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Repeat Performances
Adam de la Halle, Jehan Bodel, and the Reusable Pasts of Their Plays

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In the late 1280s, soon after the death of the performing artist Adam de la Halle, someone brought together exemplars of his extant compositions, entrusted them to skilled scribes working in Adam’s native Arras, and thereby created “the earliest surviving single-author collection” of “complete works” from the Middle Ages.1 As Sylvia Huot has argued in her indispensable study From Song to Book, the resulting manuscript is carefully designed to tell a story about Adam’s evolving musical and poetic talents by grouping his compositions according to genre and highlighting the importance of the plays he devised. And she has also shown that two unattributed pieces interwoven with Adam’s own oeuvre were included in this collection, as comments on his life. They thereby function like the vidas that frame the songs of troubadours in many contemporary chansonniers, locating Adam’s “persona in a social and geographical context” and evoking the milieu “within which that lyric self operated as a poet, lover, singer, and fellow-citizen.”2

But Adam is not the only Arrageois artist memorialized in this anthology, and the story of his achievements does not end “with his departure from Arras and his subsequent death” in or around 1285, as Huot has posited.3 In fact, his career is framed by that of his earlier predecessor Jehan Bodel (d. 1210), whose symbolic presence may be discernible on the manuscript’s opening page (figure

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2. Huot, pp. 71 and 70.
3. Huot, p. 68.
1) and whose Jeu de saint Nicolas, composed nearly a century earlier, closes the collection (figure 2). This retrospective mise en abyme not only complicates the designation “single-author collection”; it reveals that Adam’s work was intended to be understood in relation to Jehan’s, as a play within (or predicated on) an older play—a play that, but for its inclusion in this manuscript, would not exist. Yet what purpose could “The Play of St. Nicholas,” composed around 1191 in response to specific events, have continued to serve nearly a century later? And why was it seen as relevant to Adam’s life and work? These vital questions cannot be answered with reference to any independent documentation of the manuscript’s patron(s) and users, but they can be addressed through an examination of the symbiotic relationship between this collection and its historical context.

“Here begin the songs of Master Adam de la Halle,” proclaims the rubric on the verso of the manuscript’s flyleaf, like a metteur en scène drawing our eyes to the spectacle on the facing page (figure 1). It reveals two expertly plotted columns of melody and verse, the work of Arrageois scribes skilled in the layout of the newest form of musical notation—which Adam’s polyphonic motets, appearing later on the program, will require. Held aloft by this display of technical virtuosity is Adam himself, seated magisterially on a bench beneath an archway in a crowded room, brandishing a scroll representing the song he sings to an enraptured audience listening with hands clasped or pressed to their hearts. They hear what we, the manuscript’s viewers, cannot. But does that audience, conjured from the past like Adam himself, see what we see at the maestro’s right hand? Who is the man seated next to him, whose gestures direct attention to the singer and his song, but whose face is obscured by the glare from the gold leaf lighting the scene?

Unlike those who enjoyed Adam’s songs in real time, we latecomers discern that the performances showcased here are bathed in the light of nostalgia, part of a collective memory that associated Adam’s achievements with those of the Arrageois minstrels who came before him. So although the self-effacing, shadowy figure will not appear again, he is there at the beginning, for the songs (fols. 10r–23va), and may continue to hover backstage as the virtual Adam once

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4. In its present situation within the codex BnF Ms. fr. 25566, this rubric (on fol. 1v) is separated from the frontispiece of the collection (now fol. 10r) by a quire of eight leaves containing another collection of Adam’s songs (fols. 2r–9v), added when the manuscript was rebound at a later date; see further discussion below.

again takes part in the musical debates that were popular in Arras, the \textit{partures} or \textit{jeux-partis} he composed in lively competition with the sometime banker and amateur musician, Jehan Bretel (fols. 23vb–32va). These will be followed by Adam’s dance music (\textit{rondeaux}, fols. 32va–34va) and the polyphonic motets for which he was famous in his own time (fols. 34vb–37rb), each section offering us a glimpse of Adam, in miniature. Then Adam himself retires from the scene and “The Play of the Pilgrim” (\textit{Li ius du pelerin}, fols. 37rb–39ra) begins, its protagonist newly arrived from the Angevin kingdom of Sicily to tell us that Adam is dead—killed in the service of Count Robert II of Artois and honored by a tomb in Apulia.

We may be shocked, but the crowd in the play takes the news casually; they are more interested in the amusements of Arras than they are in Adam’s demise. In an effort to hold their attention, the Pilgrim reveals his plan to perform, on the spot, Adam’s last work. So “Here begins the play about Robin and about Marion that Adam made” (\textit{Chi commenche li giues de robin et de marion cadans fist}, fols. 39ra–48vb), its players displacing the Pilgrim on the page and even delivering the punch-line of his last rhyming couplet. Then their pastoral operetta, apparently composed at the court of King Charles of Sicily, is itself invaded by the Arrageois rowdies for whom it is revived, since the hecklers from the Pilgrim’s prologue turn up at two points in its plot to disrupt the bucolic shenanigans of shepherds who themselves mock the pretensions of royalty.

When this play ends, the bottom of the page (fol. 48vb) proclaims that we’re about to hear \textit{Li dis Adan}, “Adam’s speech” introducing what the rubricator later decided to call \textit{Li ius Adan}, “Adam’s play.” But how can Adam reappear if he is dead? Is this an assurance that true artists never die? Or is the character of Adam to be played hereafter by an “Adam impersonator,” as it was when a short version of \textit{Li dis Adan} was performed as sketch comedy to Francophone audiences over the next two centuries? What follows, designated in its \textit{explicit} as the “Play of the Bower” (\textit{Li ieu de le fuellie}, fols. 49ra–59va), is clearly the star of the collection, a play whose function is to “locate the author of the preceding lyric corpus within the Artesian community,” as Huot put it,


7. The text is edited by Schwam-Baird and Scheuermann, pp. 129–53.
9. On the altered rubric, see “Appearance,” p. 780n9, and \textit{A Common Stage}, p. 185.
“and dramatize Adam’s role.” Once it is over, we are reminded that Adam did indeed leave Arras in the train of Count Robert, bound for southern Italy. And we are allowed to see for ourselves the epic he composed for the Roi de Sezile, depicted on horseback with his lance (fols. 59vb–65ra): a piece left unfinished due to either its royal hero’s death or that of its poet, which probably occurred within months of each other in 1285. Perhaps we are to understand that the epic’s re-presentation here is based on another exemplar brought back to Arras by the Pilgrim, a manuscript also enshrining a few extra “verses about love” (Ce sont li ver damour, fols. 65rb–66va) and, finally, the text of Adam’s brief good-bye lyric (Cest li congies adan, fol. 66va–b). Following these, we see an effigy of Adam riding off to foreign wars on a white horse, looking back over his shoulder at the people of Arras. As Huot observed, “The last words uttered by the poetic presence that has been sustained throughout this varied assortment of texts are . . . addressed to the community within which the poet lived and within which the manuscript was made.”

Yet Adam does not have the last word. To help us grieve his loss, we have “The verse about death” composed by Adam’s older Arrageois contemporary, Robert LeClerc (fols. 67vb–68ra). And then, following the eulogy of the black-inked “Here ends about Adam” (Explicit dadan, fol. 68ra), comes the rubric, “This is the play about St. Nicholas” (figure 2). Thus the sole copy of Jehan Bodel’s play, a portrait of Arras a century earlier, closes the collection with the traditional Té Deum laudamus and the pious benediction, “Here ends the play about St. Nicolas that Jehan Bodel made. Amen.” (Chi fine li ieu de s.’ Nicolai que Jehans bodiatus fist. Amen., fol. 83rb).

11. Huot, pp. 70 and 68.
13. The image is reproduced in A Common Stage, p. 25.
15. Robert was imitating the Vers de la mort of Hélinant de Froidmont, a former Cistercian. However, these verses have often been attributed to Adam because of their position within this manuscript. See Arndt Wallheinke, Die “Vers de la Mort” von Robert le Clerc aus Arras: In sprachlichem und inhaltlichem Vergleiche mit Hélinands “Vers de la Mort” (Leipzig: Thomas & Hubert, 1911).
16. Previous descriptions of the manuscript and its contents vary in their approaches to determining the parameters of the authorial corpus and its relationship to surroundings texts. In his edition of Adam’s “complete works,” Edmond de Coussemaker assumed that the compilation ended with the Congé and ignored the importance of the two lyrics not composed by Adam, which are clearly included in the collection: see his Œuvres complètes du trouvère Adam de la Halle: Poésies et musique (Paris: A. Durand & Pédone-Lauriel, 1872), pp. xxviii–xxix. Alfred Jeanroy later took him to task for sowing confusion about Adam’s authorship of various pieces but did not, himself, explain where the collection ends: “Trois dits d’amour du XIIIe siècle,” Romania 22 (1893), pp. 45–70 at 45–46. Henry Guy’s brief discussion of the manuscript conveys the impression that the entire codex is devoted to the complete works, which is manifestly inaccurate: Essai sur la vie et les œuvres littéraires du trouvère Adan de la Halle (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1898), p. 578. In her description, Huot cites the codicological summary.
The dramatic medley described above used to be a coherent entity. It now occupies folios 10 to 83 in the miscellany bearing the shelfmark 25566 among the fonds français of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, a codex consisting of 283 parchment leaves (eight are missing from the central section) and the product of numerous collecting and copying campaigns undertaken from the end of the thirteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth. The Arrageois anthology thus attracted a number of later attachments that derived prestige from their contact with it, and that also obscured its integrity. Today, the illuminated frontispiece showing Adam and his shadowy mentor is separated from the opening rubric by a quire of eight leaves containing another libellus of Adam’s songs, imported from elsewhere and inserted here by someone who had different notions of what a collection should be. In turn, the resounding “Amen” of Jehan’s Jeu de saint Nicolas has given way to a number of disparate texts in prose and verse, beginning with the Bestiaire d’amour of Richard de Fournival and including Renart le Nouvel, Li tournoiements Antecrist, and a number of shorter pieces.

This enlarged manuscript probably took on its present form in the hands of the duke de la Vallière (Louis César de la Baume le Blanc, 1708–80), whose vast private collection subsumed the entire contents of many medieval libraries. It was among the books inventoried in 1783 by Guillaume de Bure, who noted the predominance of Arrageois material in the oldest portion of the codex. Subsequently, this book and many others were incorporated into the Bibliothèque royale, which in turn formed the core of the new national library established under Napoleon. In 1902, the catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale described the entire codex as containing “songs, jeux-partis, and diverse satirical works by the trouvères of the thirteenth century, for the most part Artesian or Flemish.” And indeed, the strong influence of Arras is obvious in another gathering of texts copied by a single scribe (fols. 253r–293v), opening with the

of Cesare Segre, who himself relied on Guy and De Coussemaker and who asserts that “The original manuscript begins at fol. 10 and continues to the end of fol. 67b,” thus perpetuating the notion that the collection concludes with Adam’s Congé: see Li Bestiaires d’amours di Maistre Richart de Fornival et Li Reponse du Bestiaire, Documenti di filologia 2 (Milan: Riccardo Riccardi editore, 1957), p. xxxiv. All of these readings, save that of Huot, ignore the placement of the lyric about death as well as the words “Explicit dadan” on the following folio, and none mention the unified program of layout, inscription, rubrication, and illustration that embraces Jehan’s play and distinguishes this collection from the rest of the codex. I have relied on my own analysis of the manuscript, which also corrects and augments the sketchy entry in the catalogue prepared by Henri Omont et al., Bibliothèque nationale: Catalogue général des manuscrits français. Anciens fonds français, vol. 2, nos. 22885–25696 (Paris: Ernst Leroux, 1902), pp. 647–50.

17. Guillaume de Bure, Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. le Duc de la Vallière, 3 vols. (Paris: G. De Bure, 1783), 2: 226–42. De Bure nowhere refers to the collection of Adam’s works as the volume’s raison d’être, though he does note that the selection of songs at the beginning of the codex is unusually complete.
Congé of Baude Fastoul of Arras (d. 1272) and closing with the Congé of Jehan Bodel, whose poetic leave-taking was the model for Adam’s. Once again, Jehan has the epilogue: and this could suggest that whoever was responsible for grafting this branch onto the parent tree may have known something about its roots, to the point of acknowledging Jehan as the shared inspiration for the original anthology.

For if “Adam is held up as the exemplary Artesian poet,” leaving behind “a compendium of poetic types,” he did so in partial imitation of Jehan, who also composed songs, pastourelles, and an epic; who pioneered two genres of his own, the fabliau and the congé; and who produced the earliest scripted vernacular drama known to medieval Europe. Of course we cannot be certain that Adam and his contemporaries were aware of all that, but they certainly remembered and revered Jehan as a paragon among poets and the first to win renown for Arras and its trend-setting Picard vernacular. Jehan had been one of the few jongleurs of his era with the technical know-how to record his songs in writing, as clerk to the commune of Arras—like Adam’s own father, Henri Li Boçu—and, in all probability, facilitator of the impressive documentary campaign that helped a confraternity of jongleurs win acceptance from local ecclesiastical authorities to become the powerful Carité de Notre Dame des Ardents.

Although he was born a generation after Jehan’s death, Adam would have heard about this legendary performer all his life: how his education at one of the grammar schools in Arras (where Adam, too, was trained) allowed him to convert from jongleur to author; how he coined the term fabliau and rhymed it audaciously with a grammatical variant of his own name, Bodiau; how the Jeu de saint Nicolas had begun as a satirical comment on the occupation of Arras by the “pagan” King Philip Augustus in 1191, and how Jehan then turned the other cheek and composed the epic Chanson des Saisnes in Philip’s honor; how he contracted leprosy in 1202 and composed his plaintive Congé; how he spent the next eight years in exile from his home town, perhaps supported financially by the bishop who had been the inspiration for the shrewd St. Nicholas of his play; how he died, at last, in 1210. Attending the thrice-yearly commemorations of the Carité’s deceased confrères with his father, who would have been no more than a child himself when Jehan died, Adam would have heard the name “Bodel” read out in the litany of the confraternity’s funerary register. Thereafter, throughout Adam’s youth, it would be the Carité’s liturgical celebra-

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19. Huot, p. 73.
20. BnF Ms. fr. 8541, fol. 6vb. On the career of Jehan Bodel, the reception of his oeuvre, and his association with the Carité and the bishop of Arras, see A Common Stage, pp. 27–68, 80–120.
tions, ceremonies, and feasts that would provide occasions for his own songs, jeux-partis, dance-tunes, and motets. Around 1277, the confraternity provided most of the personnel for his *Jeu de la feuillée*. After 1285, it may have helped to sponsor the commemorative performance of his *Jeu de Robin et de Marion*.

All the while, Jehan’s *Congé* was copied and imitated, his poems and songs circulated in local manuscripts, and the text of his play was obviously kept, because otherwise it would not have become the capstone of this collection. Not only did it survive: it was revived. The prologue added sometime after its composition, probably after Jehan’s death, carefully represents it as a generic saint’s play to be performed on the eve of St. Nicholas’s feast day (either 6 December or 5 May). In it, a Preacher—playing a role similar to that of the Pilgrim who prefaced Adam’s later play—gives a very abbreviated synopsis of the plot, suggests that it draws on a conventional model (it does not), and gives way to performance. In the ensuing play, a King from Outremer (Acre, where Philip Augustus had gone on crusade in 1190), greedy for the money of a Christian town (Arras, part of the independent county of Flanders and the most influential banking center of northern Europe), successfully invades it. In the process, he captures one of the town’s political representatives, a virtuous Prudhomme who has sought sanctuary at a shrine of the saintly bishop Nicholas, bicorn-hatted and revered for his capacity to generate riches (and resembling the bishop-elect of Arras, Raoul de Chapeau Cornu, a notorious usurer). When the cash-hungry King hears this, he makes a bet with the Arrageois citizen: if St. Nicholas will guard and multiply his own paltry income (the inferior coinage of Paris could not compete with that of Arras), the Prudhomme (standing in for local merchants and moneychangers) will be released; if not, he will die. Three Arrageois tricksters then attempt to steal the King’s ransom, but they are thwarted by the saint, who intercedes on behalf of the Prudhomme and the people of Arras by increasing the treasure entrusted to him. The King, entirely won over by this miracle of fiscal acumen, converts to Christianity (as Philip converted the coinage of his kingdom when he took over that of Arras).

This historical allegory would continue to have some currency in Arras for a generation at least, up to the time of the Battle of Bouvines in 1214, when the contest over the Franco-Flemish border was (temporarily) resolved. Thereafter, the past it evoked would be generalized and elided by the added prologue.


which made the play fit for performance on feast days and perhaps on the Feast of Fools at the cathedral of Arras, when a Boy-Bishop aped the authority of the real one.23 Perhaps the character of St. Nicholas had even been designed by Jehan for a Boy-Bishop; it is tempting to look back at the manuscript miniature depicting the Prudhomme’s diminutive patron (figure 2) and to see a child-actor. Had Adam himself played this role, before graduating to others? It is certainly possible. His later studies in Paris were probably supported by the diocese, which kept a house for young men who went to the university there, and it seems reasonable to assume that he had been a scholar at the cathedral school.24 And, given the close relationship between the bishops of Arras and the confraternity of jongleurs, a relationship formalized in Jehan’s lifetime and maintained throughout the thirteenth century, it is also reasonable to surmise that there was some collaboration in these repeat performances, and even in preserving the script that has come down to us via the anthology of Adam’s oeuvre.25

Eventually, of course, the historical setting of Jehan’s play may have been all but forgotten, thereby making it a palimpsest on which new events could be mapped and new meanings encoded. In Adam’s day, it could have spoken to the new social, economic, and spiritual tensions that also inform the *Jeu de la feuillée*. Modern readings of this later play which see it as anti-aristocratic or politically subversive are largely untenable when we consider its context in this deluxe manuscript, but Adam was certainly indebted to Jehan for the gritty comic realism of the earlier poet’s tavern scenes and fabliaux. He also shared Jehan’s piety, ending his play with a visit to the Blessed Virgin’s shrine and a reference to the sounding bells of St. Nicholas’s parish church: *Sen irons a saint nicolai / Conmenche asonner des cloquetes* (fol. 59v).26 Had the anthology not included the works of Adam exported from Italy, these last lines of the *Jeu de la feuillée* would have segued directly into the *Jeu de saint Nicolas*.

The anthology’s privileging of Adam’s identity as a dramatist implies that he and Jehan were both recognized as pioneers in the production of new theatrical genres. While every medieval community had its own forms of play, some formalized as plays, there is no evidence that anyone else in Europe was attempt-

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ing what Jehan and Adam achieved at this early date. Indeed, there is excellent evidence that their plays could not travel far beyond Arras, or be detached from the local knowledge of Arrageois expatriates. Even though the *Jeu de Robin et de Marion* may have been conceived in Italy, it came home to Arras in the end, and neither of the other two manuscripts preserving it contains the Pilgrim’s prologue or its related scenes.\textsuperscript{27} The *Jeu de la feuillée*, so firmly situated in the Arras of 1276 that it is largely incomprehensible to future readers, was known to contemporaries outsiders only as a short vignette in which Adam and a few interlocutors debate his wife’s charms and the attractions of Parisian scholarship.\textsuperscript{28} Despite the wide esteem in which both Jehan and Adam were held, then, their plays remained largely unknown beyond Arras until their rediscovery in the eighteenth century. The demands they made (of attention span, casting, context) were too heavy. By contrast, the anonymous contemporary *Courtois d’Arras*—shorter, adaptable, and universally recognizable as a biblical parable—was portable and therefore survives in three different versions in four separate manuscript collections.\textsuperscript{29}

So the inclusion of Jehan’s *Jeu de saint Nicolas* within this anthology depends on its local associations and its potential importance for understanding the development of another local boy’s talents. Is this enough to explain its place in Adam’s artistic retrospective? Perhaps. Yet there is another compelling explanation for its inclusion. As the Pilgrim reported, Adam had taken service with the count of Artois and had tragically died somewhere in Apulia. This revelation by a character attached to one of Adam’s own plays is the only contemporaneous reference to the place and circumstances of his death—though it is partly corroborated by a manuscript colophon penned by one Jehanes Mados, who claimed to be Adam’s nephew and who lamented his death.\textsuperscript{30} It is therefore worth considering how Adam’s sojourn in a foreign land may have made the legacy of Jehan Bodel and the reusable past of Jehan’s play newly relevant.

\textsuperscript{27} The other manuscripts are BnF Ms. fr. 1569 (fols. 140r–144v), which lacks musical notation, and the lavishly illustrated libellus (132 miniatures on 11 folios) that is now Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes Ms. 166. See the detailed digital facsimile of the latter prepared by Jesse D. Hurlbut at http://toisondor.byu.edu/dscriptorium/aix166.

\textsuperscript{28} These are two so-called fragments of the *Jeu de la feuillée*—really, self-contained playlets—preserved in BnF Ms. fr. 837 (fols. 250va–251va) and BAV Ms. Reg. lat. 1490 (fols. 131v–133v). See “Appearance,” pp. 814–88; *A Common Stage*, pp. 186–87.

\textsuperscript{29} *A Common Stage*, pp. 71–73, 79–80.

\textsuperscript{30} BnF Ms. fr. 375, fol. 119va. Fabienne Gégou has argued that Adam actually survived his trip to Italy, based on the reference to a “Maistre Adam Le Boscu” in the account roll of the festivities surrounding the knighting of the future Edward II at Caernarvon in 1306: “Adam le Bossu était-il mort en 1288?” *Romania* 86 (1965), pp. 111–17 and “Les trouvères artésiens et la cour d’Angleterre de 1263 à 1306,” in *Mélanges de langue et littérature françaises du Moyen-Âge et de la Renaissance offerts à Monsieur Charles Foulon*, 2 vols. (Rennes: Institut de France, Université de Haute-Bretagne, 1980), 1: 141–46. As attractive as this scenario is, the evidence does not support it: see *A Common Stage*, pp. 269–70.
Robert of Artois had gone to Italy because his uncle, Charles of Anjou, had a war on his hands. Crowned King of Sicily by Pope Urban IV in 1266, Charles had been making mayhem in the Mediterranean world. He had even gone so far as to acquire the title to the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem and its capital, Acre, a venture that made him King of Outremer—just like the pagan King of the *Jeu de saint Nicolas*. In 1282, his overextended authority in Sicily led to a popular uprising against the occupying Angevin forces in Palermo, an event known as the Sicilian Vespers, which was supported by one of Charles’s bitterest enemies, King Pedro of Aragon. By the time Robert and his army arrived at the southern tip of the peninsula, Angevin possessions in Calabria had been lost.\(^3\)

Adam, who may already have been engaged in composing an epic in honor of Charles and in imitation of Jehan, was probably stationed with the royal archives at Naples while Robert tried to regain lost ground. Thereafter, Adam would have moved with the king’s retreating household to Bari, on the Adriatic coast, in November of 1284. It was there, in the pilgrimage center housing the relics of St. Nicholas, that Charles died in January of 1285.\(^4\) And it was there that Adam, too, probably spent the last months of his life.

Had Adam brought with him a script of Jehan’s play? Or was his memory of it now excited by the proximity of the saint’s basilica? Did he, perhaps, preside over a repeat performance of the play in Bari, at a time when the rhetoric of crusade could be applied to the war against the rebel Sicilians and their Spanish supporters, who had been placed under interdict by the pope?\(^5\) Or was the connection between Adam’s predicament and the plot of Jehan’s *Jeu de saint Nicolas* something that was noted only afterward, by others, when they laid one Arrageois playwright to rest in the besieged city sacred to the saint of the other? Did the play become, in performance or in manuscript, a requiem? We can read the concluding rubric with a new inflection: “… *here* ends the play of St. Nicholas that Jehan Bodel made. Amen.” Here it ends: in Bari, with the death of Jehan’s successor Adam, far from the Arras to which both men’s plays could return only through the medium of manuscript.

This is speculation, but it fits the few facts that we have. It suggests, furthermore, that Robert of Artois did, as the Pilgrim claimed, make a monument

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\(^5\) Runciman, pp. 227–33 and 257–68.
to Adam in Apulia: a monument in parchment. As the fiscal accounts kept in the 1290s show, the minstrels of the count’s household were often well loved and well rewarded for undertakings that frequently entailed perilous diplomatic missions and direct participation in battle. Adam did not live to draw a pension like many of his colleagues or to be repaid “for the jests we have had from him” and “for horses killed in our service.” Instead, he may have died violently in the field or in a Bari besieged by the enemy and only belatedly fortified against attack “because of the imminent wars and the tumult of the present times.” Under these circumstances, his remorseful patron might well have commissioned an expensive memorial volume as a fitting tribute. This, in turn, would explain how the Pilgrim and the Jeu de Robin et de Marion made it back to Arras, along with unfinished work begun in Italy, to be gathered together with the rest of Adam’s oeuvre for a definitive repeat performance.

34. For a discussion of the circumstances in which Adam and his colleagues worked while in Robert’s employ, see A Common Stage, pp. 246–66.
35. Archives départementales du Pas-de-Calais, série A 35.9: “por chevaus quil a eu mort en nostre service, et por jouiaus que nous avons eu de lui.”
36. This according to an act dated 20 May 1286, the year after Adam’s death, detailing the defenses being prepared by Robert and the papal legate, Bishop Gerardus of Sabina. See Ferdinando Ughelli, Italia sacra; sive, De episcopis Italiae, et insularum adjacentium, rebusque ab iis præclare gestis, deducta serie ad nostrum usque attem, 2nd ed., ed. N. Coleti, vol. 7 (Venice, 1721), pp. 631–32: “propter imminentes guerras, & præsentis turbationem temporis.”
Figure 1: *Les canhons maistre adan de la halle.* BnF Ms. fr. 25566, fol. 10r. (Photo BnF)
Figure 2: *Explicit dadam. Cest li ius de .S.’ Nicholai.* BnF Ms fr. 25566, fol. 68ra, detail. (Photo BnF)