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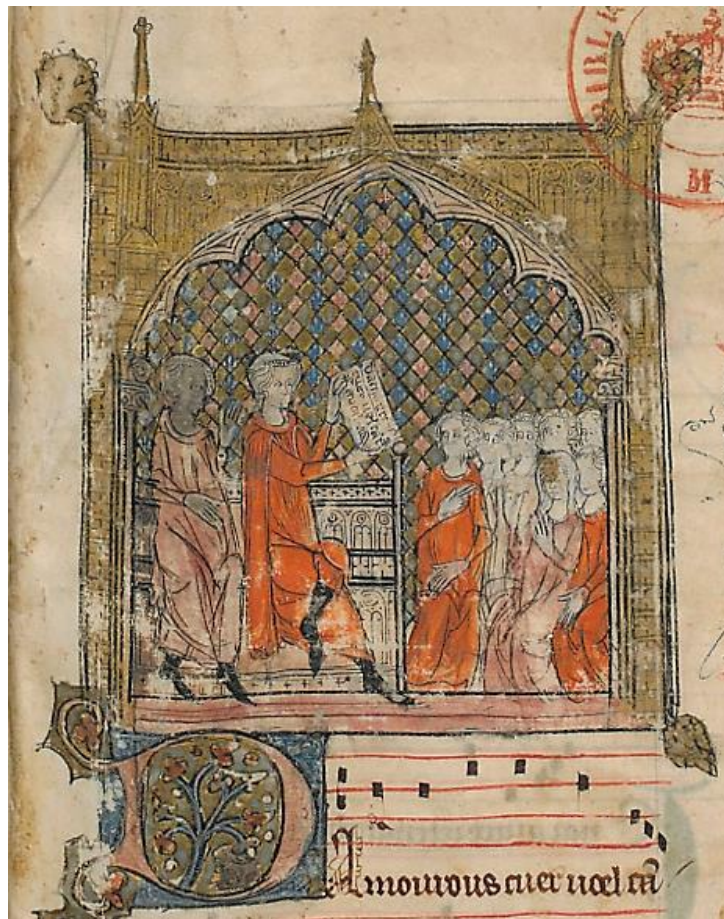
SCHOLA CANTORUM BASILIENSIS
HOCHSCHULE FÜR MUSIK

MASTERARBEIT

ON THE JEUX-PARTIS

EVIDENCE OF THEIR PERFORMANCE PRACTICE AT THE PUY OF ARRAS

VON
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Abstract

This thesis will attempt, by exploring the jeu-parti genre, a thirteenth-century song genre from the north of France, to answer some of the following questions: How can these pieces be so similar to the standard trouvère courtly song repertoire in their appearance, but so different regarding their potential for performance? Who were the people performing these pieces? Were they professional musicians, actors, ordinary people? Should only professional singers attempt to perform these pieces or is there place for a different performance perspective?

The goal of this work is to share some research on a lost performance practice and to attempt to give the jeux-partis a place in today's musical scene. The first part explores the jeux-partis' historical and geographical contexts. It includes a brief history of northern France and more specifically the town of Arras in the thirteenth century, its cultural, political and economic background, which seems to have stimulated the production of the genre. In the second part the jeu-parti will be studied in detail: what constitutes this genre, how the pieces are constructed and where and how they were transmitted. Finally, what evidence do we have for the performance of jeux-partis and some suggestions of performance options.

I would especially like to thank Marc Lewon, my thesis adviser. He is the one who led me to discover the incredible genre of the jeux-partis. He fed my curiosity, guided my interrogations and encouraged me to explore its performance in depth. His passion, curiosity, great knowledge and immense generosity greatly contributed to the success of this work.

I would like to also thank Joseph W. Mason, specialist of the jeux-partis, for guiding me through the literature and helping me with my many questions, Nicholas W. Bleisch for his time and the shared passion for the trouvères and finally Amy Farnell and Jeanie R. Larkin for their precious help.

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Introduction

As a musician trying to reconstruct medieval performances that took place centuries ago, it is normal to stumble over enigmatic questions to which definite answers are difficult to find. The first time I came across the jeu-parti genre (a thirteenth-century song genre from the north of France) I was immediately submerged by questions. How can these pieces be so similar to the standard trouvère courtly song repertoire in their appearance, but so different regarding their potential for performance? Who were the people performing these pieces? Were they professional musicians, actors, ordinary people? Should only professional singers attempt to perform these pieces or is there place for a different performance perspective? I spent some time experimenting with a jeu-parti, approaching it from different angles, but I was never satisfied with my ideas. The more I dug into the subject, the more I discovered a fascinating culture and incredible man and woman.

The goal of this work is to share my research of a lost performance practice and to attempt to give the jeux-partis a place in today's musical scene. The first part is dedicated to the jeux-partis' historical and geographical contexts. After a brief history of northern France, more specifically the town of Arras in the thirteenth century, I will present the cultural, political and economic background, which seems to have stimulated the production of the genre. In the second part I focus on the jeu-parti itself. First of all, I will explain what constitutes this genre, how the pieces are constructed and where they were transmitted. Then I will focus on the main aspect of this thesis: what evidence we have for the performance of jeux-partis. Without claiming to provide definite answers, I will finish by suggesting several performance options.

1.1 Arras

“Arras was somewhat unusual. One of the wealthiest and most populous towns in northern Europe during the century that followed its incorporation into the kingdom of France, it combined within its walls a bewildering array of political, social, economic, and cultural institutions.”⁶ Until 1191, Arras, capital of Artois, was part of Flanders, a rich and well-organised kingdom.⁷ It achieved its success, primarily through luxury products such as fine fabric and coin minting, but also through the banking trade.⁸ Arras was indeed the first place in Europe where Jews did not have a monopoly on banks and this situation was compelling for many nobles in need of a loan. The town, attracted many important figures such as the Artois earls and the King of England.⁹ Flanders’s legal system was advanced for the time as it had “the most efficient secular bureaucracy of the age.”¹⁰ Any existing association would have to write official statutes, write legal acts and own its own seal for official documents.¹¹ Arras strongly benefitted from these developments and established its reputation throughout Europe.

At the end of the twelfth century, after some political upheaval, Artois left Flanders and became part of France.¹² Its new sovereign, Philippe Auguste, took advice from the northern Flemish heritage, copied its administration system and, through a now regular use of writing, set new standards in the maintenance of the kingdom.¹³ These measures encouraged people to become literate in order to find a good position in French society. This put the Picard language in the spotlight and advanced its status to a commonly known language of the time. Robert I d’Artois, Philippe Auguste’s grandson and brother of St. Louis, was appointed in 1237 to manage the area and the task was passed on to his son, Robert II d’Artois, in 1250. He had his main residence in Arras and made Arras not only a town of business, but also of culture.¹⁴ In the thirteenth century, due to its prosperity, Arras became the most populated city in Europe, reaching 20 000 people.¹⁵

⁶ Symes, 4.

⁷ Symes, 31.

⁸ Symes, ‘The “School of Arras” and the Career of Adam’, 32.

⁹ Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise*, 338.

¹⁰ Symes, ‘The Confraternity of Jongleurs and the Cult of the Virgin: Vernacular Devotion and Documentation in Medieval Arras’, 184.

¹¹ Symes, ‘The Lordship of Jongleurs’, 238.

¹² Symes, *A Common Stage*, 31.

¹³ Symes, 56, 64.

¹⁴ Phillips, ‘Singers without Borders’, 69; Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise*, 341.

¹⁵ Gally, *Parler d’amour au puy d’Arras*, 34.

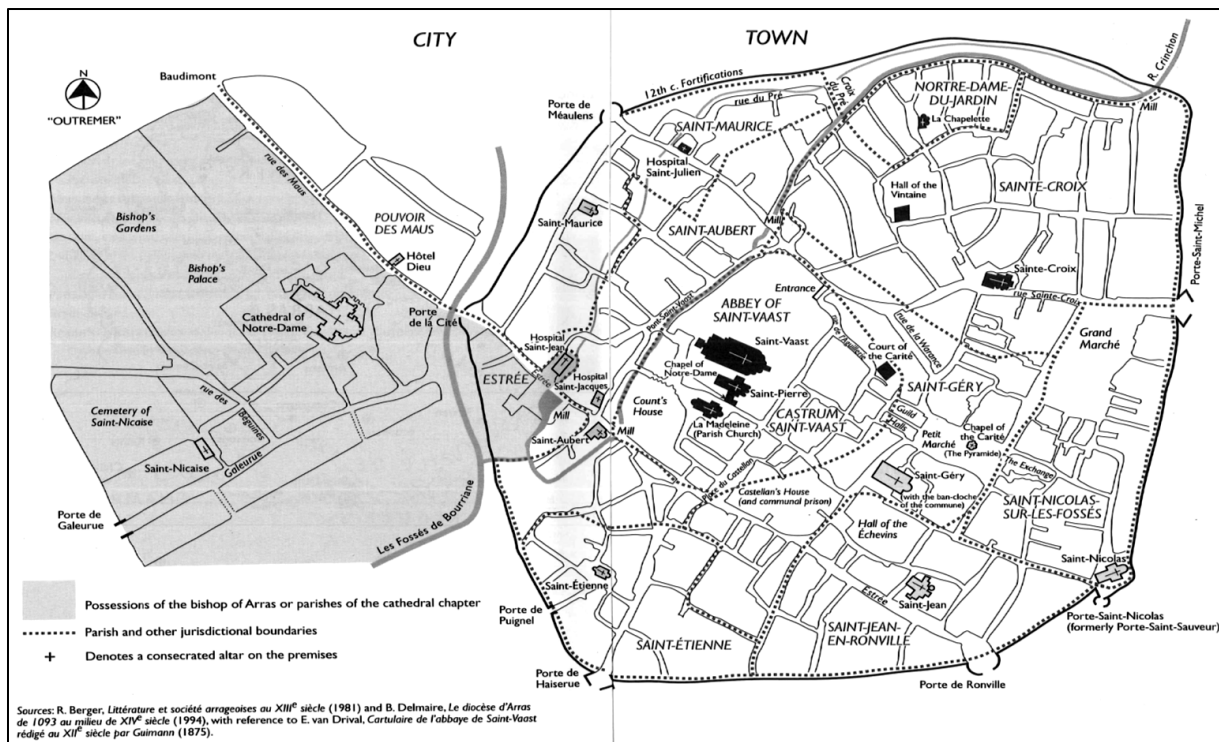


Fig. 2 Arras city and town

One of the most important characteristics of Arras was its division in two distinct areas, called the Town and the City (fig. 2), both managed differently by “two separate geopolitical entities”.¹⁶ The Town was under the jurisdiction of the monks from the monastery of Saint-Vaast, which had a reputed scriptorium, and the City was subject to the cathedral’s bishop and Rome.¹⁷ Because of this political schism, the citizens of Arras benefited from an unusual freedom: normally, one would need a permission to leave a town, but since the town was itself two distinct entities, people enjoyed the freedom to enter and exit Arras at will.¹⁸ This meant that many people could gather freely in Arras for all sorts of activities and events. The two imposing religious institutions gave an enormous advantage to the area: both of them, the monastery and the cathedral, offered about 200 places each for the education of children.¹⁹ Thus, 400 places were available for pupils providing access to a higher education of international reputation.²⁰ This resulted in an exceptionally high proportion of literacy for the time: one out of four men in four in Arras was literate.²¹ For those, who benefitted from the schools, it meant that they knew how to read, write and count, and some of them even received training in the

¹⁶ Symes, *A Common Stage*, 31.

¹⁷ Symes, ‘The Confraternity of Jongleurs and the Cult of the Virgin: Vernacular Devotion and Documentation in Medieval Arras’, 179.

¹⁸ Symes, *A Common Stage*, 48.

¹⁹ Symes, 41; Gally, *Parler d’amour au puy d’Arras*, 22.

²⁰ Trotter, ‘The Church and Vernacular Literature in Medieval France, Edited by Dorothea Kullmann’, 9.

²¹ Saltzstein, ‘Cleric-Trouvères and the *Jeux-Partis* of Medieval Arras’, 150.

liberal arts of rhetoric, grammar, and logic (trivium), which means that they learned Latin.²² Although this was useful for becoming a tradesman, far too many men were educated for the jobs available at the monastery, its scriptorium or the cathedral.²³ “In Arras, the number of students who did not become priests was far greater than the number of clerics and scribes needed to staff the abbey scriptorium, cathedral choir, and bishop’s chancery. Instead, many went on to become minstrels, a career path that was open to clerics from the earliest years of the university.”²⁴ Although the Church was not happy about pupils advancing to this ill-reputed trade (the Church threatened to revoke the privileges of those who stayed in the trade of minstrelsy for more than one year),²⁵ ingenious trouvères managed to find a solution to keep using their skills as well as preserving their status: the *Confrérie des Jongleurs et Bourgeois d’Arras* (also called *Carité Notre-Dame des Ardents*).

1.2 The Confrérie des Jongleurs et Bourgeois d’Arras

It all started with a miracle and a beautiful story: “The Carité Notre Dame des Jongleurs et Bourgeois owes its existence to minstrels and its success to the miraculous candle supposedly received from the Virgin.”²⁶ In the second half of the twelfth century, there was an epidemic of ergotism, an illness caused by a fungus growing on grains and cereals, which contains elements that could modify the consciousness and cause burning lesions on the body of the sick. It was called *Saint-Antony’s fire* or *Mal des Ardents*.²⁷ Ignorant of the real cause for this plague, many believed it was due to “the laxity of the monks of Saint-Vaast.”²⁸ The newly appointed bishop took the opportunity to reinforce his authority, allowing the birth of the first European lay confraternity.²⁹ According to the legend, it started with a candle gifted from the Virgin Mary to two *jongleurs*. They entrusted the Bishop of Arras that the Virgin appeared to them, offering to Arras the cure of this illness: “Arras’s jewel”³⁰, a fifty-pound candle, the wax of which would heal anyone who drank it.³¹

²² O’Sullivan, ‘The Northern Jeu-Parti’, 162.

²³ Saltzstein, ‘Cleric-Trouvères and the *Jeux-Partis* of Medieval Arras’, 150.

²⁴ Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry*, 81.

²⁵ Saltzstein, 81.

²⁶ Translated from Berger, *Littérature et Société Arrageoises au XIIIe siècle, les chansons et dits artésiens*, 86.

²⁷ Symes, ‘The Lordship of Jongleurs’, 244.

²⁸ Symes, 244; Trotter, ‘The Church and Vernacular Literature in Medieval France, Edited by Dorothea Kullmann’, 8.

²⁹ Trotter, ‘The Church and Vernacular Literature in Medieval France, Edited by Dorothea Kullmann’, 6, 8.

³⁰ Sutton, ‘Merchants, Music and Social Harmony: The London Puy and Its French and London Contexts, circa 1300’, 6.

³¹ Berger, *Littérature et Société Arrageoises au XIIIe siècle, les chansons et dits artésiens*, 86; Gally, *Parler d’amour au puy d’Arras*, 36.

The miraculous bestowal of the candle occurred in the time of Bishop Lambert, when Arras was afflicted with a terrible plague known as *le feu d'enfer*. One night Notre Dame appeared in a vision to two *jugleurs*, or *menesterieus*, Norman and Itier, who were mortal enemies, and told them to go to the cathedral in Arras where, after being reconciled through the mediation of the bishop, they would receive from her a holy candle that would effect the cure of all those in Arras afflicted with the plague. They went at once to Arras where, after being reconciled by Bishop Lambert, they received the candle from Nostre Dame Sainte Marie, whom they saw descend into the choir of the cathedral early in the morning of Pentecost Sunday. She addressed them thus: ‘*Vos jugleor, fet ele, qui vivez de chant et de vielle, venez ça; ceste chandoile vos baill a garder a tozjorz. Mes parmenablement quiconques crestiens, soit hom, soit fame, aura la choison de ce mal c'on apele feu d'enfer, se on alume cest cierge, et de la cire qi remetra par la force del feu degoute on en eve et de cele eve face son eproement seur le leu ou li malages est espris et bleciez, tantost sera estainz en tel manere que, se il croit, il guerira.*’ [You jugglers who make beautiful words, who live from singing and fiddle playing, come here: this candle you should keep forever. Eternally, any christian, man or woman, who caught the illness called “hell’s fire”, if lit this candle, and take the wax dripping in water from the power of the fire, and this water (wax) poured out on the place or the sick who is taken and injured, later, his fire will be put out and if he believes, he will be cured.]

After having received the above instructions, the jongleurs followed them carefully and effected the cure. In thanksgiving they formed a *charité* or society. The candle remained in the possession of the society and was under the special surveillance of the jongleurs, two of whom were the heads of the association, Norman and Itier being the first.³²

This miracle became so famous that it was even echoed in the Spanish *Cantigas de Santa Maria*,³³ and Arras became an important pilgrimage centre for Mary.³⁴ The Confrérie was then formed, its statutes written down (surviving to this day),³⁵ and lasted until its dissolution in 1792.³⁶ The miracle’s tale was still sung to that date.³⁷ The Confrérie became so successful and powerful, attracting even minstrels from outside Arras, that the pope officially authorised the association in 1241.³⁸ The Confrérie owned a chapel called *la Pyramide* or the Tower, a twenty-five-meter long hall called the *Halle des Ardents*, and built a hospital in 1250.³⁹ The main

³² Richardson, ‘The Confrérie Des Jongleurs et Des Bourgeois and the Puy d’Arras in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Literature’, 163–64.

³³ Symes, ‘The Confraternity of Jongleurs and the Cult of the Virgin: Vernacular Devotion and Documentation in Medieval Arras’, 196.

³⁴ Sutton, ‘Merchants, Music and Social Harmony: The London Puy and Its French and London Contexts, circa 1300’, 5.

³⁵ ‘*Coutumier de La Carité Notre Dame Des Ardents*, BnF fr. 8541, Fol. 46r-47r’.

³⁶ Chamisyé Couderc, ‘Les Traditions d’interprétation de La Monodie Profane: L’exemple Des Miracles de Nostre-Dame de Gautier de Coinci’, 217.

³⁷ Berger, *Littérature et Société Arrageoises au XIIIe siècle, les chansons et dits artésiens*, 116.

³⁸ Symes, ‘The “School of Arras” and the Career of Adam’, 37.

³⁹ Symes, ‘The Lordship of Jongleurs’, 238; Symes, *A Common Stage*, 215; Sutton, ‘Merchants, Music and Social Harmony: The London Puy and Its French and London Contexts, circa 1300’, 6.

purpose of this association was to care for its members and to assure to each of them a proper burial, to organise prayers for the dead and the living, and to care for the sick.⁴⁰ It was “the first lay confraternity in Europe to produce its own documents”⁴¹ and to keep a careful funerary register of all its members – a document, which can be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF fr. 8541).⁴² Even if the *jongleurs* did not enjoy a very good reputation in the Middle Ages, being held equal with prostitutes, this association favoured by the Church, managed to redeem their trade.⁴³ It elevated their social status, as not founded “on lechery or for folly”.⁴⁴ The Confrérie assembled men and women from a wide range of social statuses, from ordinary people to monks, clerks, merchants, bankers, bourgeois and nobles. Moreover, it is stated in the confraternity’s statutes that only minstrels are allowed to manage it: “The Carité was founded by jongleurs, and jongleurs are lords of it. And those whom they put in, are in. And whoever they keep outside cannot be in, unless they say so. Because there is no lordship with us, save that of jongleurs.”⁴⁵ Their official seal presented Mary holding her child and a candle, and a fiddle player holding his instrument in the same manner.⁴⁶

The Confrérie gathered officially three times a year, at Candlemas, Saint-Rémi and on the Thursday following Trinity for its *Grand Siège*. The *Grand Siège*, a three-day celebration, was the occasion to re-enact the miracle and to present the holy candle in the town with big processions that included many minstrels playing along.⁴⁷ It was followed by long evening celebrations (*beuvée*) where the Confrérie would elect three new mayors and greet new members.⁴⁸ “The Carité’s annual celebration became the most important civic event in the region”⁴⁹ It is even documented that the town of Bruges financed the travel expenses for the minstrels sent to Arras for this annual feast.⁵⁰ We have no accounts about the festivities’ contents, but they would have surely included major entertainments.⁵¹ Some poetic

⁴⁰ Symes, *A Common Stage*, 39.

⁴¹ Symes, ‘The Lordship of Jongleurs’, 238.

⁴² ‘Coutumier de La Carité Notre Dame Des Ardents, BnF fr. 8541, Fol. 46r-47r’.

⁴³ Symes, *A Common Stage*, 81.

⁴⁴ Symes, 84.

⁴⁵ Symes, ‘The Confraternity of Jongleurs and the Cult of the Virgin: Vernacular Devotion and Documentation in Medieval Arras’, 190 quoted after BnF fr. 8541, fol. 46rb.

⁴⁶ Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry*, 82; Symes, *A Common Stage*, 110; Symes, ‘The Lordship of Jongleurs’, 239.

⁴⁷ Symes, ‘The “School of Arras” and the Career of Adam’, 35–40; Symes, *A Common Stage*, 91, 114.

⁴⁸ Berger, *Littérature et Société Arrageoises au XIIIe siècle, les chansons et dits artésiens*, 86; De la Halle and Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 8.

⁴⁹ Symes, ‘The Confraternity of Jongleurs and the Cult of the Virgin: Vernacular Devotion and Documentation in Medieval Arras’, 177.

⁵⁰ Symes, ‘The Lordship of Jongleurs’, 251.

⁵¹ Chamisyé Couderc, ‘Les Traditions d’interprétation de La Monodie Profane: L’exemple Des Miracles de Nostre-Dame de Gautier de Coinci’, 217.

competitions could also have taken place. It is believed that plays, such as *Le Jeu de la Feuillée* by Adam de la Halle, could have been created for such an event.⁵² The *Confrérie des Jongleurs et Bourgeois d'Arras* ou *Carité Notre Dame des Ardents* “became part of the city’s identity”.⁵³

1.3 The Confrérie and the puy

There is a big gap in the documentation which puzzles musicologists and historians. No artistic productions of the time mention the confraternity, but they talk rather about a “pui” (or puy), for which songs were written.⁵⁴ (Ex. Andrieu Contredit writes: *Chançon, va t'en sans nulle arestoison, Droit a Arras au Pui demouree* – “Song, go without being stopped directly to Arras at the Pui without further ado”.)⁵⁵ On the contrary, no document of the Confrérie mentions the puy.⁵⁶ Apart from the fact that the confraternity was founded by and for minstrels, the element connecting it to the puy is the Confrérie’s funerary register. This register contains a list of the Confrérie members’ names and date of death. Most of the people mentioned literary production linked to the puy can be found in this book.⁵⁷

Several later associations of a similar kind, devoted to the cult of the Virgin and also dedicated to poetry contests, were uniquely called “puys”.⁵⁸ The Confrérie’s statutes mention that only people from within the association were allowed to take part in the confraternity’s activities.⁵⁹ However, we know that foreigners, such as Jean de Marli, Mathieu de Gant or even the English king Edward II, joined the puy’s sessions.⁶⁰ Could there have been exceptions? Would they have organised special extra sessions?

Some specialists, such as Roger Berger, think that the Confrérie and the puy were distinct.⁶¹ Others like Yolanda Plumley and Joseph Mason hypothesise that they may have been the

⁵² De la Halle and Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 21.

⁵³ Sutton, ‘Merchants, Music and Social Harmony: The London Puy and Its French and London Contexts, circa 1300’, 6.

⁵⁴ Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France, from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut*, 137.

⁵⁵ Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise*, 375.

⁵⁶ Richardson, ‘The Confrérie Des Jongleurs et Des Bourgeois and the Puy d’Arras in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Literature’, 161.

⁵⁷ Symes, *A Common Stage*, 186.

⁵⁸ Sutton, ‘Merchants, Music and Social Harmony: The London Puy and Its French and London Contexts, circa 1300’, 1.

⁵⁹ Sutton, 2.

⁶⁰ Berger, *Littérature et Société Arrageoises au XIIIe siècle, les chansons et dits artésiens*, 113.

⁶¹ Berger, 88.

same.⁶² Carol Symes affirms that, at least up to 1328, they were one and the same entity.⁶³ She highlights that the word “puy” may refer to the podium, “an elevated place of display”⁶⁴ where one would stand to speak (or sing), like seen in the universities. Michèle Gally makes a compromise and suggests that “the puy is a literary academy in relation to the Carité.”⁶⁵ The dilemma is difficult to settle without any further evidence, but for the purpose of this work, I will consider the puy as an inner group within the members of the Confrérie, which had its own agenda.

1.4 The puy

1.4.1. Evidence from other puy

We do not have any concrete evidence about Arras’s puy outside literary references. Fashionable Arras seems to have been the first to create a puy, and soon after its heydays, we see many other puy flourish in Picardy, Normandy, Hainaut, Flanders and even in England, all dedicated to the Virgin Mary.⁶⁶ We have accounts for puy, notably, in London (oldest surviving statutes date to ca. 1300),⁶⁷ Amiens, Valenciennes, Rouen, Abbeville, Béthune, Cambrai, Douai, Lille, Tournai, Dieppe, Caen, and Paris.⁶⁸ Some of the puy persisted well into the sixteenth century.⁶⁹ These events appeared popular in a musician’s agenda and some, like Jean Froissart, would have taken part in several of them.⁷⁰ It is interesting to notice that, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, we have traces of internationally recognised minstrel schools held during Lent⁷¹ which happened in the exact same geographic region as those puy. There, musicians would meet, exchange songs, compose new pieces together, buy and sell instruments, and meet new employers. The puy seem to have encouraged a high level of musical activity in these regions.

⁶² Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 155; Mason, ‘Melodic Exchange and Musical Violence in the Thirteenth-Century Jeu-Parti’, 68.

⁶³ Symes, *A Common Stage*, 218.

⁶⁴ Symes, ‘The Confraternity of Jongleurs and the Cult of the Virgin: Vernacular Devotion and Documentation in Medieval Arras’, 196.

⁶⁵ Translated from Gally, *Parler d’amour au puy d’Arras*, 35.

⁶⁶ Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 156; Symes, *A Common Stage*, 218; Sutton, ‘Merchants, Music and Social Harmony: The London Puy and Its French and London Contexts, circa 1300’, 1, 5.

⁶⁷ Sutton, ‘Merchants, Music and Social Harmony: The London Puy and Its French and London Contexts, circa 1300’, 1–2.

⁶⁸ Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France, from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut*, 137.

⁶⁹ Sutton, ‘Merchants, Music and Social Harmony: The London Puy and Its French and London Contexts, circa 1300’, 1.

⁷⁰ Chamisyé Couderc, ‘Les Traditions d’interprétation de La Monodie Profane: L’exemple Des Miracles de Nostre-Dame de Gautier de Coinci’, 217.

⁷¹ Wegman, ‘The Minstrel School in the Late Middle Ages’; Gómez and Hagg, ‘Minstrel Schools in the Late Middle Ages’.

These later puy managed to pass traces of their activities down to posterity. Most of them organised “lyric contests [in] the form of an after-dinner entertainment.”⁷² where the winner (*couronné*) would win a silver crown, and the runner-up (*estrivé*) a flower crown.⁷³ Each puy seemed to relish a specific genre, for example the puy des Orfèvres in Paris enjoyed the *serventois* (satirical song), and that of London the *grand chant* (courtly love song).⁷⁴ The rules of the competitions would have been announced in advance. For example, in Valenciennes, “it had become customary to test the participants’ skills by setting a refrain around which they were to craft a new work in a given form.”⁷⁵ In Paris, “on special puy [authors] were constrained to base their lyric on a *chanson amoureuse* they had presented at an earlier contest.”⁷⁶ The winning lyrics were copied and collected.⁷⁷ In London, the previous winning songs were exhibited in the venue of the yearly celebrations. As London’s statutes relates, the feast would be provided by the annually chosen “prince”, who would preside over the ceremonies and take part in the judging process of the songs. Even though women were not allowed to participate in the London puy, many similarities exist between the organisation of these associations, which found their origin most probably in Arras’s puy.⁷⁸

1.4.2. Arras’s puy

Even if we do not know how it was organised, there is evidence in the poetic texts, that Arras’s puy, which gathered the most famous artists of the century, existed until at least 1245 and was still active in 1276.⁷⁹ Its flourishing literature speaks with a lot of humour of Arras’s daily life and has allowed historians to date some of the songs quite precisely to its golden age between 1230 and 1276.⁸⁰ External evidence also points to the puy’s activities: in the fiscal accounts of Mahaut of Artois, daughter of Robert II, we can find that *people from the puy of Arras* were hired for Pentecost celebrations.⁸¹

⁷² Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 159.

⁷³ Plumley, 171.

⁷⁴ Plumley, 170; Sutton, ‘Merchants, Music and Social Harmony: The London Puy and Its French and London Contexts, circa 1300’.

⁷⁵ Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 162.

⁷⁶ Plumley, 162.

⁷⁷ Plumley, 184.

⁷⁸ Sutton, ‘Merchants, Music and Social Harmony: The London Puy and Its French and London Contexts, circa 1300’.

⁷⁹ Berger, *Littérature et Société Arrageoises au XIIIe siècle, les chansons et dits artésiens*, 87.

⁸⁰ Berger, 111.

⁸¹ Symes, *A Common Stage*, 218.

As in other puy, a prince was named who appears to have set guidelines for its activities. Of these only two names survive: Jehan Bretel and Robert Sommeillon.⁸² Jehan Bretel, a wealthy man, may not have been as talented as some of the finest trouvères, according to Dragonetti,⁸³ but he appears to have largely stimulated its creativity. Other trouvères sent songs to the puy to be sung by him, he himself contributed to some songs, wrote others, and judged in 92 jeux-partis,⁸⁴ a genre specially relished by Arras (two-thirds of the world's jeux-partis collection comes from Arras).⁸⁵ One of Bretel's most famous counterparts was Adam de la Halle. He composed several courtly songs, many motets, developed the polyphonic rondeaux genre, and wrote plays such as *Le jeu de Robin et Marion* and *Le jeu de la Feuillée*. We do not know much about his life apart from the fact that he was a cleric and his talent was much appreciated, especially by Robert II d'Artois, who took Adam in his service.⁸⁶ The first famous minstrel from the puy, strongly linked to the Confrérie, was Jehan Bodel. He did not only write songs, pastourelles, fabliaux, and chansons de gestes, but also one of the first plays in the vernacular, *Le Jeu de Saint-Nicholas*. He was also the author of a new poetic genre: *Le Congé* (a farewell piece).⁸⁷ The puy's poetic sessions assembled along with Bretel, Adam and Bodel, all sorts of men and women from Arras and beyond. Rich members supported humbler ones, allowing a generous space for creativity.⁸⁸ As the funerary registers of the Confrérie des Jongleurs et Bourgeois d'Arras informs us, more than 180 musicians were most probably linked to this puy, contributing to the many poetical and musical genres of the time.⁸⁹ One of the *Dits* (narrative poems) written in Arras, says that God himself wanted to learn motets from Arras and when he was sick, he came to be healed by its poetry.⁹⁰ The international reputation of the trouvères from Arras was could not have been greater.

⁸² Berger, *Littérature et Société Arrageoises au XIIIe siècle, les chansons et dits artésiens*, 87.

⁸³ Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise*, 579.

⁸⁴ Berger, *Littérature et Société Arrageoises au XIIIe siècle, les chansons et dits artésiens*, 111.

⁸⁵ Phillips, 'Singers without Borders', 63.

⁸⁶ Falck, *Adam de La Halle*.

⁸⁷ Symes, *A Common Stage*, 39; 'Jean Bodel'.

⁸⁸ Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise*, 340.

⁸⁹ Chamisyé Couderc, 'Les Traditions d'interprétation de La Monodie Profane: L'exemple Des Miracles de Nostre-Dame de Gautier de Coinci', 217.

⁹⁰ Berger, *Littérature et Société Arrageoises au XIIIe siècle, les chansons et dits artésiens*, 119.

PART II – ON THE JEUX-PARTIS

2. The jeu-parti as a song form

“Medieval audiences loved a good debate.”⁹¹

As presented in the previous chapter, one of Arras’s most celebrated genres was the jeu-parti, “an improvised debate-song competition that pitted the greatest trouvères in the region against one another.”⁹² The trouvères have indeed left us a collection of 184 jeux-partis in 26 manuscripts, the majority of which (106) is transmitted with a melody.⁹³ In some manuscripts a whole section is dedicated to the jeux-partis, they are mentioned in letters, they are even occasionally quoted in the poetry of the time. The jeux-partis travelled far and apparently held a prominent place in contemporary literature. They possibly came from the Occitan tenso⁹⁴ and partimen, genres enjoyed by troubadours in the south of France.⁹⁵ It is Thibaut de Champagne King of Navarre, through his mother’s southern origins, who first popularised the genre in the north of France.⁹⁶ In this chapter, I will explore what constitutes a jeu-parti, where they are transmitted, how they were melodically constructed, and who was involved in their composition.

2.1 Definition and form

A jeu-parti is “a genre of sung debate in which [usually] 2 singers argued for and against a given [dilemmatic] question. [...] The competitors would each take a different position, and would respond in alternation, the second trouvère imitating the rhyme scheme, the poetic structure and the melody of the first.”⁹⁷ At the end of the argumentation, each contestant would name a judge to determine the winning poet.⁹⁸ Unfortunately, the judgements were not passed down with the songs in the manuscripts and, apparently, no trace of them survives.⁹⁹

⁹¹ O’Sullivan, ‘The Northern Jeu-Parti’, 153.

⁹² Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry*, 83.

⁹³ Phillips, ‘Singers without Borders’, 57.

⁹⁴ Saltzstein, ‘Cleric-Trouvères and the *Jeux-Partis* of Medieval Arras’, 148.

⁹⁵ *The Troubadour Tensos and Partimens, a Critical Edition*, XIX.

⁹⁶ O’Sullivan, ‘The Northern Jeu-Parti’, 159.

⁹⁷ Saltzstein, ‘Cleric-Trouvères and the *Jeux-Partis* of Medieval Arras’, 148.

⁹⁸ Gally, ‘Disputer d’Amour: Les Arrageois et le Jeu-Parti’, 73.

⁹⁹ Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil Général des Jeux-Partis français*, 1:VI.

The whole argument of a jeu-parti usually unravels in 6 rhyming strophes named stanzas. The first stanza is used to expose the question, in the second the opposing trouvère picks his position. In the third, the first trouvère takes the remaining side and defends it. The two trouvères address each other by name and engage on a seemingly personal level in the debate.¹⁰⁰ After these 6 stanzas, 2 *envois* are sung, a conclusion of the argument in which each trouvère addresses his chosen judge. In Appendix 2 and 3 you can find an example of a standard jeu-parti, RS 331, *Adan, d'amour vous demand*, between Adam de la Halle and Jehan Bretel, judges: Lambert Ferri and Jehan Grieviler, famous Arrageois poets.¹⁰¹

However, there are a few exceptions to this general structure: we can find cases where more than 2 partners debate (ex. RS 1042 *Cuvelier et vous, Ferri, Et vous ausi, Grieviler, Tout trois respondés a mi*)¹⁰², sometimes there is no envoi, or no judge is named, or more than 2 judges are designated.¹⁰³ In one debate, Adam de la Halle and Jehan Bretel seem to have been so caught up in their argument that they debated for 22 stanzas, naming judges along the way in an attempt to end the duel (ex. RS 1675 *Adan, amis, mout saves bien*)¹⁰⁴.

The genre of the jeu-parti is strongly influenced by the genre of the courtly love song, the standard repertoire of the trouvères, and obeys very similar rules:¹⁰⁵

- The form is strophic and based on a modest number of stanzas with a final envoi, often dedicating the song or giving instructions to a specific person.
- Regarding the structure and the organisation of the rhyme metre: the stanzas are built mostly from verses of 10 syllables (decasyllables) of which 6 to 14 compose a strophe. The envoi is shorter but uses a section of the strophic structure.¹⁰⁶
- The genre exclusively uses the vernacular (mostly in a Picard dialect)¹⁰⁷ ex. RS 950 *Adan, a moi respondés, con lais hom a cest affaire, Car ne sai point de gramair et*

¹⁰⁰ Saltzstein, 'Cleric-Trouvères and the *Jeux-Partis* of Medieval Arras', 151.

¹⁰¹ Långfors, *Recueil Général des Jeux-Partis français*, 2:41–42; De la Halle and Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 132–35.

¹⁰² Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil Général des Jeux-Partis français*, 1:VI.

¹⁰³ O'Sullivan, 'The Northern Jeu-Parti', 154.

¹⁰⁴ De la Halle and Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 154–63.

¹⁰⁵ De la Halle and Badel, 15; Mason, 'Melodic Exchange and Musical Violence in the Thirteenth-Century Jeu-Parti', 130.

¹⁰⁶ Gally, *Parler d'amour au puy d'Arras*, 59–60.

¹⁰⁷ Phillips, 'Singers without Borders', 70.

vous estes bien letrés! (“Adam please answer me, this time as a laic, because I’m ignorant of Latin and you are too educated.”)¹⁰⁸

- The subject matter is courtly love including its established and stereotypical language. Indeed, the trouvères always debate on a dilemma regarding love. Here are some examples: RS 1026 “Were your lady to grant her favours to you ten times over a lifetime, would you wait or no?”, RS 1798 “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?” RS 331 “Does love bring more good or bad to a loyal lover?” RS 1066 “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?”¹⁰⁹

All similarities to other genres of courtly love songs aside, there are certain features that are unique to the genre of the jeux-partis. Being a genre of debate songs, the opponents try to find arguments to best illustrate their views and to convince their audience. They make ample use of images, examples, and comparisons that would speak clearly to their audience.¹¹⁰ They talk about local news (ex. RS 277 *Adan, mout fu Aristotes*, where an Italian, a specialist of Aristotle, visited Arras: there is no mention of the man but the jeu-parti invites to discuss Aristotle)¹¹¹ and every day concerns, such as trade, food, animals, dealing with different personalities, etc. (ex. In the jeu-parti RS 690 *Assignés chi, Griviler, jugement!* - see appendix 4 - the bad lover is compared to bad foundations when building a house, a working man takes the heaviest bag instead of the lightest, it is better to feed starving men instead of the well-fed, one should not forget to lock the stable door if he does not want to stupidly lose his horse, and the work on the lover is compared to the work the priest on the sinner).¹¹² As mentioned in the first chapter, Arras had a strong legal structure and many participants were educated in the art of rhetoric. This strongly influenced the vocabulary of the jeux-partis (including the frequent use of terms such as “right”, “wrong”, “plead”, “cause”) and is reflected in their structure with the calling of a judge.¹¹³ To strengthen their arguments with the common knowledge, they also tend to quote many known proverbs as a standard rhetorical device. Michèle Gally affirms that she could find about 70 different proverbs in 120 poems.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ translated from De la Halle and Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 140–41.

¹⁰⁹ O’Sullivan, ‘The Northern Jeu-Parti’, 171–74.

¹¹⁰ Gally, *Parler d’amour au Puy d’Arras*, 94.

¹¹¹ Symes, *A Common Stage*, 259.

¹¹² De la Halle and Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 170–75.

¹¹³ Gally, *Parler d’amour au Puy d’Arras*, 19; Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry*, 84.

¹¹⁴ Gally, *Parler d’amour au Puy d’Arras*, 103.

The jeu-parti's aim seems to be a social game,¹¹⁵ destined to produce a good show and induce the public's reaction: make them laugh, frown and respond emotionally to the debaters' arguments. We can find a wide range of language registers, some very courteous addresses, some of a more popular and rude content. The debaters seem familiar with one another, addressing their opponents directly by their names or titles (ex. Master, Brother, Sire), and expressing their opinion in the first person. A jeu-parti often starts on a conciliatory note with mild and flattering overtones in the first few strophes using simple rhymes, only to turn when the singers unleash their verve on the opponent peppered with irony and sometimes very personal remarks.¹¹⁶ (ex. RS 1675 *Adan, amis, mout saves bien: Sir, I talk to you with humility and respect, and you mock me injuriously! You think to dominate me by quarrelling with me in order to better hide your rude mind. It is not because one contradicts its partner and insult him that we have won, but rather by immediately proving the truth*).¹¹⁷

With its theatrical exchange and many references to the everyday life of its participants, the jeu-parti is a genre which celebrates Arras, to which the educated public could immediately connect and relate to. "These part game, part song"¹¹⁸ from Arras were made by and for the people of Arras.

2.2 Sources

The north of modern France was very rich at the time of the jeux-partis, as we have seen in the first chapter. Money was available for art. The upcoming merchants wanted to live at the same standing as the nobility. On top of this the literacy level was untypically high and there were several scriptoria available to produce manuscripts.¹¹⁹ "Northern France was Europe's leading centre of chansonnier production."¹²⁰ Arras had its very own scriptorium in the monastery of Saint-Vaast. This resulted in a "varied cluster of luxury books of music that were much used by their respective owners"¹²¹, hence an extant trouvère chansonnier production in the Artois area towards the end of the thirteenth century.

¹¹⁵ Gally, 54.

¹¹⁶ Gally, chap. 3.

¹¹⁷ translated from De la Halle and Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 161.

¹¹⁸ Symes, *A Common Stage*, 224.

¹¹⁹ Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry*, 80–81.

¹²⁰ Phillips, 'Singers without Borders', 56.

¹²¹ Stones, 'Some Northern French Chansonniers and Their Cultural Context', 186.

The genre of the jeu-parti was important and distinct enough to have its own section in some manuscripts.¹²² They can be found in 26 different sources, most of the sources copied before 1320.¹²³ Although some sources date 20 to 50 years after the composition of their content,¹²⁴ they are almost contemporary to Arras's jeux-partis golden age and were also written in the area of their possible performance.¹²⁵ The earliest source (MS U) contains only one jeu-parti, but as the genre gained importance and became part of the local culture, this number increased, the latest manuscript (MS I) contains dozens of jeux-partis.¹²⁶

According to Långfors, the jeux-partis are contained in the following trouvères manuscripts: *A, C, D, E, G, I, K, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z, a, b, c*, Cambrai 1328.¹²⁷ (Detailed manuscript references in appendix 1). In addition to those, the *Lambeth Palace Roll 1681* which was rediscovered many years after Långfors' publication. Not all of the manuscripts include musical notation, and some of the jeux-partis come down to us only as a text, for example those in manuscripts *I, Q, R* and *U*. The most interesting manuscripts for this study are *A, I, W, a* and *b*, as they contain an important collection of jeux-partis and their miniatures are linked to the jeux-partis (MS *a* excepted).

MS A¹²⁸ and **a**¹²⁹ are very similar sources, both compiled in or around Arras in late the thirteenth century. After a first section containing a collection of love songs from famous authors, a whole section is dedicated to the jeux-partis. MS A, the Arras Chansonnier, contains the second largest collection of jeux-partis of all the manuscripts. It was bound together with a Dominican book of homilies from Saint-Vaast.¹³⁰

MS I¹³¹ is a manuscript from Lorraine area also named Douce 308. It was compiled at the beginning of the fourteenth century. It does not contain any music, but its chansonnier sections contain the texts of 36 jeux-partis, along with the texts of 19 *estampies* (songs for dancing), 188

¹²² Mason, 'Melodic Exchange and Musical Violence in the Thirteenth-Century Jeu-Parti', 32.

¹²³ Mason, 34.

¹²⁴ Gally, *Parler d'amour au Puy d'Arras*, 71.

¹²⁵ Mason, 'Melodic Exchange and Musical Violence in the Thirteenth-Century Jeu-Parti', 68.

¹²⁶ O'Sullivan, 'The Northern Jeu-Parti', 164.

¹²⁷ Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil Général des Jeux-Partis français*, 1:I-II.

¹²⁸ 'Trouvère A, Chansonnier d'Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 657 (Olim 139)'.

¹²⁹ 'Trouvère a, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Regina 1490'.

¹³⁰ O'Sullivan, 'The Northern Jeu-Parti', 164-66.

¹³¹ 'Trouvère I, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308'.

ballettes (another type of dancing song), 88 *grand chants* (courtly love songs) and 22 *sottes chansons* (satirical songs).¹³²

MS W¹³³, the Chansonnier Lavallière, was made a generation after the first two and is dedicated specially to the works of Adam de la Halle. It “represents the earliest extant single-author collection beyond a simple chansonnier collection.”¹³⁴ Each genre has a section to itself, which opens with a miniature depicting Adam accompanied by an explicative. “It seems that MS W was clearly much used and abused. The parchment is dirty, showing signs of wear and tear, an important indicator how much the book laid a part in the lives of its owners and users over a long period of time.”¹³⁵

MS b seems to have been made with the idea to illustrate the topic of tournaments. It is divided in three sections: the *Roman de la rose*, 66 jeux-partis and the *Tournoiement aus dames de Paris* by Pierre Gencien. Jehan Bretel holds a special place as he is present in more than half of the jeux-partis.¹³⁶

In addition to this list of extant chansonniers, one more interesting source came to light: **The Lambeth Palace Roll**¹³⁷ is the only document of its kind. It consists of a roll of 115 x 30 mm with written text in Picard and Anglo-Norman dialects, a 45mm long string hangs from the roll’s side.¹³⁸ Written by an English scribe in the middle of the fourteenth century, it contains the texts of 7 songs without musical notation, of which 2 are courtly songs and 5 are jeux-partis.¹³⁹ The discovery of this unique source has important implications for the performance of the pieces and I will come back to this roll in chapter 3.

We do not have any evidence on how the collections of jeux-partis were assembled, or how the songs were selected.¹⁴⁰ For example, even the (almost) “complete edition” of the works of Adam de la Halle in MS W does not contain all of the 18 jeux-partis that are attributed to him. Three

¹³² Doss-Quinby and Rosenberg, *The Old French Ballette*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308, XLVII.

¹³³ ‘Trouvère W, Chansonnier La Vallière, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 25566’.

¹³⁴ O’Sullivan, ‘The Northern Jeu-Parti’, 169.

¹³⁵ Stones, ‘Another Note on Fr.25566 and Its Illustrations’, 77.

¹³⁶ O’Sullivan, ‘The Northern Jeu-Parti’, 166–69.

¹³⁷ ‘The Lambeth Palace Roll, London, Lambeth Palace, 1681’.

¹³⁸ Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères*, *The Changing Identity of Medieval Music*, 24.

¹³⁹ Phillips, ‘Singers without Borders’, 60.

¹⁴⁰ Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères*, *The Changing Identity of Medieval Music*, 25.

are missing. In MS A 6 are by Adam, as are 8 in MS R and 15 in MS P.¹⁴¹ Some pieces seemed to have been famous and appear in up to 10 different manuscripts. Others are unica. The transmission is not uniform and popular pieces can contain significant variations from one manuscript to another, notably in the melodies, which can differ completely¹⁴².

2.3 Melodies

What is a good song? Here is what we can learn from the prologue of the *Cantiga de Santa Maria*:

Because composing songs is an art which requires great understanding, therefore, he who undertakes it must have this quality, and good judgment, so that he may understand and be able to say that which he understands and wishes to express, for thus are good songs made.

*Although I do not possess these two qualities to the degree that I might wish, I shall nonetheless try to show the little that I know of the art, trusting in God, from Whom wisdom comes, for with His aid I believe I can accomplish to some extent that which I seek.*¹⁴³

In short, with some inspiration and good knowledge, which the trouvères seemed to possess, one can realise a good medieval song. This commentary is universal and can be applied to all different types of compositions, and so to the ones of the puy. Arras's musicians grew up in this musical culture, they would have heard the sound of the plain chant, were aware of its modes, some of them were even educated in its practice, they would have listened to musical contests, and would have learned what it takes to make a winning song. One of the most celebrated genres, the *grand chant*, appears to have set a frame that would also apply for other genres. The *jeux-partis* were obviously modelled on the *grand chant*'s form, as most of them share its structure.¹⁴⁴

As we have seen previously, the 106 *jeux-partis* transmitted to us with music can be found in the manuscripts laid out just like the *grand chant*. The opening stanza is supplied with musical notation and the text of all the remaining stanzas is displayed underneath, including the shorter envois. We assume that this first melody is intended to be reused for all the strophes, fitting in the other strophes as good as possible.

¹⁴¹ Nicod, *Les Partures Adan: Les Jeux-Partis d'Adam de La Halle: Texte Critique Avec Introduction, Notes et Glossaire*, 35.

¹⁴² Gally, *Parler d'amour au Puy d'Arras*, 71.

¹⁴³ Kulp-Hill, *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, The Wise. A Translation of the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 2.

¹⁴⁴ O'Sullivan, 'The Northern Jeu-Parti', 154.

In her study of the *jeux-partis*' structure, Michelle Stewart mentions that "the *jeu-parti* poem is dominated by two basic [rhyme] forms, that of AB AB X in 77% [of cases] and ab ba x in 17%."¹⁴⁵ And the same rhyme scheme is repeated and reused throughout the stanzas. Along those lines, the melody is structured accordingly with the AB AB X structure in 70% of this repertoire.¹⁴⁶ However, a few were through-composed. This melodic repetition present in the majority of the songs, as Joseph Mason highlights, could "play a central role in setting up the expectation of the listeners [...] and would [have helped] to understand the unfolding of a *jeu-parti* melody"¹⁴⁷, and thus been inherent to the genre.

"The melodies of the *jeux-partis* are relatively stylistically uniform."¹⁴⁸ They are composed on a clear modal structure, based on slightly modified church modes.¹⁴⁹ Many common melodic formulae and typical modal gestures are used as musical building blocks. In this vein, Phillips noticed that some singers seemed to have used the same melodic patterns in several of their *jeux-partis*.¹⁵⁰ The ambitus of the pieces corresponds to what we can find in most of the music of the time, ranging from a sixth up to a tenth, but most commonly settling around one octave.¹⁵¹ Another important feature is their cadential points, which are built around the tonal centres of the chosen mode of the piece. Some of the melodies are modally ambiguous, which is common practice within certain modes, and this ambiguity provides several potential places for cadences. These melodies allow the musician to change the focus of the mode from one note to another. In this way, the performer can manipulate a song to destabilise his opponent and guide the listener through the unfolding of the argument.¹⁵² Joseph Mason raised this hypothesis in his thesis, analysing RS 861 *Or coisisiés Jehan de Grieviler* between Marli and Grieviler, where both debaters seem to have a different perspective on the mode of the song:

By comparing the treatment of the melody by Marli and Grieviler, it is possible to reconstruct how each of the poets interpreted the tonal structure of the song. At the opening, [with Marli's proposition], F or G could be the tonal centre. The first four pitches (F–G–G–F) could be interpreted either as a cadence on G or on F, but since the end of the word 'coisisiés' falls on F (marked in Fig. 2.14 by a fermata), F is heard as the tonal centre of the opening. The repetition of motive p (see Fig. 2.14) as a cadence on G at the end of line 1 causes the opening of the line to be heard

¹⁴⁵ Stewart, 'The Melodic Structure of Thirteenth-Century "Jeux-Partis"', 88.

¹⁴⁶ Stewart, 88.

¹⁴⁷ Mason, 'Melodic Exchange and Musical Violence in the Thirteenth-Century *Jeu-Parti*', 77.

¹⁴⁸ Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 102.

¹⁴⁹ Stewart, 'The Melodic Structure of Thirteenth-Century "Jeux-Partis"', 90.

¹⁵⁰ Phillips, 'Singers without Borders', 73.

¹⁵¹ Stewart, 'The Melodic Structure of Thirteenth-Century "Jeux-Partis"', 91.

¹⁵² Mason, 'Melodic Exchange and Musical Violence in the Thirteenth-Century *Jeu-Parti*', 95.

differently: G might be the tonal centre after all. [...] What, then, of Grieviler's choice? Perhaps predictably, Grieviler chooses to subvert the tonal hierarchy established by Marli. In the first line of stanza 2, the F–G–G–F motive functions as a cadence on F because of the sense of the text: F falls at the end of the word 'Jehan' (see Fig. 2.16 below). More significant, though, is the setting of the motive F–G–G–F in the third line of stanza 2. In his opening address, Grieviler thanks Marli for 'hold[ing] me in such high esteem that you divide [this] for me'. This part of Grieviler's response ends with the F–G–G–F motive, after which Grieviler states the side of the dilemma that love makes him desire more greatly. Grieviler's opening response ends with the word 'partés', meaning 'you divide'. He thus makes syntactic division to coincide with the verb 'divide', at the same time as he makes the melody cadence on F, rather than on G. Marli opens the jeu-parti with the exhortation that Grieviler must choose, implying that he must choose how to set Marli's melody to his side of the dilemma. Grieviler chooses to reverse the tonal hierarchy that Marli sets up in the first stanza, in which F is subordinate to G.¹⁵³

Ex. Mason fig. 2.14 RS 861, 11.1-2¹⁵⁴

Ex. Mason fig. 2.16: RS 861, frons of stanza 2¹⁵⁵

However, one should remain careful when arguing about the compositional meaningfulness when linking a melody to a text, especially since we can find the same text transmitted with different melodies or the same melody with different texts. Closer inspection of the actual recurrence of melodies in the manuscripts reveals that some jeux-partis survive in several

¹⁵³ Mason, 116–20.

¹⁵⁴ Mason, 117.

¹⁵⁵ Mason, 120.

sources. Some are transmitted uniformly, some show minor differences between the sources (which could imply scribal mistakes, embellishment from the art of the performers, or changes owed to oral transmission), and finally some have clearly different melodies. We notice that, even though the rhyme and melodic construction often corresponds, there is a clear “lack of correspondence with poetic and melodic structures”.¹⁵⁶ These poetic texts do not seem to be bound to one melody and appear to be rather free.¹⁵⁷ This becomes obvious when looking at jeu-parti texts found in several sources with various melodies which have no relation to one another whatsoever. “Of the 28 jeux-partis transmitted with a melody in both *a* and *A*, only five texts were copied with the same melody in both sources.”¹⁵⁸

In total, from the corpus of 105 jeux-partis, 54 melodies are unica and 51 melodies survive in several sources. From these 51, according to Michelle Stewart, 14 seem more or less stable in their transmissions with few variations, which leaves 37 melodies that differ.¹⁵⁹ “Evaluating each manuscript reading as a separate melodic version, whether it represents a new melody or a modification of the same work, one finds 153 melodies in concordant sources represented in the following: a:39; A:27; Z:16; M:12, K:10; X:10; W:10; O:8; N:7; V:6; P:3; T:3; R:1; D:1. Therefore, the jeu-parti collection consists of a total of 207 individual melodies.”¹⁶⁰

These strong variations could lead to important questions: How strongly does improvisation feature in the creation of the melodies? Were the songs performed more than once? I will attempt to answer these questions in the next chapter on the performance of this genre.

We can observe another phenomenon in studying the jeux-partis: many melodies, particularly those of the early jeux-partis are in fact contrafacts of existing trouvère songs.¹⁶¹ The practice of “recycling” music was common amongst the poets of the time and was practiced throughout Europe disregarding even language barriers. A good example is the German minstrel Hendrick van Veldeke who regularly borrowed music from French trouvères, notably those of Gace Brulé, to compose his own songs.¹⁶² Many documents of the time recommend this practice:

¹⁵⁶ Stewart, ‘The Melodic Structure of Thirteenth-Century “Jeux-Partis”’, 89.

¹⁵⁷ Saltzstein, ‘Cleric-Trouvères and the *Jeux-Partis* of Medieval Arras’, 159.

¹⁵⁸ Mason, ‘Melodic Exchange and Musical Violence in the Thirteenth-Century Jeu-Parti’, 65.

¹⁵⁹ Stewart, ‘The Melodic Structure of Thirteenth-Century “Jeux-Partis”’, 87.

¹⁶⁰ Stewart, 87.

¹⁶¹ Gally, *Parler d’amour au puy d’Arras*, 72; Mason, ‘Melodic Exchange and Musical Violence in the Thirteenth-Century Jeu-Parti’, 130; O’Sullivan, ‘The Northern Jeu-Parti’, 155; Phillips, ‘Singers without Borders’, 70.

¹⁶² Lewon, ‘In Het Voetspoor van Veldeke. Essay over de Verloren Melodieën van Hendrik van Veldeke’.

The treatise on troubadour song *Las Leys d'Amor*, [...] states that] the *tenso*, need not have a new melody composed for it, whereas the *canso* must have an original melody.¹⁶³

In the late *Doctrina de compondre dictas*, the author [...] offers the following observations: [...] “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.”¹⁶⁴

As a direct successor to the troubadours’ *tenso*, the *jeu-parti* does not escape from the tradition. Some pieces are quite specific about this fact. For example, in *P*, a rubric indicates that one who wishes to perform this *jeu-parti* should refer to RS 840, copied on a previous folio: “this is the tune of the *jeu-parti* by the Count of Brittany.”¹⁶⁵ Another striking example of the contrafact practice is the love song *Longement ai esté pensis* (RS 1588), for which no melody survives. However, there is a rubric before the song stating “Cest el chant dou gieu parti” (“This is the music of the *jeu-parti*”), which speaks for itself.¹⁶⁶ The use of contrafacts is a powerful tool which allows the audience and the poet, who are already acquainted with the melody, to focus on the merit of a solid argumentation rather than on the craft of a well-founded tune.¹⁶⁷

It must not be forgotten that, like most of the *trouvère* songs, many of these pieces survive only as texts and without a melody, which could lead one to believe in the superiority of the text over the music.¹⁶⁸ This can give an important clue as to the performance and the focal point of the genre: what is said, and the music being a mere support. This is important to keep in mind for the coming chapter on their performance, as one *jeu-parti* might not have a unique origin. It could have had a different melody in each of its performances and these multiple melodies show the versatility of the genre.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶³ Mason, ‘Melodic Exchange and Musical Violence in the Thirteenth-Century *Jeu-Parti*’, 146.

¹⁶⁴ O’Sullivan, ‘The Northern *Jeu-Parti*’, 155.

¹⁶⁵ Mason, ‘Melodic Exchange and Musical Violence in the Thirteenth-Century *Jeu-Parti*’, 135; ‘*Trouvère P*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 847s’, fol. 201v.

¹⁶⁶ Mason, ‘Melodic Exchange and Musical Violence in the Thirteenth-Century *Jeu-Parti*’, 214; ‘*Trouvère C*, Bern, Stadtbibliothek, 389’.

¹⁶⁷ Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 4.

¹⁶⁸ Mason, ‘Melodic Exchange and Musical Violence in the Thirteenth-Century *Jeu-Parti*’, 45.

¹⁶⁹ Mason, 128–29.

2.4. Actors and timeline

The genre of the jeu-parti was wide spread and popular in several parts of northern France. Jeux-partis survive by the Counts of Brittany, Thibaut de Champagne king of Navarre (9 jeux-partis), and by other nobles and humbler poets from Amiens, Tournai, Hainaut, Reims, and of course the famous town of Arras. The trouvères from Arras's poetry school were the most prolific and left more than three-quarters of the surviving repertoire.¹⁷⁰

Here is an attempt by Robert Berger to date the jeux-partis in Arras:¹⁷¹

Year	Amount
Before Guillaume le Vinier's death in 1245	8
Held between 1250 and Bretel's death in 1272	97
<i>Before Robert Bosquet's death in 1257</i>	1
<i>Before Robert le Pierre's death in 1258</i>	4
<i>Between 1259 and 1264</i>	3
<i>The year 1264–1265</i>	1
<i>Before Pierre Wion's death in 1268</i>	2
<i>Before Jehan Bretel's death in 1272</i>	86
After Bretel's death or not determinable	9

(see appendix 5 for more details)

The prince of the genre was undoubtedly the “Prince of the puy” itself, Jehan Bretel (ca.1210–1272), as he appears in 92 jeux-partis¹⁷². He had 20 different debate partners.¹⁷³ His most brilliant opponent was definitely the famous Adam de la Halle - at the time his seemingly favourite younger counterpart - with whom he shared 16 of them.¹⁷⁴ Bretel surely contributed to the fame of Arras's reputed poetic genre and we see a significant decrease in the number of works after his death in 1272.¹⁷⁵ In his *Recueil Général des Jeux-partis français*, Arthur Långfors analysed the content of the pieces. He tried to compile a list of the participants, their interconnections, and he arrived at the conclusion that at least around forty people took part in Arras's gatherings. Most of these people can easily be identified in the *Confrérie des Jongleurs et Bourgeois d'Arras*'s registered as members.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁰ Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil Général des Jeux-Partis français*, 1:XXVI.

¹⁷¹ Berger, *Littérature et Société Arrageoises au XIIIe siècle, les chansons et dits artésiens*, 111–12 (for the detail of the jeux-partis numbers, see Appendix 4).

¹⁷² Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise*, 366–74.

¹⁷³ Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil Général des Jeux-Partis français*, 1:XXIV.

¹⁷⁴ Gally, *Parler d'amour au Puy d'Arras*, 157.

¹⁷⁵ Berger, *Littérature et Société Arrageoises au XIIIe siècle, les chansons et dits artésiens*, 111–14.

¹⁷⁶ Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil Général des Jeux-Partis français*, 1:XI–XL.

Here is a list of the most prolific authors in Arras and the number of their jeu-parti contribution:¹⁷⁷

Jehan Bretel – 92	Dragon – 25
Lambert Ferri – 47	Adam de la Halle – 18
Jehan de Grieviler – 46	Audefroï Louchart – 17
Jehan Fréwillers – 46	Jean le Cuvelier – 15

In the list of participants, who could be identified, it is striking to notice that people from all spheres of society took part in these debates.¹⁷⁸ All social classes gathered for the occasion sharing their enthusiasm for the competition: nobles, such as the King Edward II of England, rich citizens such as Audefroï Louchart, bankers, but also professional trouvères, many clerics such as Jehan de Grieviler and Adam de la Halle, townspeople and also several women. All of these people seem to have received some level of scholarly education and represented an audience of specialists able to appreciate the skill of the participants' art.¹⁷⁹

Some people were passive participants, such as the judges, who in the majority of the cases were addressed in the envois. Some judges could be jeu-parti authors, but often they seem to have been well-off people. The choice of judges by the competing trouvère was surely done with a care for politics, as the occasion to reinforce friendships, flatter a particular person or encourage the sponsorship of the singer.¹⁸⁰ As we have no trace of their judgement, we do not know how they would have reacted to such an honour.

¹⁷⁷ Berger, *Littérature et Société Arrageoises au XIIIe siècle, les chansons et dits artésiens*, 112.

¹⁷⁸ Saltzstein, 'Cleric-Trouvères and the *Jeux-Partis* of Medieval Arras', 150; Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry*, 84.

¹⁷⁹ Richardson, 'The Confrérie Des Jongleurs et Des Bourgeois and the Puy d'Arras in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Literature', 167.

¹⁸⁰ Zingesser, 'The Poets of the North: Economies of Literature and Love', 55.

3. The jeu-parti in performance context

“The text is only the occasion for the vocal gesture.”¹⁸¹

The jeux-partis were transmitted as texts, with or without a melody, and devoid of other instructions regarding their execution. We can see a first strophe aligned with a melody, and followed by several stanzas laid out one after the other without music. Some stanzas name the characters who alternate with their speech and the jeu-parti usually ends with a call for judgement. What evidences from the time can be found to enlighten us about their performance? As Zumthor explains: “The performance happens within a crucial sequence creating the history of that particular work: its production, its transmission or communication, its reception, its conservation, and its repetition. The performance is one unique act of transmission and reception.”¹⁸² From this five-step process we only know about its conservation, as a certain amount of jeux-partis survived in writing. In this chapter, I will explore what could have been the circumstances of their performance: their creation process (composition), a possible performance setting (transmission), the question of judgement (reception), and finally if this genre was destined for more than one performance (repetition).

3.1 The production of the jeux-partis – composition and the role of improvisation

In the thirteenth century, oral transmission was strong and even though northern France was prolific in terms of manuscript production, we only received the tip of the iceberg in terms of compositional production. Why have those specific jeux-partis been chosen? Music notation was still in its cradle and it may have been difficult to transcribe some of the virtuosity of the artists.¹⁸³ Also, it is not known how the transcription of such pieces was organised: were the jeux-partis transcribed from a live performance, transcribed from memory, or copied from a piece already in writing? Whatever the reason that brought them on the page, a source is “a primary representation of the material, not THE origin”¹⁸⁴ and one should not forget that the act of writing is a performance in itself, one interpretation in the work’s life.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Translated from Zumthor, *La lettre et la voix, de la ‘littérature’ médiévale*, 60.

¹⁸² Translated from Zumthor, *La poésie et la voix dans la civilisation médiévale*, 40.

¹⁸³ Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France, from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut*, 35.

¹⁸⁴ Butterfield, 3.

¹⁸⁵ Butterfield, 20.

The key to unravel the *jeux-partis*' performance practice is directly linked with their compositional process. If we could find a hint about how they were composed, we would be able to determine a lot on the performers attitude and the public's expectations. Were the *jeux-partis* prepared in advance and acted, or improvised on the spot in front of the audience, with each debater reacting to one another? Both are plausible.¹⁸⁶ The first to have seriously studied the genre at the beginning of the twentieth century, Arthur Långfors, had strong reasons to believe that the improvisation of such a piece would be impossible. He thought that the technical complications of a coherent speech and the quality and continuity of rhymed verses on a given melody could not be improvised. He suggested that the poets would agree on the topic, prepare the piece together, and present it at the next literary meeting of the *puy*.¹⁸⁷ Since the last century, much progress has been made in the rediscovery and performance of medieval music and, with time, some modern artists developed skills comparable to artists of that time. In chapter 2.3 I stated that repetitions, motives and modal formulas were regularly used as building blocks in the melodies and according to my own experience as a musician this comes naturally with practice. Since I regularly use the medieval modal system and have played the repertoire for some time, I have gathered a mental bank melodic formulae which may easily be used when improvising a new melody. As practice makes perfect, the *trouvères* surely made *jeux-partis* on a regular basis and more often as the gatherings of the *Confrérie des Jongleurs* would suggest. Even an amateur poet could, with regular training, gain the necessary skills. As Jean Bec explains: "Improvisation is not completely spontaneous, as we believed for a long time, but rests on a previous long technical elaboration, a skill that is acquired, grows and transmitted."¹⁸⁸ The proof of this practice could be found in the various small differences between the versions, and show a much greater fluidity in the performance of those pieces than we could imagine.¹⁸⁹

These principles can also be easily applied to the improvisation of speeches. As we have seen, a lot of the pieces were contrafact melodies and recycled material.¹⁹⁰ Michèle Gally highlights: "it is not necessary to be an experienced musician to sing lyrics on a melody you know."¹⁹¹ She argues that these pieces consist of a semi-improvisational practice: the topic and its vocabulary are well known, they are the same for most of the songs of the time, they include a high

¹⁸⁶ Bec, *La joute poétique*, 31.

¹⁸⁷ Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil Général des Jeux-Partis français*, 1:VII.

¹⁸⁸ translated from Bec, *La joute poétique*, 40.

¹⁸⁹ Mason, 'Melodic Exchange and Musical Violence in the Thirteenth-Century *Jeu-Parti*', 139; Saltzstein, 'Cleric-Trouvères and the *Jeux-Partis* of Medieval Arras', 159.

¹⁹⁰ Stones, 'Some Northern French Chansonniers and Their Cultural Context', 200.

¹⁹¹ Translated from Gally, *Parler d'amour au puy d'Arras*, 72.

proportion of readily applicable proverbs, prepared formulas, and filler words or phrases, and the rhymes are often organised in pairs.¹⁹² A trained trouvère could easily “fill the blanks” in the jeu-parti frame with his pre-learned material and he would be able to take the opponent and the audience by surprise in adding new material to the known and expected. He could then be free to refer to local news or latest fashions. Some similar improvised popular traditions found, for example, in the Basque country, in Corsica, or in Argentina, reinforce the possibility for a medieval poet to easily improvise such debate songs.¹⁹³

Some traces of the improvisation tradition can be found in the works of contemporary authors. Around the end of the thirteenth century, Bertran Carbonel complains about his rhyming partner “who proposes *coblas* with such difficult rhymes that one can barely answer, because jousts should fight with equal weapons.”¹⁹⁴ In *Le Parfait du Paon* de Jean de La Mote (1340), a fictional story inspired by Alexander the Great, the author recreates a scene where a couple of young nobles argue in a simple and natural debate about several love questions. They speak in turns, as if in a dialogue, presenting a whole range of arguments according to what comes to their minds at the moment.¹⁹⁵

Moreover, as Jennifer Saltzstein suggests, “the genre would have held the greatest interest for the audience of live performances.”¹⁹⁶ The main interest for both the performers and the listeners would have been the suspense and spontaneity of the competition. How would the opponent react to an argument that could not have been planned? How could the other trouvère come up with a stronger argument? How could the singer redeem himself in the eyes of the judge in light of a stronger opponent? They would not hesitate to use strong language to make “a violent attack on an opponent’s reputation.”¹⁹⁷

They loved fresh material. Singers were expected to bring novelty in poetic competitions.¹⁹⁸ This is illustrated in the *Parfait du Paon* where Alexander the Great takes part in a ballade competition. He had to swear in front the whole audience, before performing, that the song was

¹⁹² Aubailly, *Le Monologue, le Dialogue et la Sottie, essai sur quelques genres dramatiques de la fin du moyen âge et du début du XVIe siècle*, 465; Gally, *Parler d’amour au puy d’Arras*, 75–77.

¹⁹³ Bec, *La joute poétique*, 28.

¹⁹⁴ Translated from Bec, 29.

¹⁹⁵ De la Mote and Carey, *Jean de la Mote, Le Parfait du Paon, édition critique*, 17.

¹⁹⁶ Saltzstein, ‘Cleric-Trouvères and the *Jeux-Partis* of Medieval Arras’, 159.

¹⁹⁷ Mason, ‘Melodic Exchange and Musical Violence in the Thirteenth-Century Jeu-Parti’, 70.

¹⁹⁸ De la Mote and Carey, *Jean de la Mote, Le Parfait du Paon, édition critique*, 14.

unique and original, and no one else intervened in its composition.¹⁹⁹ Finally, “the use of proper names and the familiar tone”²⁰⁰ is a good example of the spontaneity of the genre. Jennifer Saltzstein could hardly imagine that the public of Arras, which loves so much theatre, would enjoy itself as much if they knew already what to expect.²⁰¹

However, the *jeux-partis* may not have had only a live performance origin. Most of the *trouvères* were “as comfortable on stage as they were at the writing desk”²⁰² and would have been able to read and write. We have many examples showing us that a missing member could write from a distance and send his song to be sung at the *puy* by someone else in his stead. Andrieu Contredit sent his courtly song to Arras: “Chanson va t’en sans nulle arestoison droit a Arras au Pui sans demourée ! La fai chanter et le dit et le son: la serés vous oie et escoutée. R 545 VI” (“Song go without being stopped directly to Arras to the *puy* without further ado! Have it sung and told and resounded: you shall hear and listen.”)²⁰³ Another poet, Mahieu de Gant, sent another courtly song specially to Jehan Bretel: “Bretel, me canchon envoïe vous ai pour che ke soit ouïe Au pui devant le gent jolie. R 1144 VI” (Bretel my song I send mandating you to make it heard at the *puy* in front of the nice people”).²⁰⁴ This could also be applied to the *jeu-parti*, as is suggested in the novel *Perceforest* (1340), depicting a *jeu-parti* by correspondence. Probably parodying the genre, two wounded knights on their sick bed, in neighbouring rooms, react to each other’s arguments by sending the other one.²⁰⁵

As Ardis Butterfield points out, it is not because they are orally performed that they must also be orally composed.²⁰⁶ The possibility that the *jeu-parti* could come from a written origin rather than an improvised one brings further questions. How many composers were involved in creating a new *jeu-parti*? One or Two? Could one writer have created it as a play? Could the two authors coordinate or even write it together? Could it even be a mix of improvisation and writing, for example by preparing the opening stanza in advance? Bec affirms about the *jeu-parti* southern counterpart: “it is possible that a troubadour could have publicly presented a kind of poetic challenge to another troubadour in a first *cobla* [...] while the other troubadour had a

¹⁹⁹ De la Mote and Carey, 205.

²⁰⁰ O’Sullivan, ‘The Northern *Jeu-Parti*’, 157.

²⁰¹ Saltzstein, ‘Cleric-Trouvères and the *Jeux-Partis* of Medieval Arras’, 160.

²⁰² Saltzstein, 158.

²⁰³ Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise*, 375.

²⁰⁴ Dragonetti, 375.

²⁰⁵ Gally, *Parler d’amour au Puy d’Arras*, 67.

²⁰⁶ Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France, from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut*, 16.

certain amount of time to write an answer on the same prosodic structure, in order to [present it in the following poetical session].”²⁰⁷ In the *Jeu de la feuillée* by Adam de la Halle, *le Fou* mentions that Master Gautier Aux Paux and Thomas de Clari must prepare a song for the puy.²⁰⁸ They are both aware of their coming task and they have to prepare, exactly how a knight would prepare for a joust.²⁰⁹ Carol Symes imagines “that the poets were allowed time to compose their replies, while the audience was drinking and discussing.”²¹⁰ Jean Bec also suggests that one author could have written the song, which might then have been given to a minstrel in charge for its presentation.²¹¹ Most educated people in the Middle Ages featured an exceptionally good memory. It would have, therefore, been easy for an artist to memorise such a piece, rehearse it in advance and present it in front of a dedicated audience.²¹²



Fig. 3: Adam at his desk
MS. A, fol. 133/142v



Fig. 4: Thibaut de Navarre, writing
MS O, fol. 94r



Fig. 5: Adam singing
MS W, fol. 10r

Writing implies some kind of support. Studying the iconography of the trouvère manuscripts, many poets are represented with a roll of parchment held in their hands or placed on their writing desk. The act of writing appears to be connected to the act of composition. In the chansonnier A (fig. 3), we can see Adam at his desk writing his song;²¹³ in the Chansonnier Cangé (O) (fig. 4), Thibaut de Navarre is presented sitting on a bench writing on a scroll; in MS W (fig. 5), Adam recites his song in front of the puy holding his text in front of him. *Le*

²⁰⁷ Translated from Bec, *La joute poétique*, 30.

²⁰⁸ De la Halle and Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 315.

²⁰⁹ Mason, ‘Melodic Exchange and Musical Violence in the Thirteenth-Century Jeu-Parti’, 9.

²¹⁰ Symes, *A Common Stage*, 225.

²¹¹ Bec, *La joute poétique*, 31.

²¹² Phillips, ‘Singers without Borders’, 74.

²¹³ ‘Trouvère A, Chansonnier d’Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 657 (Olim 139)’, fol. 133/142v.

Parfait du Paon, and in other ballade competitions, the judges ask for the ballade in written form and then compare this version with the performance.²¹⁴ Unfortunately, “no song sheets survive (loose bits of parchment) but there are medieval references to such sheets, [...] the documents are just missing.”²¹⁵ Parchment was durable but also expensive. “The far most common writing surface in the Middle Ages was wax.”²¹⁶ Wax tablets are also one of the most commonly found medieval artefacts.²¹⁷ A trouvère owning one of those tablets could very quickly have written a few words to help himself in building his argument, or a poet could arrive with some love questions ready for the new session on such a device.

We must not forget that the transmitted versions were probably well chosen, maybe even “polished” before being copied and there were surely less successful performances that have been long forgotten.²¹⁸ Jennifer Saltzstein suggests that the transmitted manuscripts could have been used as learning material to “internalize melodic patterns, rhetorical figures and vernacular authorities”²¹⁹ and provided all the tools one would need to improvise one’s own debate. Borrowing material was common at that time, we find some reworking of pieces and many puy had written records of their annual competitions.²²⁰ A member could have easily accessed the archives to study what comprises a winning song.

To conclude, we can affirm that the jeux-partis came in a mixed form of transmission²²¹, situated somewhere between the written and the oral, and when a poet had mastered the genre, he could have prepared a written example just as well as he could have improvised one in a live performance. The poet could also improvise one part of the performance, the melody for example, and read the text from a memory aid. The Lambeth Palace Roll, a portable device containing only jeu-parti texts, could be a good example of this mixed form of transmission.²²² I personally think that the genre was very versatile, although improvisation would certainly have played a major part in the creation process. The genre seemed to have been well rooted in the culture. The performers and the audience alike seemed to have taken a lot of pleasure in

²¹⁴ De la Mote and Carey, *Jean de la Mote, Le Parfait du Paon, édition critique*, 14.

²¹⁵ Phillips, ‘Singers without Borders’, 59.

²¹⁶ Haines, ‘Aristocratic Patronage and the Cosmopolitan Vernacular Songbook: The Chansonnier Du Roi (M-Trouv.) and the French Mediterranean’, 105.

²¹⁷ Haines, 105.

²¹⁸ O’Sullivan, ‘The Northern Jeu-Parti’, 157.

²¹⁹ Saltzstein, ‘Cleric-Trouvères and the *Jeux-Partis* of Medieval Arras’, 161.

²²⁰ Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 184.

²²¹ Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France, from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut*, 17.

²²² Phillips, ‘Singers without Borders’.

participating in the debate, as the sixth jeu-parti involving Adam RS 1584 illustrates “Sire Jehans, ainc ne futes partis ne demandés d’amour, si con je croi, d’omme qui ja en alas escondis [...] Adan, bien sui de responder garnis: nus n’en ira ja escondis de moi se il me part.” (“Sire Jehan, to my knowledge never have you discouraged someone who propositioned you to a jeu-parti or a love debate [...] Adam, I am ready to respond. I will never refuse anybody who propositioned me to a jeu-parti.”).²²³ There were probably many different forms for preparing a jeu-parti and one could have seen a master of the genre improvising a new one on one day but, on another day, witness some minstrels reciting an existing one.

3.2 The transmission of the jeux-partis

3.2.1 Evidence in the manuscripts

As Ardis Butterfield points out, “the difficulty resides in connecting the written form to the oral event.”²²⁴ The clues we have from the performances of the jeux-partis are visual evidences in some manuscripts, which are “almost contemporary in Arras [...] where it was performed.”²²⁵ Four manuscripts, A, I, W and b, illustrated the act at the beginning of the jeu-parti section. In each case, we see two men turned towards one another, mostly dressed in cleric clothes, two hands in the air articulating some typical dialogic gestures. In most of the miniatures the two men are standing, but in manuscript *I* one stands while one sits, and in *b* both men are sitting. No instruments are depicted, nor any sort of written support, neither audience, nor judge.

²²³ De la Halle and Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 134.

²²⁴ Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France, from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut*, 14.

²²⁵ Mason, ‘Melodic Exchange and Musical Violence in the Thirteenth-Century Jeu-Parti’, 160.

Miniatures introducing the jeu-parti sections in manuscripts A, I, W and b



Fig. 6: MS A, fol. 136r/145r



Fig. 7–8: MS I, fol. 178r and 187v

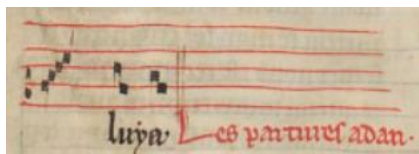


Fig. 9–10: MS W, fol. 23v



Fig. 11: MS b, fol. 138v

One has to be careful when interpreting the miniatures. Copyists had models to copy from. One also needs to be aware that they had their own language, their conventions, and that sometimes the representation was standardised in representing one activity or another. For example, a typical teaching situation is often depicted with an audience, a teacher in his chair, a finger raised in the air (fig. 12 and 13).²²⁶



Fig. 12: MS A, fol. 6r



Fig. 13: MS A, fol. 11r

However, few conclusions can be drawn: the jeu-parti definitely asks for two performers for its realisation. Both are active participants, they react to one another. The miniature from manuscript *b* is especially striking: The man on the left is the first speaker, enouncing his argument and raising his right index towards his partner. The man on the right is preparing his reply, leaning backwards and raising his hand in a disagreeing manner. They are using their hands to illustrate their speech and they do not seem to have prepared their texts. For Yolanda Plumley, this is “the trace of an oral phenomenon.”²²⁷ The participants are depicted in a conversing situation, comparable to other dialogues scenes in other parts of the manuscripts. (example Fig. 14, 15 and 16 from MS I)



Fig. 14: MS I fol. 5r



Fig. 15: MS I, fol. 46v



Fig. 16: MS I, fol. 178r

²²⁶ Lewon, ‘Here’s Looking at Miniatures: Master Frauenlob and “Lady Music”’; Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 142.

²²⁷ Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 143.

Carol Symes points out that the *jeux-partis* are represented “in an appropriate sociable setting”.²²⁸ A noticeable detail is that the copyists took great care to respect the social status of the depicted persons. Noble poets are represented as knights; clerical poets are dressed accordingly in their habit. (ex. Fig.17, 18 and 19)



Fig. 17: Gautier de Dargies
MS A, fol. 133/156r,



Fig. 18: Richard de Fournival, clerk
MS A, fol. 131/140



Fig. 19: Jeu-parti
MS A, fol. 136r/145r

Even though we know that nobles took part in the activity, here participants are dressed like clerics. Could it be referring to some academic activity? Or rather, that a lot of clerics were involved in performing *jeux-partis*? Some think that the *jeu-parti* could have been imitating the *quodlibets* – popular academic public debates that took place in the streets near the universities and in the context of a religious education.²²⁹ Nevertheless, the two genres differ significantly and even though they might have been similar in concept, they had very different goals, topics, and forms.²³⁰ The *jeux-partis* were directed at an educated but not exclusively academic audience. Many participants, however, would have received some scholastic education and “could have been equally at home in vernacular courtly love song or in the scholarly environment of universities”²³¹ and could have made good use of their oratory skills.

²²⁸ Symes, ‘The “School of Arras” and the Career of Adam’, 22.

²²⁹ Enders, ‘The Theater of Scholastic Erudition’, 149; Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry*, 83.

²³⁰ Mason, ‘Melodic Exchange and Musical Violence in the Thirteenth-Century *Jeu-Parti*’, 236.

²³¹ Saltzstein, ‘Cleric-Trouvères and the *Jeux-Partis* of Medieval Arras’, 149.

Looking further in the manuscripts which host the jeux-partis, some miniatures illustrate various performance situations. From those pictures some more elements can be drawn, which could be useful in the understanding of the performance of the jeux-partis. For instance, since the audience is missing from the four jeu-parti miniatures, it is interesting to have a look in Adam de la Halle's dedicated chansonnier *W*, which contains his works, but also some other religious and philosophical pieces, such as *Le Dits du Cors et de l'ame*.



Fig. 20: Adam's songs, MS W, fol. 10r



Fig. 21: Li jeus de le fueillie, MS W, fol. 49r



Fig. 22: Du cors et de lame, MS W, fol. 107

The first miniature (fig. 20) illustrates the opening section of Adam's songs. On the sheet he holds between his hands is written the title of the first song "D'amourous Coeur voel". As this represents a likely performance of songs in Arras, this miniature could very well illustrate a performance in the Arras's puy. Adam sits on the podium (where the word "puy" takes its origins²³² as we have seen in the first chapter), facing his public sitting in rows. The public, close to the "stage", is mixed and consists of women and men, some of them dressed as clerks. We know also that in Arras, all social classes take part in the literary circle of the puy and this could be depicted here by this mixed audience.

The second miniature (fig. 21) illustrates the beginning of Adam's *Jeu de la Feuillée*. This time, Adam is standing, one finger raised in the air, holding gloves.²³³ He is not reading but directly addresses his audience. Once again, the audience is sitting on long benches, similar to those found in churches (the Confrérie's?), and a similar mixture of people can be found: men and women, clerks and laymen. In this second picture the people in the first row even look as if they were interacting or at least reacting to what they are witnessing. Pierre-Yves Badel, in his edition of the works of Adam de la Halle, suggests this proximity between the actors and spectators, where the position can be swapped as the public is also full of specialists and poets who could interact with the performance.²³⁴ I can easily believe that both miniatures represent a setting and a space in which a jeu-parti could have taken place. I would even argue that the public would be the same, since we know that men and women, clerks, minstrels and nobles took part in the performance, as performers or as judge. On this folio 49, I can easily picture a second trouvère entering the scene and starting a jeu-parti.

The third miniature (fig. 22), contained a little bit further in the same manuscript, seems similar to the first and second one. It is almost witnessing the same setting. However, at closer scrutiny, it turns out to show a completely different situation. This text is a philosophical debate about the body and the soul and could represent a rather academic setting. Even though the speaker uses the same stance and gesture as on fol. 49r he is standing in his chair and his public consists entirely of men. Although this represents a different context, it is still noticeable that in all the cases, the works are performed in front of a considerable crowd and that they all sit in rows on benches.

²³² Symes, 'The Confraternity of Jongleurs and the Cult of the Virgin: Vernacular Devotion and Documentation in Medieval Arras', 196.

²³³ Stones, 'Another Note on Fr.25566 and Its Illustrations', 79.

²³⁴ De la Halle and Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 21.

This can be corroborated by the competition scene depicted by Jean de La Mote in his *Parfait du Paon*, written half a century after MS *W*: “One of the young knights present assumes the role of master of ceremonies and invites the company to be seated on benches that are set out in rows.”²³⁵

3.2.2 Other evidence

As two-third of the jeux-partis are from Arras, there are big chances for its relation to the puy and its physical space.²³⁶ The Confrérie des Jongleurs et Bourgeois owned a few spaces in the town which could have hosted the event. For example, the Confrérie’s Hall des Ardents was a room 25 meters in length “a generous size for the time”²³⁷ and could have been a comfortable space to be used. On the other hand, London puy’s statutes, as seen in chapter 1, which might have been copied from Arras’s, states that the elected *Prince of the Pui*, often a chosen well-off man, was supposed to be hosting the puy’s events. Since Jehan Bretel is so often called “Prince” or “Prince du Pui” during so many years, we could assume that the jeux-partis could have been presented within one of the gatherings of the puy and also that they could have taken place in Bretel’s house.²³⁸ We do not have any evidence about his living situation, but we do know that he was a rich man, implying he could have had a big enough house to host a circle of colleagues. There is also possibility that those performances could have happened outside, since there are many traces of various outside performances which took place, such as plays at the marketplace, where benches could easily be installed.

Outside Arras, Thibaut de Champagne was also fond of the genre.²³⁹ It is easy to believe that he would have presented them at his court. Charles d’Anjou, who took part in the debate and also functioned as a judge,²⁴⁰ enjoyed the poetry that came out of Arras very much and made sure that, once he was called in Sicily, his court would carry on benefiting from the entertainment. When Robert II d’Artois was invited to join his uncle’s ranks in the Italian wars, he brought with him some minstrels from the Artois area.²⁴¹ Adam was amongst them and even

²³⁵ Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 205.

²³⁶ Phillips, ‘Singers without Borders’, 63.

²³⁷ Symes, *A Common Stage*, 215.

²³⁸ Richardson, ‘The Confrérie Des Jongleurs et Des Bourgeois and the Puy d’Arras in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Literature’, 169.

²³⁹ Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil Général des Jeux-Partis français*, 1:XIX.

²⁴⁰ Dragonetti, *La technique poésie des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise*, 347.

²⁴¹ Symes, *A Common Stage*, 248.

if we do not have evidence of Sicilian *jeux-partis*, it is highly plausible that the genre was also performed abroad at Charles's court.²⁴²

Finally, when would these *jeux-partis* take place? It is not sure how often the puy would gather. There is a seemingly annual appointment, but I cannot believe that the skills of these poets could reach such a high standard if they only met once a year. They surely trained on a regular basis, entertaining their friends and Arras's social network. A modern, but traditional comparison example could be the *Cliques* playing at the Basel carnival. The event is based on some revived medieval traditions where similar confraternities would be allowed to meet for a few days and take their performances to the streets. Each of the *cliques* have their own premises, where they meet weekly to practice the pieces for the next carnival, make new outfits and of course drink a glass of wine together. They train all year long and they get out for the big four-day event just before spring. This could be similar to the Confrérie des Jongleurs et Bourgeois' annual *Grand Siège* where all the members would get out to celebrate together. Yolanda Plumley gives us another clue: "The lyric contest took the form of an after-dinner entertainment."²⁴³ She also mentions that the *fratrasies*, an improvised genre similar to the *jeu-parti* where two poets satirically joust with one another, took place on Thursdays after dinner in Artois area.²⁴⁴

3.2.3 On the involvement of instruments

"If there was instrumental accompaniment, we have no indication."²⁴⁵ The *jeux-partis* like all other genres of secular song did not come with instructions for accompaniment and as none of the *jeux-partis* mention any kind of instrument in their texts, we cannot know if instruments were used in their realisation. However, the context surrounding this genre would not exclude their use as the Confrérie des Jongleurs et Bourgeois d'Arras was probably the first European musician confraternity.²⁴⁶ Its founding story talks about a miracle which happened to two fiddle players. It famously spread as far as Spain, quoted in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. The first legal seal of the Confrérie represented two men holding their fiddle. Reworked, a few decades later it pictured a virgin holding her child and candle, and a juggler holding his fiddle in the same position as the child.²⁴⁷ The activities of the Confrérie included a big yearly outdoor event, the "Grand Siège"

²⁴² De la Halle and Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 25–26; Symes, *A Common Stage*, 248–49.

²⁴³ Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 159.

²⁴⁴ Plumley, 135.

²⁴⁵ Phillips, 'Singers without Borders', 70.

²⁴⁶ Symes, *A Common Stage*, 4.

²⁴⁷ Symes, 110.

re-enacting the miracle of its foundation. For this occasion, “one should carry the things to Saint-Vaast in plain view, accompanied by banners and trumpets and vielles and all other kinds of minstrels.”²⁴⁸ So it seems normal that there was a high percentage of instrumentalists in thirteenth-century Arras, the fiddle having a special place, and it would be hard to believe that none of them would have occasionally taken part in the jeu-parti sessions. In the thirteenth century, the Dominican monk Jerome of Moravia wrote a treatise about music and found the need to explain how to tune and use the fiddle and the rebec. “Jerome of Moravia’s treatise points us to the most obvious way in which musical instruments increasingly came to impinge upon the lives of clerics: they were increasingly played by clerics.”²⁴⁹ And in Arras so many of them were playing music and practicing the *jongleurie* that the Church felt compelled to react and threaten that they “would lose their privileges if they stayed in the trade for more than a year.”²⁵⁰



Fig. 23: Jehan Grieviler, MS b, fol. 82r



Fig. 24: Perrin d’Angicourt, MS b, fol. 94r



Fig. 25: Martin le Béguin de Cambrai, MS b fol. 100r

²⁴⁸ Symes, 114, 229.

²⁴⁹ Page, ‘Johannes de Grocheio on Secular Music’, 57.

²⁵⁰ Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry*, 81.

In the *trouvère* manuscript b, the copyists seemed to have taken special care to represent the poets-instrumentalists. Three *trouvères* from Arras's circle were important enough to have their miniature represented alongside their song: Jehan de Grieviler (fig. 23), Perrin d'Angicourt (fig. 24) and Martin le Béguin de Cambrai (fig. 25). While Grieviler stands alone in a singing position, in his cleric clothes, Perrin is represented holding a portable organ and Martin playing the bagpipe.

With regard to the *jeux-partis*, Malicote points out that “the use of the instrument depended on the type of song to be performed.”²⁵¹ The *jeux-partis* is considered a lesser genre and uses melodies from the genre of the *grand chant*, becoming *contrafacts*. Was it then considered courtly or distasteful to play along? If not, which instrument would be ideal? Johannes de Grocheio, a clerk from a village in northern France in the thirteenth century enlightens us about the use of musical instruments:²⁵²

“Among which instruments the strings hold pride of place; of this kind are the psalterium, the cithara, the lyra, the *quitarra sarracenic*a and the *viella*.[...] Furthermore, the *viella* evidently prevails over all the musical instruments known to us, for just as the scope of the intellectual soul includes other natural forms within itself. [...] Even if there are some instruments whose sound has greater power to move the souls of men - as the *tympanum* and *tuba* do in feasts, *hastiludes* and tournaments A good player of the *viella* generally performs every *cantus* and *cantilena*, and all achieved musical design.”²⁵³

The fiddle seems to hold indeed a special place amongst the *trouvères*.²⁵⁴ In many songs, they mention the *vièle* whenever it is question to talk about instrumental playing. They even made a verb out of it: *vièler*. “Gauthier de Coincy, in his *Miracles de Notre Dame*, gives considerable emphasis to the performance of the songs, he claims he is performing them himself to the accompaniment of a *vièle*.”²⁵⁵ Christopher Page, in his book about the instrumental practice between 1100 and 1300, provides a large number of examples to quote but a few: “There a minstrel sang them a new song on the *viele* [...] The minstrels go singing new songs on their *vieles* [...] Then he began, so it seems to me, to fiddle and sing at the same time [...] The minstrels go fiddling and the townswomen carolling [...] From my fiddle I wish to fiddle a

²⁵¹ Malicote, *Image and Imagination, Picturing the Old French Epic*, 60.

²⁵² Page, ‘Johannes de Grocheio on Secular Music’, 31.

²⁵³ Page, 31.

²⁵⁴ Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, 33.

²⁵⁵ Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France, from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut*, 23.

beautiful sound,”²⁵⁶ Even the opening miniature of the Arsenal Chansonnier (K) represents the King of Navarre, Thibaut de Champagne, singing his song to the sound of the fiddle (fig. 26):

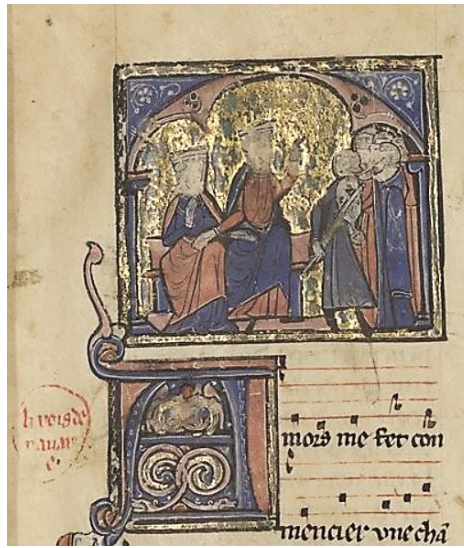


Fig. 26: Thibaut King of Navarre, MS K, fol. 1r

We do not know if the trouvères actually used instruments in the performance practice of the jeux-partis, but if one would have been chosen, I would safely to say that the fiddle would be a good choice. They would have probably used the techniques used to embellish the Grand Chant²⁵⁷, as their melodies are shaped on the same principles (if not directly copied). They could have used some enhanced drones, some modal answers between musical phrases and rephrasing of the song’s motivic gestures. We have no concrete evidence of this practice but these techniques are being re-developed.²⁵⁸ I am myself a fiddle player and I have had the experience to accompany myself while singing a jeu-parti that I learned from memory. Once mastered, the use of the instrument was a great tool to support or strengthen my arguments. Here are some of the techniques I use when accompanying a singer for such music: I let the singer sing and answer some little musical phrases between his strophes, I play the melody along with the singer but add some ornaments, I can simply play a drone all along, I can follow almost exactly the melody at the fourth or the fifth, I can improvise a counterpart to the melody using typical medieval counterpoint and/or use different drones, I can use well known improvisation techniques of the time such as faux-bourdon. To conclude, if some medieval musicians had those skills too, I am sure they would not have hesitated to use it to convince their public and destabilise their opponent.

²⁵⁶ Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages*, 184–94.

²⁵⁷ Le Vot, ‘A propos des jongleurs de geste. Conjectures sur quelques procédés musicaux utilisés dans les compositions épiques médiévales’, 186.

²⁵⁸ Lewon, ‘Transformational Practices in Fifteenth-Century German Music’, 189–237.

3.3 The reception of the jeux-partis: the judgements

A song does not normally invite examination of its reception by the public. However, it seems to be characteristic of the jeu-parti genre that a reaction from the audience is expected. At the end of the debate, in the envois, each of the two competitors usually calls his or her judge. Unfortunately, no trace of their judgement survived, nor any evidence of ensuing celebration for the winner.²⁵⁹ All the jeux-partis seem to end with a draw and it would be difficult today to determine which of the competitors would have been designated champion.

Two judges are usually called, but it can happen that more or less are called, as seen in chapter 2 in the example of the jeu-parti RS 1675 *Adan, amis, mout saves bien*.²⁶⁰ The judges can be regular members of the puy, for example the “Prince of the Pui”, Jehan Bretel, or the cleric Jehan Grieviler. It can also be a member of the audience, for instance demoiselle Oede or a distinguished visitor, like the king Edward II of England.²⁶¹ Nevertheless, as Arras was a place where those of all social conditions would mingle, a poet could have used this opportunity to reinforce his position, and honour a friend or a patron.²⁶²

Långfors doubts whether a judgement was really rendered, but suggests instead that a discussion would surely follow.²⁶³ However, we have proof that such judgement would have been customary: in the parodic story from the Low Countries *Perceforest*, as already mentioned above, a jeu-parti by correspondence takes place between two wounded knights. Two women are named judges, but they cannot agree. Two new judges are called, but they also disagree. A trial by combat follows to determine the winning knight until a wise woman can settle the dilemma.²⁶⁴ Outside this fiction, it is possible that the judges would find it difficult to agree and perhaps some debate could have followed a jeu-parti. To prevent this, a literary association wrote down rules. In an attempt to revive the troubadour culture around 1320 in Toulouse, the poet Guilhem Molinier compiled in *La Leys d'Amor* all the rules of the song competition and gave details about the way the judgement was rendered:²⁶⁵

²⁵⁹ Richardson, ‘The Confrérie Des Jongleurs et Des Bourgeois and the Puy d’Arras in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Literature’, 168.

²⁶⁰ De la Halle and Badel, *Œuvres complètes*, 154–63.

²⁶¹ Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil Général des Jeux-Partis français*, 1:V–LX.

²⁶² Zingesser, ‘The Poets of the North: Economies of Literature and Love’, 55; Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise*, 367.

²⁶³ Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil Général des Jeux-Partis français*, 1:VII.

²⁶⁴ Phillips, ‘Singers without Borders’, 76.

²⁶⁵ Phillips, 75.

“it has from six to ten couplets, with two tornadas, in which the two parts must elect a judge who ends their plea and their tenson (or contension). The judge must give his judgement in couplets of the same measure, or in new rhymes; but it is more often the case today that it is given in new rhymes. Some wish to follow in the judgements the forms of law, in citing the Gospels or other parables that are customarily cited in the sentences.

We do not condemn this manner of doing things: but we say that it is not necessary, because it suffices that a judgement is given: and it can be pronounced in the manner that is most convenient to him who was chosen as judge.

We say also that it is not necessary that this work be delivered in song; but in the case when one does so in the measure of the verse and of the song in which all the other work which is song, it can be sung in this old air.”²⁶⁶

The way of giving a judgement seemed flexible, but at the same time, many judges being poets themselves, might have felt compelled to show their own skills and virtuosity.²⁶⁷



Fig. 27 *Chant couronné* from Jean Frumiaus de Lille: MS X, fol. 188r

The winner of the jeu-parti was, most probably, not crowned, in contrast to the custom in the various song competitions happening at the time.²⁶⁸ Some songs are called in the manuscripts *chanson couronnée* or *crowned song* (fig. 27), which indicated their success and the quality of those composition.²⁶⁹ No jeu-parti bears this rubric. We know from the statutes of other puy that a whole ceremony surrounded the competition itself, including the crowning of its winners.²⁷⁰ These archival evidences could contain interesting elements in terms of judging and quality criteria.

²⁶⁶ Phillips, 75.

²⁶⁷ Phillips, 75.

²⁶⁸ Richardson, ‘The Confrérie Des Jongleurs et Des Bourgeois and the Puy d’Arras in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Literature’, 168.

²⁶⁹ Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 171; Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise*, 368; Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry*, 85.

²⁷⁰ Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France, from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut*, 137; Richardson, ‘The Confrérie Des Jongleurs et Des Bourgeois and the Puy d’Arras in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Literature’, 1–4.

As seen in chapter 3, a ballade competition takes place in La Mote's story *Le Parfait du Paon*, after a sequence of love questions similar to the jeux-partis. Each contestant must swear in front of the audience that the ballade is newly created, original and never presented anywhere else before. After the performance, the singer has to leave a copy of the song for the judges (implying that the piece had been written before). When every contestant has presented his song, everyone leaves the room and the judgement begins.²⁷¹ "Each ballade is read more than ten times and [a] heated debate ensues. La Mote demonstrates his own poetic expertise [...] as he lists the judges' assessment of the virtues and shortcoming of each poem. Several have technical flaws [...] such as un *faus ronment*, un *piler* or un *genoul*. [...] Other infelicities include repetition [...] or lack rhetorical verve."²⁷² When an agreement has been reached amongst the judges, the participants are called back in, the winners are crowned and a celebration follows. Plumley points out another interesting source: "the statutes of the Parisian *Cour amoureuse* compiled after 1400"²⁷³, which mentions that anyone should report immediately to the judges they hear any flaws "such as false rhymes, overly long repetitions, or hypometric line."²⁷⁴

Another source of information comes from Germany, also fond of poetic competitions. Adam Puschmann left us a treatise about the rules of the singing competitions happening in Nurnberg in the last half of the sixteenth century. His *Gründlicher Bericht des Deutschen Meistergesangs* was edited three times. Its criteria resemble the ones from the thirteenth and fourteenth century sources, but are more detailed. The songs are penalised, for example, if the words are not coherent with the theme, if their quotations of other sources exceed a certain proportion of the song, or if the melody does not fit the requested mode. Singers could even have points deducted from their score if they do not stay seated on the designated chair while singing.²⁷⁵ The jeux-partis might not have been examined in such detail, but the judges were definitely sensitive to what would make a good song, a good execution and a decent rhetorical argument.

The judges may not always have been impartial and could have put forward a friend's poem rather than the best one.²⁷⁶ One singer complained about the unfair decisions: "Jehan de Renti, beaten at the puy, comments: if it was not to honour my lady, never would I say my song at the

²⁷¹ De la Mote and Carey, *Jean de la Mote, Le Parfait du Paon, édition critique*, 14, 16–20.

²⁷² Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 206.

²⁷³ Plumley, 207.

²⁷⁴ Plumley, 207.

²⁷⁵ Puschman, 'Puschman, Adam, Theoretische Schrift, Gründlicher Bericht Des Deutschen Meistergesangs, Der Ander Tractat'.

²⁷⁶ Dragonetti, *La technique poésie des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise*, 377.

Pui: because I see there too often those who know nothing about singing being honoured. It is a big shame upon the judges who, by relationship or social prestige, crown those who are not even able to compose a *pastourelle*.²⁷⁷

Finally, in the case of the *jeux-partis*, the lack of judgement, “the only element of the game that was not scripted,”²⁷⁸ could invite the organisation of a new performance. Could this be evidence of the re-enactment of the *jeux-partis*?²⁷⁹

3.4 Repetition: possible re-enactment of the *jeux-partis*

Once a *jeu-parti* had been created, could it have had a second life and be performed in another context? The *jeu-parti* seems fixed in the moment. Michèle Gally asks “what meaning can they have when sung outside the *puy*”?²⁸⁰ With its personalised tone, talking about real people, the debaters call one another by their names, and quote verifiable local events.²⁸¹ In the *jeu-parti* *Grieviler, vostre ensient* (RS 667–668), Jehan Grieviler is quoting a much earlier *jeu-parti* from Thibaut the Navarre on the triumph of beauty, which would have been created decades before. To be able to use it in his argumentation as a rhetorical figure of authority, it would mean that either this *jeu-parti* was part of a standard repertoire learned by the whole crowd, or it had been recently re-enacted.²⁸² It would not have been a problem for a *trouvère* to play the role of someone he knew. This can be easily supported by the fact that, as we have seen previously, *trouvères* were sending songs to the *puy*, asking colleagues to interpret them in their place.²⁸³

As requested in its statutes, the *Confrérie des Jongleurs* was founded, made and maintained by *jongleurs*. Their job was to memorise, entertain and act their best repertoire.²⁸⁴ They would have surely not missed the opportunity to re-enact the best *jeux-partis*,²⁸⁵ even embodying for example Jehan Bretel in front of Jean Bretel, which could have been of great humorous effect.

²⁷⁷ Translated from Dragonetti, 377.

²⁷⁸ Phillips, ‘Singers without Borders’, 75.

²⁷⁹ Phillips, 75.

²⁸⁰ Gally, *Parler d’amour au Puy d’Arras*, 67.

²⁸¹ Gally, 90.

²⁸² Phillips, ‘Singers without Borders’, 70–71.

²⁸³ Richardson, ‘The *Confrérie Des Jongleurs et Des Bourgeois* and the *Puy d’Arras* in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Literature’, 167.

²⁸⁴ Sutton, ‘Merchants, Music and Social Harmony: The London *Puy* and Its French and London Contexts, circa 1300’, 2.

²⁸⁵ Symes, ‘The Lordship of *Jongleurs*’, 251.

The interest of the performance would then not be about the novelty of its text, but rather about the act itself. The variations in the melodies linked to the same text could be proof of this practice. Each time the same piece is performed, slight changes occur. One artist might even simply improvise another melody. A good artist could even propose to play the whole work in a solo version. “[The actor] Faral, in 1922, about the *Courtois d’Arras*, admitted that [...] with his vocal abilities, he could embody several characters and dialog by himself.”²⁸⁶

The jongleurs are often associated with travel. Jenna Phillips suggests that the jeux-partis could have had “a second life as texts used for travelling shows, or as part of the standard repertory of a good performer (or troupe)”²⁸⁷ They could have been performed on the road, repeated again and again, shared through Europe. Another interesting exchange opportunity was the minstrels’ school at Lent mentioned in the first chapter.²⁸⁸ Although the first traces of these schools date back to 1313, this could have been a regular occasion for the Arrageois poets to spread the genre and re-enact the best of Arras’s poetic production, even across linguistic barriers.

The town of Arras was an important trade centre at the heart of multiple mercantile routes.²⁸⁹ As Arras was fashionable in foreign towns such as London, Londoners could have wished to hear the latest Arrageois song.²⁹⁰ This can be corroborated by an important piece of evidence: The Lambeth Palace Roll (London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 1681) which was mentioned in section 2.2 above. This small piece of rolled parchment written by an English scribe, containing two songs and five jeux-partis “offers a tantalising glimpse onto the mobility of song in the thirteenth century.”²⁹¹ The roll includes a rope which could be tied to a belt for an easy transport.²⁹² It is not much bigger than an iPhone and can be easily held in one hand while performing.²⁹³ The edges present serious signs of use, “judging from the worn edges and a patina of handling, the roll passed often between its owner’s thumb and index fingers as he (or she) scrolled between songs.”²⁹⁴ The text is laid out in such a way that two artists could easily read

²⁸⁶ Zumthor, *La lettre et la voix, de la ‘littérature’ médiévale*, 263.

²⁸⁷ Phillips, ‘Singers without Borders’, 67.

²⁸⁸ Wegman, ‘The Minstrel School in the Late Middle Ages’; Gómez and Hagg, ‘Minstrel Schools in the Late Middle Ages’.

²⁸⁹ Symes, ‘The “School of Arras” and the Career of Adam’, 32.

²⁹⁰ Sutton, ‘Merchants, Music and Social Harmony: The London Puy and Its French and London Contexts, circa 1300’, 11.

²⁹¹ Mason, ‘Melodic Exchange and Musical Violence in the Thirteenth-Century Jeu-Parti’, 146.

²⁹² Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères, The Changing Identity of Medieval Music*, 24.

²⁹³ Phillips, ‘Singers without Borders’, 62.

²⁹⁴ Phillips, 60.

from it, either for rehearsal or performance purposes.²⁹⁵ The roll contains no music. This could either indicate that the roll was truly a performer's aide-mémoire, knowing already the piece, or even be proof of the improvisational character of its music. There is reoccurring evidence in the iconography that parchment rolls were used in performance and were often part of the minstrels' attributes in iconographic representations (fig. 28).²⁹⁶



Fig. 28: MS O, fol. 56r

The roll was written almost 100 years after the composition of its content, a long time after Jehan Bretel and Jehan Grieviler's death.²⁹⁷ Both "Jeans" would have had to have been impersonated. Moreover, these five jeux-partis, which can be found in several other sources, bear slight differences to their correspondent works. For example, the jeu-parti *Grieviler, vostre ensient* (RS 667, 668)²⁹⁸ quoted earlier, appears on the Lambeth Palace Roll, but can also be found in four other sources. "One significant change, however, is in the naming of judges. In [this] jeu parti a striking figure is the female judge, *Demiselle Oede*, who was named in six other jeux partis. Yet in the Lambeth Palace text, she is replaced with a male judge, one *Sire Audefroï*."²⁹⁹ The unknown judgements could be modified and adapted according to the context and its new audience.³⁰⁰ For Jenna Phillips, it is clear: this is an invitation for a new performance.³⁰¹

²⁹⁵ Phillips, 62.

²⁹⁶ Phillips, 66.

²⁹⁷ Phillips, 66.

²⁹⁸ Phillips, 70.

²⁹⁹ Phillips, 77.

³⁰⁰ Phillips, 77.

³⁰¹ Phillips, 78.

ENVOI: Recontextualising the jeux-partis

The genre of the jeu-parti did not die with its most famous advocates, such as Jehan Bretelet and Adam de la Halle. There is evidence in the next century that the genre transformed and evolved. Yolanda Plumley could find a fourteenth-century jeu-parti between Jehan Campion and Philippe de Vitry (Bnf lat 3343). The latter was also called to judge another in Tournai. Machaut also evokes the genre in a ballade.³⁰² In 1581, Fauchet, in his *De l'origine de la langue et de la poésie française*, is still aware of the genre: "Sire Jehan Bretelet was a great master of jeux-partis: these love questions where it is entertaining to dispute for or against. [...] These happy questions served to pass the time in honest company and I find that it was practiced for a long time in France."³⁰³ Jean-Claude Aubailly advances the view that the jeux-partis transformed in the fifteenth century to a more play-like performance. In the sixteenth century they became *scenic dialogues*, which were prepared in advance and acted in front of an audience.³⁰⁴ The first aim of the jeu-parti changed from its likely improvised performance. Taste evolved and the theatre took a bigger part of the stage. I disagree with Gally who affirms that the jeux-partis only have meaning in the Argeois poetical circle.³⁰⁵ Even if these pieces talk about real people and real concerns, it is only a matter of knowing how to actualise them. It is only a question of focus.³⁰⁶ Are we looking at recreating the first performance of the piece? Or are we simply presenting a performance of the work, as legitimately as fourteenth-century minstrels probably re-enacting them? It seems that the genre was more versatile than what we can learn "from the resistant medium of a manuscript copy".³⁰⁷

In the case of the jeu-parti, one of the main questions to ask when addressing the genre is the relationship between artists and public.³⁰⁸ This relationship is inherent to the genre and many possibilities can be imagined. One could simply act them out like a play where even the judges' replies are planned (the actors would not necessarily have to be professional singers as they were not all professional musicians in Arras),³⁰⁹ while a modern audience witnessed the action unfold under its eyes. Another group of performers could decide to include the public in the

³⁰² Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 330.

³⁰³ Translated from Gally, *Parler d'amour au puy d'Arras*, 67.

³⁰⁴ Aubailly, *Le Monologue, le Dialogue et la Sottie, essai sur quelques genres dramatiques de la fin du moyen âge et du début du XVIe siècle*, 468–70.

³⁰⁵ Gally, *Parler d'amour au Puy d'Arras*, 124.

³⁰⁶ Zumthor, *La poésie et la voix dans la civilisation médiévale*, 41.

³⁰⁷ Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France, from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut*, 13.

³⁰⁸ Butterfield, 18.

³⁰⁹ Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 409.

judging process. This could mean, for instance that the language of the piece could be modernised to allow the modern audience to understand fully the meaning of the debate. Another option would be to give the public a written translation of the debate to allow them to follow the unfolding of the story recited in its original language. Another interesting possibility is the improvisation of a new melody under a music-less jeu-parti text, or matching a music-less text with a melody from the trouvère repertoire. Some artists may even decide to try to improvise new jeux-partis from scratch, each in his or her own mother tongue and with contemporary cultural references. With a little bit of preparatory training, I think this could be doable. As Zumthor points out: “the modern observer has two ways of perceiving [the performance]: from contemporary facts of orality, which he can prove are the continuity of an ancient tradition [...] or from a written trace which preserves the text according to collective memory.”³¹⁰ The choice lies in the hands of the modern performer.

As we have seen through this work, across time, material, and every sort of evidence, that the jeux-partis are part of a living tradition, which suggests many contexts of performance. There is no such a thing as *the* jeu-parti. We are as legitimate as they were when we embody their characters today. The stage is now ours; it is up to us to keep the genre of the jeu-parti alive.

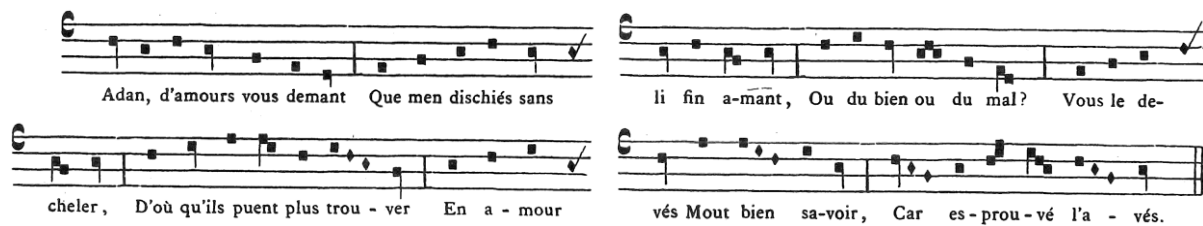
³¹⁰ Zumthor, *La poésie et la voix dans la civilisation médiévale*, 41.

APPENDIX 1:

Trouvère manuscripts as jeu-parti sources

- A**, Arras chansonnier, Bibliothèque Municipale, 657 (olim 139) ♪
- C**, Bern, Stadtbibliothek, 389
- D**, Frankfurt am Main, Stadtbibliothek (olim 29), now unnumbered; apparently from the same MS as e below
- E**, Den Haag, Fragment of 14th-c.
- G**, London, Lambeth Palace, Misc. Rolls 1435
- I**, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308
- K**, Arsenal chansonnier, Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, 5198 ♪
- M**, Chansonnier du Roi, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 844 ♪
- N**, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 845 ♪
- O**, Cangé chansonnier, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 846 ♪
- P**, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 847s ♪
- Q**, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 1109 ♪
- R**, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 1591 ♪
- S**, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 12581
- T**, Noailles chansonnier, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 12615 ♪
- U**, Saint-Germain-des-Prés chansonnier, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 20050 ♪
- V**, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 24406
- W**, La Vallière chansonnier, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 25566 ♪
- X**, Clairambault chansonnier, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, n.a. françaises 1050 ♪
- Z**, Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, H.X.36 (OCLC: 84171897, 36525187, 758009699)
- a**, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Regina 1490
- b**, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Regina 1522
- c**, Bern, Stadtbibliothek, A. 95
- Cambrai chansonnier**, Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, 1328 (1176) ♪
- The Lambeth Palace Roll**, London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1681

APPENDIX 2: RS 331, *Adan, d'amour vous demand* ³¹¹



Adan, d'amour vous demand
 Que m'en dichiés sans cheler
 Dou quel pueent plus trouver
 En amour li fin amant
 Ou du bien ou du mal. Vous le devés
 Mout bien savoir, car espruvé l'avés.

Sire, je voi l'un dolant,
 L'autre lié de bien amer ;
 Mais je ne m'en doi blasmer,
 Car j'en go ; et neporquant,
 Comment que faite en soit me volentés,
 Li maus plus que li biens i est trouvés.

Adan, a guise d'enfant
 Me respondés, c'est tout cler !
 On [n']i puet tant endurer
 De maus, che sevent aucquant,
 C'uns tous seus biens n'estaigne les grietés
 C'on a senti : li biens pert plus assés.

Sire, amans en soeffre tant
 C'on en voit maint desperer.
 Trop chier voit on comperer
 Deduit et riqueche grant ;
 Et d'autre part chascuns n'est pas amés
 Qui a les biens d'amour chier comperés.

Adan, li plus souffrant
 Dou pis c'Amours set donner
 N'en veulent mie saner !
 Dont est il bien apparant
 Que li biens est assés plus drus semés,
 Car maus qui plaist ne doit estre contés.

Sire, Amour trouvai quisant,
 Quant je le soloie anter,
 En villier, en desirrer,
 En penser et en doutant.
 Mais point n'estes d'amour bien embrasés,
 Pour chou n'i cuidiés point tant de durtés.

Ferri, on trueve lisant
 Quand tant de mal n'a pas li condampnés
 Con a de joie ichil qui est sauvés.

Grieviler, en aquerant
 Est chascuns plus traveillés et penés
 Qu'il ne soit au despendre reposés.

Adam, I ask you about love:
 Tell me frankly
 What can most find
 In love, true lovers:
 Good or bad? You must know that,
 Because you have the experience.

Sir, I see that to love well
 Makes one sad, the other happy;
 But I do not have to complain about it,
 Because I find my pleasure; However,
 Even though I get what I want,
 On love we find more harm than good.

Adam, you answer me
 Like a child, it's clear!
 Some people know it, you can not
 Endure so many evils
 Only one happiness does not calm the pain
 That we have felt: the good takes it much

Sir, the lover suffers so much
 That we see many despair.
 We see paying dearly
 Pleasure and wealth;
 And on the other hand, they are not all loved
 Those who have paid dearly for the goods of Love.

Adam, those who suffer the most
 The worst hurts that Love can give
 Do not want to heal!
 It is therefore very obvious
 That the good grows much harder,
 Evil is not one.

Sir, when I hate Love,
 I found it cooking
 With his watches, his desires,
 His thoughts and fears.
 You are not really burning with love,
 So you have no idea of his cruelty.

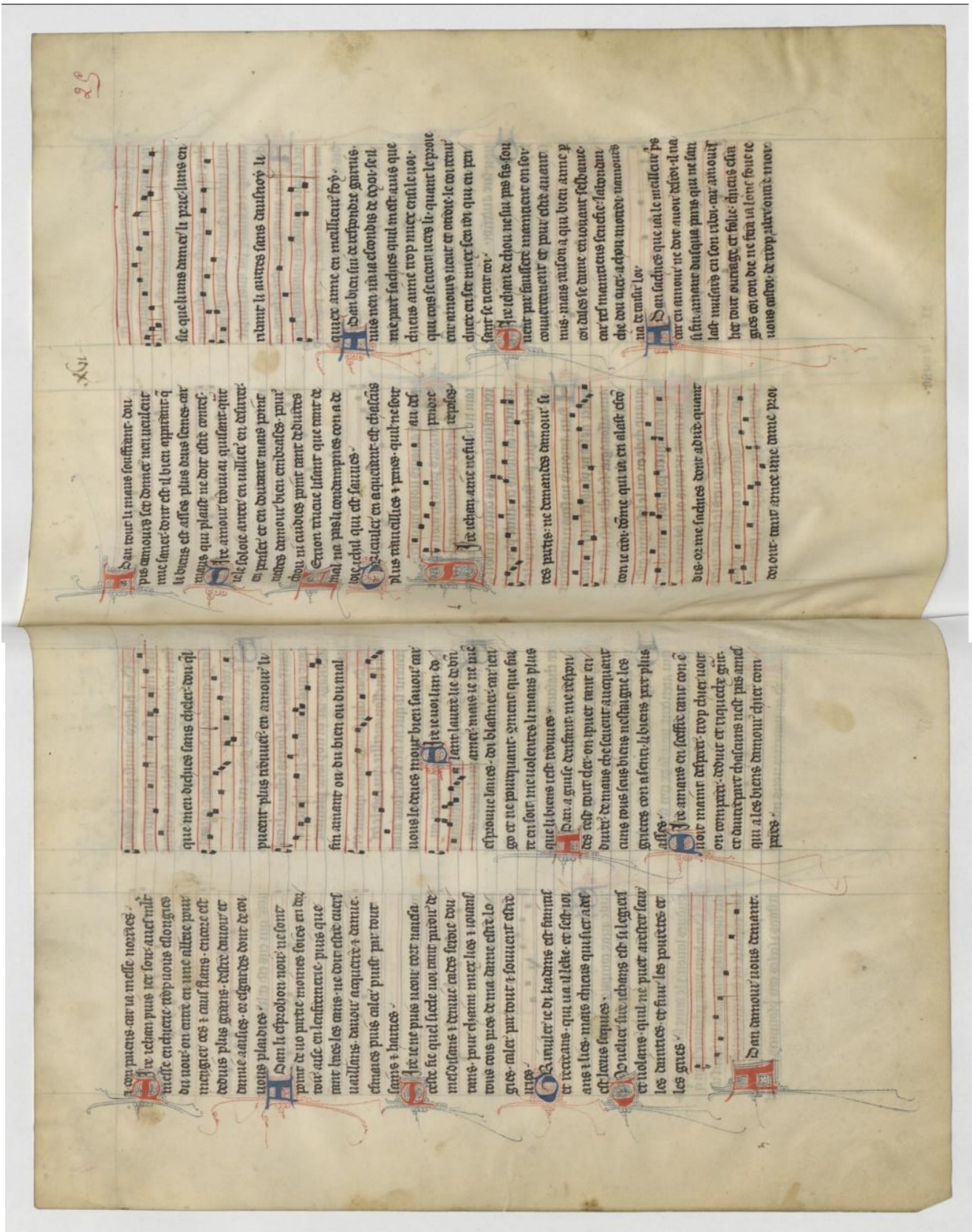
Ferri, we find in books
 May the damned not have so much trouble
 What joy has saved him.

Grieviler, win costs
 To each one more fatigue and sorrow
 That spending does not make him rest.

Translation : Marc Lewon

³¹¹ Fig. 29: De la Halle and Badel, *Œuvres complètes*. 442. Text 132. and Ms.W, (F-Pn fr. 25566) fol. 24v-25r.

APPENDIX 3: RS 331, *Adan, d'amour vous demand*
 Trouvère W, (F-Pn fr. 25566) fol. 24v–25r



APPENDIX 4: RS 690 *Assignés chi, Griviler, jugement!*³¹²

Assignés chi, Griviler, jugement:
ou quel puet miex chieus se paine emploier
qui amours veut par parole essauchier?
Ou en chelui qui aime loiaument,
pour che qu'il n'ait volenté ne talent
de soi cangier,
ou en chelui qui aime fausement,
pour ravoier?

Adan, de che vous jugerai briement.
en un loial à peu a préechier;
et ensemment, qui est en bon sentier,
peu fait qui dist: Alés seürement!
Chieus fait trop miex qui se paine despent
au losengier,
tant qu'il l'ait fait à amer loiaument
acoragier.

Jehan de Griviler, seur fondement
foivle et mauvais fait mal édéfier.
Laiissiés le faus amant à justichier
si vous tenés à chelui qui ne ment;
c'on voit par défaut de d'ensegnement
maint desvoier,
et mainte tour qui n'a reténement
adamagier.

Adan, sachiés que mal ot qui n'entent,
et mal entent c'on ne puet conseillicher.
Chiex fait trop mains qui loe un bon ouvrier
que ne fait chieus qui à ouvrer l'aprent.
Qui chou ne set ne voit pas clèrement
pour droit jugier,
n'il n'est pas plains de bon entendement,
au mien cuidier.

Jehan, se vous ne posés autrement
che c'avés dit, vous convient renoier.
On doit anchois l'estaule vérellier
que li chevaus soit perdus nichement;
pour che convient avoir garnissement.
Mais qui trechier
veut, il ne fait de bon préechement
el que moquier.

Adan, tout faus sont li vostre argument.
On puet mout bien pécheur radréchier,
quant on le veut estruier et ensegnier,
et faire encor ovrier plus saintement
que ne fait chieus qui vit onniement
sans folier.
Preus est qui fait povre commencement
monteplier.

Pass, a judgment Grévillers!
To whom can one who wants to glorify Love
with his words better employ his efforts:
To the one who loves with loyalty
so that he does not have the desire
or the desire to be inconstant,
or to the one who likes the lie
to put things on the right track?

Adam, I'll be quick to judge.
The loyal does not give rise to a sermon,
likewise, when you are on the right road,
he does little, when he says: "Go carefully!"
He does much more, who spends his efforts
with the perfidious
in order to give him the desire to love with
loyalty.

Jehan de Grévillers, we do not build
on bad and fragile foundations.
Renounce to control the disloyal lover
and take care of the one who does not lie,
because one sees many go astray
for lack of education
and corrupted at many turns because they were not
held back.

Adam, know that he who does not listen hears badly
and listens badly to the one who does not wait for advice.
He who hires a good worker does in fact less
Than he who teaches you how to work.
Whoever ignores this is not clairvoyant enough
to judge correctly
and lacks common sense,
in my opinion.

Jehan, if you stay with these premises,
you will have to deny what you have said.
We must lock the stable
before the horse is stupidly lost.
We must therefore take precautions;
but whoever wants to deceive,
does nothing but mock
the sermons

Adam, your arguments are all wrong.
One can very well bring back the sinner
by giving him good lessons,
and make him act more holy
than the one who lives without deviation
or overflow.
It has merit when a poor beginning is brought to a
great end.

Translation: Marc Lewon

³¹² De la Halle and Badel, 170–75; 'Trouvère W, Chansonnier La Vallière, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 25566', fol. 31rv.

APPENDIX 5:

Jeux-partis soutenus devant le puy d'Arras Essai de répartition chronologique³¹³

I. Jeux-partis antérieurs à la mort de Guillaume le Vinier (14 juin/1^{er} octobre 1245) :
n° 8 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131.

Total: 8

II. Jeux-partis soutenus entre 1250 environ et la mort de Jean Bretel (22 juin/1^{er} octobre 1272).

Avant la mort de Robert Bosquet (5 juin/1^{er} octobre 1257) : n° 139.

Avant la mort de Robert de le Pierre (2 février/22 mai 1258): n° 78, 106, 135, 136.

Entre 1259 et 1264, sans doute en 1263 : n° 77, 93, 104.

En 1264 ou 1265 : n° 49.

Avant la mort de Pierre Wion (1^{er} octobre 1268/2 février 1269): n° 48, 60.

Avant la mort de Jean Bretel (22 juin/ 1^{er} octobre 1272): n° 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 102, 105, 108, 109, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 121, 123.

Total: 97

III. Jeux-partis dont le terminus ante quem est postérieur à la mort de Jean Bretel ou ne peut être précisé.

Antérieur à la mort de Michel le Wnidier (1^{er} octobre 1272/2 février 1273) : n° 138.

Antérieur à la promotion du Trésorier d'Aire à la prévôté de sa collégiale (juillet 1272/8 avril 1273) : n° 99.

Antérieur à la mort d'Ennenfroi Crespin (26 mai/1^{er} octobre 1277): n° 134.

Antérieurs au départ d'Adam de la Halle pour la Sicile (3/13 août 1282) et peut-être même au Jeu de lu Feuillée (1276) : n° 118, 122, 137.

Sans terminus ante quem déterminable : n° 101, 103, 107.

Total : 9

³¹³ Berger, *Littérature et Société Arrageoises au XIII^e siècle, les chansons et dits artésiens*, 111–12.

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FIGURES

Cover page: Trouvère W, Chansonnier La Vallière, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 25566, fol. 10r

Fig. 1 Symes, *A Common Stage*, XVII.

Fig. 2 Symes, *A Common Stage*, XVIII.

Fig. 3 Trouvère A, Chansonnier d'Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 657 (Olim 139) fol. 33/142v

Fig. 4 Trouvère O, Chansonnier Cangé, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 846, fol. 94r.

Fig. 5 Trouvère W, Chansonnier La Vallière, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 25566, fol. 10r

Fig. 6 Trouvère A, Chansonnier d'Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 657 (Olim 139) fol. 136r/145r

Fig. 7 Trouvère I, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308, fol. 178r

Fig. 8 Trouvère I, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308, fol. 187v

Fig. 9 Trouvère W, Chansonnier La Vallière, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 25566, fol. 23v

Fig. 10 Trouvère W, Chansonnier La Vallière, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 25566, fol. 23v

Fig. 11 Trouvère b, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Regina 1522, fol. 138v

Fig. 12 Trouvère A, Chansonnier d'Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 657 (Olim 139) fol. 6r

Fig. 13 Trouvère A, Chansonnier d'Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 657 (Olim 139) fol. 11r

Fig. 14 Trouvère I, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308, fol. 5r

Fig. 15 Trouvère I, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308, fol. 46v

Fig. 16 Trouvère I, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308, fol. 178r

Fig. 17 Trouvère A, Chansonnier d'Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 657 (Olim 139) fol. 133/156r

Fig. 18 Trouvère A, Chansonnier d'Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 657 (Olim 139), fol. 131/140

Fig. 19 Trouvère A, Chansonnier d'Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 657 (Olim 139), fol. 136r/145r

Fig. 20 Trouvère W, Chansonnier La Vallière, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 25566, fol. 10r

Fig. 21 Trouvère W, Chansonnier La Vallière, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 25566, fol. 49r

Fig. 22 Trouvère W, Chansonnier La Vallière, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 25566, fol. 107

Fig. 23 Trouvère b, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Regina 1522, fol. 82r

Fig. 24 Trouvère b, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Regina 1522, fol. 94r

Fig. 25 Trouvère b, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Regina 1522, fol. 100r

Fig. 26 Trouvère K, Paris, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 5198, fol. 1r

Fig. 27 Trouvère X, Chansonnier Clairambault, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, n.a. françaises 1050, fol. 188r

Fig. 28 Trouvère O, Chansonnier Cangé, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 846, fol. 56r

Fig. 29 De la Halle and Badel, *Œuvres complètes*. 442.

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