datierung von Francos *Ars cantus mensurabilis*," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 27 (1970): 122–27; Fritz Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 2 vols, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 4–5 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1967), ii:12–13 and 18–19; Max Haas, "Die Musiklehre im 13. Jahrhundert von Johannes de Garlandia bis Franco," in *Die mittelalterliche Lehre von der Mehrstimmigkeit*, ed. Frieder Zaminer, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie* 5 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), 90–159).

2 *Rondeaux: Traditions and Technical Resources*

Until the discovery of the *rondeaux* in *k*, Adam was thought to be the sole composer of the three-voice *rondeau*. Even now that his sixteen works in this genre have been contextualized more fully, his achievement in aligning what has always been assigned as a dance-song with the most learned counterpoint and notation is difficult to overestimate. His *rondeaux* sit at an important point in the history of the dance-song, a position that is critical to understand if his polyphonic music is to be correctly appreciated. Called variously *rondet*, *rondeau*, *rondel*, *carole*, it placed a *refrain* at the end of a single stanza and deployed part of the *refrain* in the center of the verse and often at the beginning as well, reusing the music from the *refrain* to set the remaining lines of the poetry. Adam's *rondeau* "Hé, Diex! Quant verrai" is a simple example and demonstrates how the genre functions (Example 11.1).

EXAMPLE 11.1 "Hé, Dieux! Quant verrai" – edition, poetry and translation

1,4,7. Hé, Diex! quant ver - rai 2,8. Che - li que j'aim?
 3. Cer - tes je ne sai
 5. De vir son cors gai 6. Muir tout de faim.

The *refrain* is found intact at the beginning and end of the lyric and consists of two lines: "Hé, Diex! Quant verrai / Cheli que j'aim?" (lines 1–2 and 7–8). Line 4 duplicates the text and music of the first line of the *refrain* while line 3 consists of new poetry set to the music of the first line of the *refrain*. Lines 5–6 set new poetry to the music of both lines of the *refrain*. If the same poetry and music is assigned an upper-case letter and new poetry with the music of the *refrain* is assigned a lower-case letter, the following structure results: ABaAabAB. This is what is known as a classic eight-line *refrain*.

Eight-line *rondeaux* dominate the repertory by the mid-to-late thirteenth century, and its main variant, the six-line *rondeau* – which simply omits the

opening statement of the *refrain* – represents a much earlier tradition; all the *rondeaux* in the *Roman de la rose ou de Guillaume de Dole* (?1228) are in this form, for example; the same applies to the three *rondeaux* in Henri d'Andeli's *Lai d'Aristote* (c. 1230). By the time of the two *rondeaux* copied in *Sone de Nansai* (1270–80), one is of six, the other of eight lines, and it would seem that by this time the eight-line *rondeau* had become the norm. In most *romance* contexts, this is indeed the case, but in there is one key exception that is of importance for Adam de la Halle: the six-line *rondeau* is found extensively in the earlier layers of the vernacular motet repertory – in the motet collections of *N-motet*, the fifth fascicle of *Mo* and perhaps in its sixth. The six-line *rondeau* is also found embedded in two *chansons* in Vat. Reg. lat. 1490. The fact that Adam's *rondeaux* are all eight-line specimens – as are all those in the closely-related *k* – bespeaks not only a late date but a lack of interest in the styles of the previous generation.

Looking more closely at Adam's *rondeaux* reinforces the point, since while all six-line *rondeaux* make use of a two-line *refrain*, eight-line *rondeaux* can use *refrains* of two, three, four and even more lines. Adam never makes use of a *refrain* of more than four lines, and in this is entirely in line with common practice at the end of the thirteenth century. His sixteen polyphonic *rondeaux* make use of all three types – *rondeau simple* (two-line *refrain*); *rondeau tercet* (three-line *refrain*) and *rondeau quatrain* (four-line *refrain*). The majority (nine) are *rondeaux simples* while three are *rondeaux tercets*. Although this hardly constitutes “many signs of formal experimentation,”¹³ the *rondeau quatrain* underpins three of the remaining *rondeaux*, but is treated in an irregular fashion as follows:

Rondeau 1. “Je muir, je muir d'amourete” is a *rondeau quatrain* but the first repeat of the music of the first two lines of the refrain (ABaABabAB) is a single line instead of the couplet that would normally be expected. This rare configuration is also found in a *rondeau* in the *Dit de la panthère d'amours*: “Soiez liez et menez joie,” by Nicole de Margival; this is a work that is difficult to date, but is probably from ca. 1300.¹⁴

13 Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 49 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 283.

14 *Ibid.*, 259 and 284.

Rondeau 9. “Or est Baiars” is also a *rondeau quatrain* that behaves very much like “Je muir, je muir d’amourete” in that the first repeat of the *refrain* is incomplete (but only omits the word “Hure!”).¹⁵

Rondeau 16. “Dieus soit en cheste maison” is a *rondeau quatrain* with two irregularities: (1) the first freely composed section of the *rondeau* (lines 5–8), which should be of two lines, is of four, which makes it impossible to sing to the first two lines of the *refrain*. The solution was to compose a C section for these four lines; (2) the newly-composed text lines after the central statement of the first two lines of the *refrain* (lines 11–16) are reversed, so that what should be the first have four lines and that what should be second have two. Thus the overall poetic structure is *ABaAbaAB*, coupled to extended ‘a’ sections that are furnished with new music (C) (Example 11.2).

The most striking poetic structure in Adam’s *rondeaux* is certainly *Rondeau* 4, “Fines amouretes,” which is clearly strophic with three stanzas. The first stanza is fully notated with the *refrain* at beginning and end, although the second statement is not completed (with “etc.”). The two stanzas that follow are written out as a *residuum* with the *refrain* given in truncated form. Trying to assign a generic category to this work is an exercise in futility.¹⁶ So, if Adam’s choice of verse structure is for the most part rational and consistent, much the same

15 Gaston Raynaud (*Recueil de motets français des xiiie et xiiiie siècles publiés d’après les manuscrits, avec introduction, notes, variantes, et glossaires*, Bibliothèque française du moyen âge (Geneva: Slatkine, 1974), 2:111) fails to establish the structure of the piece, but Wilkins (*Lytic Works*, 55) identifies it correctly.

16 Falck’s identification of “Fines amouretes” (*Grove Music Online*, s.v. “Adam de la Halle,” by Robert Falck, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>> [accessed 1 July 2015]) as a *virelai* has little to recommend it apart from the dubious authority of Gennrich (*Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen aus dem Ende des xii., dem xiii., und dem ersten Drittel des xiv. Jahrhunderts mit den überlieferten Melodien*, 3 vols [1] Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur 43 (Dresden: Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 1921); [2] Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur 47 (Göttingen: Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 1927); [3] (titled *Das altfranzösische Rondeau und Virelai im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*)] *Summa musicae medii aevi* 10 (Langen bei Frankfurt: n.p., 1963) 2:85), where he chastised Raynaud for not having recognized *den Bau der Ballade*). Nevertheless, this view is still duplicated in Lawrence Earp, “Lyrics for Reading and Lyrics for Singing in Late Medieval France: The Development of the Dance Lyric from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut,” in *The Union of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry*, ed. Rebecca A. Baltzer, Thomas Cable, and James I. Wimsatt (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 103. Nico H.J. van den Boogaard (*Rondeaux et refrains du xiiie siècle au début du xive: collationnement, introduction, et notes* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969), 159 and note) and Butterfield (*Poetry and Music*, 283) do little to clarify.

EXAMPLE 11.2 Text and analysis of “Dieus soit en cheste maison”

	Poetry	Music
Dieus soit en cheste maison	A	A
Et biens et goie a fuison		
Nos sire noveus	B	B
<i>Nous envie a ses amis</i>		
Chest as amoureux		
Et as courtois bien apris		
Pour avoir des pairesis	a	C
A nohelison		
<i>Dieus soit en cheste maison</i>	A	A
<i>Et biens et goie a fuison</i>		
Nos sires est teus		
Qu'il prieroit a envis	b	B
Mais as frans honteus		
Nous a en son lieu tramis		
Qui sommes de ses nouris	a	C
Et si enfançon		
<i>Dieus soit en cheste maison</i>	A	A
Et biens et goie a fuison		
Nos sire noveus	B	B

could be said of his thematic choices. All but two of the poems are based on the general themes and narrow vocabulary of courtly love.¹⁷ Two, especially given the very narrow lexical range of the *rondeau simple*, overlap quite strikingly (Example 11.3).

¹⁷ Myriam Calvo Luisier, “La estructura del rondó polifónico en Adam de la Halle,” *Revista de Filología Francesa* 3 (1993): 67–74, 71.

EXAMPLE 11.3 Comparison of texts of *rondeaux* 8 and 10

<i>Amours, et ma dame aussi,</i>	<i>A jointes mains vous proi,</i>
<i>Jointes mains vous proi merci</i>	<i>Douche dame, merci.</i>
Vo tres grant biauté mar vi,	Liés sui quant vous voi
Amours, et ma dame aussi,	<i>A jointes mains vous proi,</i>
Se n'avés pité de mi,	Aiiés merci de moi,
Vo très grans bontés mar vi	Dame, je vous en pri.
<i>Amours, et ma dame aussi,</i>	<i>A jointes mains vous proi,</i>
<i>Jointes mains vous proi merci</i>	<i>Douche dame, merci.</i>

The overlaps are generated by the choice of *refrain* in each case. The two *refrains* “Amours, et ma dame aussi” and “A jointes mains vous proi” effectively swap their first and second lines. Remarkably, this in turn draws attention to the fact that lines three and six in “Amours, et ma dame aussi” are identical, in a way that is entirely unconventional for an eight-line *rondeau*.

Now, this choice of literary register to control most of Adam’s *rondeaux* is entirely independent of the *pastourelle* which suffuses so much of the poetry of the motet repertory (although significantly not Adam’s motet output).¹⁸ This again brings into question the changing relationship between courtly poetry and both monophonic and non-metrical *grand chant*, and between the *pastourelle* and such polyphonic and metrical genres as the motet and the monophonic *rondeau*.¹⁹

18 This is another reason to treat with suspicion the additional motets edited by Wilkins (*Lyric Works*, 72–82) since En mai, quant rosier sont flouri (870) / L’autre jour, par un matin (871) / Hé! Resvelle toi! (U.I.) deploys two classic *pastourelles* in its two upper voices, in complete opposition to the registral control deployed in the motets securely attributed to Adam.

19 The question of register in the *rondeau* and related genres seems to underpin a move from the heavily *pastourelle*-influenced *rondeaux* of the *Roman de la rose ou de Guillaume de Dole* to the more courtly works from around 1300 and a little before. A good example of such a work from *Guillaume de Dole* is “Tout la gieus, sor rive mer, / *Compaignon, or dou chanter!* / Dames i ont bauz levez. / Mout ai le cuer gai. / *Compaignon, or dou chanter* / *En l’onor de mai*” (edited in van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains*, 30). A comparison between the poetry of Adam’s *rondeaux* and what must be their immediate contemporaries, the works in *k* are instructive. Here, at least two *rondeaux* are clearly touched by the aesthetic of the *pastourelle* in the way Adam’s are not. An example is: “*Toute seule passerai le vert boschage, / Puisque compaignie n’ai. / Se j’ai perdu mon ami par mon outrage / Toute seule passerai le vert boschage / Je le ferai a savoir par un message / Que je li amenderai /*

Against this entirely consistent panorama of poetic register are two striking landmarks. Significantly, “Or est Baiars” and “Dieus soit en cheste maison” are two of the irregular poetic structures among Adam’s *rondeaux*. The magic horse Bayard is one of the protagonists in the *roman chevalresque*: *La chanson des quatre fils Aymon*, or *Chanson de Renaud de Montauban*. Based on a Carolingian *chanson de geste*, the romance found its written form in the thirteenth century, and the characters, if not the tale itself, resonated throughout the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and right up to the present.²⁰ Both a means of transport for the four sons of Aymon and a totemic guardian of the hero, Renaud de Montauban, Bayard is eventually captured by Charlemagne together with his rider, Renaud. While Renaud agrees to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he also agrees to hand over Bayard to Charlemagne who attempts to drown the magic horse in the River Meuse. In one of the most thrilling moments of this 20,000-word romance, Bayard uses his hooves to break the millstone that has been attached to his neck, swims to the other side of the river and disappears into the Forest of the Ardennes and into a never-ending mythology. Adam’s *rondeau* parodies this end to the magic horse. The key lines in *les Quatre fils Aymon* are: “Or est Baiars en Meuse que to li mondes loe / Charles gardoit avant, au chief d’une grant gloe / Voit Baiart [desus l’ève qui par grant vertu noe] / La muele lert des piés, si [an] fait mainte escroe.” The *incipit* of Adam’s *rondeau* quotes the poem directly; “Or est Baiars en la pasture,” but positions him not as the magic horse roving freely through the Ardennes but as a pensioned-off equine in the pasture with two of his hooves missing their shoes. Far from being able to traverse valleys with a single leap, Bayard now can only manage to “porte souef l’ambleüre”;²¹ the generous protagonist of the *rondeau* poem must give him shelter on return from the field: “Avoir li ferai couverture / Hure! / Au repairier des pres.”

By contrast, “Dieus soit en cheste maison” is a sacred poem. Its single reference to anything remotely courtly is merely in a list of possible almsgivers (“No sires noveus / Nous envoie a ses amis; / Ch’est as amouereus / Et as courtois bien apris, / Pour avoir des pareisis / A nohelison.”), but the sacred thrust of the end

Toute seule passerai le vert boschage, / Puisque compaignie n’ai” (van de Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains*, 85)

20 The standard critical edition of the work remains Ferdinand Castets, ed., *La chanson des Quatre Fils Aymon, d’après le manuscrit La Vallière, avec introduction, description des manuscrits, notes au texte et principales variantes, appendice où sont complétés l’examen et la comparaison des manuscrits et des diverses rédactions* (Montpellier: Coulet, 1909).

21 “L’ambleüre” is a motion between a walk and a trot, alternately raising two legs on the same side of the animal, suitable for women and the feeble. It is also the normal movement for camels, giraffes and bears (*Trésor de la langue française*, “l’ambleüre,” <<http://atilf.atilf.fr>> [accessed 26 June 2015]).

of the poem is unequivocal (“No sires est teus / Qu’il prierait a envis, / Mais as frans honteus / Nous a en son lieu tramis, / Qui sommes de ses nouris / Et si enfancon.”). The number of sacred *rondeaux* in the repertory is tiny. Out of the 198 texts collected by van de Boogaard, there is only one, perhaps two, other(s). The other is “Dous Jhesus, pour vostre amour,” preserved in ms. Metz 535 which is now lost.²² “Dieus soit en cheste maison” is not perhaps as out of place in Adam’s *rondeau* collection as its unique qualities might suggest, since Adam also concludes his *chanson* collection with certainly one, if not two, sacred works. “Glorieuse virge Marie” permits only one – sacred – interpretative strategy, and is the last work in the collection; the penultimate *chanson*, “Ki a pucele u dame amee,” is not quite as explicit, but evokes images of salvation, repentance and the Blessed Virgin. “Dieus soit dans cheste maison” fulfils a similar role to these two works in the *rondeau* collection.

The musical profile of the *rondeaux* by Adam de la Halle has been described on several occasions. The rhythm of the note-against-note style is determined by straightforward modal patterns. Two types of text declamation are found: first, those where the poetry carefully follows the modal patterns of the music; second, those in which the declamation is slightly freer.²³ Nine examples of the former and seven of the latter are found. The degree to which each of these seven *rondeaux* departs from the modal norms of the genre varies from those works where variation is found at cadence-points only (“A Dieu commant amouretes”; “Or est Baiars”; “Diex comment porroie”) to the slightly more complex (“Trop desir”; “Bonne amourete”; “Tant con je vivrai”), with the most complex set of relationships found in “Dame or sui.”

“Dame or sui” is also found in a monophonic form in Vat. Reg. Lat. 1490, the melody is that of the middle voice of the polyphonic version, although there are melodic differences in the comparison of the two versions (Example 11.4). The fact that the pitches of the monody cannot be fitted to the polyphony is typical of cases where single voices of polyphonic compositions circulate independently.

22 Paul Meyer, “Notice du MS. 535 de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Metz renfermant diverses compositions pieuses (prose et vers) en français,” *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes Français* 12 (1886): 41–76, 65; van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains*, 64. Another *rondeau*, “Le dieu d’amours qui ne set dechevoir,” plays off Christ and the God of Love in a way that makes it difficult to align clearly with either Adam’s *rondeau* or the piece in Metz 535 (*ibid.*, 42–43).

23 An example of the freer, mixed-modal, type of declamation is discussed below, pp. 326–327.

EXAMPLE 11.4 “Dame or sui”: *rondeau* and *refrain*

W-trouv.
fol. 33v

a-trouv.
fol. 55v

Dame or sui tra - is Par l'o - coi - son

Dame or sui tra - is Par l'o - coi - son

De vos iex qui sont pri - vé la - ron.

De vos ieus qui sont pri - vé lar - ron.

“Dame, or sui” is a good example of the mixed-modal declamation found in Adam’s *rondeaux*. In some perfections, the declamation follows the mode II patterns of the musical superstructure whereas in others, the declamation is on the *longa perfecta*. In Example 11.4 are the *rondeau* from fr. 25566 and the monody from Vat. Reg. Lat. 1490. The monophonic version is transmitted in a rhythmically neutral notation, and this is reflected in the transcription. Clear differences exist in perfection 6 of the polyphony (the first two syllables of the word “l’ocoison”), where the ornamental differences spill over into a structural expansion of the range of the voice-part to *e*: the lowest pitch in the voice-part, the second lowest pitch in the piece, and in perfection 6 the lowest voice in the

polyphony. But in the notated version of the second statement of the *refrain* in Vat. Reg. Lat. 1490 (the song is notated in full there), the discrepant pitches *a-b* are replaced by a progression *e-f* that matches Adam's polyphony exactly; the difference may simply be a textual disturbance in the monody. The variants in the second half of the piece arise from a transposition of the monody up a step. There is no difficulty in identifying the melody shared by these two compositions.²⁴

A *rondeau* employs an intratextual *refrain*. It is usually found complete at the beginning and end of the composition and, in part, in the center. Its rhymes, line-lengths and melody control the remaining lines in the work. Many *refrains* that are matrices for *rondeaux* also survive in other contexts. These intertextual *refrains* may occur in romances, *chansons*, motets, or even written in the margins of manuscripts.²⁵ Sometimes they are preserved with music, sometimes not; if the melody is preserved, it may or may not correspond to other textual occurrences of the *refrain*. Exactly how various presentations of the *refrain* relate one to another, and specifically which version of a *refrain* gave rise to another, is often an open question.

Of the fourteen of Adam's *rondeaux* that may be considered here, ten (71%) use *refrains* that occur in other contexts; five of these recur with the same music and invite comparison. For the *rondeaux* in *k*, the picture is slightly different. Of the *refrains* in 35 surviving poems, only 15 (43%) are found in other contexts. Neither of the two works with notated concordances in Vat. Reg. Lat. 1490 (nos. 31 and 45 in Table 11.1) have *refrains* that are found elsewhere with music. Of the four concordances with fr. 25566, half are available for this type of comparison. The fact that the notation was not copied for the *rondeaux* in *k* becomes especially troublesome, and it is difficult to compare the functioning of *refrains* in this manuscript with that in fr. 25566.

Patterns emerge in tracing the transmission of *refrains* from one text or genre to another. In the case of Adam de la Halle's *rondeaux*, these are quite striking. In five of these works it is possible to compare both text and music of

24 For further examples of the relationship between text-declamation and rhythmic mode, see Mark Everist, "Souspirant en terre estrange': The Polyphonic Rondeau from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut," *Early Music History* 26 (2007): 1–42, 27–30.

25 The differences in function and presentation between intertextual and intratextual refrains are discussed in Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry and Genre*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music (1994; reprinted Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 54–66. It needs to be stressed, however, that this difference is not generic but functional. In other words, the same refrain (text and/or music) can behave intertextually (being present in two or more different poems) or intratextually within the same poem. The great value of this distinction is epistemological: the methods of identification of refrains are different for the two types.

TABLE 11.1 Adam's *rondeaux*, *refrains* and shared motets

No	Incipit	vdB	Observations
1	Je muir, je muir d'amourete	1074	1. Music of lines 1-2 = lines 3-4, and has effect on polyphony 2. Refrain in <i>Renart le nouvel</i> ; all four sources with three different melodies
2	Li dous regars de me dame	1229	Unique to <i>rondeau</i> ; but transposed up a step in <i>CaB</i> transmission
3	Hareu! Li maus d'amer	784	<i>Roman de la poire</i> (x2); <i>Renart le nouvel</i> (two different melodies); 2 motets with two different melodies
4	Fines amouretes ai	747	Unique to <i>rondeau</i>
5	A Dieu commant amouretes	12	<i>Rondeau</i> ; motet <i>duplum</i> in <i>Mo</i> (fasc VII) and fr. 25566
6	Fi maris, de vostre amour	746	<i>Rondeau</i> ; <i>Renart le nouvel</i> (two different melodies); motet in <i>Mo</i> (fasc VII) and Vat. Reg. Lat. 1543
7	Dame, or sui trais	430	<i>Rondeau</i> (inc. monody in Vat. Reg. lat. 1490; <i>Renart le nouvel</i>)
8	Amours et ma dame aussi	156	<i>Rondeau</i> ; <i>Renart le nouvel</i> (three melodies)
9	Or est Baiars	1445	Unique to <i>rondeau</i>
10	A jointes mains	80	<i>Rondeau</i> ; <i>Tournoi de Chauvency</i> ; <i>Dit in Fauvel</i> (melody transposed up a step)
11	He Diex! Quant verrai	823	<i>Rondeau</i> ; <i>Roman de la violette</i> ; two motets unique in <i>Mo</i> (fasc VIII) (music identical)
12	Diex comment porroie	496	<i>Rondeau</i> ; <i>Renart le nouvel</i> (complex-description required); motet in <i>Mo</i> (fasc VII) and fr. 25566
13	Trop desir a veoir	1804	Unique in <i>Rondeau</i>
14	Bonne amourete	289	<i>Rondeau</i> ; <i>Renart le nouvel</i> (different melody); <i>chanson avec des refrains</i> ; <i>chanson</i> late addition in <i>M-trouv.</i> (same melody up 4th)
15	Tant con je vivrai	1759	Unique in <i>rondeau</i>
16	Dieus soit en cheste maison	569	Unique in <i>rondeau</i>

refrains shared between Adam's *rondeaux* and related works. The latter fall into three classes: Adam's own motets, motets in the seventh fascicle of *Mo*, and the *romance Renart le nouvel*. The five *rondeaux* by Adam de la Halle that relate to the motets in fr. 25566 and the seventh fascicle of *Mo* are given as Table 11.1.

The *refrains* of two of these *rondeaux*, "A Dieu commant" and "Diex comment" (nos. 5 and 12), are also found in motets attributed to Adam de la Halle

in fr. 25566. In both cases, the *refrain* in the *rondeau* appears in the *motetus* of the motet, but is there divided into two; in *Aucun se sont loé* (834) / *A Dieu quement* (835) / *Super te orta est* (U.I.), the halves are placed at beginning and end of the *motetus*, but in “*De ma dame*” (33) / *Dieus commant porroie* (34) / *Omnes* (M₁), two halves of the *refrain* are found at the beginning and middle of the *motetus*.²⁶ Given that the *rondeaux* and motets by Adam are copied within a few folios of each other by the same scribe, it is hardly surprising that the melodic correspondences between these presentations should be very close. What is perhaps curious is that more *refrains* are not shared between the two repertoires.

The motet repertory that shares most with Adam’s *rondeaux* is the seventh fascicle of *Mo*. The *rondeau* “*Fi, Maris*” will be seen to be closely related to a motet in that repertory: *Dame bele et avenant* (872) / *Fi, Mari de vostre amour* (873) / *Nus n’iert ja jolis* (U.I.). But no less than five of the six *rondeaux* that are available for comparative investigation have *refrains* that are also found in motets in *Mo* fascicle seven – a correspondence that is too substantial to be coincidental. This seems to suggest the possibility that the composers of the motets in the seventh fascicle of *Mo* were familiar with Adam’s *rondeaux*, and chose their *refrains* from that repertory, or – perhaps more likely – Adam was familiar with the repertory of motets from fascicle seven of *Mo*, and borrowed from them the *refrains* – and possibly in one instance a polyphonic complex – in his *rondeaux*.²⁷

26 The compositions in which this technique is found are sometimes known as *motets entés*. See *ibid.*, 77–89 for a critique and an alternative interpretation.

27 The structure and chronology of *Mo* are problematic. Traditional views identified three main layers of activity: fascicles 2–6, fascicles 1 and 7, and fascicle 8; scribal activity was seen to spread over a period from perhaps 1260 to the early fourteenth century (see the sources cited in Mark Everist, *French Thirteenth-Century Polyphony: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York and London: Garland, 1989), 110–19). This additive construction may be explained in terms of a book-producing culture that attempted to produce multiple copies of single texts, and that predated the appearance of the pecia system. Everist “*Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution*,” 2 vols. (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 1985), published as cited above in 1989. Unfortunately, the dissertation by Mary Wolinski on the manuscript (“*The Montpellier Codex: Its Compilation, Notation and Implications for the Chronology of the Thirteenth-Century Motet*” (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1988), 141n1) took no account of the earlier (1985) study, and led to the unacceptable conclusion that the first seven fascicles of the manuscript were copied at the same time. There is no substantive change in terms of sources consulted or conclusions reached in the published version of these arguments (Wolinski, “*The Compilation of the Montpellier Codex*,” *Early Music History* 11 (1992): 263–301. Much of the discussion is based on contradictory art-historical views of the decoration, a lack of consensus that inspires no confidence in this approach for dating this particular manuscript. Wolinski’s central piece of evidence is the unconvincing identification of the same scribe at work in the supplement to fascicle 7 and in fascicle 3 (*Mo*, fol. 65r; a plate is given

TABLE 11.2 Adam's *rondeaux*: refrains in *Renart le nouvel*

Rondeau	Refrain	Line	RenartC	RenartL	RenartF	V-Renart
1	1074	6670	X			
3	784	6698		X	X	X
6	746	6864			X	X
7	430	6824				X
8	156	6718	X		X	X
14	289	2552			X	

Fr. 25566 preserves not only Adam's *rondeaux* and motets, but also a version of the *romance* that contains one of the largest numbers of interpolated *refrains*: *Renart le nouvel*. Four manuscripts contain this narrative poem; each employs a different sequence of *refrains*, and even when the text of the *refrain* is the same, the music is often different.²⁸ Six of Adam's *rondeaux* have *refrains* that are also found in *Renart le nouvel* (Table 11.2).

The four manuscript sources are *RenartC*, *RenartL*, *RenartF* and fr. 25566 (*RenartV*). Table 11.2 identifies the presence or absence of the *refrain* from Adam's *rondeaux*. The two *refrains* (from *rondeaux* 1 and 14) that are not found in the *RenartV* text use different music in the manuscripts in which they are found. By contrast, the remainder – which are all found in the *RenartV* text – use exactly the same music as the *refrains* of the *rondeaux*. In so far as it is possible to make any comparison with the concordances between *Renart le Nouvel* and the *rondeaux* in *k*, textual readings suggest that those works share as much with the *RenartF* and *RenartL* texts of the *romance* as they do with the *RenartV* text. As in the case of the motets, the *rondeaux* in fr. 25566 have a closer relationship with the *refrains* in the version of *Renart le Nouvel* preserved

in Wolinski, "Compilation," 269). The evidence seemed implausible when presented verbally to the American Musicological Society (New Orleans, 1986), and remains difficult to accept. The claim ("Compilation," 268fn7) that her assessment of certain physical details in the manuscript agrees with those in Everist, *Polyphonic Music* is misleading; the conclusions in the latter study are diametrically opposed.

28 Jean Maillard, "Les refrains de caroles dans Renart le nouvel," in *Alain de Lille, Gautier de Châtillon, Jakemart Giélee et leur temps: actes du colloque de Lille, Octobre 1978*, ed. Henri Roussel and F. Suard, *Bien dire et bien apprendre: Bulletin du Centre d'Études médiévales et dialectales de l'Université de Lille* 111 2 (Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1980), 277–93; Maria Vedder Fowler, "Musical Interpolations in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century French Romances" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1979), 100–7.

in the same manuscript (the *RenartV* text) than with those in other versions. Conversely, the *rondeaux* in *k* do not exhibit this characteristic.

Four of Adam's *rondeaux* (not the same compositions that are concordant in *k*) are preserved in *CaB*. Comparison with fr. 25566 shows that one of these, "Li dous regars," varies its outer voices substantially in addition to transposing the entire texture up a step. The middle voice in both versions is essentially unchanged, and, although the melodic profiles of the outer voices are modified, the overall contrapuntal structure is identical (Example 11.5).

EXAMPLE 11.5 Contrapuntal combination of *rondeau* 2

The image shows two musical staves, labeled 'W-trouv.' and 'CaB', representing different versions of a piece. Each staff contains a sequence of chords. The first six chords are identical in both versions. The final two chords are circled, indicating a difference in the outer voices between the two versions. The 'W-trouv.' version has a higher pitch for the outer voices in the final two chords compared to the 'CaB' version.

The only exception concerns the final cadence, where the antepenultimate sonority is different. The final progression is identical in the two versions.²⁹

This variant in one of the concordances between fr. 25566 and *CaB* suggest that, if these sorts of variants are demonstrably possible in one pair of sources (fr. 25566 and *CaB*), they may occur in a further pair of sources (fr. 25566 and *k*) where the surviving material does not allow exact verification. Although the versions of the Adam *rondeaux* shared between fr. 25566 and *k* may have exhibited the same sorts of variants found between fr. 25566 and *CaB*, they would have been essentially the same compositions.

29 In Example 11.5, all three voice-parts have been reduced to a single staff for each version of the piece, and doublings are not noted (hence the presence of a mixture of two- and three-part sonorities. The reduction also filters out middleground voice-leading and foreground ornamentation. It is in these domains that the two versions differ greatly. The criteria for executing such a reduction as this are problematic in mode 11 compositions, even (as here) where the text declamation follows the modal rhythms of the music. Example 11.5 uses sonorities on the longa for its principal entries, and those on the second brevis for its single subsidiary entry. What the graph does not show, for reasons of space, is a comparison between the two versions that takes account of all the sonorities on the second brevis. Differences between the two versions spill over into this dimension. Users of the edition in Wilkins, *Lyric Works*, 50 should note that the final pitch in the top part of the version from fr. 25566 is given as *d* (thus creating a 6–5 sonority). The manuscript evidence that it should be *f* is clear. See below, pp. 333–335 for a consideration of the tessitura of the voice parts in the two versions.

The discussion of “Li dous regars” prompts more general questions as to how Adam de la Halle and the anonymous composer(s) of the works in *k* composed polyphonic *rondeaux*. Still the most extensive discussion of Adam’s *rondeaux* was presented by Jacques Handschin in 1927. Gustave Reese gave Handschin’s account a large profile in his commentary in *Music in the Middle Ages*.³⁰ Handschin was interested in Adam’s *rondeaux* because some works had the main melody in the middle voice rather than in the lowest.³¹ Handschin’s position can be explained as a reflection of a view of thirteenth-century polyphony dominated by the chant-based genres of motet and *organum* in which the tenor is always the lower or lowest notated voice. His exclusive concern was with musical style, and he seemed uninterested in the presence of some material in monophonic forms or in the functioning of the *refrain*. The evidence presented here suggests that polyphonic *rondeaux* can *all* be shown to have their “main melody” in the middle voice.

The concept of a “main melody” is, however, intriguing. In the context of motet or *organum*, this clearly means a chant-derived voice, and this function is terminologically enshrined as the tenor and notationally fixed as the lower or lowest written part. In the case of a musical style that does not consistently depend on the reuse of pre-existent material, the definition of “main melody” is contingent either on some system of stylistic investigation, or on the possibly inconsistent presence of shared material. As has been shown, the presence of shared material is relatively rare, and involves either a monophonic version of the entire *rondeau*, or the survival of the *refrain* in other sources. Such comments raise the specific question of how to decide, when both a polyphonic *rondeau* and a monophonic transmission of its middle voice survive, whether the monophony is a reduced version of the polyphony, or the monophony serves as the basis for the polyphony. In one of the explanations to be given for the case of the *rondeau* “Fi, Maris” and the motet Dame bele et avenant (872) / Fi, Mari de vostre amour (873) / Nus n’iert ja jolis (U.I.), the relationship between two polyphonic compositions gives some grounds for identifying the direction of the reworking (from *rondeau* to motet), and suggests the existence of a monophonic background to the polyphonic *rondeau* (although there are ambiguities, even there). In the case of those works that exist both in polyphonic and monophonic form, or as *rondeau* and *refrain*, it is very difficult to draw any conclusions. The *rondeau* “Dame, or sui” is found in three parts in fr.

30 Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages with an Introduction on the Music of Ancient Times* (London: J.M. Dent, 1941), 322; Jacques Handschin, “Über Voraussetzungen, sowie Früh- und Hochblüte der mittelalterlichen Mehrstimmigkeit,” *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 2 (1927): 5–42, 29–30.

31 *Ibid.*, 30, note 2.

25566 and monophonically in Vat. Reg. Lat. 1490. In addition, there are two concordances between the unnotated three-part *rondeaux* in *k* and the monophonic *rondeaux* in Vat Reg. Lat. 1490; in the latter source, the two songs are attributed to Guillaume d'Amiens.³² It is reasonable to assume that the monophonic music for the songs in Vat. Reg. Lat. 1490 would have been the same as the middle voices of the two three-part works in *k*; they would either have been reductions of three-part originals or monophonic bases for later three-part pieces. If the versions in Vat. Reg. Lat. 1490 are indeed reductions of three-part works, it is possible that the remaining eight monophonic *rondeaux* may also have existed in a polyphonic form. It is a short step from the conclusion of this argument to the recognition of Guillaume d'Amiens as a composer of polyphony.

Whatever position one chooses to adopt *vis-à-vis* the question of model and copy, monophony and polyphony, the claims made by Handschin and Reese that either the lowest and middle voices of polyphonic *rondeaux* c.1300 were the equivalent to the tenor in a *conductus* do not stand up to the identification of shared material between monophonic and polyphonic *rondeaux*. There is, however, much to salvage from Handschin's brief, but typically astute, observations, and from Reese's restatement of them. Handschin drew attention to two characteristics that have received little attention: the declamation of text and the distribution of voices.

Handschin claimed that different ternary rhythms were used in Adam's *rondeaux* to express the text.³³ Given the non-accentual nature of French poetry and the intrinsically accentual nature of the rhythm and notation of polyphonic music c.1300, such an explicit claim is difficult to prove. However, we have already seen how modal and mixed-modal declamation of poetry are present in Adam's polyphonic *rondeaux*. It is not necessary to invoke "text expression" to agree to this distinction. What Handschin described was a compositional resource, the use of which would not only effect the musico-poetic superstructure in profound ways but also represent an important stage in the emergence of a consistent fourteenth-century repertory of polyphonic song.

When Handschin and Reese suggested the presence of "main voices" in both middle and lowest parts, they implicitly raised the question of tessitura and voice-crossing. There is an important distinction to be made between dif-

32 The monophonic *rondeau*, "Dame, or sui" that is concordant in fr. 25566 (and presumably by Adam de la Halle) is unattributed in its monophonic form in Vat Reg. Lat. 1490.

33 Handschin, "Über Voraussetzungen," 39–40.

TABLE 11.3 Tessitura of Adam's *rondeaux*

	I	II	III	Voice-crossing	Type	Mode	Mixed declamation?
1				II and III	A	2	
2a				I, II and III		2	
2b				I, II and III		2	
3				None		1	
4				II and III	A	1	
5				I and II	B	1	x
6				I and II	B	1	
7				II and III	A	2	x
8				I and II	B	2	
9				II and III	A	1	x
10				I and II	B	1	
11				I and II	B	1	
12				I and II	B	1	x
13				II and III	A	1	x
14				None		1	
15				I and II	B	5	x
16				I, II and III		2	

ferent processes at work in these compositions. Table 11.3 gives the voice-ranges of all 16 *rondeaux* by Adam de la Halle, and notes on voice-crossing.³⁴

Two different procedures emerge that govern most of these compositions. Apart from two works where there is no voice-crossing and the voice ranges are discrete, and two pieces where all three voices have the same tessitura and cross continually, the remaining twelve compositions either play off two upper voices in the same register that cross against the isolated lowest voice (labelled (b) in Table 11.3), or they contrast two lower voices in the same register that cross against a single higher voice (labelled (a) in Table 11.3).

As in the case of modal- or mixed-modal declamation, these compositional decisions do not affect questions of genre because they do not coincide with other compositional choices. For example, the *rondeaux* that employ mixed-modal declamations employ type (a) and type (b) voice dispositions in equal numbers. If, however, we look at the five *rondeaux* that are available for comparison with other compositions that share the same music, four employ type (b) voice dispositions, and one is a work that uses three discrete tessituras and no voice crossing. In other words, whenever we can identify a *rondeau* by Adam that demonstrably shares material with another work, the *rondeau* never pairs off the lower two voices against the uppermost one, and in most cases pairs off the two upper voices against the lowest.

3 Motets: Intertexts and Networks

The most striking intertextual link between Adam's *rondeaux* and the motet repertory is something of a paradox in that the link exists between a *rondeau* and a motet that is not included in the manuscript of Adam's collected works, fr. 25566; on the other hand, it does implicate a further *rondeau* from the collection in *k*. Two compositions, "Fi, Maris," in fr. 25566 and "Nus n'iert ja jolis" in *k*, are related via a motet preserved in the seventh fascicle of *Mo*. The motet

³⁴ *Rondeau* 7 exhibits a single example of crossing between voices I and II, and *rondeau* 9 a crossing of voices I and III; these are ignored in Table 11.3 for reasons of clarity. The different voice ranges in *rondeau* 2 may be compared with the contrapuntal summary of this piece in Example 11.1. This is one of the two pieces in which all three voices cross, and it is especially interesting that this is a characteristic of both the versions in fr. 25566 and *CaB*, further reinforcing the claim that, despite superficial differences, the two works share the same structure. Table 11.3 also suggests that the voice parts in *rondeau* 3 may have been swapped at some stage since II is so obviously higher than I. Although this is common in motet sources, where voices are notated in parts, it is far from clear what textual disturbances could have generated this transposition in a composition notated in score.

Dame bele et avenant (872) / Fi, Mari de vostre amour (873) / Nus n'iert ja jolis (U.I.) is based on a French secular tenor. Example 11.6 is a comparison of the first six perfections of Adam's *rondeau* ("Fi, maris") with the motet.

EXAMPLE 11.6 "Fi, Maris" complex of *rondeau* and motet

Motet: *Mo*
fols 300v-301r

Da - me bele et a - ve - nant et de biau port

Fi, ma - ri, de vostre a - mour! Quar j'ai a - mi

Nus n'iert ja jo - lis s'il n'ai - me

Rondeau: *W-trouv.*
fols 33r-33v

Fi, ma - ris, de vostre a - mour, Car j'ai a - mi.

The tenor of the motet is in the form of a *rondeau simple*: a *rondeau* with a two-line *refrain*. The phrases and text-lines of the upper voices make no attempt to reflect those concerns in the tenor.³⁵

Alongside the transcription of the motet is Adam's *rondeau* "Fi, Maris." Although the motet is polytextual, its *motetus* text is shared by the *rondeau* for all three of its parts, but (as is usual) underlaid only to the lowest voice. While the music of the *motetus* and the middle voice of the *rondeau* are exactly the same up to the end of the *rondeau*'s music, the upper and lower voices of the *rondeau* start out identically to the *triplum* and tenor of the motet, but then change after a few perfections. The extent to which the first seven perfections

35 For a comprehensive account of motets with French tenors which do reflect the structure of their upper parts, see Mark Everist, "Motets, French Tenors, and the Polyphonic Chanson ca.1300," *Journal of Musicology* 24 (2007): 365–406.

of the music of the two works are the same is indicated by a broken line in the example.

Adam's *rondeau* "Fi, Maris" shares the first few perfections of the entire motet texture. The tenor of the motet shares its text only with a polyphonic *rondeau* from *k* – "Nus n'iert ja jolis." Its *incipit* is the same therefore as the motet tenor. As in all the other *rondeaux* in this collection, the *rondeau* "Nus n'iert ja jolis" survives without music, and it is unclear whether its middle or lowest voice would have appeared as the music of the motet tenor. In Example 11.5, for example, where a polyphonic *rondeau* in fr. 25566 has a monophonic concordance, the middle voice of the polyphony is shared. Furthermore, when we come to look at the *refrains* of the *rondeaux* preserved elsewhere with music, the music again always corresponds to that of the middle voice of the polyphony. It is therefore probable – but only to judge by analogy – that the motet tenor corresponded to the middle, rather than to any other, voice of the *rondeau*. It is unlikely that the *rondeau* "Nus n'iert ja jolis" took its melody from the tenor of the motet, since both concordances for the motet preserve the text incompletely.

The relationships between the *rondeaux* "Nus n'iert ja jolis" and "Fi, maris," and the motet Dame bele et avenant (872) / Fi, Mari de vostre amour (873) / Nus n'iert ja jolis (U.I.) have complex implications for the process of composition. Three possibilities deserve consideration; each gives a different status to original composition and borrowing for each of the three works concerned, and each necessarily presupposes a compositional procedure unknown elsewhere in this repertory.

1. If the three-part motet was constructed in the same way as other motets, ostensibly on a French tenor, we would have to assume the existence of a monophonic version of "Nus n'iert ja jolis" that would have corresponded to the lowest voice of the polyphonic version (as we have seen, correspondences between monophonic and polyphonic versions tend to involve the middle voice of the polyphony). The ambiguity of whether this monophonic version was drawn from, or generated, the polyphonic *rondeau* means that there are two possible genealogies for this compositional option. This monody would have served as a tenor for the motet, and the counterpoint and texts would have been composed *ab initio*. The *rondeau* "Fi maris" would have then been derived from the first seven perfections of the motet. If this were the case, the rationalization of the part-writing – particularly the parallel writing in fourths between the two upper parts – would betray a sensitivity to the style of the polyphonic *rondeau* that would pose some challenging questions about the authorship of this reworking.

2. The least likely possibility is that polyphonic versions of the *rondeaux* “Nus n’iert ja jolis” and “Fi, maris” were pre-existent *and were musically identical* (this would be a unique occurrence). The construction of the motet would have involved taking the complete tenor from one *rondeau* and the counterpoint of the first seven perfections from the other.

3. If we assume that Adam’s *rondeau* “Fi, maris” is the source of this complex of pieces, the motet would have had to have taken the opening of the *rondeau*, and composed out its tenor before retexting it with the newly-composed *rondeau* text of “Nus n’iert ja jolis.” This lower voice would then have circulated separately, and served as probably the middle voice of the polyphonic *rondeau* with the same *incipit*.³⁶

Of the three options, the second is the most unlikely. Both the remaining possibilities are, however, equally at odds with what is understood as conventional practice in the composition of motets and *rondeaux* c.1300. Whatever narrative is endorsed for the composition and reworking of this group of pieces, the discussion exemplifies how the work from *k*, despite the fact that it is preserved imperfectly, may be at least as close to the compositional origin of the group as either Adam de la Halle’s *rondeau* or the motet from *Mo*. The example may be the sole remaining evidence of the centrality of the *rondeau* tradition in *k*.³⁷

Although the complex of *rondeaux* and motet centered on Dame bele et avenant (872) / Fi, Mari de vostre amour (873) / Nus n’iert ja jolis (U.I.) points up important relationships between *rondeau* collections and the seventh fascicle of *Mo*, it has little to do with Adam’s own motets, of which there are five (Table 11.4).

Prefaced by an unequivocal attribution, “Li motet Adan,” the five motets present an individual view of the vernacular motet at the end of the thirteenth century. The most remarkable feature of Adam’s motet output is that it mixes, even within such a small group, three- and two-voice vernacular works. But the single two-voice motet is based on one of the most frequently used tenor

36 The remarkable claim that this complex of works may support the view that “This suggests already the creative importance to Adam a of refrain’s rhythmic (as well as verbal and melodic) stability. Moreover, it is striking how the *rondeaux* refrains and the motet refrain are often placed with similar melodic lines...” is apparently predicated on the assumption that the motet Dame bele et avenant (872) / Fi, Mari de vostre amour (873) / Nus n’iert ja jolis (U.I.) is by Adam de la Halle. It does not figure in the attributed motets to the composer in fr. 25566 (Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 281). Exactly the same error vitiates the evidence in the second example to support the case (*ibid.*, 282).

37 This, and the preceding three paragraphs are based on Everist, “Polyphonic *Rondeau*,” 84–86.

TABLE 11.4 Adam's five motets: sources

No	Voice incipit	Notes
1	(835) A Dieu commant amouretes (834) Adam (Aucun) se sont loé Super te [Et super] (U.I.)	Tenor UI (not M 9 or M 66, but see above note 10); also in <i>Mo</i> (7: 263; upper voice parts reversed); <i>Motetus</i> mentions Artois and Arras. No melodic correspondences except between <i>refrain</i> and opening of tenor in motet and <i>rondeau</i> . This is a rare example of a two-unit refrain divided into two and placed at the beginning and end of the motet. <i>Triplum</i> declaims on semibreve; <i>motetus</i> on the brevis; tenor in mode 1.
2	(33) De ma dame vient (34) Diex comment pourraoie Omnes (M 1)	<i>Mo</i> 7:279; <i>Bes.</i> 50; tenor is "Omnes" (M 1) with 8-perfection phrases: phrases I and II are contrapuntally similar (all three parts, first three perfections); thereafter a studious attempt to avoid any sort of correspondences.
3	(725) Entre Adan et Hanikiel Et veritate Aptatur (O 45)	<i>Mo</i> 7:258; <i>Ba</i> 24; <i>Tu</i> 2; Doc V (<i>Histoire</i> , 273); <i>Bes</i> 28; 3 statements of "Aptatur" tenor. Phrase correspondences between tenor and <i>motetus</i> in statements II and III.
4	(198) J'os bien a m'amie (199) Je n'os a amie In seculum (M 13)	Both upper voices have the same line length, rhyme and phrase-length for the first seven poetic lines; <i>motetus</i> in Vat. Reg. Lat. 1490 (without notes), otherwise unique in fr. 25566. Correspondences between <i>triplum</i> and <i>motetus</i> poems. Contrapuntal correspondences.
5	(35) J'ai adès d'amours	Unique. The <i>refrain</i> in <i>K-trouv.</i> , <i>N-trouv.</i> , <i>P-trouv.</i> , <i>X</i> and a Vat. Reg. Lat. 1490 <i>rondeau</i> .

melismas in the repertory, Omnes (M 1), taken from the gradual at Mass on Christmas Day. Not only that, but Adam builds two of his motets on this same tenor (nos. 2 and 5 in Table 11.2). Adam's approach to tenor choice is curious. Two other motets (nos. 3 and 4 in Table 11.2) are also based on well-known tenor melismas, "Aptatur" (O 45) and "In seculum" (M 13), whereas the remaining motet (no. 1) has a tenor that has resisted any sort of identification.

None of Adam's motets seem to be based on *clausulae* and none have any reflection in the Latin motet repertory. They have a certain relationship with the repertory of *refrains*, as will be seen below, but they also exploit intertextual reference through their tenors and the ways in which pitch and rhythm are organized. Although the tenor of Adam's motet on the "Aptatur" melisma has nothing in common with the tenor of the other eleven families that make use of the same tenor, his motets on "Omnes" and "In seculum" are rather different.

De ma dame vient (33) / Diex comment pourraoie (34) / Omnes (M 1) takes a ten-note melisma and states it twelve times. Adam groups these twelve statements into three groups of four, so that the first four statements have the same

rhythm, the second four a different rhythm, and the third four a yet further rhythm. Now, the opening pattern of Adam's motet is exactly the same as one only of the twenty-three motet groups based on the tenor; this is a three-voice vernacular motet in the fifth fascicle of *Mo*, Amoureuement me tient li maus que j'ai (9) / Hé! Amours (10) / Omnes (M 1), which uses the same technique of stating the tenor three times with identical rhythms, but then it concludes with two statements that – like “De ma dame vient” – change, but change to a pattern not found there. In their use of the same tenor pattern, the two motets share in a network of knowledge exchange that prompts questions of Adam's musical and poetic genealogy. Unlike many of the correspondences found between Adam's polyphony and other sources, this example is found in the *corpus ancien* of *Mo*, perhaps copied a quarter of a century before fr. 25566 and almost certainly in Paris. But Adam's route to this tenor might well have been through Vat. Reg. Lat. 1490, as much a part of the background to Adam's polyphony as the seventh and eight fascicles of *Mo*. Here, both voices of the motet are copied in columns, but without notation, and the tenor is labeled “Et veritate.”³⁸

By contrast, the tenor of J'os bien a m'amie (198) / Je n'os a amie (199) / In seculum (M 13), which consists of undifferentiated perfect longs, shares its pattern with two other motets. Je cuidai mes maux celer (152) / In seculum (M 13) deploys the tenor twice, the first occurrence of which matches “J'os bien a m'amie” perfectly. L'autrier trouvai une plesant tousete (182) / L'autrier, les une espinete (183) / In seculum (M 13) uses the same rhythmic form of the tenor, and – like “J'os bien a m'amie” – deploys it only once; however, the last three notes of the tenor are spread out as a sort of *punctus organi* to underpin the final lines in direct speech of both the *tripulum* and *motetus* text. As in the case of the motets on the “Omnes” tenor, the examples here take Adam back to the *corpus ancien* of *Mo*, in the case of “L'autrier trouvai une plesant tousete.” But the tenor of “Je cuidai mes maux celer” goes back even further to the tenth fascicle of *W*₂ with a concordance in the *chansonnier k*.³⁹

38 Fol. 114r.

39 Fols. 218 (bis)v and 182 r. Ludwig (*Repertorium*, 1(1): 207) considers this the first alphabet of the fourth motet fascicle. See for this repertory of motets Gaël Saint-Cricq, “Formes types dans le motet du xiii^e siècle: étude d'un processus répétitif” (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2009); Saint-Cricq, Eglal Doss-Quinby and Samuel N. Rosenberg, eds.,

The evidence from the background to the tenors of Adam's motets suggests that, in contrast to the more up-to-date citation of *refrains* in motets, as illustrated by the range of concordances in the seventh and eight fascicles of *Mo*, his debt in terms of tenor tradition goes back at least one generation, if not two.

In addition to its embeddedness in an intertextual network of tenor practices, *J'os bien a m'amie* (198) / *Je n'os a amie* (199) / *In seculum* (M 13) is the motet by Adam that most nearly approaches the procedures of song. Its *triplum* and *motetus* poems play off similar structures and lexical decisions (Example 11.7); apart from a transmission of the *motetus* without notes in Vat. Reg. Lat. 1490,³⁹ the work is found only in fr. 25566.⁴⁰

EXAMPLE 11.7 Texts and analysis of *J'os ien a m'amie* (198) / *Je n'os a amie* (199) / *In seculum* (M 13)

J'os bien m'amie a parler

Les son mari

Et baisier et acoler

D'encoste li

Et lui ort ialous clamer

Vuihot aussi

Et hors de se maison enfremier

Et tous mes bons de m'amiete achieveer

Et le vilain faire musier.

Je n'os m'amie aler

Pour son mari

Que il ne se puist de mi

Garde donner

Car je ne me puis garder

D'encoste li

De son bel viaire regarder

Car entre amie et ami

Amieus sont cheler

Li mal d'amer

The contrasting lines at the beginning are constructed in such a way as to point up the opposition between the sentiments of the two poems by means of an ironically similar choice of words, and this is enhanced by the identical lines 4 and 6 in the *triplum* and *motetus* respectively: "D'encoste li."⁴¹ And this correspondence is disciplined further by the structure of the two poems. Both consist of three sequences of alternating heptasyllables and tetrasyllables rhyming regularly "-er" and "-i" followed by a single nine-syllable line rhyming "-er." Line division in the last section of the poem is far from clear but both poems end, perhaps with a tetrasyllable rhyming "-er": "faire musier" and "Li mal d'amer."

The Motets of the Noailles Chansonnier (Paris, BnF, ffr.12615) (Middleton: A-R Editions, 2017). In both the W_2 and N -motet readings of this motet the notation of the entire complex is unmeasured, but the distribution of pitches, rests and ligatures leaves no doubt that the tenor pattern is identical to that found in "J'os bien a m'amie."

39 Fol. 106v/93v.

40 Fol. 37r.

41 Wilkins (*Lyric Works*, 68) proposes reversing the third and fourth words of the first line of the *triplum* poem, a proposal that is required neither by the syntax or structure of the poem.

Such correspondences are striking in themselves, but the musical fabric supports this song-like structure in that each heptasyllable-tetrasyllable pair is set to a single musical phrase in which both *triplum* and *motetus* cadence together.

These three pairs of phrases result in three six-perfection phrases followed by one of five perfections.⁴² The ambiguous poetic structure at the end results in a single musical phrase of ten perfections that closes the piece (Example 11.8).⁴³

This gives a phraseological antithesis between three six-perfection phrases in the first half of the motet which contrasts with the two final phrases which exploit a *dupla* relationship of 10–5 which has nothing to do with the numerical design of the motet's first half, based on even numbers and the *integer* six. The overall dimensions of 18 (6 x 3) in the first half and 15 (5 + 10) in the second yield an overall *sesquiquinta* (6:5) relationship.

But this neat binary opposition between the two parts of the motet is subverted in the first section by repetition of the music which prioritizes contrapuntal exigency over poetic regularity. The motet opens with a piece of three-part counterpoint (perfections 1–2) which is repeated exactly in perfections 9–10 (boxed in the example). However, this contrapuntal similarity – contrary to what is found in the motet repertory when this rare feature occurs – precisely does not correspond to the phrase structure of the piece. The opening counterpoint occupies the first two perfections of the first phrase, whereas the second counterpoint is found in perfections 3–4 of the second phrase. The musical repetition is conditioned by the contrapuntal possibilities of the “In seculum” tenor which – exploiting as it does a large number of b-naturals – forces the similarities away from the poetic interest of the motet and towards its contrapuntal potential. This is in line with many other motets on the “In seculum” tenor, as Hofmann has shown.⁴⁴ And to enhance the destabilizing qualities of the piece, the lower two voices of the same contrapuntal passage recur in the third phrase, but this time on the second and third perfections of the phrase (again indicated in the example).

So although *J'os bien a m'amie* (198) / *Je n'os a amie* (199) / *In seculum* (M 13) represents the closest that Adam gets to a *rapprochement* with song in his

42 Klaus Hofmann, *Untersuchungen zur Kompositionstechnik der Motette im 13. Jahrhundert dargestellt an den Motetten mit dem Tenor IN SECULUM*, Tubinger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 2 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1972), 138.

43 Assuming that the final perfection is not elongated. Hofmann's claim (*ibid.*) that the final phrase consists of two phrases each of five perfections is, as the example shows, not correct.

44 *Ibid.*, 23–37.

EXAMPLE 11.8 Complete edition of J'os bien a m'amie (198) / Je n'os a amie (199) / In seculum (M13)]

The musical score is presented in a three-staff format (treble, vocal, and bass clefs). It features French lyrics and includes musical notations such as triplets and measure numbers. The score is divided into five systems, each ending with a measure count in parentheses.

System 1: Measures 1-5. Lyrics: J'os bien m'a-mie a-par-ler Lès son ma-ri, Je n'os a m'a-mie a-ler Pour son ma-ri. Measure 5 is marked (6).

System 2: Measures 6-10. Lyrics: Et bai-sier et a-co-ler d'en-cos-te li; Que il ne se puist de mi Gar-de don-ner; Measure 10 is marked (6).

System 3: Measures 11-15. Lyrics: Et lui ort ja-lous cla-mer; Voi- haut aus-si, Car je ne me puist gar-der D'en-cos-te li. Measure 15 is marked (6).

System 4: Measures 16-20. Lyrics: Et hors de se mai-son en-fre-mer De son bel vi-ai-re re-gar-der; Measure 20 is marked (5).

System 5: Measures 21-30. Lyrics: Et tous mes bons de m'a-mi-ete a-chie-ver, Et le vi-lain fai-re mu-ser. Car entre a-mie et a-mi A-ni-eus sont a-che-ler Li mal d'a-mer. Measure 30 is marked (10).

motets, even here he cleverly subverts the apparent regularity of the poetry by purely musical means.

Perhaps one of the most striking characteristics of Adam's motets is the slender degree to which they participate in the culture of *refrain* citation and reuse which is so important for the polyphonic *rondeau*, the *chanson* and *jeu-parti* repertoires, to say nothing of the *Jeu de Robin et de Marion* and other works preserved in fr. 25566, *Renart le nouvel* most notably. Adam's third and fourth motets make no use of any *refrain*, and those purportedly in his second motet require revision, which may then be considered alongside those in his first and fifth motets.

The last motet of the five copied in Adam's small collection, *J'ai adès d'amours* (35) / *Omnes* (M 1), closes with the *refrain* "Est il donc drois k'amours" (vdB 703). This is known from Philippe Paon's *chanson* "Se felon et losengier" (RS 1286), but because the *refrain* closes the final strophe of this *chanson avec des refrains* it has no music.⁴⁵ And although the *refrain* forms the basis of a *rondeau* in Vat. Reg. lat. 1490, this survives without music also.⁴⁶

For all previous commentators, *De ma dame vient* (33) / *Diex comment pourraoie* (34) / *Omnes* contains three *refrains* in its *triplum*. "Savourosete toi gaité fai moi" (vdB 1661) is, however, found only in this motet and in no other source, and Wilkins rightly disregards it as a *refrain* in his edition.⁴⁷ But the other two *refrains* in the *triplum* are known from multiple sources. "Fui toi gaité fai moi" (vdB 765) is found in the center of the *triplum* of this motet, and also in the two complete manuscript sources for *Le tournoi de Chauvenci*,⁴⁸ in the second version of Mathieu le Poirier's *Court d'amours*,⁴⁹ and in what is apparently a motet voice in *D-motet*; none of these have any music. And while "De ma dame vient" (vdB 477) is found in the third stanza of a *chanson avec des refrains* "Quant vois le douz tens revenir" (RS 1449), clearly without music,⁵⁰ it also forms the basis of a *rondeau* in Vat. Reg. lat. 1490, "De ma dame vient," where the music is the same as the version in Adam's motet.⁵¹ Although the

45 *K-trouv.*, fol. 257r; *N-trouv.*, fol. 126r; *x*, fol. 173v; *P-trouv.*, fol. 114v; *R-trouv.*, fol. 93v.

46 Vat. Reg. lat. 1490, fol. 119r.

47 Wilkins, *Lyric Works*, 64.

48 *B-Mbu* 330–215, fol. 94v; *D-motet*, fol. 121r. Maurice Delbouille, ed., *Jacques Bretel: le tournoi de Chauvency* (Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne; Paris: Droz, 1932).

49 Paris, BnF, fr. 1731 fol. 62v. Terence Scully, ed., *Le Court d'amours de Mahieu le Poirier et la suite anonyme de le 'Court d'amours'* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1976).

50 *K-trouv.*, fol. 345r; *N-trouv.*, fol. 167v; *x*, fol. 25v; *P-trouv.*, fol. 131r.

51 Fol. 119r. The text alone of the *refrain* "De ma dame vient" (vdB 477) is also found, internally, in the *triplum* of *Grant solas me fait amours* (787) / *Pleust Dieu qu'ele seust* (988) – *Neuma* (*Neuma* III. Toni), found uniquely in *Mo* fols. 160v–163r.

version in the Vat. Reg. lat. 1490 *rondeau* is transposed down a fourth, the similarity is inescapable.

The *refrain* “De ma dame vient” plays a more important role in De ma dame vient (33) / Diex comment pourraoie (34) / Omnes (M 1), however. The refrain consists of two lines of poetry each set to the same melody (AA). It is found in the *triplum* of the piece, divided in two, together with the version from the *rondeau* in Vat. Reg. lat. 1490. The tenor of the motet is deployed in repeating eight-perfection phrases where pitch and rhythm repeat; the two identical phrases of the *refrain* appear over the beginnings of the first and second statements of the tenor: *triplum* and tenor are therefore identical in the two passages. But the *motetus* participates in the repetition, slightly ornamented, but with exactly the same melodic, contrapuntal and rhythmic profile in both cases. While this is superficially the same process discussed *a propos* J’os bien a m’amie (198) / Je n’os a amie (199) / In seculum (M 13), there is a fundamental difference in function. Whereas in “Je n’os a amie” the contrapuntal repetition distorted an emergent song-like regularity, in “De ma dame vient” it clearly stresses the regularity of the tenor repetition.

The *motetus* of De ma dame vient (33) / Diex comment pourraoie (34) / Omnes (M 1) also makes use of a widely-distributed *refrain*. “Par ce va la mignotise” (vdB 1473) is found without music in an anonymous *Salut d’amours*,⁵² in *L’abaie du chastel amoureux*,⁵³ in the *B-Mbu* 330–215 version of the *Tournoi de Chauvenc*⁵⁴ and – as in the case of “Fui toi gaité fai moi” – in *D-motet*.⁵⁵ Its musical sources are as follows:

Le jeu de la feuillée: fr. 25566, fol. 57r as a commentary by the fairies on their departure

Tant me fait a vous penser (17) / Tout li cuers me rit de joie (18) / Omnes (M 1): *Mo*, fols. 157v–59r and *Ba*, fol. 57r as a terminal *refrain* in the *triplum*

De ma dame vient (33) / Diex comment pourraoie (34) / Omnes (M 1): fr. 25566 fols. 35v–36v and *Mo* fols. 313r–16r as a terminal *refrain* in the *motetus*.

52 Fr. 837 fol. 270r. Achille Jubinal, ed., *Nouveau recueil de contes, dits, fabliaux et autres pièces inédites des XIII^eme, XIV^eme, et XV^eme siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Challamel, 1842), 2: 235–41.

53 Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale 403 fol. gov. Anne Ibos-Augé, *Chanter et lire dans le récit médiéval. La fonction des insertions lyriques dans les œuvres narratives et didactiques d’oïl aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, 2 vols, *Varia Musicologica* 17 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 2:1288–89.

54 Fol. 89r.

55 Fol. 246v.

Each of the melodic versions of the *refrain* differs very slightly, and while the correspondences between the fr. 25566 transmissions of *Le jeu de la feuillée* and *De ma dame vient* (33) / *Diex comment pourraoie* (34) / *Omnès* (M 1) – barely twenty folios away from each other in the same manuscript – are the closest match, even here there are slight changes in ornamentation.⁵⁶

The best-known example of *refrain* usage in Adam's motets must surely lie in *A Dieu commant amouretes* (835) / *Adam se sont loé* (834) / *Super te* (U.I.). Here the *triplum* and *motetus* are reversed from the version known from the seventh fascicle of *Mo* with the result that the voice-part beginning "A Dieu commant amouretes" is the first complete text visible after the rubric "Li motet Adan." It is therefore strikingly similar to the presentation – also in the top-right corner of the leaf – of Adam's *rondeau* "A Dieu commant amouretes," a couple of folios earlier.⁵⁷ It is as if Adam, or his scribe, wanted to draw attention to the simple fact that both the middle voice of the *rondeau* and the *motetus* of the motet were based on the same *refrain* "A Dieu commant amouretes" (vdB 12). In the case of the *rondeau*, the refrain – as always – provides the music for the entire song, and the text for eight out of the thirteen lines of this *rondeau tercet*. The motet takes the first two lines of the *refrain* and places them at the beginning of the *motetus* voice, and reserves the final line of the *refrain* for the last line of the *motetus*. Although the motet's *triplum* has nothing to do with any contrapuntal repetition, the tenor forms the same consonances for the most part with the *refrain*; individual pitches within the perfect vary.⁵⁸

The *refrain* usage across all five of Adam's motets varies. Some motets make no use of them at all while others deploy *refrains* that are well known, and preserved with both text and music. In the case of *A Dieu commant amouretes* (835) / *Adam se sont loé* (834) / *Super te* (U.I.), however, it seems as if there is a conscious effort to bring the motet and *rondeau* that share the same *refrain*

⁵⁶ See the presentation of the musical correspondences in Jennifer Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2013), 128–35.

⁵⁷ Fr. 25566 fols. 33r and 34v respectively.

⁵⁸ Mikio Katayama has argued that the three works that seem to relate to Adam's departure from Arras (the *Congé d'Arras*, the *rondeau* "A Dieu commant amouretes" and the motet that cites it) represent respectively his imminent departure, the night before his departure and a period after departure (Mikio Katayama, "La 'polyphonie' textuelle dans le motet au XIII^e siècle," *Études de Langue et Littérature Françaises* 78 (2001): 3–13, 9–10). Katayama's account develops observations in Sylvia Huot, "Transformations of the Lyric Voice in the Songs, Motets and Plays of Adam de la Halle," *Romanic Review* 78 (1987): 156–58.

into some sort of alignment. This may well be a consequence of some autobiographical features within Adam's motets that this juxtaposition highlights.⁵⁹

The differences between the versions of *A Dieu commant amouretes* (835) / *Adam se sont loé* (834) / *Super te* (U.I.) in fr. 25566 and *Mo* are not just restricted to swapping the voice parts to bring "A Dieu commant amouretes" into relief. The beginning of the *triplum* in the version in *Mo* reads: "Aucun se sont loé d'amours / Mes je m'en doi plus que nus blasmer" (Some have praised love / But I must blame it more than anyone), a conventional courtly complaint. But the version in fr. 25566 presents this as "Adam se sont loé d'amours / Mais je m'en doi plus que nus blamer" (Adam, they have praised love but I must blame it more than anyone). Thus the anonymous protagonist in the poem calls up a general authority in the version in fr. 25566 ("Some have praised love...") whereas the narrator in the version in *Mo* calls upon Adam directly. It seems impossible in this instance, especially when Adam has been identified as the poet and musician on just the previous leaf of the manuscript, that the Adam is anyone other than Adam de la Halle. And in doing so, the scribe at this point aligns his activity with other autobiographical references within the manuscript.⁶⁰

Entre Adan et Hanikiel (725) / *Chies bien seans* (726) / *Aptatur* (O 45) is one of several motets in the repertory that share common characteristics.⁶¹ The opening of the *triplum* reads: "Entre Adan et Hanikiel / Hancart et Gautelot / A grant esbanoi qui ot / Leur revel" (Adan's, Hanikiel's, Hancart's and Gautelot's revels give much fun to those who hear them). Not only is this motet by Adam, but he is mentioned both in the list of names at the beginning of the *triplum* and also at the end of the *motetus*. Here, after a long list of the lady's attributes – a list that is anatomically detailed to the point of serious embarrassment – she is described as having "Maniere avenans / Et plus li remanans / ont fait tant d'entans / Que pris est Adans" (A seemly manner and what is more all the rest

59 The literature on Adam's s biographical trajectory and his authorial persona is vast. For a useful recent summary, see Saltzstein, *Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, 117–23.

60 It is not correct, however, to describe the difference between the two poems as "a scribal alteration" (*ibid.*, 138), since in both cases the text is unaltered in the manuscript. It is not clear why, in her discussion of this motet, Emma Dillon claims that "Adam is never named as protagonist" (*The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France (1260–1330)*, *The New Cultural History of Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 152; the discussion ranges from 152–57), except that her analysis seems to be based exclusively on the transmission of the piece in *Mo* rather than the one in fr. 25566 which indeed names Adam.

61 Dillon reads this group of texts in terms of a theme of *bons compagnons* for which "The supermusical effect – superabundance of words, collectivity of voices, and the audible 'authority' of love ... – are akin to the sonority of the city's own superlative keynote" (*ibid.*, 85–86).

TABLE 11.5 Confraternity motets

Incipit	Fascicle	Concordances
Entre Copin et Bourgeois (866) / Je me cuidoie (867) / Bele Ysabelos (U.I.)	(256) VII	<i>Ba; Tu; Bes</i>
Entre Adan et Haniket (725) / Chief bien seantz (726) / Aptatur (O 46)	(258) VII	<i>Ba; Tu; fr. 25566; Doc v (motetus)</i>
Entre Jehan et Philippet (862) / Nus hom ne puet desieruir (863) / Chose Tassin (U.I. [C])	(294) VII app. I	<i>unicum</i>
A maistre Jehan lardier (269) / Pour la plus jolie (270) / Alleluya (M 22)	(334) VIII	<i>unicum</i>
Dieus comment porrai (602) / O regina glorie (603) / Nobis concedas (M 85)	(307) VIII	<i>unicum</i>
On parole (904) / A Paris (905) / Frese nouvele (U.I.)	(319) VIII	<i>unicum</i>

enchanted so much that Adam was taken). There is a play here between conventional courtly descriptors of female attributes and the Fall of Adam, but the play is clear: not only does the *motetus* text also end where the *tripulum* text begins – with the author of the poem and the composer of the music – but the Adam in question is also the dedicatee of the entire manuscript.

Much of the rest of this group is strikingly similar to Entre Adan et Hanikiel (725) / Chies bien seans (726) / Aptatur (O 45), and it may provide the key to unlocking the meaning of not only Adam’s motet but all the others in this group of what might be called “Confraternity” motets (Table 11.5).

There are four motets, including Adam’s, that begin with the same formulation, “Entre Copin/Adan/Jehan/Maistre Jehan,” and there is a significant overlap in the names in the first four pieces. Ludwig set this out as long ago as 1910, and there is little to add to his analysis of the matrix of names: Jehan, Copin, Hanicot and Pierre in more than one text. The relationship between Hanicot and Hanicotte is not quite clear – male and female versions of the same name, or just different orthographies? Adam, it is perhaps worth noting, appears in only one piece.

The column titled *Motetus* in Table 11.5 shows how most of the pieces under discussion pair a “Confraternity” *tripulum* with a straightforwardly courtly *motetus*, devoid of any leanings towards the *pastourelle* register. As a group, these motets focus on musical performance and the city of Paris, although rarely both in the same composition. There is, however, one *tripulum* text that does combine them (Example 11.9).

Motetus	Music	Paris	Notes
Courtly	No	Yes	Ysabelle in <i>triplum</i> and tenor; song tenor; texted Sb
Courtly	Yes	No	Adam in <i>triplum</i> and <i>motetus</i> [composer]; texted Sb
Courtly	Yes	No	Petronian (2x4; <i>triplum</i>)
Courtly	No	Yes	Confraternity in <i>triplum</i> ; texted Sb
Marian	Yes	Yes	Confraternity in <i>triplum</i> and <i>motetus</i> ; texted Sb
Duplicates topic of <i>triplum</i>	No	Yes	Texted Sb; <i>compaignon triplum</i> and <i>motetus</i>

EXAMPLE 11.9 Dieus comment porrai / O regina glorie / Nobis concedas: beginning and end of Triplum text

Dieus, comment porrai laissier
 La vie des compaignons a Paris
 Certes nulement!
 Tant sont deduisans et bien apris
 D'honour, de courtoisie et de bon enseignement;
 Si se font proisier, loer
 Et estre amé de toute gent;
 Tant se mainient sagement;
 Car quant tout sont assablés, de rire et de jouer
 Et chascun d'eus esprent

God, how can I abandon the
 life of the companions in
 Paris? Indeed, not at all!
 They are so amusing and so
 well instructed in honor,
 courtesy, and manners; they
 make themselves esteemed,
 praised, and beloved of all
 people; they conduct
 themselves quite properly; for
 when they are all together,
 each of them sets to laughing
 and playing and singing.

Si veul tout mon tans user et demourer
 En maintenir la compaignie et hounorer
 Sans nul mal ne sans mesproison penser,
 Car mes cuers s'i rent.

And I want to use all my time
 in upholding and honouring *la*
compaignie without intending
 any harm or reproach since
 this is the desire of my heart.

While the first part of the *triplum* poem describes “la vie des compaignons” in Paris, how well the companions conduct themselves as well as laughing, playing and singing, the end is revealing: “And I want to use all my time in upholding / And honouring *la compaignie* / Without intending any harm or reproach / Since this is the desire of my heart” (emphasis added). It seems that the author is speaking more of an organization – a *compaignie* – for which the conventional translation is “confraternity” that he wishes to uphold and honor of – “maintenir et hounorer,” than of a loose set of relationships among friends. This suggestion is strengthened by the opening of the Latin *motetus* of the same piece: “Regina glorie / Spes fidelium / Audi preces supplicum / Tue confratrie” (O Queen of glory, hope of the faithful, hear the prayers of the suppliants of your confraternity); this evokes the idea of a Marian confraternity quite explicitly. *Dieus comment* (602) / *O regina glorie* (603) / *Nobis concedas* (M 85) sits clearly aside from the rest of the group in that it is a bilingual motet with a sacred *motetus* text, but paradoxically, it may reveal the key to these otherwise very interesting motets and to Adam’s *Entre Adan et Hanikiel* (725) / *Chies bien seans* (726) / *Aptatur* (O 45). There are difficulties of linguistic slippage between *confratria*, *compagnon*, *compagnie* and other cognates, but *Dieus comment* (602) / *O regina glorie* (603) / *Nobis concedas* (M 85) does present the opportunity to re-read these six motets in the light of the developing history of confraternities during the thirteenth century.⁶²

Entre Adan et Hanikiel (725) / *Chies bien seans* (726) / *Aptatur* (O 45) is one of the two motets in Table 11.1 that does not specifically mention the city of Paris. More importantly, two of the named figures in the *triplum* text are found in the necrology of the Confraternity of Jongleurs and Bourgeois in Arras that covers the period from the late twelfth to the early fourteenth century: Hancart and Gautelot.⁶³ Coupled to the presence of Adam himself in the *triplum* and the close relationship between the two poems, the *arrageois* origin of this mo-

62 See also chapters in this book by Carol Symes (Chapter 1), John Haines (Chapter 4) and Daniel E. O’Sullivan (Chapter 6).

63 The names figure in the necrology of the confraternity Notre-Dame des Ardens des jongleurs et bourgeois en la cathédrale, founded in 1194. See Roger Berger, ed., *Le nécrologe de la Confrérie des jongleurs et des bourgeois d’Arras, 1194–1361*, 2 vols, Mémoires de la Commission Départementale des Monuments Historiques du Pas-de-Calais 11/2 and 13/2 (Arras: Imprimerie Centrale de l’Artois, 1963–1970) 1:121 and 1:164; for an overview of the confraternity see Georges Espinas, *Les origines du droit d’association dans les villes de l’Artois et de la Flandre française jusqu’au début du XVIIe siècle*, 2 vols, Les origines de l’association 1 (Lille: Raoust, 1941–1942), 2:48–97 and Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), chap. 2.

tet seems difficult to resist.⁶⁴ But, to conclude with a note of caution, Arras was only one of at least fourteen French towns and cities for which there is evidence of a confraternity before 1275;⁶⁵ of these, only those formed expressly for musicians have featured in the secondary literature, but it is not impossible that the constellation of names found in Adam's motet and its cognates could be found elsewhere. The consequences for the motet repertory and for an understanding of Adam's polyphonic output would be far-reaching.

64 Huot, "Transformations of Lyric Voice," 155. Katayama, despite recognizing the presence of Hancart and Gautelot in the Arras necrology, still prefers to see a text that is "représentative des fêtes réelles de la communauté..." ("Polyphonie' textuelle," 12).

65 Angers (1075); Arras (1194); Beauvais (1275); Bordeaux (1251); Crépy-en-Valois (1185); La Flèche (s.xiii); Le Mans (s.xi ex.); Louvres-en-Parisis (before 1270); Marseille (1212); Montmorillon (1107); Paris (1203); Poitiers (1266); Saint-Denis (1229); Saint-Trond (1237). See Catherine Vincent, *Les confréries médiévales dans le royaume de France, XIIIe-XIVe siècle*, Bibliothèque Albin Michel Histoire (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994) 192–203.

Adam de la Halle's Fourteenth-Century Musical and Poetic Legacies

Jennifer Saltzstein

His likely death in the Kingdom of Sicily around 1288 may have put an end to a brilliant artistic career, but Adam de la Halle's music and drama resonated throughout northern France long afterward.¹ In the smudged, dirty margins of fr. 25566, we see traces of the many hands who turned the pages of Adam's works. So worn and soiled are the pages of Méjanes 166, a copy of Adam's *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, that several of its comic-book style marginal illuminations are nearly indecipherable. We may never know exactly how many Adam de la Halle enthusiasts used these books during the fourteenth century and beyond, although new collaborations between humanists and scientists are offering exciting clues about the anonymous traces medieval readers have left behind in their manuscripts.² Did the medieval people who handled these books merely read Adam's lyrics and plays silently while feasting their eyes on the beautiful miniatures?³ Or were these readers diligently learning and memorizing their lines and their melodies, preparing for new performances of a beloved repertory by a treasured local artist? It seems unlikely that these manuscripts sat untouched on lecterns or collected dust on the shelves of aristocratic libraries; they were clearly used, and used well, for quite a while after Adam's demise. As Mark Everist rightly notes, during the first half of the fourteenth century, the music of Adam de la Halle and his fellow trouvères "was very much alive (even if its creators were dead), copied and cultivated well into the fourteenth century. This practice continues a thirteenth-century tradition that prized older music at the same time as it reworked it...."⁴

1 For arguments against the theory that the "Adam of Arras" who is listed as a hired performer at Caernarvon Castle during Edward II's coronation as the first Prince of Wales in 1306 was Adam de la Halle, see Chapter 1 in this book by Carol Symes.

2 See, for example, K.M. Rudy, "Dirty Books: Quantifying Patterns of Use in Medieval Manuscripts Using a Densitometer," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 2 (2010), <<http://www.jhna.org>> (accessed 31 October 2016), also cited in Chapter 3 of this book by Alison Stones.

3 This kind of silent reading was not the norm in the Middle Ages. See Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

4 Mark Everist, "Machaut's Musical Heritage," in Jennifer Bain and Deborah McGrady, eds., *A Companion to Guillaume de Machaut* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 143–58, 144.

Adam's music and lyrics were entered into a number of manuscripts produced in the early fourteenth century, many years after his death. A group of Adam's *chansons* was copied into the pages of *I-trouv.* in the early fourteenth century.⁵ This *chansonniér* is organized by genre, and the "grands chants" section begins with a song by Blondel de Nesle, who represents the earliest generation of trouvères. Elizabeth Eva Leach notes that although not announced with a pen-flourished capital or included in the *chansonniér's* index, a lyric by Adam de la Halle is appended to the end of Blondel's song.⁶ This gesture positions Blondel and Adam as bookends of a lyric tradition lasting over century. Several of Adam's polyphonic *rondeaux* appear in *k* and *CaB*, manuscripts that also likely date from the early fourteenth century.⁷ Adam's motet *Entre Adan (725) / Chiès bien (726) / Aptatur (O 45)* is found in *Tu*, a motet codex thought to have been copied around 1300. Chapters by John Haines and Judith Peraino in this book have shown the ways in which trouvère *chansonniérs* could function as cultural history books, not only preserving a repertoire but also creating narratives for their readers that contextualized the songs they recorded as urban and clerky, in the case of *T-trouv.*, or as emblems of a dying aristocratic world, in the case of *M-trouv.* What might Adam's music have signified to readers and listeners in the fourteenth century?

To assess Adam's artistic legacies, we must consider, in particular, his impact on polyphonic song and the echoes of his words and lyrics that resound in later Old French verse narratives. Among the earliest literary reactions to Adam's works might be the satirical romance *Renart le Nouvel*. Scholars have long noted a corpus of refrains shared between Adam's plays and *rondeaux*, *Renart*, the *Tournoi de Chauvency*, and the songs of *I-trouv.*, among other sources. Nico van den Boogaard offered the first account of this interlocking intertextual refrain network, noting shared refrains between *Renart* and, in particular, ms. *I-trouv.*⁸ Exploring this network further, Ardis Butterfield stressed the relationship between *Renart* and the *Tournoi*, as well as strong connections between these two romances, Adam's *rondeaux*, and the refrains found in Adam's *Jeu de Robin et Marion* and *Jeu de la feuillée*. Butterfield states, "It seems clear from

5 On the dating of *I-trouv.*, see Eglal Doss-Quinby, Samuel N. Rosenberg, and Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Old French Ballette: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 308* (Geneva: Droz, 2006), liii–liv.

6 Elizabeth Eva Leach, "A Courtly Compilation: The Douce Chansonniér," in Leach and Helen Deeming, eds., *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 221–46, 231.

7 On the dating of these manuscripts, see Mark Everist, "'Souspirant en terre estrange': The Polyphonic Rondeau from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut," *Early Music History* 26 (2007): 1–42, 8–11.

8 Nico H.J. van den Boogaard, "Jacquemart Giélée et la lyrique de son temps," in Henri Roussel and François Suard, eds., *Alain de Lille, Gautier de Châtillon, Jakemart Giélée et leur temps* (Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1980), 333–54, 351.

these cross-references that the authors in this region were drawing on a similar stock of refrains,” and, that *Renart* and the *Tournoi* both use the refrains in court scenes involving “public display, theatrical disguise and musical interlude.” Butterfield connected these romances and Adam’s works to the performative cultures of the north, which fostered some of the earliest *puys*.⁹ Most of the surviving concordances for the refrains in this intertextual network date from roughly the same time period, rendering chronologies of quotation murky. A refrain concordance between Adam’s *Jeu de Robin et Marion* and the *Tournoi de Chauvenchy* (“Avoec tele compaignie” vdB 200) is a case in point. The *Tournoi* describes events that occurred in 1285, and Adam purportedly wrote the *Jeu* sometime between 1282 and his death around 1288. The proximity of the two works makes it impossible to draw a direct line of influence from one to the other.¹⁰ Indeed, Butterfield did not attempt to establish chronologies for the network refrains, arguing that they were broadly known rather than quoted by one author from another.

Recent work by John Haines, however, has suggested a more precise dating for *Renart* than was previously assumed. Whereas earlier accounts were working with dating for *Renart* that ranged widely from 1277 to 1328, Haines has emphasized the layered production of this romance, which was likely the work of two authors. The first portion of the text, identified internally as *Renart le bareteur*, was written in 1288 or 1289. This tale was then given an apocalyptic conclusion by Jacquemart Giélée at the end of the thirteenth century, sometime after 1291, just a few short years after the likely death of Adam de la Halle. It is in the second, later, book that a bevy of musical insertions, including refrains shared with Adam’s *rondeaux* and plays, appear.¹¹ Given that the bulk of the insertions were added to the romance sometime after 1291, Adam’s works

9 See Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), chap.8, 140. See similar remarks in Doss-Quinby et al., *The Old French Ballette*, lxx–lxxii. Butterfield also provides a detailed concordance of the refrains found in the *Tournoi* in “The Musical Contexts of *Le Tournoi de Chauvenchy* in Oxford, Bodleian MS Douce 308,” in Mireille Chazan and Nancy Freeman Regalado, eds., *Lettres, musique et société en Lorraine Médiévale: Autour du Tournoi de Chauvenchy (Ms. Oxford Bodleian Douce 308)* (Geneva: Droz, 2012), 399–422, 418–22. A second concordance by Leach provides further detail on the manuscripts in which the refrains are found as well as their narrative situation in the *Tournoi*. See Leach “A Courtly Compilation,” 235–39.

10 Variations in the text and melody of the refrain across its surviving contexts also suggest that the refrain may indeed have been widely known rather than directly quoted from one source in another. See the concordance in Chapter 9, Appendix III, by Anne Ibos-Augé.

11 The earliest manuscript of *Renart le Nouvel* also lacks most of the inserted refrains. John Haines, *Satire in the Songs of Renart le Nouvel* (Geneva: Droz, 2010), 18–19.

must predate Jacquemart's invocation of their refrains. As we saw in Chapter 11 of this book, by Mark Everist, *Renart* shares six refrains with Adam's *rondeaux*, and three of the six are found only in these two works, strongly suggesting direct quotation.¹² An additional refrain from the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* also appears in *Renart*, solidifying the ties between Adam's works and the romance.¹³ Unless we accept the later dating of Adam's death, which Carol Symes has given us ample reason to doubt in Chapter 1 of this book, Adam could not have quoted his refrains from *Renart le Nouvel*. Moreover, in three of the refrain networks that connect Adam's *rondeaux* to *Renart le Nouvel*, the melodies across the surviving sources are virtually identical, transmitted at the same pitch level and even in the same ligatures.¹⁴ This is unsurprising in the case of the concordances between *Renart* and Adam's *rondeaux* in fr. 25566, where the music scribe could well have had access to the same written exemplars or, in theory, could have copied the *Renart* refrains directly from the manuscript pages containing Adam's *rondeaux*. Yet in the case of "Fi, mari, de vostre amour" (vdB 746), the exact copying of the refrain also extends to a motet in fascicle seven of *Mo*, a factor that led Haines to conclude that many of the refrains shared between the *Renart* manuscripts, Adam's *rondeaux*, and the motets of *Mo* and *Tu* were likely copied from common written exemplars. It is thus difficult to escape the conclusion that Jacquemart Gielée may have quoted this corpus of refrains directly from Adam's works.

The faithful, literal transmission of Adam's refrains in *Renart le Nouvel* would seem to suggest reverence for their source; in context, however, this is rarely the case. According to Haines, *Renart le Nouvel* "enthusiastically engages in a dialogue with courtly song and polyphonic music," a dialogue in which the refrains, most often, "evoke courtly love only to swipe it with a deep and foreboding pessimism that forecasts the end of courtliness." The cumulative effect is "a gloss or commentary on the courtly love tradition which has become stale and bookish by the end of the thirteenth century."¹⁵ In the final decade of the thir-

12 The *rondeau* concordances are "Bonne amourette mi tient gai" (vdB 289), "Diex comment porroie" (vdB 496), "Hareu, li maus d'amer m'ochist!" (vdB 784), "Amours et ma dame" (vdB 156), "Dame or sui trahis" (vdB 430), and "Fi, mari, de vostre amour" (vdB 746). The full melodic concordances for each of these refrains are available in Appendix I by Anne Ibos-Augé.

13 "Avoec tele compaignie" (vdB 200). For a melodic concordance of this refrain, see Appendix III, by Ibos-Augé.

14 See vdB 784, vdB 146, and vdB 756. The full transmission appears in Chapter 9, Appendix I, by Ibos-Augé. Two other refrains, vdB 430 and vdb 496, carry recognizably the same melody. See Appendix I by Ibos-Augé.

15 See Haines, *Satire in the Songs*, 90–91.

teenth century, Adam and his works were already being positioned as both canonical and passé, an attitude we will see repeated in other literary contexts.

Another, more direct, literary response to Adam's works occurs in Nicole de Margivale's *Dit de la panthère d'amour*, which was written sometime between 1290 and 1328.¹⁶ Nicole's allegorical verse narrative interpolates nine extracts from Adam's love songs, including two songs quoted in full, citing their author and quoting their verses as sources of wisdom stemming from the vernacular literary tradition.¹⁷ The protagonist of Nicole's poem cites Adam with admiration and stresses the value of Adam's verse as a source of knowledge: "nostre clerik Adams, / Qui fu d'amis ja moult aidans" (vv. 1067–68, Our cleric Adam, who has been a great help to lovers).¹⁸ Nonetheless, Nicole also subtly undermines Adam's contribution in a variety of ways. The section in which the majority of the lyrics appear consists of a dialogue between the lover and Venus, where "both parties dismantle the carefully developed arguments of Adam's songs, selecting the motifs that best suit their own positions in ways that the informed audience doubtless recognized."¹⁹ After his dialogue with Venus, the protagonist quotes a complete song by Adam without citing Adam's authorship: "Adam's ostensible authorship evaporates as the narrative unfolds."²⁰ Overall, Nicole presents Adam's quoted lyrics as a kind of "classic" tradition while positing the *Panthère's* protagonist's own *forms fixes* lyrics (which would become the mainstay of fourteenth-century song) as the cutting-edge successor to Adam's *grands chant courtoises*.²¹ The text attests to Adam's status as a vernacular authority among the next generation of romance authors while also hinting at the contours of a new tradition of lyric that would unfold just after his death.

16 On the dating of this text, see Eliza Zingesser, "The Vernacular Panther: Encyclopedism, Citation, and French Authority in Nicole de Margival's *Dit de la panthère*," *Modern Philology* (2012): 301–11, 301. On the possible identity of the author, see Janet F. van der Meulen, "De panter en de aalmoezenier: Dichtkunst rond het Hollands-Henegouwse hof," in F. Willaert, ed., *Een zoet akkoord: Middeleeuwse lyriek in de Lage Landen* (Amsterdam: Promethius, 1992), 93–108, cited in Elizabeth Eva Leach, "Guillaume de Machaut, Royal Almoner: *Honte, paour* (B25) and *Donnez signeurs* (B26) in Context," *Early Music* (2011): 21–42.

17 The quoted lyrics are identified in Anne Berthelot, "Nicole de Margival, lecteur d'Adam de la Halle: 'Tel qu'en lui-même....'" *Perspectives médiévales* 20 (1994): 4–14, 9–12.

18 Quoted in Adrian Armstrong and Sarah Kay, *Knowing Poetry: Verse in Medieval France from the Rose to the Rhétoriciens* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 152. See also discussion in Zingesser, "Vernacular Panther," 304.

19 Armstrong and Kay, *Knowing Poetry*, 152–53.

20 *Ibid.*, 153.

21 Zingesser, "Vernacular Panther," 311.

Adam's voice is present, although much more faintly, in the remarkable illustrated and interpolated copy of the *Roman de Fauvel* found in ms. fr. 146. Among the many interpolations added to the copy of the *Roman de Fauvel* in this manuscript, we find the refrain, "Fui de ci! de toi n'ai que faire" (vdB 762). The first known use of verse is in v.45 of the *Dit d'amour* by Adam's colleague, the *arrageois* trouvère Nevelon Aimon. In fr. 146, we find the refrain in the second of the so-called semi-lyric pieces, a song in which the head of each strophe is a quotation of part of the motetus of the motet, Han Diex! / Trahunt in precipia / Displicebat.²² In addition to the refrain, the composer of the semi-lyric also quotes the last four lines of Nevelon Aimon's *Dit*. Although the refrain and quotation are not directly drawn from Adam's works, Nevelon's *Dit d'amour* was written in direct response to Adam's, creating what Yolanda Plumley has called a "spiral of citations" across the pages of fr. 146, stretching back to Adam.²³ Nevelon's *Dit d'amour* was likely intended specifically as an inversion of Adam's own; the text is so closely modelled on Adam's *Dit* that they beg to be read together.²⁴ The *Dits* by Nevelon and Adam share a close relationship in their manuscript transmission, appearing together in fr. 25566 as well as *a-trouv*, where they are copied contiguously.²⁵ In his *Dit*, Adam invokes language associated with religious and moral poetry in order to wage attacks on Amors that are acrimonious to a point inconceivable in earlier lyric poetry. In Adam's *Dit*, the lady is largely absent and the ending evokes misogynist literature by attacking the bad conduct of women.²⁶ In his own *Dit d'amours*, Nevelon invokes Adam's *Dit* only to contradict it. For example, whereas Adam writes that Love transforms the wisest people into fools, Nevelon writes that thanks to Love, fools are made wise.²⁷ Nevelon's text represents a conservative, courtly restoration of Adam's text. Whereas we cannot know for certain that the

22 This relationship was first described in Ernst Heopffner, "Chanson française du XIII^e siècle," *Romania* 47 (1921): 367–80. See detailed discussion in Yolanda Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 109–13.

23 *Ibid.*, 96–121. For full texts of all four surviving contexts for this refrain, see *ibid.*, 112–13.

24 Monique Santucci, "Adam de la Halle, auteur des *Ver d'Amours* et des *Ver de le Mort?*," in *Miscellanea Mediaevalia: Mélanges offerts à Philippe Ménard* (Paris: Champion, 1998), 1183–92.

25 Adam's *Dit d'amour* also inspired a third response by Guillaume d'Amiens. See Alfred Jeanroy, "Trois dits d'amour du XIII^e siècle," *Romania* 22 (1893): 45–70.

26 Federico Saviotti, "Fragments d'un discours amoureux: Les *vers d'amour* de Nevelot Aimon, entre lyrique et moralisme," in Marie-Geneviève Grossel, ed., *La Chanson de trouvères: formes, registres, genres* (Valenciennes: Presses Universitaires de Valenciennes, 2012), 201–14, 205–6.

27 See full discussion in *ibid.*, 205–13.

composer of the semi-lyric in fr. 146 knew Nevelon's model, the many readers familiar with these *Dits* may indeed have heard Adam's voice enmeshed in this cycle of quotations as they flowed backward into the thirteenth century.

The notion that readers may have recognized Adam's presence in fr. 146 is more credible in light of the direct quotation of Adam's parting words from his *Congé d'Arras*, which were copied at the end of a corpus of songs by Jehannot Lescurel. Adam's parting two strophes, in which he vows to leave Arras to go to a place where the Gospels are read because "here everyone is a liar," were added to fr. 146 by a subsidiary hand.²⁸ The scribe penned the verses without indicating their title or author.²⁹ Emma Dillon has argued that the scribe used Adam's words as a kind of coda to the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel*. Dillon sees striking parallels between the role the regretful *Congé* plays in Adam's author corpus, where it precedes his *vers de la mort* as the penultimate item in an autobiographical sequence announcing his departure from Arras and his death, and the position of the *Congé* in fr. 146, where Adam's quoted verses appear at the close of the lyrics of Jehannot de Lescurel.³⁰ These quotations and echoes may have required a highly knowledgeable audience for recognition, however, they strongly suggest that Adam maintained a presence in the minds of the fourteenth-century readers of fr. 146.

Adam's refrains make their way into still more works from the fourteenth century. The refrain "Hé resveille toi Robin / car on enmaine Marot" (vdB 870) is found in Adam's *Jeu de Robin and Marion* as well as three additional songs and motets that stretch from the mid-thirteenth into the mid-fourteenth century. The refrain appears in a pivotal moment in Adam's *Jeu* – Gautier sings this verse to Robin to warn him of the knight's second attempt to carry Marion away. It is likely that Adam drew this refrain from a *pastourelle* by his *arrageois* forerunner Huitace de Fontaines, rather than writing it himself. Adam was fond of using refrains to connect his works to those of prominent trouvères from previous generations.³¹ Nonetheless, it was probably Adam's version of the refrain in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* that was known to an anonymous

28 See Emma Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the Roman de Fauvel*, *New Perspectives in Music History and Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 153.

29 The lyrics are thematically connected to the Lescurel corpus; Nancy Freeman Regalado argues that this quotation was inserted in response to the lover's farewell in Lescurel's first *dit enté* and the denunciation of liars in the second *dit*. See "The Songs of Jehannot de Lescurel in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 146: Love Lyrics, Moral Wisdom and the Material Book," in Rebecca Dixon and Finn E. Sinclair, eds., *Poetry, Knowledge and Community in Late Medieval France* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2008), 151–72.

30 *Ibid.*, 193–97.

31 Jennifer Saltzstein, "Refrains in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*: History of a Citation," in Dixon and Sinclair, *Poetry, Knowledge, and Community in Late Medieval France*, 173–86, 183.

fourteenth-century composer who integrated it into a polyphonic song. Although it is only labeled “Tenor” in the so-called Ivrea Codex (Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 115), the lower voice of an unusual polyphonic *virelai* contains a clear melodic quotation of the refrain from Adam’s play.³² The first half of the tenor voice quotes the melody of the refrain; the tenor’s second half continues with a new melody that begins with the syncopated rhythms characteristic of *ars nova* polyphonic *chanson*. The upper voice of this two-part composition features a festive *pastourelle* scene typical of the later examples of the genre, which left out the abduction narratives central to the thirteenth-century songs and to Adam’s play. The echo of the refrain’s melody in the tenor’s first half serves as a reminder of the *pastourelle* genre’s darker history to fourteenth-century listeners familiar with its past context in Adam’s play.³³

As we train our gaze further into the fourteenth century, it is natural to wonder what impact of Adam might have had on another, more famous, cleric-trouvère from northern France – Guillaume de Machaut. In the eyes of modern music historians, the two composers share a great deal: both men were clerics; both were masters of a wide array of musical and poetic genres; both inspired such admiration that patrons financed luxury manuscripts containing their complete works. It is tantalizing to find what seem like references to Adam’s songs in Machaut’s lyrics; Friedrich Ludwig long ago drew attention to refrains shared between Adam’s works and Machaut’s *ballades* 11 and 24.³⁴ Ursula Gunther expanded on Ludwig’s observations, finding a number of additional quoted items across Machaut’s oeuvre, bringing new attention to the resonances Ludwig noticed between Machaut and Adam and inspiring others to look for more.³⁵ Leach has noted that Machaut’s ballade “Nen fait nen dit” (B11) shares its refrain, “Eins yert de cuer vray / de moy servie et amee / tant com je vivrai,” with the opening verse of Adam’s *rondeau* XV, “Tant com je vivrai.”³⁶ Neither this nor the previous verse share the same music, yet the connection is suggestive. Leach, Jacques Boogaart, and Plumley have all pointed to

32 This reference was noted in Wyndham Thomas, ed., *The Robin and Marion Motets* (Devon: Antico Edition, 1985), 3:ii. The Ivrea Codex is thought to have been copied in the 1380s, however, its repertoire is assumed to have been composed in the mid-fourteenth century. See Karl Kügle, “Codex Ivrea, Bibl. Cap. 115: A French Source ‘Made in Italy,’” *Revista de Musicología* 13 (1990): 527–61, 549–52.

33 See Saltzstein, “Refrains in the *Jeu*,” 184–86.

34 Friedrich Ludwig, *Guillaume de Machaut Musikalische Werke* (Leipzig, 1926–1929), vol. 1. Ursula Gunther, “Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen der Ars Nova und Ars Subtilior,” *Musica Disciplina* 26 (1972): 53–68.

36 See Elizabeth Eva Leach, “Singing More about Singing Less: Machaut’s *Pour ce que tous* (B12),” in Leach, ed., *Machaut’s Music: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 111–24, 118n16.

the shared verse “Onques n’ama qui pour si peu hai” between the proverbial refrain of Machaut’s ballade “De petit po” (B18) and v. 17 of the triplum voice of Adam’s motet *De ma dame vient* (33) / *Diex, comment porroie* (34) / *Omnes* (M1).³⁷ Plumley cautions that the verse is proverbial and that there is no musical relationship between the settings, indicating that Machaut could have known it from a different source.³⁸ Yet Leach and Boogaart see interesting connections between the two lyrics that suggest the possibility that Machaut may indeed have been quoting the words of his northern predecessor. Boogaart notes that both pieces meditate on the theme of slander while Leach limns a gendered intertext between the two, arguing that together, they demonstrate the equal disempowerment men and women face in the hands of Fortune. The lyrics of Machaut’s *Loange de dames* also share a number of phrases with Adam’s corpus. Machaut’s lyric *Pluseurs se sont repentis* shares its refrain, “Et qui ne se vuet brusler / Si se traie ensus,” with vv. 19–20 of Adam’s song “Puisque je sui de l’amoureuse loi” (XXVII).³⁹ Scholars have drawn attention to other phrases used by both Adam and Machaut, such as “tant com vivray,” or “a Dieu vous commant,” however, these phrases ring familiar to even a casual reader of medieval French lyric; it is unlikely that they represent intentional quotations.⁴⁰ Even so, it is exciting to think that Machaut may have known, and loved, the songs of Adam de la Halle.

Among the most vexed but also the most important questions regarding Adam’s impact on Guillaume de Machaut relates to the emergence of polyphonic song. With his sixteen polyphonic *rondeaux*, Adam seems to be an important initiator of this new genre, which would remain in continuous cultivation in France through the fifteenth century. The relationship between Adam’s *rondeaux* and the polyphonic *formes fixes* songs of Machaut has been

37 Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 247–49, and Jacques Boogaart “*Folie couvient avoir: Citation and Transformation in Machaut’s Musical Works – Gender Change and Transgression*,” in Yolanda Plumley, Giuliano Di Bacco, and Stefano Jossa, eds., *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2011), 15–40, 19. A modern edition of *De ma dame vient* (33) / *Diex, comment porroie* (34) / *Omnes* (M1) can be found in Nigel Wilkins, ed., *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle (Chansons, jeux partis, rondeaux, motets)*, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* 44 (Neushausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1967), 64–65.

38 Plumley, *Art of Grafted Song*, 286. See also Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 248–49 n.124.

39 See Gilles Roques, “Tradition et innovation dans le vocabulaire de Guillaume de Machaut,” in Jacques Chailley et al., eds., *Guillaume de Machaut: Poète et compositeur. Colloque-table ronde organisé par l’Université de Reims (19–22 avril 1978)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1982), 157–73, 158 n.5. Cited in Plumley, *Art of Grafted Song*, 285.

40 *Ibid.*, 286.

subject to many theories over the course of decades and remains unresolved. Adam's own polyphonic *rondeaux* seem to have been formative in a late-thirteenth-century repertoire; a corpus of anonymous polyphonic *rondeaux* written in the same style as Adam's appears in *k*. These polyphonic *rondeaux* are importantly different from those of Machaut – in their *popularisant* register, homorhythmic settings, and relatively short length, among other features, they strike modern analysts as much simpler than their *ars nova* successors. Through meticulous stylistic analysis, Everist has provided a picture of the genre's development between the copying of Adam's *rondeaux* and those of *k*, on the one hand, and Machaut's polyphonic songs, which may date from around 1330. Polyphonic song composition seems to have passed through an intermediary period in the very early fourteenth century. Although the available evidence is limited to a single *rondeau* by Jehannot Lescurel and two anonymous *rondeaux* in the manuscript Paris, BnF, Picardie 67, Everist demonstrates that there was a discrete phase of polyphonic *rondeau* composition that was stylistically distinct from both the early examples by Adam and the *formes fixes* songs of Machaut.⁴¹ This layered stylistic history casts doubt on Adam's direct influence on Machaut at the same time that it confirms Adam's role as the initiator of a significant, and lasting, new genre of song.

Although he surely influenced later generations, Adam de la Halle was, at heart, an artist of his literary circle, of his time, and of his city. The essays in this book have shown the profound marks that the bustling, proto-capitalistic economy of Arras made on his output. Symes reveals the detail and accuracy with which Adam's lyrics and plays lament and lampoon the corruption of the local overlords and humorously highlight the foibles of his aristocratic patrons. The personages that people his literary universe are real; his world buzzes with the voices of his fellow burghers who jostle for attention, status, and favor on the stage of Adam's verse. The market-based economy infuses Adam's lyrics with mercantile rhetoric and metaphors of exchange, as Zingesser demonstrates. Even in his *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, a work that bears no trace of the urban environment of Arras, Grau shows how the proliferation of voices and fracturing of poetic perspective effect a social kinesis in which a clever shepherdess can successfully undermine an aristocratic knight. This class mobility brings to mind, metaphorically, the mixing of classes in Arras. There is a kind of urban noisiness to Adam's polyvocal verse, even when its setting is pastoral.

Written in the thirteenth century's second half, Adam's works appeared against the backdrop of a *trouvère* song tradition then a century old. The *chansonniers* themselves tell the narrative of a lyric tradition in transforma-

41 See Everist, "Souspirant en terre estrange," 41–42.

tion, revealing the rise of the northern French city and the decline of the courtly, aristocratic world in which troubadour song was originally forged. It is in the ascendant world of the urban, cleric-trouvère that Adam's corpus shines. Just as Haines allows us to glimpse the waning of the aristocratic culture celebrated in *M-trouv.*, Peraino reveals how *T-trouv.* symbolically passes the torch of trouvère song from the hands of Thibaut de Champagne to the cleric's pen of Adam de la Halle. Nearly all of this book's chapters dwell in some way on Adam's clerikliness. Adam's education is on display in his penchant for the *jeu-parti*, a song genre that O'Sullivan reminds us has its roots in the Latinate, university practice of disputation. The ethical, didactic quality Ragnard observes in Adam's song lyrics also points to Adam's learning. Everist demonstrates that Adam's mastery of the motets of *Mo* shows his debt to the clerical, Parisian roots of the motet genre. Adam's clerikliness is best understood, however, within the decidedly worldly context of his native Arras, populated by many clerics who put their education to uses other than preaching. Corbellari reminds us of the important differences between clerics who had taken orders and the educated performers of Arras, who were firmly grounded in the world. As much as Adam's songs and plays allude to his learning, Corbellari shows that they also eschew the pedantry, moralizing tone, and misogyny of his clerical contemporaries Jean de Meun and Rutebeuf. Corbellari illuminates the humor and buoyancy of Adam's particular brand of *clergie*, which is infused with a busker's streetwise sensibility. O'Sullivan reinforces this image of Adam, encouraging us to picture his *jeux-partis* as jocular contests that played on the streets of Arras, where trouvères competed to show their mastery of the lyric traditions. The feudal and chivalric metaphors that had suffused the contests of aristocratic trouvères cedes, in Adam's *jeux-partis*, to the urban, quotidian imagery of food and drink.

Embedded in an urban environment that was host to many other educated songwriters, the competition and pageantry of Arras's musical culture surely helped prompt Adam to innovate. His approach to form and genre are a case in point. Inspired by the example of a then classicized *arrageois* author, Jehan Bodel, Adam transformed the genre Bodel had popularized – the *pastourelle*. Grau shows how Adam's *Jeu de Robin et Marion* can be interpreted as a generic amplification of the *pastourelle*, wherein Adam uses musical insertions and refrains to create a large-scale version of the song genre. His dramatic transfiguration of a popular song type in which he never wrote is a virtuosic demonstration that he had mastered and indeed surpassed the example of his cleric-trouvère predecessor, Bodel. Both Everist and Ibos-Augé illustrate how Adam's musical corpus doubles back on itself, binding his own works together through self-quotation of refrains and snatches of polyphony. Understanding

Adam's oeuvre often requires reading each piece back into the context of the whole, a strategy facilitated and encouraged by the "complete works" section of fr. 25566. Adam not only demonstrates his mastery of existing genres through his innovations, he asks that his readers gain mastery of *his* works, so many of which reward contextualization across his full corpus. The chapters in this book, which span the genres and disciplines of Adam's output, are intended to help modern readers to realize just this aim.

Annex I – Refrains in *Rondeaux* and *Chansons*

Anne Ibos-Augé

vdB Index host work	Incipit	Metrics	Melody	Ambitus	Polarity	Other occurrences	Remarks
1074	“Je muir, je muir	A ₇ B ₃ A ₇	ABAB’	6m	Fa	<i>Renart le</i>	3 different
rond. 70	d’amourete, las, aimi, par defaute d’amiete, de merchi.”	B ₃	ABA’B’ ABC	7m 7m	Ré Unspecified	<i>Nouvel</i>	versions The versions in fr. 25566 are similar

Rondeau

1- fr. 25566, fol. 32va

JE muir je muir d'a - mou - re - te las ai - mi. par de - fau - te d'a - mi - e - te. de mer - chi.

2- *CaB* 19va

Je muir je muir d'a - mou - ret - tes Las ai - mi par de - fau - te d'a - mi - e - te de mer - chi

Renart le Nouvel v. 6670 (Renart)

1- fr. 372, fol. 50rb (*RenartC*)

Je muir je muir d'a - mou - re - tes las ai - mi. par de - fau - te d'a - mi - ete et de mer - ci.

2- fr. 1593, fol. 49va (*RenartF*; later marginal addition)

Je muir je muir d'a - mou - ret - tes. Las ay - mi

Renart le Nouvel v. 6896 (Chanteclerc)

1- fr. 1581, fol. 48vb (*RenartL*)

2- fr. 25566, fol. 167vb (*V-Renart*)

Je muir je muir d'a - mo - re - tes las ay - mi. par de - fau - te d'a - mi - e - te de mer - ci.

Note: For the rondeaux and the chansons à refrain, when there is no significant variation, only the music of the initial refrain is given. For the manuscripts, the order of capital letters and punctuation has been respected. No modal classification is proposed, but, instead, when possible, polarities that suggest a melodic profile have been given. The ambitus is indicated by a number that corresponds to the intervals, accompanied by the letters “j” for just, “d” for diminished, “m” and “M” for minor and major; when two intervals are separated by a dash, the second designates the maximal extension of the melody

3- fr. 1593, fol. 52rb (*RenartF*)

Je muir je muir d'a - mo - re - tes Las ai - mi par de - fau - te D'a - mi - e - te deu mer - ci.

4- fr. 372, fol. 53ra (*RenartC*; later marginal addition)

1229	“Li dous regars de ma	A ₇ B ₇	AB	9M	<i>Fa</i>
rond. 71	dame				<i>Sol</i>
	me fait esperer merci.”				

1- fr. 25566, fol. 32vb

Li dous re - gars de me da - me me fait es - pe - rer mer - chi.

2- *CaB* 19vb

Li dous re - gars de ma da - me me fait es - pe - rer mer - chi.

784	“Hareu, li	A ₆ B ₂	AB	4j	<i>Fa</i>	<i>Poire</i>	4 different versions: <i>rondeau</i> ,
rond. 72	maus d'amer			5j	Unspecified	<i>Renart le Nouvel RenartV / RenartF / M 510 /</i>	
	m'ochist.”			6m	<i>Ré</i>	M 510	M 569
				5j	<i>Fa</i>	M 569	

Rondeau

1- fr. 25566, fol. 32vb

HA - reu li maus d'a - mer m'o - chist.

2- *CaB* 19ra

HA - reu li maus d'a - mer m'o - cist.

Poire v. 284 (the author-lover; fr. 2186, fol. 12r; fr. 12786, fol. 3rb)

Poire v. 2954 (the lady; fr. 2186, fol. 79v; fr. 12786, fol. 24ra)

Renart le Nouvel v. 6698 (the beaver)1- fr. 25566, fol. 165rb (*V-Renart*)

Ha - reus li maus d'a - mer m'o - chist.

2- fr. 1593, fol. 49vb (*RenartF*)

Ha - reu li maux d'a - mer m'o - cist

Renart le Nouvel v. 6840 (Bruiant the bull)fr. 25566, fol. 167ra (*V-Renart*)

Ha - reu li maus d'a - mer m'o - chist.

M 510: *duplum* of the motet *Ne sai ou confort trouver* (509) / *Que pour moi reconforter* (510) / *Et speravit* (M49) (final refrain)1- *StV* 292r

en non diu li maus d'a - mer m'o - cit.

2- *Mo* 122r

en non diu li maus d'a - mer m'o - cit.

M 569: *triplum* of the motet *Que ferai, biaux sire Dieus* (569) / *Ne puet faillir* (570) / *Descendentibus* (M74) (internal divided refrain)1- *Mo* 115v

ha - reu li maus d'a - mer. m'o - - - cit.

2- *Mo* 194v

ha - rou li mau d'a - mer. m'o - - - cit.

3- Ba 45ra

ha - ro li mal d'a - mer m'o - - cit.

12	"A Dieu commant	A ₇ B ₄ C ₇	ABA'	5d	Ut	M 835	Similar versions
rond. 73	amouretes,						Shared poetic material
	car je m'en vois						between the <i>rondeau</i> and the
	souspirant en						<i>duplum</i> of the motet
	terre estrange."						

Rondeau

fr. 25566, fol. 33rb

A Dieu con- mant a - mou-re-tes car je m'en vois sous - pi-rant en terre es- tran - ge.

M 835: *duplum* of the motet Aucun (Adam) se sont loé d'Amours (834) / A Dieu commant amouretes (835) / Et super (Super te) (divided refrain)

1- Mo 288rb

A Dieu que- mant a - mou-re-tes car [je] m'en vois sous - pi-rant en terre es- tran - ge.

2- fr. 25566, fol. 34vb

A Dieu com - mant a - mou-re-tes. car je m'en vois. sous - pi-rant en terre es- tran - ge.

746	"Fi, maris, de	A ₇ B ₄	AB	6m	Ut	Renart le Nouvel	Different version in fr. 1593
rond. 74	vostre amour,			5j	Fa	M 873	The motet and the <i>rondeau</i> begin
	car j'ai ami."						with similar polyphonic material

Rondeau

fr. 25566, fol. 33rb

Fi ma - ris de vostre a - mour. car j'ai a - mi.

Renart le Nouvel v. 6864 (Outreucidie)1- fr. 25566, fol. 167va (*V-Renart*)

Fi ma - ri de vostre a - mour car j'ai a - mi.

2- fr. 1593, fol. 51vb (*RenartF*)

Fi ma - riz de vostre a - mour que j'ai a - mi.

M 873: *duplum* of the motet *Dame bele et avenant* (872) / *Fi, mari, de vostre amour* (873) / *Nus n'iert ja jolis s'il n'aime* (initial refrain)

1- *Mo* 300vb

Fi ma - ri de vostre a - mour. quar j'ai a - mi.

2- *Reg* n° 5 (missing)

430 “*Dame, or sui traïs A₅B₃B₉ ABC 8j Fa Renart le Nouvel Similar versions*
 rond. 75 par l’ocoison de vos iex
 qui sont privé laron.”

Rondeau

1- fr. 25566, fol. 33 va

Dame or sui tra - îs par l'o - coi - son de vos iex qui sont pri - vé la - ron.

2- *k* 8ov3- *V-Renart* 55vb

Dame or sui tra - îs par l'o - coi - son de vos iex qui sont pri - vé lar - ron.

Renart le Nouvel v. 6824 (*Renart*)fr. 25566, fol. 166vb (*V-Renart*)

Dame or sui tra - his par l'o - coi - son de vos iex qui sont pri - vé lar - ron.

156	"Amours et ma dame	A ₇ A ₇	AA'	5d	Fa	Renart le	3 different versions
rond. 76	aussi,		AB	4j	Fa	Nouvel	Related to vdB 80
	jointes mains vous			6M	Ré		
	proi merchi."						

Rondeau

1- fr. 25566, fol. 33va

A-mours et ma dame aus - si join - tes mains vous proi mer - chi.

2- k 78r

Renart le Nouvel v. 6718 (Renart)

1- fr. 25566, fol. 165va (*V-Renart*)

A-mours et ma dame aus - si. join - tes mains vous proi mer - chi.

2- fr. 1593, fol. 50ra (*RenartF*)

A - mours et ma dame aus - si Join - tes mains vous proi mer - ci

3- fr. 372, fol. 50vb (*RenartC*)

A-mours et ma dame au - si join - tes mains vous pri mer - ci.

1445 "Or est Baiars en la A'₈A'₁B₆B₆ ABCC 7m Ré

rond. 77
 pasture,
 hure!
 des deus piés
 defferrés,
 des deus piés
 defferrés."

fr. 25566, fol. 33 vb

OR est ba - iars en la pas - tu - re hu - re. des deus piés def - fer - rés. des .ii. piés def - fer - rés.

80	“A jointes mains	A ₆ B ₆	AB	5d-6m	Ut	<i>Tournoi de Chauvenci</i>	Similar versions
rond. 78	vous proi douche dame, merchi.”			5j-6m	Unspecified	<i>Dit enté</i> “Amours dont tele est la puissance” (<i>Fauvel</i>)	Related to vdB 156

Rondeau

fr. 25566, fol. 33 vb

A Join - tes mains vous proi dou - che da - me mer - chi.

Tournoi de Chauvenci v. 1366 (Estene of Oisellers; Mons, Bibl. Univ., 330–215, fol. 89va)*Fauvel, Dit enté* “Amours dont tele est la puissance” v. 437 (Fauvel)

fr. 146, fol. 25vb

A join - tes mains vos pri dou - ce da - me mercy

823	“Hé, Dieus, quant	A ₃ B ₄	AB	5d	<i>Fa</i>	<i>Violette</i>	Identical versions
rond. 79	verrai cele que j’aim?”					M 879 M 884	

Rondeau

fr. 25566, fol. 34 ra

Hé diex quant ver - rai che - li que j’aim.

Violette v. 5100 (Gerart; fr. 1374, fol. 164 ra; St Petersburg, Bibl. Publ. Saltykov-Chtchédrine, fr. 4° v. XIV. 3, fol. 35vb; New York, Pierpont Morgan libr., 36, fol. 82v)M 879: *duplum* of the motet *Theotheca, virgo geralica* (878) / *Las! pour quoi l’esloigne tant* (879) / *Qui prendroit a son cuer* (final refrain)*Mo* 348rb

hé diex quant ver - rai ce - le que j’aim.

M 884: *triplum* of the motet Bien met Amours son pooir pour a moi grever (884) / Dame, alegiés ma grevance (885) / Aperis (internal refrain)

Mo 330ra

hé diex quant ver - rai ce - le que j'aim

496	"Diex, comment	A ₅ B ₅ A ₅	ABC	5j	Sol	Renart le	4 different
rond. 8o	porroie		(reoccurring	7m	Fa	Nouvel	versions:
	sans cheli durer		elements)	5j-6M	Unspecified	M 34	rondeau, M 34
	qui me tient en joie?"			6m-7m	Fa		/ Renart v.
							4514 (C) /
							Renart v. 4514
							(F) / Renart v.
							6778

Rondeau

1- fr. 25566, fol. 34 ra

Diex com-ment por - roi - e. sans che - li du - rer. qui me tient en joi - e.

2- k 78 v

Renart le Nouvel v. 4514 (Hersent)

1- fr. 372, fol. 34va (RenartC)

Diex com - ment por-roi - e sans ce - lui du - rer Qui mi tient en joi - e

2- fr. 1593, fol. 34v (RenartF; later marginal addition)

Dieu com-ment por - roi - e sanz cel-luy du - rer qui me tient en Joie.

Renart le Nouvel v. 6778 (Symon the monkey)

fr. 372, fol. 51va (RenartC)

Diex je ne por-roi - e sans ce - lui du - rer Qui me tient en joi - e

M 34: *duplum* of the motet *De ma dame vient* (33) / *Dieus! comment porroie* (34) / *Omnes* (M1) (internal divided refrain)

1- *Mo* 3urb



Dix cou - ment por - roi - e sans ce - le du - rer qui me tient en joi - e.

2- fr. 25566, fol. 35vb



Dix com - ment por - roi - e sans che - li du - rer qui me tient en joi - e.

1804 "Trop desir à vëoir A₆B₃ AB 5j-6m Ré

rond. 81 che que j'aim."

fr. 25566, fol. 34rb



Trop de - sir a ve - oir che que j'aim.

289 "Bonne amourete A₄B₃ AB 3m-5j Ré *Renart le Nouvel* 2 different versions

rond. 82 me tient gai." 5j Unspecified RS 1390 IV

3m-5j Sol M 1073

Rondeau

1- fr. 25566, fol. 34rb



Bonne a - mou - re - te me tient gai.

2- *k* 77v

Renart le Nouvel v. 2552 (Renart)

fr. 1593, fol. 19a (*RenartF*)



Bonne a - mou - rei - te mi tient gai.

RS 1390 IV "Quant je voi l'erbe amahir" (Perrin d'Angicourt; *K-trouv.* 162b; *N-trouv.* 52ra; *X* 109va; *O-trouv.* 118vb)

M 1073 Bone amourete m'a souspris

R-motet 3v (later addition)

8 Bone a - mou - re - te me tient gai

1759 "Tant con je vivrai, A_5B_7 AB 6M-7m *Ut*
 rond. 83 n'amerai autrui que vous."

fr. 25566, fol. 34rb

8 Tant con je vi - vrai n'a - me - rai au - trui que vous.

747 "Fines amouretes ai; A_7A_8 AB 5j *Fa* Free schema
 L 2-46 Dieus, si ne sai, quant close to the
 MW 224, 2 les verrai." rondeau

1- fr. 25566, fol. 32vb

8 Fi - nes a - mou - re - tes ai. diex si ne sai quant les ver - rai.

2- *CaB* 19va

8 Fi - nes a - mou - re - tes ai. diex si ne sai kant les ver - rai

569 "Dieus soit en cheste A_7A_7 AB 6M *Fa* Repetitions and
 RS 1870a maison, voice exchanges
 L 2-44 et biens et goie a Musical material
 MW 1064, 9 fuison!" of the rondeau
 reused in the
additamenta

fr. 25566, fol. 34va

Dieus soit en ches - te mai - son. et biens et goie a fui - son.

1444	“Or est ensi	A ₄ A ₆	AB	6M	Ré (suspensive)	Refrain
RS 612	ke j’atendrai merchi.”					independent
L 2-19				5J	Ré	from the content
MW 1342, 5						of the stanza

1 – *T-trouv.* 228r2 – *P-trouv.* 216ra

Or est en - si. ke j’a - ten - drai mer - chi.

3 – *W-trouv.* 6vb

or est en - si que j’a - ten - drai mer - chi.

4 – *W-trouv.* 13va

or est en - si. que j’a - ten - de - rai mer - chi.

5- *Q* 319ra6- *R-trouv.* 159v

or est ain - si que je a - ten - drai mer - ci.

Annex II – The *Refrains* and Citations in the Motets

Anne Ibos-Augé

vdB	<i>Incipit</i>	Metrics	Melody	<i>Ambitus</i>	Polarity	Other	Remarks
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occurrences

Aucun (“Adam” fr. 25566) se sont loé d’Amours (834) / A Dieu commant amouretes (835) / Et super (Super te fr. 25566)

12	“A Dieu commant amouretes, See Annex I car je m’en vois souspirant en terre estrange.”
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De ma dame vient (33) / *Dieus! comment porroie* (34) / *Omnes* (M1)

477	“De ma dame vient la grant joie que j’ai.”	A ₅ A ₆	AA’	5j 5j	<i>Fa</i> <i>Ut</i>	rond. 90 (Guillaume d’Amiens) RS 1449 III M 787	Similar versions Version in <i>Mo</i> less ornate than the one in fr. 25566 Version in the <i>rondeau</i> is closer to M 787
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M 33: *triplum* (initial refrain)

1- fr. 25566, fol. 35va

DE ma da - me vient la grans joi - e que j'ai.

2- *Mo* 311ra

DE ma da - me vient la grant joi - e que j'ai

RS 1449 111 “Quant voi le dous tens revenir” (*K-trouv.* 345a, *N-trouv.* 167rb, *X* 225rb, *P-trouv.* 130va)

M 787: *triplum* of the motet *Grant solas me fait Amours* (787) / *Plëüst Dieu qu'ele seüst* (788) / *Neuma* (internal refrain)

Mo 160v

de ma da - me vient la grant joi - e que j'ai

Rond. 90 *De ma dame vient*

a-trouv. 119rb

De ma da - me vient la grant joi - e que j'ai

765	“Fui toi, gaitte, fai moi voie; par ci passent gens de joie.”	$A'_7A'_7$	AAAB	4j-6m	<i>Fa</i>	<i>Tournoi de Chauvenci</i>	Identical versions
						<i>Court d'Amour II</i>	
						M 1115	

M 33: *triplum* (internal refrain)

1- fr. 25566, fol. 35va

fui te gai - te fai me voi - e par chi pas - se gent de joi - e.

2- *Mo* 311ra

fui toi gai - te fai moi voi - e par ci pas - sent gens de joi - e

Tournoi de Chauvenci v. 2350 (young people; *B-Mbu*, fol. 94vb; *I-trouv.*, fol. 121ra)

Court d'Amour II v. 3656 a/b (the princess of Tarente; *NAF* 1731, fol. 62vb)

M 115 *Fui te gaitte, fai me voie* (*D-motet* 246ra; divided refrain)

1661	“Savourosete, cui Diex doinst boin jour.”	A_{10}	A	5j-6m 6M-7m	<i>Ut</i> <i>Ut</i>	Refrain probably fabricated
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M 33: *tripulum* (final refrain)

1- fr. 25566, fol. 35va

sa - ve - rou - se - te que diex doinst bon jour.

2- *Mo* 311ra

sa - vou - ro - se - te cui diex doinst boin jour.

496 “Diex, comment porroie See Annex 1
sans cheli durer
qui me tient en joie?”

1473 “Par ci va la A₇B₅ AB 4j Fa *Salut d’amour* “Bele, Similar versions
mignotise, salus vous mande...” For Adam’s motet, the
par ci ou je vois.” *Abeïe du chastel amoureux* version in *Mo* is less
Tournoi de Chauvenci fr. 25566 ornate than the one in
M 17
M 1121
Feuillee

M 34: *duplum* (final refrain)

1- fr. 25566, fol. 35vb

par chi va la mi - gno - ti - se par chi ou je vois

2- *Mo* 311rb

par ci va la mi - gno - ti - se par ci ou je vois.

Salut d’amour “Bele, salus vous mande...” (the author; fr. 837, fol. 270ra)

Abeïe du chastel amoureux (“cui qui poit”; Angers, Bibl. mun. 403, fol. 90 vb)

Jeu de la feuillée v. 874 (the fairies)

fr. 25566, fol. 57 rb



PAR chi va la mi - gno - ti - se par ci ou je vois.

Tournoi de Chauvenci v. 1312 (Agnès of Commarcy; *B-Mbu* 330–215, fol. 89ra)M 17: *triplum* of the motet *Tant me fait a vous penser* (17) / *Tout li cuers me rit de joie* (18) / *Omnes* (M₁) (final refrain)1- *Mo* 157v


par ci va la mi - gno - ti - se par ci ou je vois.

2- *Ba* 57ra


par ci va la mi - gno - ti - se par la ou je vois

M 1121: motet (?) *Par ci va la mignotise* (*D-motet* 246va; divided refrain)J'ai adés d'amours chanté et servi (35) / *Omnes* (M₁)

703	"Est il donc drois k'amours mi laissent? Nennil voir!"	A_8B_3 AA' 4j-5d <i>Fa</i>	rond. 91 (Guil- laume d'Amiens) RS 1286 III (Philippe Paon or Jehannot Paon)	Shared musical material between the refrain and the host-motet.
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M 35: *duplum* (final refrain)

fr. 25566, f. 37ra



est che dont droit k'a - mours mi lais - sent ne - nil voir.

RS 1286 111 “Se felon et losengier” (*K-trouv.* 256b, *N-trouv.* 126ra, *X* 173rb, *P-trouv.* 114va)

Rond. 91 “Est il donc drois k'amours mi laissent?” (*a* 119rb)

Entre Adam et Hanikel (725) / *Chiés bien seant* (726) / *Aptatur* (O45)

“Chief bien seans.”	A ₄	A	5j	<i>Fa</i>	M 39	Citation of a poetic and lyrical fragment which is not a refrain
			5j	<i>Ut</i>		

M 726: *duplum* (*incipit*)

Mo 280v



M 39: *duplum* of the motet *Se je sui liés et chantans* (39) / *Jolietement* (40) / *Omnes* (M₁)

Mo 364v



Annex III – Lyrical Citations in the Plays

Anne Ibos-Augé

vdB	Incipit	Location	Metrics	Ambitus	Other occurrences	Comments
		Singer	Melody	Polarity		

Jeu de Robin et Marion

1633	"Robin m'aime, Robin m'a	v. 1	A ₇ A ₁₀	6m	RS 85 III	Identical music
	Robin m'a demandee, si	Marion	AB	Fa	RS 573 III	Play and motet have
	m'avra."			Ut	M 298	different endings

Jeu

1- fr. 25566, fol. 39ra

RO - bins m'ai-me ro-bins m'a Ro-bins m'a de - man - de - e si m'a - ra:

2- fr. 1569, fol. 140ra

3- Méjanes 166, fol. 1r

RO- bins m'aim-me ro- bins m'a ro-bins m'a de man - de - e si m'a - vra.

RS 85 III "A l'entrant de mai" (*K-trouv.* 404a)

RS 573 III "Au tens novel (Que cil oisel Sont)" (*K-trouv.* 160b; *N-trouv.* 57rb; *X* 115ra; *V-trouv.* 94vb)

M 298: *duplum* of the motet Mout me fu griés li departir (297) / Robin m'aime, Robin m'a (298) / Portare (M22) (initial and final refrain)

1- Ba 52vb

Ro - bins m'aim-me ro- bins m'a ro-bins m'a de - man - de - e si m'a - ra

2- Mo 292rb

RO- bin m'ai - me ro- bin m'a ro- bin m'a de man - de - e si m'a - vra.

3- [Bes n° 43]

"Je me repairoie du tournoiemment,	v. 8	A ₁₁ A ₁₁	6m	Music identical to
si trouvai Marote seulet, au cors	The knight	AA'	Mi	vdB 1869
gent."				

1- fr. 25566, fol. 39rb

Je me re - pai-roi - e du tour-noi - e-ment. si trou-vai ma-ro - te seu-lete. au cors gent

2- fr. 1569, fol. 140ra

3- Méjanes 166, fol. 1r

Je me re - pai-roi - e du tour-noi - e-ment. Si trou-vai ber-gie - re seu-lete. ac cors gent.

871	"Hé, Robin, se tu m'aimes	v. 10	A ₆ B ₆	4j
	par amours, maine	Marion		4j-5j
	m'ent."	AA'		Fa

1- fr. 25566, fol. 39rb

Hé ro - bin se tu m'ai - mes par a - mours mai - ne n'ent.

2- fr. 1569, fol. 140ra

3- Méjanes 166, fol. 1r

HÉ ro - bins se tu m'aim - mes par a - mours main - ne m'ent.

1869	"Vous perdés vo paine,	v. 82	A ₉ A ₉	6m	Music identical to "Je
	sire Aubert,	Marion			me repairoie"
	ja n'amerai autrui que	AA'		Fa	
	Robert."	AB		Mi / Fa	

1- fr. 25566, fol. 40ra

vous per-dés vo pai - ne sire au-ber.t. Je n'a-me - rai au - trui que ro-ber.t.

2- fr. 1569, fol. 140va

3- Méjanes 166, fol. 2r

Vous per-dés vo pai - ne sire au-biert Je n'a- me - rai au - tre que ro-ber.

251	"Bergeronnete sui, mais	v. 89	A ₈ A ₇	4j	Melody can be found
	j'ai	Marion	A ₇ A ₇		in vdB 252
	ami bel et cointe et gai."		AA'	Fa	

1- fr. 25566, fol. 40ra

Ber - ge - ron - ne - te sui mais j'ai: a - mi Bel et cointe et gai.

2- fr. 1569, fol. 140va

3- Méjanes 166, fol. 2r

Ber - ge - re - te sui més j'ai a - mi cointe et bel et gay.

1896	"Trairire deluriau	v. 94	A ₁₁ B ₁₁	6M	Related versions
	deluriau delurele, trairire	fr. 25566:	A ₆ B ₆		
	deluriau deluriau	Marion			
	delurot."	then the	AA'	Fa / Ut	
		knight			
		Others: the			
		knight			

1- fr. 25566, fol. 40rb

Trai - ri de-lu-riau de-lu-riau de-lu-rie - le. trai - ri de-lu-riau de-lu - riau de-lu-rot.

2- fr. 1569, fol. 140 vb

3- Méjanes 166, fol. 2r

Trai - li du - riau du - re - le Traire li du - riau du - rot.

"Deure, leure, va."

v. 101

A₅

3M

Marion; Robin

A

1- fr. 25566, fol. 40rb



2- fr. 1569, fol. 140vb

3- Méjanes 166, fol. 2v



1860

"Vous l'orrés bien dire,

v. 163

A'₇A'₅

5d

Music similar to

belle,

Robin

AA'

Sol

"Avant et arriere,

vous l'orrés bien dire."

belle, avant et arriere"

1- fr. 25566, fol. 41ra



2- fr. 1569, fol. 141ra

3- Méjanes 166, fol. 3r



252

"Bargeronette, très douce

v. 175

A'₁₀B₉B₉

6m

RS 974 = Melody partially from

conpaignete,

Robin

A'₁₀B₉

1697 vdB 251

doneis moi vostre

ABB'

Fa

chaipelet,

AB

donnez moi vostre

chaipelet."

1- fr. 25566, fol. 41ra

Initial refrain:



Final refrain:

Ber - ge-ron-ne - te dou-che bais-se-le - te don - nés le moi vos-tre cha - pe - let.

2- fr. 1569, fol. 141rb

3- Méjanes 166, fol. 3v

Ber - ge-ron-ne - te dou-ce bais-se-le - te don - nez le moi vos-tre cha - pe - let.

RS 974 = 1697 “Bergeronete [L'autre jour je chevachioie]” (*I-trouv.* 196cra; *I-trouv.* 226ra)

“Avant et arriere, bele, avant et arriere.”	v. 195 Robin	A ₇ A' ₅ AA'	5d Sol	Music similar to vdB 186o
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1- fr. 25566, fol. 41va

a - vant et ar - rie - re be - le a - vant et ar - rie - re.

2- fr. 1569, fol. 141 va

3- Méjanes 166, fol. 4 r

a - vant et ar - rie - re be - le a - vant et ar - rie - re.

1161 “J’oi Robin flagoler au flagol d’argent, au flagol d’argent.”	v. 314 Marion	A ₆ B ₅ B ₅ ABB'	5j 6M Sol/Ut	Rosarius (RS 1551 VII)	Textual citation only
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1- fr. 25566, fol. 42 vb

J’oi ro - bin fla - go - ler. au fla - gol d’ar - gent au fla - gol d’ar - gent.

2- fr. 1569, fol. 142 rb

3- Méjanes 166, fol. 5 v

J’oi ro - bin fla - go - ler au fla - gieu d’ar - gent au fla - gieu d’ar - gent.

RS 1551 *Li premiers hons fu jadis*

fr. 12483, f. 207va



a fla - gel d'ar - gent. a fla - gon d'ar - gent.

870	“Hé, resveille toi, Robin, car on en maine Marot.”	v. 354	A ₇ B ₇ B ₇	5j	<i>Salut</i>	Similar versions
		Méjanes:			<i>d'amour</i>	
		Baudoul	ABB'	<i>Sol</i>	“Bele,	
		Others:		<i>Ré</i>	salus vous	
		Gautier			mande”	
					RS 1700	
					IV	
					M 870T	

Jeu

1- fr. 25566, fol. 43rb



Hé res-veil - le toi ro-bin car on en mai-ne ma-rot. Car on en mai-ne ma-rot.

2- fr. 1569, fol. 142va

3- Méjanes 166, fol. 6r



HÉ res-veil - le toi ro-bin quar on en main-ne ma-rot. car on en main-ne ma-rot.

Salut d'amour “Bele, salus vous mande” (the shepherdess; fr. 837, fol. 269vb)RS 1700 IV “Hier main quant je chevauchioie” (*P-trouv.* 128rb)

M 870T: teneur of the motet En mai, quant rosier (870) / L'autr'ier par un matin (871) / Hé! resveille toi!

[Robin, car on enmaine Marot]

1- *Mo* 297 ra


HÉ res-vel - le toi

2- *Reg* n° 4 (missing)3- [*Bes* n° 31]

200	"Avoec tele compaignie doit on bien joie mener."	v. 434 The group	A ₇ B ₇ AB	5d	<i>Salut d'amour</i>	Related musics
				6m	"Celui qu'Amors	Variable endings and polarities
				5j	conduit et	
				<i>Ut</i>	maine..."	
				<i>Fa</i>	<i>Tournoi de Chauvenci Renart le Nouvel</i>	

Jeu

1- fr. 25566, fol. 44ra

A - veuc te - le con - pai - gni - e doit on bien joi - e me - ner

2- fr. 1569, fol. 143ra

3- Méjanes 166, fol. 7r

En si bon - ne com - pai - gni - e doit on bien joi - e me - ner.

Salut d'amour "Celui qu'Amors conduit et maine..." (the poet; fr. 837, fol. 254va)*Tournoi de Chauvenci* v. 3118 (the countess of Luxembourg; *B-Mbu* 330–215, fol. 99ra; *I-trouv.*, fol. 127va)*Renart le Nouvel* v. 6632 (Noble)1- fr. 1581, fol. 47va (*RenartL*)2- fr. 25566, fol. 164va (*V-Renart*)

A - voec te - le com - pai - gni - e doit on bien joi - e me - ner.

3- fr. 1593, fol. 49rb (*RenartF*)

A - vec te - le com - pai - gni - e. doit on bien joi - e me - ner

4- fr. 372, fol. 50ra (*RenartC*)

A - voec te - le com - pai - gni - e doit l'en bien Joi - e me - ner.

1576	“Que nous mengerons,	v. 673	A ₇ B ₇ A ₇ B ₇	4j		Similar versions
	Marote,	Robin				
	bec a bec, et moi et vous.		AA'AA'	Ut		
	Chi me ratendés, Marote,			Fa		
	chi venrai parler a vous.”					

1- fr. 25566, fol. 46vb

Que nous men - ge - rons ma - ro - te bec a bec et moi et vous. Chi me ra - ten - dés ma - ro - te chi ven - rai par - ler a vous.

2- fr. 1569, fol. 144rb

3- Méjanes 166, fol. 10r

Que nous men - ge - rons ma - ro - te. bec a bec et moi et vous. Ci me ra - ten - dés ma - ro - te ci ven - drai par - ler a vous.

“Audigier, dist	Raim-	v. 742	A ₁₁	4j	<i>Audigier</i>	Similar versions
berge, bouse vous di.”	Gautier		A	<i>La</i>	(so called	For the melodic
			AA'	<i>La</i>	citation)	contour cf. vdB 893
						(<i>Pelerin</i>)

1- fr. 25566, fol. 48va

AU - di - gier dist raim - ber - ge bou - se vous di.

2- fr. 1569, fol. 144vb

3- Méjanes 166, fol. 11r

Au - di - gier dist raim - ber - ge bou - se vous di.

1835	“Venés après moi, venés	v. 775	A ₇ B ₇ C ₇	8j		
	le sentele, le sentele,	Robin	ABB'	Ut		
	le sentele lés le bos.”			Fa		

1- fr. 25566, fol. 48vb



VE-nés a - prés moi ve - nés le sen-te - le le sen-te - le le sen-te - le lés le bos.

2- Méjanes 166, fol. 11v



VE-nés a - prés moi ve - nés la sen-te - le la sen-te - le la sen - te - le lés le bois.

Jeu de la feuillée

1473 "Par ci va la mignotise,
par ci ou je vois" See Annex II

Jeu du pèlerin

893 "Il n'est viande ke vaillet
les matons." v. 100 A₁₁ 5j RS 1374 II For the melodic
Rogaus A La contour cf. "Audi-
gier..."

Jeu

fr. 25566, fol. 38vb



il n'est si bon - ne vi - an - de que ma - tons

RS 1374 II "L'autre jour par un matin (sous)" (*I-trouv.* 196cra)

1686 "Se je n'i aloie, je n'iroie
mie." v. 108 A₅B₅ 4j-5d Fauvel Different versions
Warniers 5j distantly related
AB Ut
Sol

Jeu

fr. 25566, fol. 38vb



se je n'i a - loi - e je n'i - roi - e mi - e

Fauvel: sottre chanson 12 (the players of the charivari)

fr. 146, fol. 36vc

A single line of musical notation in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody consists of quarter notes and eighth notes. The lyrics are written below the staff, aligned with the notes. The text ends with 'etc.' and a double bar line.

8 Se je n'i a - loi - e je n'i - roi - e mie. etc.

Annex IV – Musical Transcriptions

Anne Ibos-Augé

1 – “Fines amouretes ai” (fr. 25566, fol. 32vb)

Musical transcription for the first system. It consists of three staves: a vocal line and two lute accompaniment staves. The vocal line has a treble clef and a 3/8 time signature. The lute staves have a C-clef and a 3/8 time signature. The music features triplets and various rhythmic patterns. The lyrics are: Fi - nes a - mou - re - tes ai. dieus si ne sai quant les ver - rai.

Fi - nes a - mou - re - tes ai. dieus si ne sai quant les ver - rai.

Musical transcription for the second system. It consists of three staves: a vocal line and two lute accompaniment staves. The vocal line has a treble clef and a 3/8 time signature. The lute staves have a C-clef and a 3/8 time signature. The music features triplets and various rhythmic patterns. The lyrics are: Or man-de - rai m'a - mi - e - te. qui est cointe et jo - li - e - te.

Or man-de - rai m'a - mi - e - te. qui est cointe et jo - li - e - te.

Musical transcription for the third system. It consists of three staves: a vocal line and two lute accompaniment staves. The vocal line has a treble clef and a 3/8 time signature. The lute staves have a C-clef and a 3/8 time signature. The music features triplets and various rhythmic patterns. The lyrics are: et s'est si sa - ve - rou - se - te. c'as - te - nir ne m'en por - rai.

et s'est si sa - ve - rou - se - te. c'as - te - nir ne m'en por - rai.

Musical transcription for the fourth system. It consists of three staves: a vocal line and two lute accompaniment staves. The vocal line has a treble clef and a 3/8 time signature. The lute staves have a C-clef and a 3/8 time signature. The music features triplets and various rhythmic patterns. The lyrics are: Fi - nes a - mou - re - tes ai. dieus si ne etc.

Fi - nes a - mou - re - tes ai. dieus si ne etc.

2 – “Fines amouretes ai” (CaB 19va)

Fi - nes a - mou - re - tes ai. diex si ne sai kant les ver - rai.

This system consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, featuring a triplet of eighth notes (marked '3') and two phrases labeled 'A' and 'B'. The middle and bottom staves are piano accompaniment, with the bottom staff also containing the lyrics. The piano part includes a triplet of eighth notes and phrases labeled 'A' and 'B'.

Or man - de - rai m'a - mi - e - te. ki est cointe et jo - li - e - te

This system consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, featuring a triplet of eighth notes (marked '3') and two phrases labeled 'C' and '3'. The middle and bottom staves are piano accompaniment, with the bottom staff also containing the lyrics. The piano part includes a triplet of eighth notes and phrases labeled 'A'' and 'A''.

et s'est si sa - ve - rou - se - te. c'as - te - nir ne m'en po - rai:

This system consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, featuring a triplet of eighth notes (marked '3') and two phrases labeled 'A' and 'B'. The middle and bottom staves are piano accompaniment, with the bottom staff also containing the lyrics. The piano part includes a triplet of eighth notes and phrases labeled 'A', 'A'', and 'C'.

fi - nes etc.

This system consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, featuring a triplet of eighth notes (marked '3') and two phrases labeled 'A' and 'B'. The middle and bottom staves are piano accompaniment, with the bottom staff also containing the lyrics. The piano part includes a triplet of eighth notes and phrases labeled 'A' and 'B'.

3 – “Bergeronette” (Méjanès 166, 3v): paradigmatic analysis

Ber - ge - ron - ne - te dou - ce bais - se - le - te Don - nez le moi vos - tre cha - pe - let.

Ro - bin veuls tu que je le me - te

seur ton chief par a - mou - re - te. M'en iert il miex se je li met.

m'en ert il miex se je li met.

O - ïl vous se - rez m'a - mi - e - te

vous au - rés ma çain - tu - re - te

M'au - mos - niere et mon fer - mail - let.

Ber - ge - ron - ne - te dou - ce bais - se - le - te don - nés le moi vos - tre cha - pe - let.

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