Staging the Medieval Theater on a Page
A Case Study of Jean Bodel's *Jeu de saint Nicolas* in BnF fr. 25566 and Recent Editions

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Introduction

"Contre toute attente, le théâtre français du Moyen Âge est né au XVIIIe siècle, une pléiade de parrains rassemblés autour de son berceau : les frères Parfait, Godard de Beauchamps, l'équipe d'érudits au service du duc de La Vallière et bien d'autres moins connus, comme le Chevalier de Mouhy" (5), state Jelle Koopmans and Darwin Smith in their attempt to answer the question on the nature of "un théâtre *français* du moyen âge". They continue by explaining that "la production du savoir académique des XIXe et XXe siècles est l'héritière directe de cette jeune histoire, solidifiée autour d'un corpus établi et classé dans les années 1880 par les ouvrages de Louis Petit de Julleville" (6). These two scholars show that the history of establishing the limits of medieval theater is filled with anachronisms and amalgams about the nature of medieval theater. They join their predecessors in identifying a solution in a more thorough understanding of the editorial practices within the manuscripts and the relations between the extant text and the stage.

In agreement, Symes notes that "because all of these [medieval] texts […] do not conform to modern dramatic paradigms, they have always been subject to a high degree of scholarly intervention" (779). Moreover, "critical editions and literary analyses present them as isolated entities, surgically removed from their settings and provided with stage directions, character designations, and other aids" (Symes, 779). She stresses the importance of examining not only the relation between the play manuscript and the stage, but also between the text of the play and its physical surroundings within the manuscript and in the historical and geographical context. She goes further and demonstrates that what Moderns perceive as medieval theater is only limited to later texts. Because of the

rarity of the early medieval material, pre-1300 medieval plays are not as well studied or understood as post-1300 texts. The "early vernacular plays" consist of a very limited number of texts, even if that does not exclude that there might be other plays "hidden" within the pages of other manuscripts discarded because they are not designated as plays and they did not match any modern definition of theater. Moreover, during this period, there is no recording of performances, and the difficulty intensifies because what is identified as a medieval dramatic text appears most times in only one witness, so collation and comparison is almost impossible.

As our only access to this early medieval stage is through the dramatic texts present in manuscripts and our modern perception of theater tends to distort our view of these plays, Symes highlights the importance of an attention to the details and "particularity of the surviving evidence for medieval drama prior to the fourteenth century" and to the "circumstances govern[ing] the transmission of plays into manuscripts books" (785). Jody Enders identifies an additional challenge about defining medieval theater: "medieval theatre is so tricky to identify that its very name is interspersed liberally in criticism with spectacle, performance, sport, ritual, battle-play, trial, pageant, parade, procession, dance, song, and even allegory or dialogue" (319). The perception of medieval arts is so entangled that Enders declares that "medieval literary studies *is* performance studies" (318). In consequence, how can we distinguish what is medieval theater from how we perceive it as a result of medievalism? How can we disentangle medieval theater from other performative forms? To what extend is the nature of each of these arts autonomous, completely different, or similar to each other?

In questioning the limits of traditional definitions of medieval theater, of its corpus, of its characteristics, and of its evolution, one would follow, on one hand, in the steps of Bernard Cerquiglini and what he calls the 'joyful mobility of medieval writing' or even further to what Symes refers to as "the mobility of performance" (788); and, on the other hand, in the steps of Veronique Dominguez and her exploration of the "relation between medieval studies and medievalism". From within these two frameworks, I will examine the rapport between how a play is presented on a page and how it is performed on a stage. Some manuscripts clearly identify certain early vernacular plays as a *jeu*, demonstrating a clear awareness of their difference and maybe of their formal specificity. This awareness would translate explicitly in the laying out of the medieval page. A detailed examination of the manuscript will then establish an image of the medieval stage, while a careful study of modern editions of medieval texts could lead through triangulation to an even sharper image of the medieval performance.

I will therefore examine the interwoven *mise en page* and *mise en scène* through the example of Jean Bodel's *Le Jeu de saint Nicolas*. Bodel's version starts with a prologue summarizing the plot. Then, the messenger Auberon informs the King of the Christians' attack. After an exchange with the statue of Tervagan and the Seneschal, the King sends Connart to call for arms and Auberon to summon the Emirs. On his way, Auberon stops at the tavern, drinks with the Tavernier, and plays and wins against Cliquet. Once gathered, the Saracens go to battle. On the battlefield, the Angel informs the Christian knights that their martyrdom will be rewarded in paradise: all Christians are killed, except the *preudome* who is found praying to Saint Nicolas and taken to the Saracen King. The former explains to the latter that Saint Nicolas protects against

thieves, which leads the King to test the miracle by proclaiming through Connart that that the doors to the treasure room are open and that a statue of Saint Nicolas is the only guard. A second episode happens at the tavern: a dispute between Connart and Raoulet, a dice game followed by an argument between Cliquet, Pincedé, and Rasoir. Afterwards, they leave, steal the treasure, and come back to the tavern to drink and play. At the palace, the Seneschal and the King learn of the theft through a dream and after the *preudome* asks for a grace period, he prays to Saint Nicolas. As soon as the Angel informs the *preudome* of his imminent salvation, a figure of Saint Nicolas appears to the thieves and orders them to give back the treasure. The King and his Seneschal learn of this miracle through another dream and free the *preudome,* who leads all the Saracens through their conversion to Christianity.

While Bodel's play is considered as one of "the earliest vernacular plays of medieval Europe, the only plays to be produced in a secular milieu prior to the 14th century" (Symes, 2007: 1), the manuscript containing its single witness, BnF fr. 25566, was part of the collection of the Duke de La Vallière, who ordered the production of three volumes of the *Bibliothèque du théâtre français,* first printed in 1768. Moreover, this play has continuously interested scholars and undergone numerous modern editions since the beginning of the 19th century. However, the most recent editions of this play declare the manuscript as their starting point and preach a closer fidelity to this source than its predecessors. They also show a more explicit awareness of the theatrical aspect of the play through their outlook and their added stage directions, offering their reader a more immediate perception of the medieval stage they imagine. These recent editions claim to present a less altered text and a more authentic sense of the stage than the previous

editions, which, if proven correct, could offer a solid basis for the triangulation suggested above. I will thus compare the manuscript with the editions of Francis James Warne, Albert Henry, and Jean Dufournet and explain how they stage the medieval theater on the page.

In the first chapter, I will outline the history of editing old French texts to frame the history of editing the *Jeu de saint Nicolas*. By presenting each edition in detail, I will examine the principles of editing, the differences in time and in space, and focus particularly on how each edition presents Bodel's work. The different editions seem in fact to organize their book in a specific way: each one lays out and presents the body of Bodel's work differently, while the play does not appear by itself and is accompanied by other works in the medieval manuscript and by critical material in the recent editions. The relation between the text and its physical context shapes the reader's understanding of medieval theater.

The second chapter will focus on the text of the play itself, by examining the medieval rubrics and how each editor identifies a potential problem or lack in the original source and how, through their decisions, they conduct their own performance of the play: maintaining or changing the character speaking at a certain time and moving the starting or ending point of their speech create a particular dynamic on stage, and each difference in rubrics results in a difference of performance. These choices imply a certain definition of medieval theater that would take part in rewriting the medieval stage.

In the third chapter, I will analyze the visible additions within the body of Bodel's text, the added stage directions and the translations in the modern editions. I will demonstrate how they might make explicit the theatrical aspect the editors perceive in the

manuscript. The common goal of these different editions is to help the reader imagine the performance itself. However, through all these editorial processes, the modern perception of theater disturbs the genuine observation of the medieval manuscript and a true understanding of the medieval stage. To what extent does this disturbance distance the reader from Bodel's stage? How does it manifest within the edited text? And is it even possible to perceive the medieval stage without the interference of modern concepts?

Chapter 1. Editing the *Jeu*

The *Jeu de saint Nicolas* by Jean Bodel is known to us only through written textual form, be it manuscript or print[1]. The diverse incarnations of the play reflect a constant transformative process, from the original performance of the *Jeu* under Bodel to the manuscript of the turn of the fourteenth century and then from this manuscript to the multitude of modern editions. Because this work of Bodel is identified as a "jeu" in the medieval manuscript and as one of the earliest *plays* in vernacular language in medieval studies, editors are always aware of the fact that this text is the result or the source of a performance. To what extent is this awareness impacting their editorial choices? Does editing a play necessitate a different or additional set of tools? How do the editions of Bodel's play interact with the general history of editing? And above all, how do these transformations shape our understanding(s) of medieval theater?

1. History of Editing old French

Alfred Foulet and Mary Blakely Speer offer one of the main comprehensive works *On Editing Old French Texts* (1979). They state that "modern editions of Old French texts which were based on manuscripts rather than sixteenth-century printed editions began to appear about the middle of eighteenth-century" and that "as France rediscovered her pre-Renaissance past, the number of Old French editions increased, starting around 1830" (3). Foulet and Speer continue to explain that "in those early days there was no system for editing medieval works" (3), which is why they call it "the

[1] Its medieval performance are lost to us, as there is no reference or report concerning them. However, one could question the impact of a modern performance of this play.

empirical period". However, scholars were progressively trying to define and "refine these empirical procedures" (5) with on-going support from the French government. In fact, *Les Anciens Poëtes de la France* collection clearly represents this period as it was funded by the Culture Ministry; it "manifested no common editorial policy", and never "tried to explain how their text was established" (Dembowski: 513). The first edition of Jean Bodel's *Jeu de saint Nicolas* corresponds to this empirical period: Louis Jean-Nicolas Monmerqué, a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, is the first to offer a printed edition of the medieval play in 1834. Five years later, he reworks his edition in collaboration with Michel Francisque, who was a historian and philologist sanctioned by the French government, and together they present Bodel's play within the *Théâtre français au Moyen Age*. This book is reprinted twice, in 1842 and 1885.

As a result of scholars' efforts and of institutionalized frameworks, the editorial process strived for more objectivity, leading the edition of old French texts into a new period, a period that Foulet and Speer call the "scientific period". This method "systematiz[es] the editor's work" (Foulet. Speer: 9) and is based on the Lachmannian method. Its goal is to recreate the original text as intended by the author by "discovering which readings are authentic" and then "clothing these readings in the language presumably written by the author" (9). In the early years of the twentieth-century, Bédier questions the feasibility of reconstructing the author's intentions or language. He points out the arbitrariness of the Lachmannian method and criticizes the eclecticism of the final product. He wants to ground his editions in "what was genuine in a documentary sense: a manuscript" (20). Adrian Armstrong asserts that "for French and Occitan work before 1530, […] Bédierist best-text editing enjoyed a hegemonic status for much of the

twentieth century, at least within metropolitan France" (236). However, scholars questioned if this approach consisted only of a transcription, instead of an edition. Moreover, as Dembowski points out, the study of the relations between manuscripts, inherited from Lachmann, can be useful to choose a base manuscript, in conjunction with other criteria (completeness, quality, dialect, age of manuscript). In agreement with the origins of the Lachmannian method, a German editor, Georg Manz, takes up the baton of editing Bodel's *Jeu*, in 1904, before being totally supplanted by the edition of an eminent French linguistic, Alfred Jeanroy, in 1925. This latter edition was reprinted[2] and reused[3] multiple times over the century.

After this crisis, editors of Old French texts seem to have reached a "consensus" (Foulet. Speer: 28). In fact, Edward Armstrong, from Princeton University, explains that "there can be no inflexible rules for text editing, for each text constitutes a new problem and the right procedure is the one which best fits the individual situation…" (qtd in Foulet & Speer: 30). This prevailing attitude has two main results: on one hand, scholarly editions contain extensive paratext. On the other hand, they offer "a variety of approaches" (Foulet. Speer: 35) which are explained within the established paratext. The two scholars finally exclaim that "it is curious to observe that the more adventurous and judgmental methods for handling texts in the post-Bédier period have often been practiced by scholars from outside the hexagon of France" (Foulet. Speer: 38). In the mid-twentieth century, Bodel's play piques the interest of scholars again, even if "it is true that Jeanroy's text requires little improving on" (McMillan, 237). In fact, according

[2] 1958, 1966, 1967, 1974, 1982, and 2002.
[3] According to Albert Henry, Albert Pauphilet and Mario Ruffini only reproduce Jeanroy's edition (H1, 18). Pauphilet's reprints: 1941, 1951, 1960, and 1987. Ruffini's repint: 1949.

to McMillan, “the fruits of the scholarship of the last quarter of a century are such that a new edition has been long overdue” (237); and, interestingly enough, this renewal comes from outside the Hexagon. A British scholar and a Belgian scholar will successively tackle the editing of the *Jeu*, before a French scholar takes up the mantle. In 1951, Francis James Warne[4]’s Oxfordian edition represents a pivotal moment in the history of editing *Le Jeu de saint Nicolas*. Warne thus undertakes “a completely new recension of the text [… and] then compare[s it] with the Monmerqué-Michel and Jeanroy editions” (xxx). Each new edition[5] thereafter follows this same pattern, instead of reproducing older editions. Both Albert Henry[6]’s and Jean Dufournet[7]’s editions started from establishing the text from the manuscript before collating it against previous editions and then editing the text.

Frédéric Duval, a French philologist at the renowned École nationale de chartes, exposes further observations on the recent editorial practices in France, stating that French trends are very little influenced by the general discussion in Medieval Studies on editing texts, to the point that he concludes that

> “L'absence de débats conjuguée à un consensus méthodologique désormais presque inconscient interdit de conclure d'un point de vue interne à l'existence d'une école française, alors que c'est paradoxalement l'absence de réflexions sur la méthode qui caractérise aux yeux des étrangers notre 'école'.

[4] Reprinted in 1958, 1968, and 1972.
[5] Laurent Bruno identifies another edition by the Italian scholar Marco Infurno, Jean Bodel, *Il miracolo di San Nicola* (Parma, Pratiche (Biblioteca medievale, 5), 1987, 177 p.). Unfortunately, I was unable to find information on this edition or to procure it for studying.
[6] First edition in 1962; 2nd edition in 1965; 3rd edition in 1981. In the same year of 1981, Henry offers another edition, in Geneva, and reprints it in 2008.
[7] One edition in 2005.

> Contrairement à ce que je pensais au seuil de cette recherche, les éminents éditeurs étrangers, parfois formés par des institutions françaises, n'ont pas exercé une influence significative sur les pratiques éditoriales de leurs collègues français." (119)

According to Duval, except Philippe Ménard, all French medievalists refused to react to and think with Bernard Cerquiglini's research, in contrast with the international sphere where his *Eloge de la variante* (1989) caused a stir. Moreover, Duval cautions that as a direct result of the absence of a clear theoretical framework, this declared pragmatic attitude lacks coherence, thus French editions need to be even more carefully examined: it is not only a text that follows different editorial principles, but, within one particular text, each editorial choice might be influenced by different patterns. Duval continues and notices that the non French editors "ont pu s'attirer la reconnaissance et même l'admiration de médiévistes français, mais ils n'ont guère suscité d'émules" (119). Duval's research posits that an edition needs a solid critical framework to convey as best as possible the medieval text to a modern reader; therefore another dimension is added to the transformative process of Bodel's play, the transformation from the included paratextual material to the presented edited text[8].

2. Formal Description of the Selected Editions

The *Jeu de saint Nicolas* appears in the manuscript fr. 25566 at the Bibiothèque nationale de France, which is considered to have been created around 1300, in Arras. All scholars agree in describing this manuscript as carefully and beautifully crafted. It is also

[8] Another transformational layer consists in the digitalization of the medieval manuscript. Because of the scale of this project, I will not discuss this dimension and use the digital facsimile as the medieval edition. See for example: https://schoenberginstitute.org/tag/digital-manuscript-as-scholarly-edition/

quite well preserved. It contains an anthology of forty-four works from the thirteenth-century, mostly by Picard authors, mainly from the city of Arras, like Richard de Fournival, Adam de la Halle, and Jean Bodel. The *Jeu de saint Nicolas* is second to Adam de la Halle's *Chansonnier* and is followed by Richard de Fournival's *Bestiaire d'amour*, while Bodel's *Congié* closes the manuscript. Bodel seems to have written these two works chronologically proximate[9] and scholars often use one to shed light on the other. The play starts at folio 68r on the bottom of the left column with an opening rubrication followed by a miniature representing the *preudome* kneeling and praying to Saint Nicolas (See Figure 1.1). It ends at folio 83r with a closing rubrication at the end of the left column, reinforced by a stylized sprig (Figure 1.2). All the play's text is carefully written in black ink. The rubrications are written in red ink, except for the final five rubrications on folio 75v and the first rubrication on folio 76r which are in a faint blue ink. Scholars agree that the same hand has written the play's text, while the hand writing the rubrications seems to change between a rubricator and the text copyist himself. The first hand looks trim and sure and the second one more negligent.

[9] Both of them are dated around 1200.

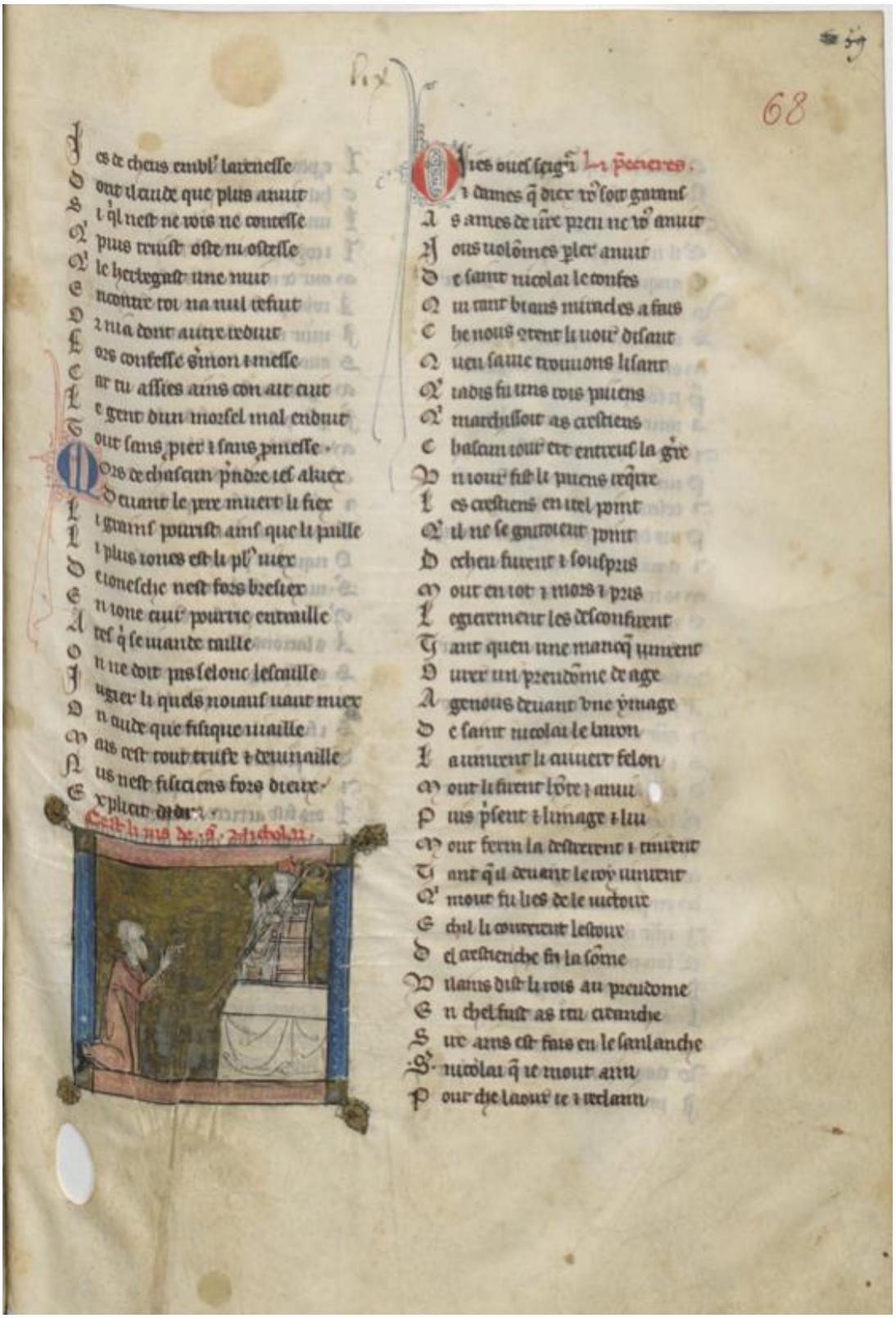


Figure 1.1: Full page of Folio 68r

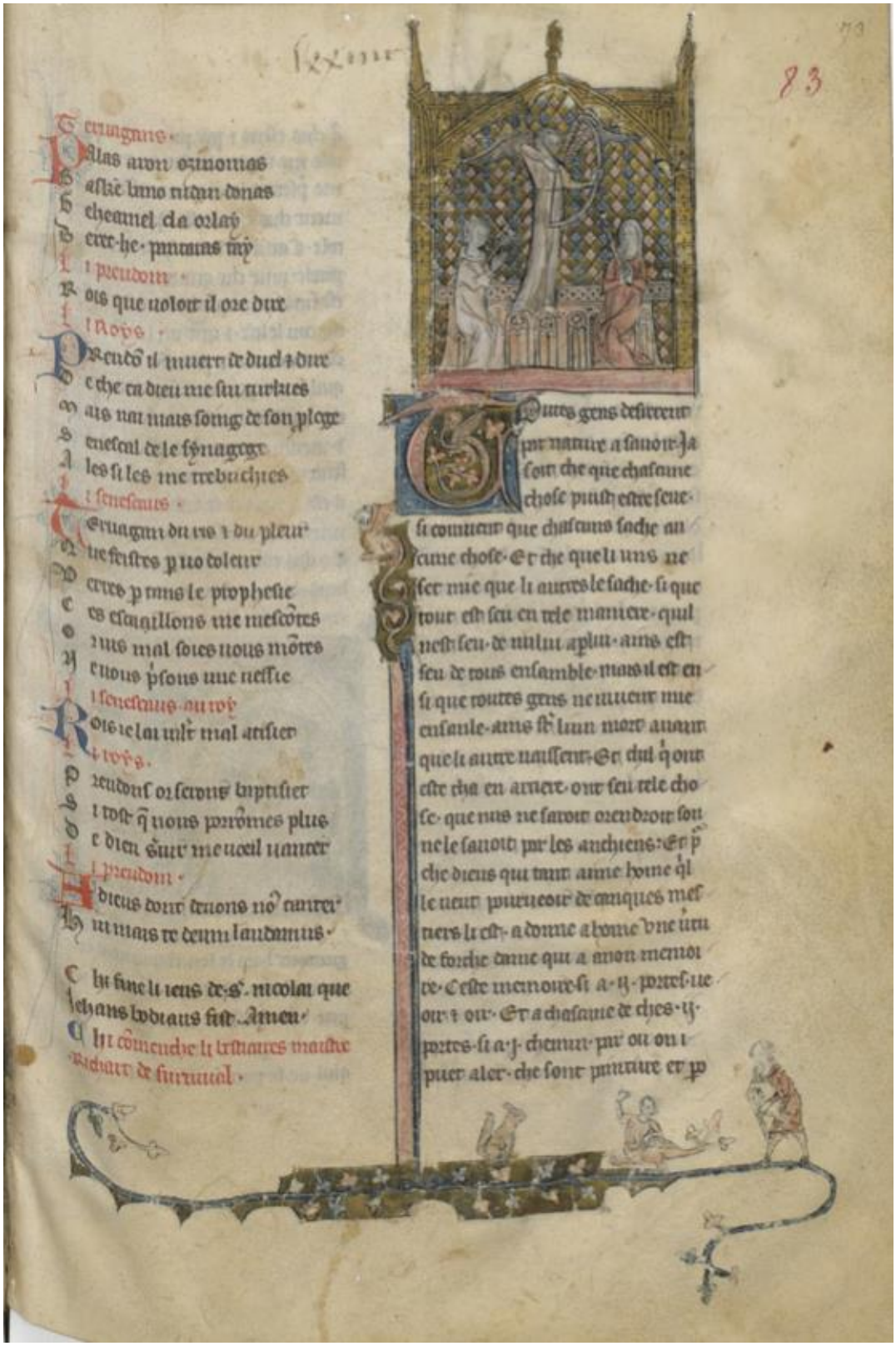


Figure 1.2: Full page of Folio 83r

Each column has 34 lines and the rubrications have a designated space, either on an independent line or on the left or the right of a character's text. A couple of exceptions can be noted: a missed verse added by the scribe (F. 82r) and a forgotten rubric squeezed in by the rubricator (F. 75v). In addition, initials for characters' lines are illuminated in red or blue and decorated with stylized lines. The two colors alternate with each new line. However, the pattern is not consistent throughout the text: such an initial does not signal each change of speaker. The initial can appear in the middle of a character's text, while the alternating can also happen every two or three characters. A small sign is sometimes present at the end of a line. Again, no coherent pattern emerges from the manuscript. This leads scholars and editors to discuss different interpretations and solutions resulting in a variety of editions.

Warne (hereafter W) publishes his *Le Jeu de saint Nicolas* in 1951, followed by three reprints in 1958, 1968, and 1972, each time in the Oxfordian collection of "Blackwell's French Texts". Henry takes the helm and publishes his *Jeu de saint Nicolas* in 1962, and it is reedited in 1965. These two editions are a collaboration between the Presses universitaires de Bruxelles and the Presses universitaires de France (in Paris). Henry edits Bodel's *Jeu* a third time, however it is taken over exclusively by the Brussels publisher, the Académie Royale de Belgique, in 1981 (hereafter H1). The same year, Henry offers another edition with the Genevan publisher, Droz, greatly based on the previous one, in 1981, which is reprinted in 2008 (hereafter H2). In 2005, Dufrounet offers the most recent new edition of Bodel's play where he honors Henry as "un modèle indépassable" (7). It is the only exclusively French edition of the play, published by Flammarion (hereafter D).

These established texts are presented in two different ways. W and H2 present only the text in old French (Figures 1.3 & 1.4). In contrast, H1 and D show face to face the medieval text and a translation in modern French: while Henry's translation is in prose, Dufournet transposes the format in verse (Figures 1.5 & 1.6). Each text is framed on the left margin by the line number every four (W, H1, and H2) or five (D) lines and on the right margin by the folio number, except H1 where both numbers are disposed on the right of the old French text, maybe in order to better superpose the modern and medieval editions (Figure 1.5).

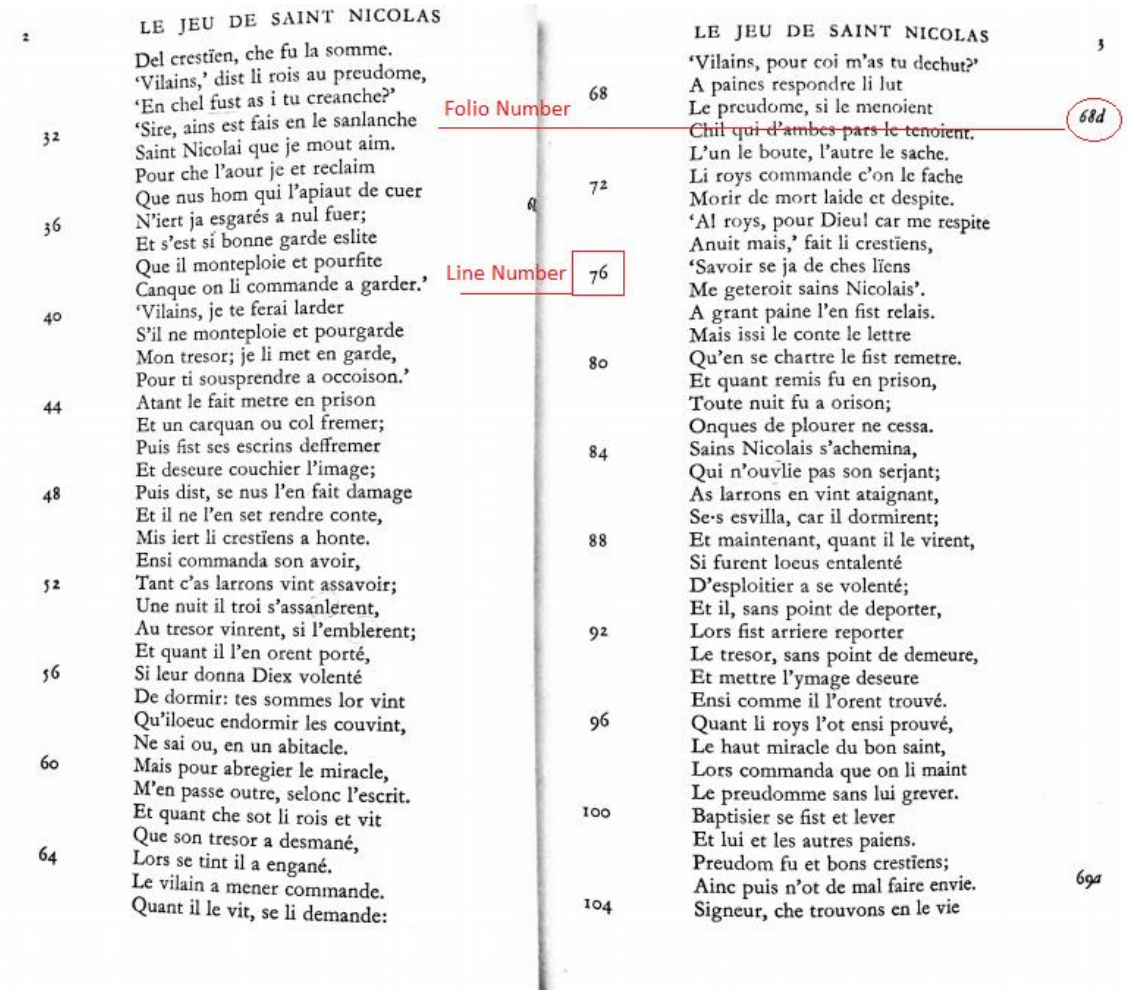


Figure 1.3: Numbers in W (2-3)

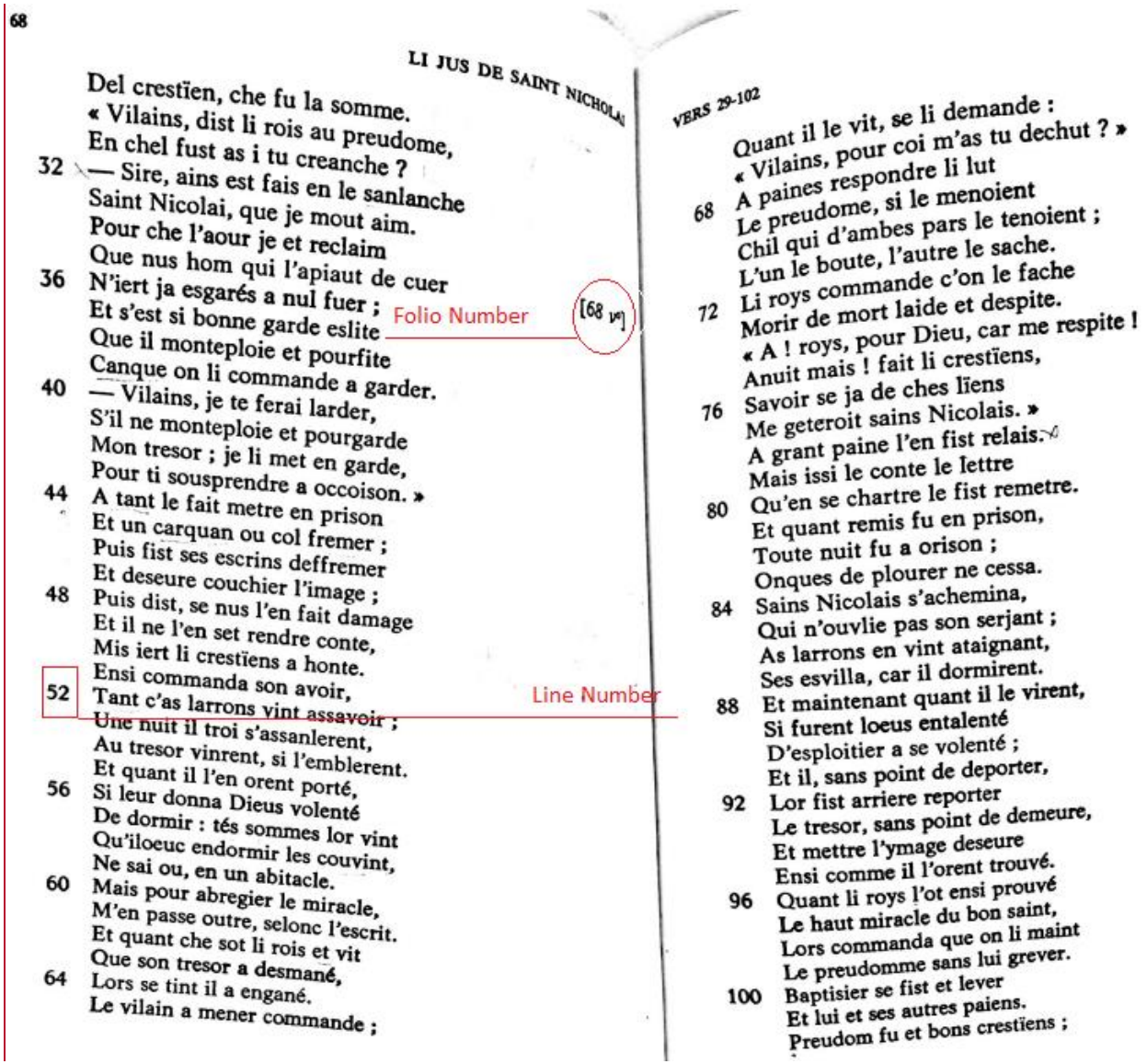


Figure 1.4 Numbers H2 (68-69)

126 LI JUS DE SAINT NICHOLAI

En chel fust as i tu creanche ?
— Sire, ains est fais en le sanlanche
Saint Nicolai, que je mout aim.
Pour che l'aour je et reclaim
Que nus hom qui l'apiaut de cuer
N'iert ja esgarés a nul fuer ;
Et s'est si bonne garde eslite
Que il monteploie et pourfite
Canque on li commande a garder.
— Vilains, je te ferai larder,
S'il ne monteploie et pourgarde
Mon tresor ; je li met en garde,
Pour ti sousprendre a occoison. »
A tant le fait metre en prison
Et un carquan ou col fremer ;
Puis fist ses escrins deffremer
Et deseure couchier l'image ;
Puis dist, se nus l'en fait damage
Et il ne l'en set rendre conte,
Mis iert li crestiens a honte.
Ensi commanda son avoir.
Tant c'as larrons vint assavoir ;
Une nuit il troi s'assanlerent,
Au tresor vinrent, si l'emblerent.
Et quant il l'en orent porté,
Si leur donna Dieus volenté
De dormir : tés sommes lor vint
Qu'iloeuc endormir les couvint,
Ne sai ou, en un abitacle.
Mais pour abregier le miracle,
M'en passe outre, selonc l'escrit.
Et quant che sot li rois et vit
Que son tresor a desmané,
Lors se tint il a engané.
Le vilain a mener commande ;
Quand il le vit, se li demande :
« Vilains, pour coi m'as tu dechut ? »
A paines respondre li lut
Le preudome, si le menoient
Chil qui d'ambes pars le tenoient ;

Folio Number (68 v°)

Line Number

LE JEU DE SAINT NICOLAS 127

bois tu as confiance, toi ? — Seigneur, mais c'est la statue de saint Nicolas, et j'ai pour lui grande vénération ! Je le prie et je l'invoque, car nul homme qui fasse appel sincèrement à lui ne se trouvera en aucune façon sans recours. Et il est si bon gardien qu'il fait croître et multiplier tout ce qu'on place sous sa protection. — Vilain, je te ferai passer au feu, s'il ne fait croître et s'il ne garde parfaitement mon trésor ; je le lui confie, pour te prendre sur le fait. »

Alors, le roi fait mettre le chrétien en prison et lui fait serrer au cou un carcan ; puis il fit ouvrir ses coffres et, par-dessus, coucher la statue. Et si quiconque, déclara-t-il, lui enlève quoi que ce soit et que le chrétien ne peut lui en faire réparation, celui-ci sera traité outrageusement.

C'est ainsi qu'il disposa de son avoir, tant et si bien que des larrons eurent vent de l'affaire. À trois, une nuit, ils s'abouchèrent, vinrent au trésor et l'enlevèrent. Et quand ils l'eurent emporté, voilà que Dieu leur donna envie de dormir ; il leur vint un tel sommeil qu'il leur fallut bien alors s'endormir sur place, je ne sais où, dans quelque cabane. Mais, pour abréger le récit du miracle, je saute, en accord avec le livre.

Quand le roi constata qu'il avait perdu son trésor, alors il en conclut qu'il avait été abusé. Il fait amener le misérable chrétien, et quand il le vit près de lui, il lui demande : « Misérable, pourquoi m'as-tu trompé ? » C'est à grand peine que le sage chrétien put lui répondre, car il fallait voir comment le trai-

Figure 1.5: Numbers in H1 (126-127)

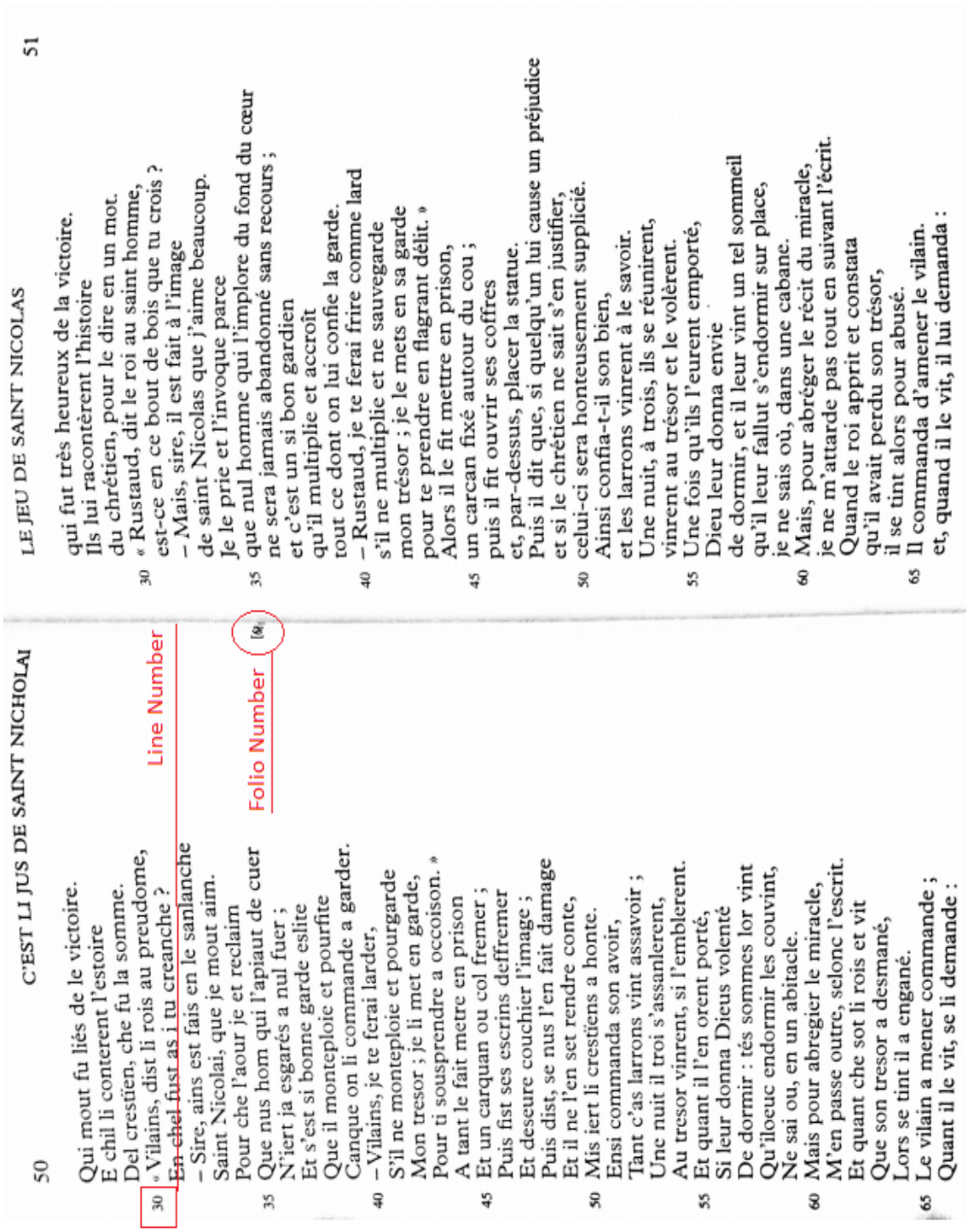


Figure 1.6: Numbers in D (50-51)

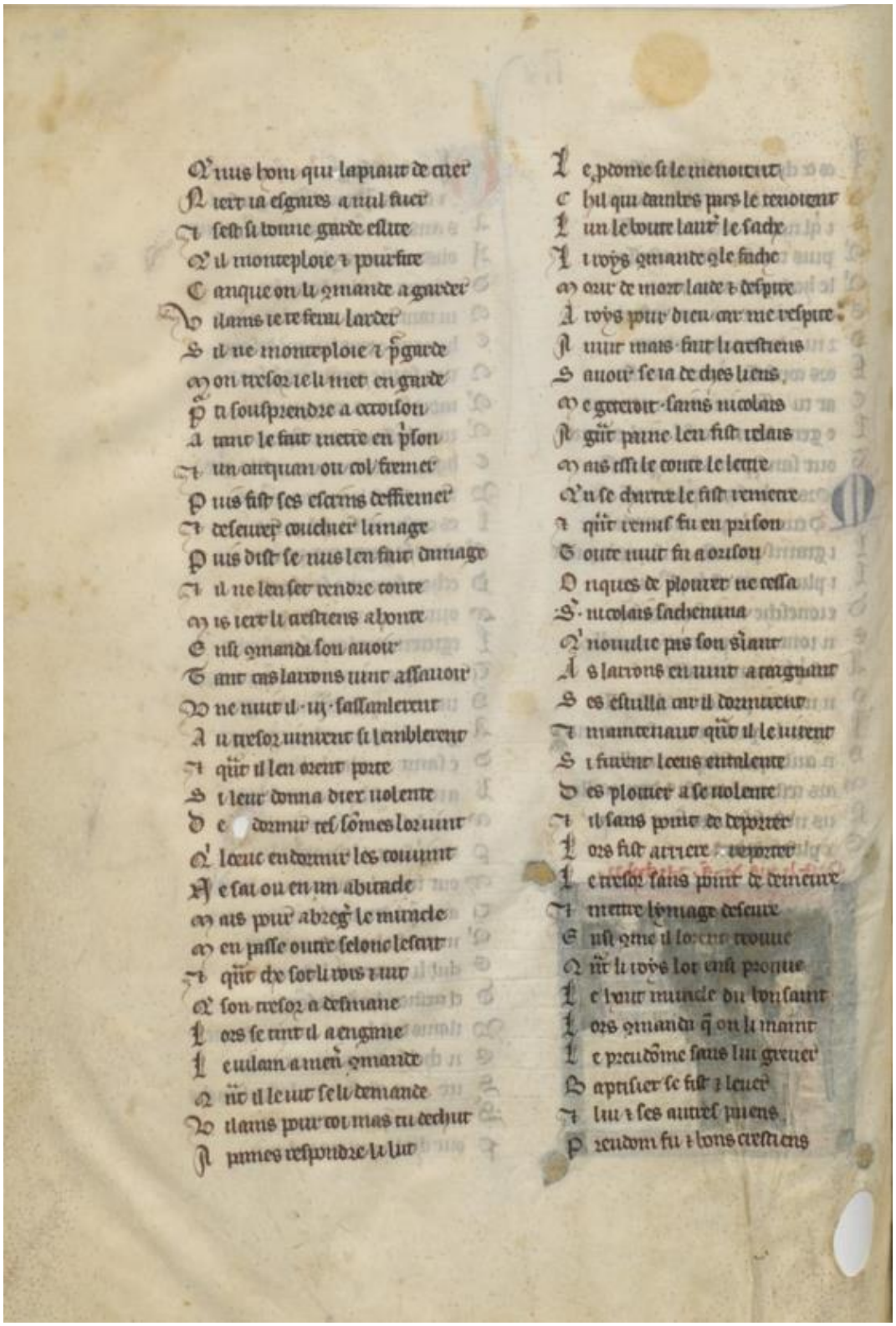


Figure 1.7: Layout in MS (F. 68v)

These numbers are important to a reader because they facilitate his navigation of the text in itself and in relation to other editions. This series of number constitutes a basic level of interaction between the reader, the modern editions, and the medieval manuscript. Failing a complete reproduction of the medieval *mise en page* (Figure 1.7), the modern editions lean on these numbers to relate a feeling and effect an understanding of the medieval page. In fact, a medieval page contains two columns of text, making it possible to present an extensive number of poetic lines in one single page, while a page in a modern edition offers comparatively a very limited number of these lines, because the editions are either pocket sized (W, H2, and D) or in an airy layout, usually associated with academic editions (H1). Moreover, Warne includes a table of line correspondence between the edition of Manz and of Jeanroy on one hand, and his own edition, on the other hand. H1 and H2 reproduce this table and add Henry's equivalent line numbers. Despite his dedication to Henry's memory, Dufournet does not reproduce this table; he only states in passing that he adopted "la numérotation d'Albert Henry" (39). While Warne places this table at the start of his notes so the reader could adjust his "references to the Manz and Jeanroy editions" (71), Henry places it on a separate page at the end of his introductory material before Bodel's text (Figures 1.8 & 1.9).

NOTES

N.B.—In the Manz and Jeanroy editions the arrangement of ll. 550–64 (the Angel's speech) differs from that of the present edition (ll. 550–60) and the lines printed as ll. 1269–70 in the present edition are relegated to notes. References in reviews, etc., to the Manz and Jeanroy editions will therefore need adjustment as follows to give the corresponding line in the present edition:

Manz, Jeanroy: (1–549 correspond)

,,	,,	550 and 551 =	present edition:		550
,,	,,	552 and 553 =	,,	,,	551
,,	,,	554 – 561 =	,,	,,	552–559
,,	,,	562 (blank)			
,,	,,	563 and 564 =	,,	,,	560
,,	,,	565 – 1272 =	,,	,,	561–1268
,,	,,	1273 – 1540 =	,,	,,	1271–1538.]

7 *a voir disant*: possibly twelfth-century derivatives of Methodius and Johannes Diaconus, perhaps Wace in his *Vie de saint Nicolas* (c. 1150), since he claims to tell the truth as a historian of the Britons and Normans and his *Vie* might well be known in Arras by 1199–1200.

7–10, 17–39, 40–52, 61 Bodel's version may be compared with Wace's (Ronsjö ed., 659–84.)

42 *li* = [*le*] *li*.

48, 49 *l'* = *li* (dat.).

78 'he granted him respite for it'.

92 Jeanroy corrects *Lors* to *Lor*.

104–5 The play was given on St. Nicolas's Eve (Dec. 5th).

110 *miracle* is the object of the (substantival) infinitive *representer*.

112 *saint Nicolai* is possessive.

115 Mediaeval writers frequently present Islam as an idolatrous religion (like that of Greece or Rome) having three gods: Mahom(et) (189), Apolin (122) and Tervagan (134). Bodel gives the King of Africa an idol of Tervagan.

126 *tes, teuls*: both mean 'such'; v. Glossary, s.v. *tel*.

133 Schulze (*loc. cit.*, p. 103), — likewise Jeanroy, — corrects *mise* to *mis*, but Bodel could be referring back to *marche* (128) instead of *païs* (131).— *Lagan* (originally a legal term) is defined in an act of Philip Augustus (1191) abolishing it: *Si navis aliunde veniens et fluctibus maris forte agitate scopulis sive harene maris illisa frangeretur, res in ea existentes in dirruptionem hominum cederent et præditionem*. From 'right to wreckage' the term was extended to 'wreck', 'ruin', 'destruction'.

134 *Tervagan* is possibly a distortion of *Trismegiste*, agnomen of Mercury

Figure 1.8: Table of Equivalence in W (71)

TABLE DE CONCORDANCE

Édition Manz-Jeanroy	Édition Warne	Édition Henry
1-549	1-549	1-549
550-551	550	550
552-553	551	551
554	552	552
555-560	553-558	553-555
561	559	
561 et 563		556
562 (lacune supposée)		
563-564	560	
564		557
565-1272	561-1268	558-1265
	1269-1270	
1273-1540	1271-1538	1266-1533

Figure 1.9: Table of Equivalence in H1 (119) and H2 (61)

Besides relating editions to each other, these differing numbers are a symptom of diverging interpretations on the meter used at certain points. The medieval layout cannot encompass a long meter on one line, while the modern print has no such difficulty. The challenge then lies in where to break down the lines. Warne counts "7 six-syllable lines, 12 ten-syllable lines, and 47 alexandrines" (xxvii) out a total of 1538: all the rest are octosyllabic lines. Henry is less interested in statistics and more focused on "[les] *dominantes prosodiques*" (H1: 64) : he shows in detail how "quel que soit le lieu, quels que soient les personnages en présence, quels que soient les mouvements de scène, le langage de l'Ange se distingue prosodiquement de ce qui l'entoure immédiatement" (H1 :

68) and he also outlines other patterns. However, he concludes that “toutes les explications ne s’imposent pas de manière absolue : il y a tant de coïncidences, cependant, qu’on peut conclure à des effets concertés” (73). The number of this meter or the other is also less important in Dufournet’s reading of the *Jeu*: the part he dedicates to “versification” (252) is quite short comparative to the previous editions and only focuses on patterns of line grouping, thus associating meter and rhyme. These divergences will be examined in detail to help identify the stage that each editor is determining.

In addition to different meter distributions, the body of the text is also laid out differently: on one hand, the old French text is punctuated by black full circles in H1 and by blank spaces in D, matching the added stage directions in the modern French text. On the other hand, the old French text is interrupted by numbered lists of characters on stage in W and by an asterisk and stage directions in H2 (Figures 1.10-1.13). Moreover, the text is each time preceded by a *Dramatis Personae* which lists all characters with “the beginning of each character’s first speech” (W: xxxvi; H1: 120; H2:65) or simply “par ordre d’entrée en scène” (D: 48). This is a modern addition: it is not present in the medieval manuscript in any form. Warne identifies it explicitly as an addition in his critical apparatus, while all the other editions do not refer to it anywhere in their books. The position of this list in relation to the title and body of the play is quite revealing: W and H1 place it before the title, immediately preceding the body of the text, while H2 and D interpose it between the title on a separate page and the body of the text, giving the impression that it is part of Bodel’s text.

Del saint dont anuit est la veille.
Pour che n'aiés pas grant merveille
Se vous veés aucun affaire;
Car canques vous nous verrés faire
Sera essamples sans douter
Del miracle representer
Ensi con je devisé l'ai.
Del miracle saint Nicolai
Est chis jeus fais et estorés:
Or nous faites pais, si l'orrés.

I.—*Auberon, le roi, le sénéchal*

AUBERONS LI COURLIUS

Roys, chil Mahom qui te fist né
Saut et gart toi et ten barné
Et te doinst forche de resqueurre
De chiaus qui te sont courut seure
Et te terre escillent et proient
Et nos dieus n'onneurent ne proient,
Ains sont crestïen de put lin!

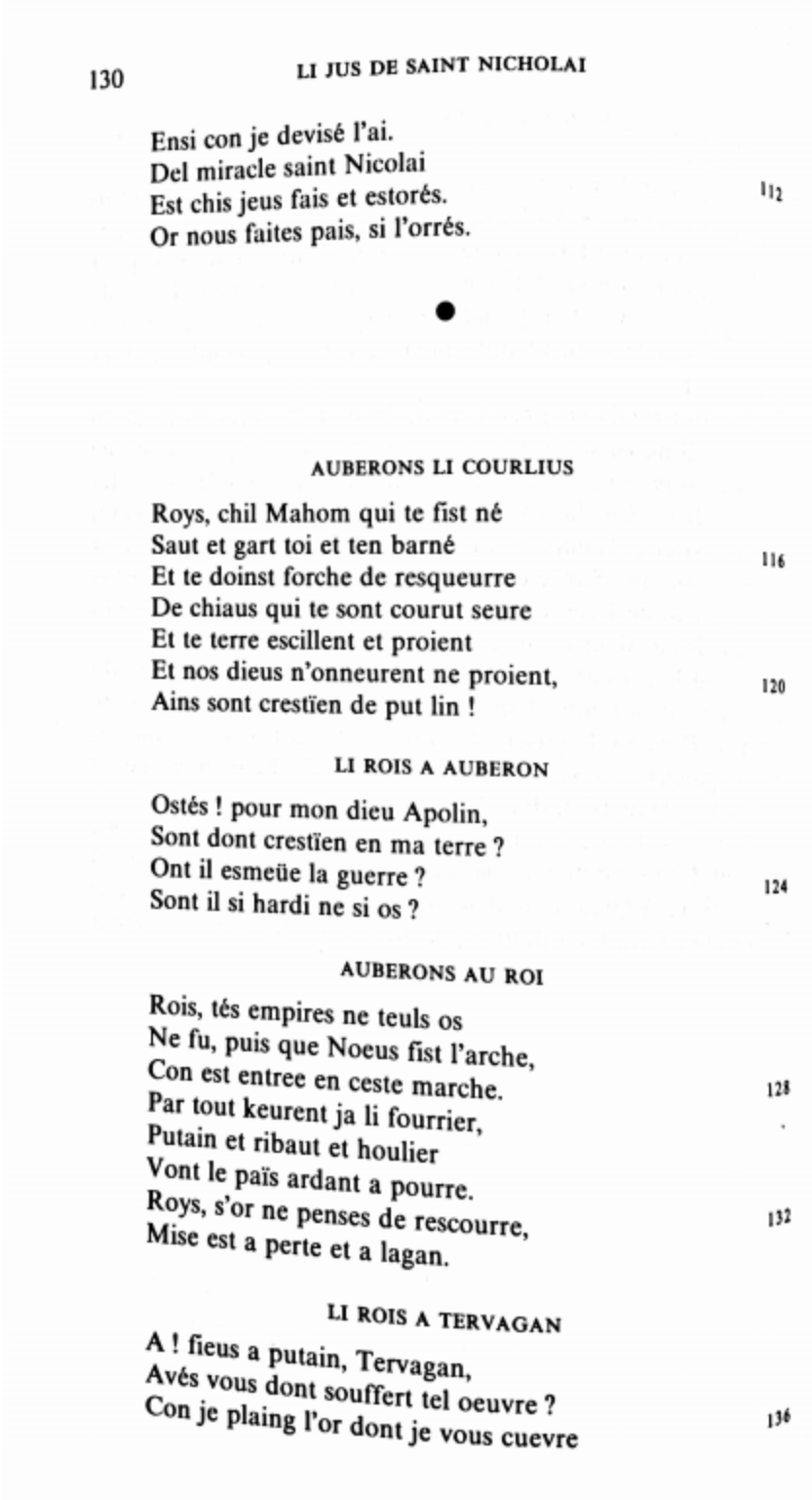
LI ROIS AU SENESCAL

Ostés, pour mon dieu Apolin!
Sont dont crestïen en ma terre?
Ont il esmeüe la guerre?
Sont il si hardi ne si os?

AUBERONS AU ROI

Rois, tes empires ne teuls os
Ne fu puis que Noeus fist l'arche
Con est entree en ceste marche.
Par tout keurent ja li fourrier;
Putain et ribaut et houlier
Vont le païs ardant a pourre.
Roys, s'or ne penses de rescourre,
Mise est a perte et a lagan.

Figure 1.10: Landmarks in W (4)



130 LI JUS DE SAINT NICHOLAI

Ensi con je devisé l'ai.
Del miracle saint Nicolai
Est chis jeus fais et estorés.
Or nous faites pais, si l'orrés.

AUBERONS LI COURLIUS

Roys, chil Mahom qui te fist né
Saut et gart toi et ten barné
Et te doinst forche de resqueurre
De chiaus qui te sont courut seure
Et te terre escillent et proient
Et nos dieus n'onneurent ne proient,
Ains sont crestïen de put lin !

LI ROIS A AUBERON

Ostés ! pour mon dieu Apolin,
Sont dont crestïen en ma terre ?
Ont il esmeüe la guerre ?
Sont il si hardi ne si os ?

AUBERONS AU ROI

Rois, tés empires ne teuls os
Ne fu, puis que Noeus fist l'arche,
Con est entree en ceste marche.
Par tout keurent ja li fourrier,
Putain et ribaut et houlier
Vont le païs ardant a pourre.
Roys, s'or ne penses de rescourre,
Mise est a perte et a lagan.

LI ROIS A TERVAGAN

A ! fieus a putain, Tervagan,
Avés vous dont souffert tel oeuvre ?
Con je plaing l'or dont je vous cuevre

Figure 1.11: Landmarks in H1 (130)

Ainc puis n'ot de mal faire envie. [69 r°]
Signeur, che trouvons en le vie
Del saint dont anuit est la veille.
Pour che n'aiés pas grant merveille
Se vous veés aucun affaire ;
Car canques vous nous verrés faire
Sera essamples sans douter
Del miracle representer
Ensi con je devisé l'ai.
Del miracle saint Nicolai
Est chis jeus fais et estorés.
Or nous faites pais, si l'orrés.

*

Au palais du roi d'Afrique : Auberon, le Roi, le Sénéchal, la statue de Tervagan

AUBERONS LI COURLIUS

Roys, chil Mahom qui te fist né
Saut et gart toi et ten barné
Et te doinst forche de resqueurre
De chiaus qui te sont courut seure
Et te terre escillent et proient
Et nos dieus n'onneurent ne proient,
Ains sont crestïen de put lin !

LI ROIS A AUBERON

Ostés ! pour mon dieu Apolin,
Sont dont crestïen en ma terre ?
Ont il esmeüe la guerre ?
Sont il si hardi ne si os ?

AUBERONS AU ROI

Rois, tés empires ne teuls os
Ne fu, puis que Noeus fist l'arche,

Figure 1.12: Landmarks in H2 (70)

Se vous veés aucun affaire ;
Car canques vous nous verrés faire
Sera essamples sans douter
Del miracle representer
Ensi con je devisé l'ai.
Del miracle saint Nicolai
Est chis jeus fais et estorés.
Or nous faites pais, si l'orrés.

AUBERONS LI COURLIUS

Roys, chil Mahom qui te fist né
Saut et gart toi et ten barné
Et te doinst forche de resqueurre
De chiaus qui te sont courut seure
Et te terre escillent et proient
Et nos dieus n'onneurent ne proient,
Ains sont crestïen de put lin !

LI ROIS A AUBERON

Ostés ! pour mon dieu Apolin,
Sont dont crestïen en ma terre ?
Ont il esmeüe la guerre ?
Sont il si hardi ne si os ?

AUBERONS AU ROI

Rois, tés empires ne teuls os
Ne fu, puis que Noeus fist l'arche,
Con est entree en ceste marche.
Par tout keurent ja li fourrier,
Putain et ribaut et houlier
Vont le païs ardant a pourre.
Roys, s'or ne penses de rescourre,
Mise est a perte et a lagan.

LI ROIS A TERVAGAN

A ! fieus a putain, Tervagan,
Avés vous dont souffert tel œuvre ?

Figure 1.13: Landmarks in D (54)

All selected editions contain an extensive paratext (Figures 1.14-1.17) that seems to follow more or less the same pattern. In his introduction, Warne narrates the life of the author, insisting on his valued presence in the cultural life of Arras and his great knowledge of life in Arras. He summaries Saint Nicolas' legend before focusing on the 12th and 13th centuries' literary rewritings. He continues by dating Bodel's play: it was performed during "St. Nicolas's Eve in 1200 or 1201" (xvi). He then analyzes the play itself and describes the material aspect of the text (manuscript, dialect, and versification). He finishes by a "note on the present edition" where he states that "the text has been scrupulously respected wherever it bore an acceptable interpretation (faulty rhymes included)" (xxxi) and by a bibliography establishing the life of Bodel, the legend of St. Nicolas, the previous editions of the *Jeu* and exploring the world of dicing, wine, and language.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Figure 1.14: Table of Contents in W (v)

Table des matières

Figure 1.15: Table of Contents in H1 (475)

TABLE DES MATIÈRES

Figure 1.16: Table of Contents in H2 (177)

TABLE

Figure 1.17: Table of Contents in D (291)

Henry's editions seem to respond directly to Warne's edition. Both paratexts seem to follow the same logic as the Warne edition: the editions start with an introduction on the author, the legend, the text, and its different aspects; and they conclude with the critical apparatus, the notes, glossaries and indices. Henry's prefaces show that great thought goes into organizing one's paratext : he explains in the preface to his second edition, for example, that "les explications particulières qui, dans la première édition avaient été imprimées dans le glossaire et dans la table des nomes propres, ont été renvoyées dans les notes" (5). However, Michel Zink states that the paratext in H2 is more than a simple reproduction of that of H1, explaining that "répondant à l'esprit de la collection, il [Henry] a donné un tour plus traditionnel et une place plus importante à la part proprement philologique de son introduction" (194). In this book review, Zink identifies a different readership to H2: this edition is "visiblement à l'intention d'un public d'étudiants" (194), as two added chapters on Jean Bodel and on the play itself "livrent en quelques pages très denses les renseignements d'histoire littéraire et les éléments de critique littéraire nécessaire à une lecture profitable de l'œuvre" (194)[10]. The same distinction could be attributed to W and D: the collections where these two editions appear are known to target a student readership, or at least they aim to be used as a teaching tool.

Dufournet differentiates again his edition: after presenting and analysing Bodel's works, the *Jeu*'s inspirations, and the play itself, Dufournet describes his own edition in a "note sur l'édition" (38-44). On one hand, he identifies the set of rules he follows in

[10] H2, the Droz edition, was part of the program for the *Concours d'Agregation* in 2009.

critical editing[11], in translating[12] and writing[13] the old French. On the other hand, Dufournet describes his post-textual notes inventorying a part for Bodel's works, another for a glossary and index, and a final one for notes "qui sont de trois sortes" (40): first, philological and semantic notes; second, historical notes; and, third, literary notes. In addition, Dufournet includes as annexes a summary of the play, a chronology, some comments on dicing and versification, one of Bodel's source for his play, *Ludus super iconia sancti Nicolai* by Hilare[14], and the bibliography. These statements and distributions suggest a theoretical grounding of the editing process of Dufournet. Would a closer examination confirm this exception to the French trend as it is defined by Duval? And would the non-French editions confirm Duval's expectations of a better thought out work?

3. Between Text and Paratext

All the selected editions, except the medieval one, match what is now identified as a critical edition, meaning that each editorial decision should be explained in the paratextual material. The established framework should justify the choices made in the text, its layout, and imagined performance. Foulet and Speer insist that "editing is not a science, but an art" (39), and to fully engage his audience, the editor must completely expose the process of this art. I will then highlight the relations between the background of the edition and the packaging of the text to further identify and understand the medieval stages imagined by each editor.

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[11] Rules established by Mario Roques, Françoise Vieillard, Olivier Guyotjeanin, and Yves Lepage.
[12] Referring to Vladimr Nabokov, Paul Ricoeur, and to the density of the Jeu.
[13] Succinct notes on spelling and morphology.
[14] This text is also presented in a face-to-face version: Latin text on the left and modern French versified translation on the right.

Warne presents Bodel as an active author living in "the capital of Artois, then at the height of its intellectual activity" (vii). He insists on the strong (potential) links between Bodel and his city, Arras: first, "he was a member of the *Confrerie des jongleurs et des bourgeois d'Arras*" (vii). His professional experience of the stage created, according to Warne, an acute awareness of his audience. Bodel dramatically engages them through the prologue, through what could have been "ugly scenes during the performance" (xvii) in his treatment of Christian figures, and through the play of "piquancy and sly allusion" (xviii) in the dicing scenes. Second, Warne states that Bodel "was carried away by the great crusading fervor which swept France, especially the North, and led to the Fourth Crusade" (viii), which inspired, according to Warne, the crusading scenes in the *Jeu*. Third, Warne reminds us that Bodel occupied some official functions and was respected by the community, as shown by "the generosity of relatives, friends and patrons" (ix) he enjoyed. This led him, according to Warne, to a profound understanding of human nature and interactions, understanding that shows in Bodel's characterizations. In fact, Warne concludes his analysis of the play by stating that "Bodel's power of observation (of his fellow citizens of Arras, to whom the innkeeper and his servants, the criers and the thieves were surely real persons alive in their midst) is superior to his power of invention" (xxi). Warne, in fact, summarizes the legend of Saint Nicolas and shows how it inspired French literature, and particularly theater, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He thus clearly inscribes Bodel in the long tradition of Saint Nicolas' literary legend and its previous dramatic performances, but identifies Bodel's original contribution in the finesse of his characterization.

In his “Rejected readings of the manuscript”, Warne enumerates the type of orthographical emendations he introduced. It is here that he explains that “a list of *dramatis personae* has been added and division into scenes (in accordance with the excellent system adopted in the Jeanroy edition, but with two slight modifications which seemed desirable) has been used for clarity, the names of the actors in each scenes being added in italics in modern French” (69). He also numbers these subdivisions which then amount to 33 scenes. The corrected attributions are listed, among all others textual emendations (70): he references 31 rejected readings of the manuscript; most of these changes (except 7 emendations) are commented on in the “Notes”. Warne comments also on 11 additional rubrics, either to explain why he keeps the manuscript reading or to justify the change or the addition of a rubric. He calls on four types of reasoning. First, he uses an argument from authority, by following the editorial tradition of the *Jeu*, he sometimes reinforces it by referring to scholars’ readings. Second, he refers to textual evidences, either by identifying specific parts of the text as proof or by highlighting a plot element. Third, he applies what he presents as common sense.

The first Henry edition we will be examining is also the result of years of editorial and critical discussions: “j’ai naturellement accordé la plus grande attention aux comptes rendus de la première [édition]” (5), states Henry in the preface to his second edition, which he reiterates in the preface of his third edition and adds his attention to “des travaux publiés sur le sujet depuis 1963” (7). As with Warne’s edition, the third Henry edition is presented as the culmination of a period of editorial research. Straight away, Henry introduces the *Jeu* as “le plus ancien miracle dramatisé en langue vulgaire que nous ait transmis la langue d’Oïl” (11) and futher showcases the importance of this play

by highlighting its complexity and its rooting in the medieval world, on one hand, and on the other hand, by listing the succession of "philologues" (11) since Monmerqué who studied "ou le théâtre médiéval, ou les formes de la légende de saint Nicolas, ou les oeuvres et la personalité de Jehan Bodel" (12). Henry posits that the real interest in Bodel's play is still uncharted and that "c'est en tant qu'oeuvre dramtique que devrait être envisagé et apprécié ce *jeu*" (12), he explains that "Jehan Bodel s'est montré un véritable homme de théâtre et un écrivain doué, particulièrement sensible aux ressources stylistiques de la langue de son temps : le créateur, c'est là qu'il faut le chercher" (12). Again Bodel is inscribed in a strong tradition, but while Warne sees innovation in characterization, Henry identifies it with dramaturgy. It is interesting for me that he presents the manuscript not separately from his bibliography[15] like Warne, but he includes it as the first edition of the Bodel's *Jeu de saint Nicolas*. Henry thus suggests what I will demonstrate: the medieval scribes are not simple transcribers, but full editors.

Henry introduces Jehan Bodel at the end of his life: according to Henry, Bodel's sickness prevented him from taking part in the Fourth Crusade, so his fervor found another outlet. Henry states that "son mysticisme militant a rejailli, avec tout l'éclat de sa sincérité, dans les *Congés* et dans les scènes épiques du *Jeu de saint Nicolas*" (28); both of these works are present in our manuscript. In addition, Henry reaffirms the intimate knowledge Bodel had of the city of Arras and its inhabitants and Bodel's place of honour both in Artois culture and in "toute la littérature en langue d'Oïl" (29): Henry also qualifies Bodel's production as "multiple" (29). His works take part in different genres

[15] While Warne divides the list of editions in complete and partial, Henry lists all them chronologically and adds details about the exact part(s) that were published or edited. He also attaches to each edition references to book reviews or some comment on the edited text and its relation to previous editions.

(*pastourelles, fabliaux, épopée, miracle, congies*) and each work draws from diverse influences and is thus "dans plusieurs de ses aspects, originale, car elle [l'œuvre] se hausse à la création véritable, en tout cas dans le chef-d'œuvre qu'est le *Jeu de saint Nicolas*" (32). Henry then tracks down potential hagiographic, both literary and dramatic, influences on Bodel and enlarges the field of inspiration to encompass not only literature but also "la somme d'expériences vivantes de l'auteur, tout autant que sa culture" (35), like his acute sense of observation and good knowledge of his community, already noted by Warne. All these elements take part in making the *Jeu* "une oeuvre complexe" (35) in its structure, which plays on parallelisms and oppositions, and in its message, on which no scholar agrees with another. Henry concludes that all the different interpretations are possible, because the play places a question at its heart. Identifying that question is of the utmost importance for Henry, in light of the reality of the play as "une composition dramatique qu'il convient de l'analyser et de la juger, en tenant compte, quand il faut, de la culture et de la société dans lesquelles elle s'inscrit, et des servitudes du genre" (40). He concludes his presentation of Bodel with a quotation of Warne describing the *ieu de saint Nicolas* as "a masterpiece in its genre, full of life, movement and wit as well as, in its serious moments, of pathos and sincere religious emotion" (40). Afterwards, Henry dives more into the materiality of the text, starting with the question of the prologue attribution which he identifies as apocryphal and continuing with the language, spelling, versification, and rhymes, before analyzing Bodel's "art d'écrire".

He spends a good part of his introduction trying to outline the pattern in Bodel's use of meters, arguing Bodel's diligence, and showing how "en principe, Jehan Bodel rompt la forme prosodique quand il y a alternance de locuteurs, dans un échange

homogène de répliques" (72). He reaffirms the brilliance of Bodel in the organization of multiple elements from different sources and cites Zumthor: "La variation individuelle se situe dans l'agencement d'éléments expressifs hérités, beaucoup plus que la signification originale qu'on leur conférait" (116). He joins Warne in affirming that Bodel is more ensconced in tradition, instead of following their predecessors' claim of great innovation on Bodel's part. However, Henry shifts the source of Bodel's brilliance to the structure of the play. This importance is underlined by the description of "scène et décors" (122), following the *Dramatis Personae* and appearing before the text of the play: he describes a checkered layout where each square is designated by a "panneau de signilisation" and represents a specific space or *mansion*. The movement between these spaces is embodied by the bold and full black circle on the pages of old French and by added stage directions on the modern French pages in H1. However, in H2, the two parts are combined: each change in *mansion* is marked by an asterisk and a stage direction[16].

Even if he states following in the steps of Henry, Dufournet clearly distinguishes himself from previous editions. He joins his predecessors in highlighting the diversity and complexity of Bodel's production and agrees with Henry against Warne on the dramaturgic take on Bodel's *Jeu de saint Nicolas*. Nevertheless, whereas Henry thinks that Bodel's creation "est resté[e] d'ailleurs isolé[e], car sa conception du miracle dramatisé n'a pas été adoptée par la suite" (35), Dufournet states that "sur le plan littéraire, [Bodel] a joué un rôle décisif, témoin sa postérité au XIIIe siècle et plus tard, contribuant à une théâtralisation progressive de la littérature qui se manifeste en particulier à Arras, dans les genres qu'il a illustrés comme dans les jeux-partis" (10).

[16] These stage directions are usually shorter than in H1.

Dufournet outlines a dramatic model by comparing Bodel's play and Adam de la Halle's plays, concluding that the "*Jeu de saint Nicolas,* comme les deux pièces d'Adam de la Halle, est donc une œuvre retorse, déconcertante, à plusieurs ententes (…). Le jeu a partie liée avec le comique sous toutes ses formes, gestuelle, verbale, psychologique, dans un théâtre qui se construit par et pour le groupe" (12). He goes further by positing that "le génie de Bodel fut sans doute de s'appuyer sur des traditions [les formes liturgiques des clercs et les performances journalistiques], de les unir, de les dépasser dans une œuvre ambitieuse où l'audace et l'innovation l'emporteraient largement" (17). According to Dufournet, Bodel's innovations are not restricted to a specific aspect, they affect all aspects, even the ideological aspect, by fully engaging his audience: "tout se passe comme si Jean Bodel, sans rompre avec les habitudes épiques, voulait amener peu à peu son auditoire à voir différemment ce monde de l'Autre et de l'Ailleurs qui est avant tout un monde à convertir" (31-32). Dufournet presents Bodel as a total innovator, while underlining the coherence behind his diverse innovations: Bodel deconstructs old models to construct a new one. This vision leads Dufournet to see the Prologue not as apocryphal as stated by Henry, but as part of Bodel's text, enabling "un jeu subtil entre hypotexte, modèle et péritexte" (13), the same back and forth we use to establish the editorial layout and how it tries to transcribes the stage movement.

4. In Relation to the Manuscript

The stage text itself is unfortunately lost to us. We only have access to a potential text: a script written for or after the performance. Moreover, the extant copy we have of the *Jeu de saint Nicolas*, the manuscript BnF fr. 25566, was put together a full century after the approximated date of performance. Therefore, any edition, be it in manuscript or

in print, is a reworking of this imagined performance text, maybe to the point where each edition constitutes a performance, the *mise en page* becoming the *mise en scène*. Even if this play has one witness, it is possible to confront this manuscript to other manuscripts from the same period, the same region, the same scribe, or the same author to evaluate the reliability of the text and to identify a form of editorial process.

All three modern editors give similar formal descriptions of the manuscript (see above). They also agree on their evaluation of the scribes: the hand transcribing the text itself is qualified as "remarkably correct" (Warne, xxii) and the text scribe is said to undertake his task with "une certaine attention" (H1, 16). In contrast, the hand writing the rubrics is found faulty: Warne notices "numerous errors in stating the names of the characters, several speeches being wrongly attributed, especially in folios 75 verso and 76 recto [… and] also in ll. 808-12" (xxii-xxiii). Warne attributes these errors both to "a faulty source of the copy" (xxiii), which is also the reason offered by Henry for the few errors of the scribe, and to "any carelessness which might be suspected from the rubricator's perfunctory scribble in places" (W: xxiii). Henry comments also on the negligent style of the rubricator, who writes "à la va-vite" (16), and adds, following in the steps of Jean Rychner, that the source the rubricator and the scribe were using was "un texte sans rubriques ou, de toute manière, très incomplète à ce point de vue" (16). The work of Graham Runnalls could complement this discussion[17].

[17] His study of the "Typology of Medieval French Play Manuscripts" is certainly limited to "historical plays, […] i.e. to plays traditionally labeled miracle plays and mystery plays, dating from the fourteenth, fifteenth, and the first half of the sixteenth centuries" (97). While the Jeu of Saint Nicolas is also labelled as a miracle, it is a thirteenth-century play. Nevertheless, I believe I can extrapolate if I borrow general principles and remember that the only extant manuscript of this play is dated at the turn of the fourteenth-century and that this physical copy is the object of my study.

Runnalls identifies three main specificities of medieval theatre against other literary genres. First, “drama was but one extreme of a spectrum of methods of presentation of literary material, and many other genres had dramatic and para-dramatic aspects” (96). Second, “the theatre, certainly towards the end of the Middle Ages, was able to reach, and to involve actively, a much larger proportion of the general public” (96). Last but not least, “it is very rare for a medieval play to be preserved in more than one manuscript” (96), while the format of these play manuscripts is “as diverse as those of the other genres, if not more so” (97). Moreover, the function of a play manuscript sets it apart from other genres’ manuscripts: “a medieval play was fully realised, actualised, in a performance” (97), therefore, “since virtually all mystery play and miracle play performances were unique […], it is not surprising the play manuscripts tend to be unique as well” (98). Runnalls then differentiates five types of play manuscripts, which correspond to five different stages of the performance. First are the dramatist’s drafts; second, the dramatist’s fair copy; third, the actors’ copies; fourth, “a special, abbreviated copy […] for the *meneur de jeu*” (98); fifth, a final copy in order “to keep a record of the event, or else to present the text as a gift to a patron or person of influence” (99). All of these types refer to manuscripts prepared before the performance, except the fifth type, which seems to match the manuscript where Bodel’s play appears. It is beautifully crafted and well preserved, in addition to including an extensive anthology of works, leading us to see this manuscript as a collector book.

Runnalls’ classification seems to reinforce Henry’s hypothesis about the faulty source: On one hand, all copies, except the dramatist’s fair copy and the final copy, are characterized by their incompleteness: the dramatist’s drafts could be as disjointed or as

coherent as possible; the roles contain only the actor's lines framed by the last and first lines of their interlocutors; and, the *meneur de jeu*'s copy "would greatly expand the stage directions, but reduce all speeches to two lines, the first and the last of each *réplique*" (98). On the other hand, Runnalls explains that a fair copy could be borrowed "either from a neighboring town or from a much earlier performance" (99), modified, and copied again. The medieval scribes of Bodel's *Jeu* do not identify which copy they are using, however they seem to be aware to an extent of the faultiness of their source, or at least of its incompleteness. In fact, the scholars posit that the text scribe introduced Picard spelling, even if the original text was not Picard, and they notice some attempts to correct perceived errors, even if the modern editors might not agree with what they identify as fourteenth-century emendations.

Runnalls' study establishes clearly a relationship between the manuscript text and the performance stage, showing that each type of manuscript has a different relation and function to the stage. However, his restriction to late medieval plays and his linear structure are found lacking by different scholars. In 2010, an issue of *Médiévales* on "Théâtres du Moyen Âge" records the most recent discussions on French medieval drama and profoundly nuances Runnalls' position and shows how the medieval theatrical reality is even more complex. Taku Kuroiwa, Xavier Leroux and Darwin Smith present a synesthetic diagram (Figure 1.18) on the relation between stage and text, between different dramatic texts. Far from a linear relation, they posit a constant *va-et-vient* between performing and recording a play and explain that there is a difference between the pronounced text on stage and the recorded text on a manuscript. In fact, this

deviation, “cette mouvance textuelle, […] témoigne directement de l’expérience performencielle” (22). In their analysis, they define two processes :

> “Alors que le formatage désigne l’enregistrement mental du discours en l’adaptant à un format textuel (en l’occurrence la versification), la formalisation désigne l’enregistrement écrit du texte dramatique en fonction de contraintes liées, d’une part, aux nécessités pratiques du jeu et, d’autre part, à l’anticipation d’éventuelles oralisations, autrement dit de performances collectives ou individualisées, mais hors du cycle performanciel du jeu” (22)

This process produces, according to their study, manuscripts that are closer to narrative or poetic texts: they are usually presented in two columns, while a manuscript in the performantial cycle would be more likely written in one column to permit “un développement presque illimité et adventice des indications scéniques en marge du texte maître” (28). Their analysis of different states that what we perceive as errors derives from a freer, more malleable, and more oral way of using meter, rhymes, or any other rule.

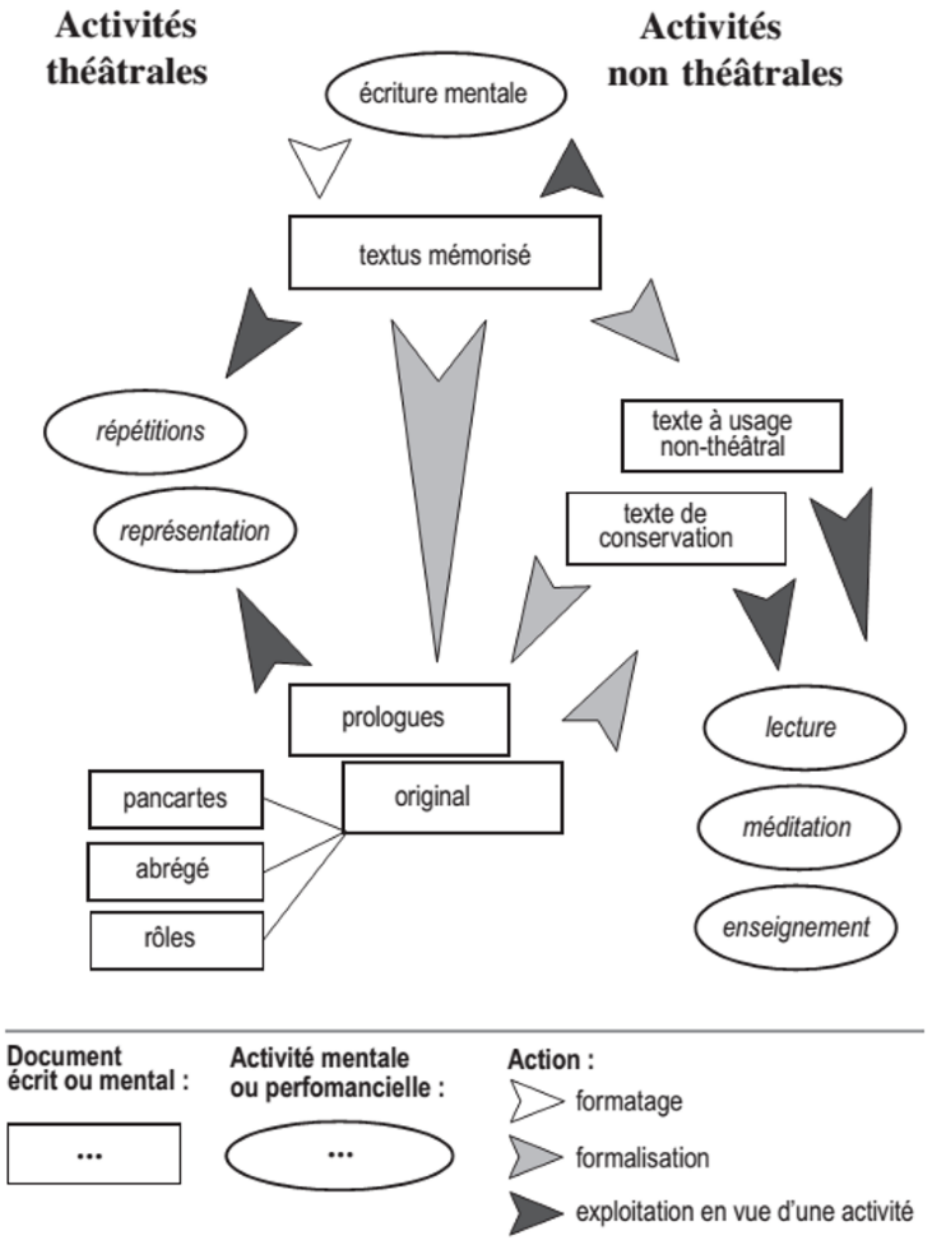


Figure 1.18: Diagram (23)

The manuscript BnF fr. 25566 is written all in two columns and contains narrative, poems, and songs. Moreover, the initials in Bodel's play alternate more or less regularly between red and blue colors, as in the rest of the manuscript and other medieval

narratives. Still, are the copyists of the manuscript working on formalizing the play or are they copying from an already formalized copy? In the first case, their editorial choices would interrogate the distance between performance and non-performance, between the original work and the reading of the 14th century. The second case would link the editorial choices more to an evaluation of the hypothesized source. In other words, the medieval editing would constitute a scholarly edition (but without the paratext). Despite the absence of this expected paratext, I think that the manuscript edition offers a form of editorial statement. In fact, the miniature can offer the reader a stylized stage, or can embody a suggested staging, especially as it is placed before the whole body of the text.

Figure 1.19: Detail from Folio 68r

On a gold background, on the left, a man is kneeling, joining his hand in prayer and looking at an elevated statue. And, on the right, resting on a high whitish platform and sitting on a chair is a man holding a crosier, wearing a miter and raising his hand a benediction sign. Horizontal red rectangles and vertical blue ones frame this scene. The corners consist of four gold squares with a gold growth looking like leaves: the top leaves frame the title rubric, while the bottom leaves point towards the continuing text. These excrescences seem to highlight a certain continuity between the miniature and the text. Moreover, the characters are not contained within the stage (the gold background): the statue's crown and the *preudom*'s feet spill into the frame. These observations can be interpreted as a clear claim of the strong link between the book and the stage and a reminder of the physicality of words, or as a profound comment on the medieval *art d'écrire*. The staging in and of the miniature suggests a clear fluidity between the text and the stage, it reinforces the "direct connection between the way a text was read and the way it was presented on the page" (Symes, 788).

Identifying Bodel's *Jeu de saint Nicolas* as a dramatic work raises fundamental questions about the relationship between Bodel's stage, the performance, and later editions, the text, be it manuscript or print. No extant edition is contemporary of the time of the original performance, however, according to scholars, medieval play manuscripts are closely associated with a performance, either as a transcription or formalization of one or as a suggestion of another. The performance is at the heart of medieval editing of

drama[18], resulting in a close relation between the staging and the page layout, between the *mise en scène* and the *mise en page*. Within the good numbers of modern editions, the most recent ones assert a closer representation of the source. This source refers to the manuscript according to the editorial statements, but it can also refer to the original, to Bodel's imagined text, according to the notes and to the importance given to analyzing Bodel's style in the introduction. Warne, Henry, and Dufournet introduce Bodel's work as fundamentally dramatic.

Even if all of these editors almost totally disregard the miniature[19], their understanding of the play and their interpretation in their editions are embodied by this same miniature: all of them remind us of the long tradition of Saint Nicolas in literature and in theater, in Latin and vernacular language. However, Warne identifies Bodel's dramatic genius in his lively and living characterizations that are the product of his acute and continuous observation of Arras inhabitants. Warne suggests that Bodel's stage reflects life in Arras or that it speaks immediately to its audience. The miniature presents only two figures in one episode of the whole play, like a microcosm that mirrors and suggests a macrocosm. Henry agrees on the well-developed characterization, but thinks that Bodel's originality lies in the well-thought out structure of the play and the movement it imparts to the play. This structured movement is based on repetition and opposition in spaces, on another level of mirroring of the different locations on stage and beyond. In parallel, the miniature depicts figures within a well arranged square, yet, elements of the characters exceed the limits of the delimited space creating movement

[18] And maybe of all medieval arts… as the research of Evelyn Birge Vitz attempts to demonstrate.
[19] They only refer to the miniature in their description of the manuscript.

from the image to the text and inversely. Dufournet goes further and presents Bodel as a total genius, as a free agent, in the sense that the playwright uses and deconstructs the traditions to construct a new theater. The miniature is certainly traditionally painted and stylized, however the depicted episode could refer to multiple moments in the play: the *preudome* praying in the prologue, during the war, in prison, or at the end. The relation between the miniature and the play becomes as complex as the medieval take on model and work, on text and stage.

The miniature seems to have a subliminal influence on the modern editors, however their disregard of this medieval idiosyncrasy in their edited text and their paratext suggests a certain negligence in their rendition of the medieval witness. This paradoxical relationship to the miniature suggests the same complexity in relation with the staging of medieval theater on a page: the modern editors expend numerous efforts to make the medieval play easily understandable to the modern reader, by listing the characters, by referencing the numbers of lines and folios, and by situating the scholarly discussions behind this play. However, despite some mentions of the stage in the paratext, these specialists do not include extensive material on the reality of a medieval performance. In fact, by using elements that they borrow from modern theater and forgoing the medieval idiosyncrasy in the miniature, they distance the reader from the medieval play.

Chapter 2. Editing the Rubrics

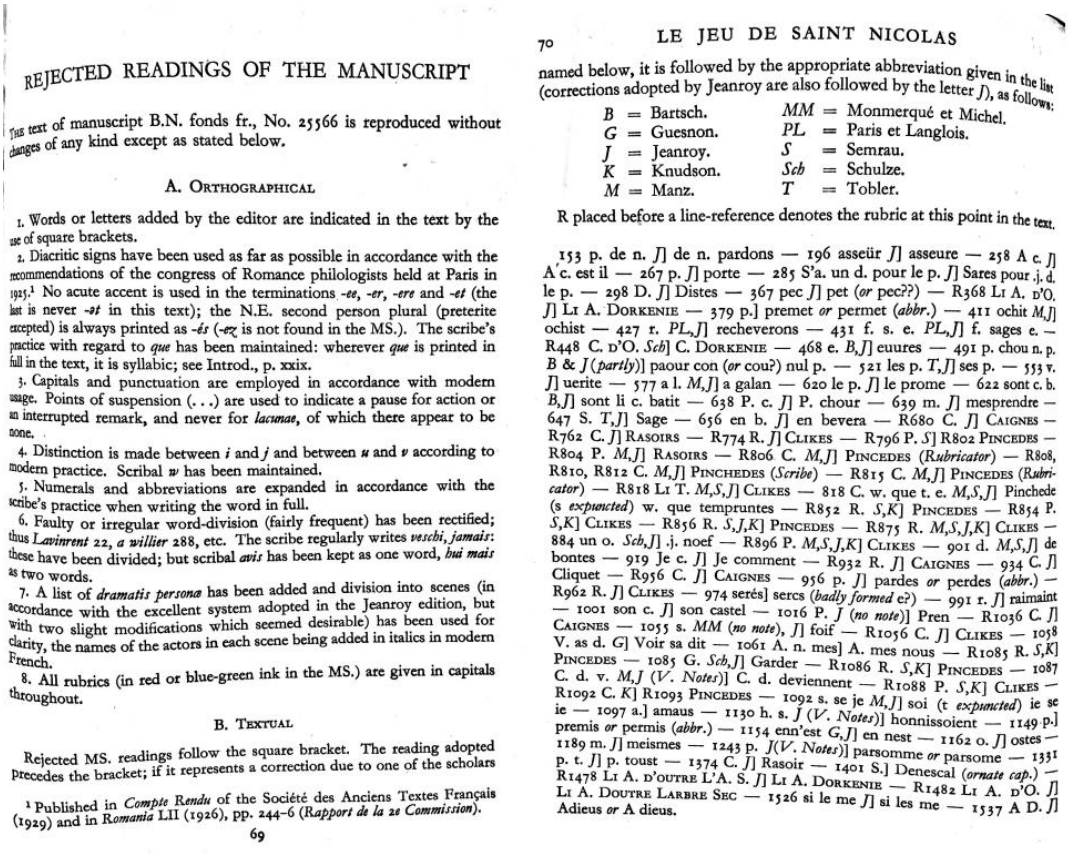
The editors posit specific principles regarding the dramatic nature and movement of Bodel's play and of the medieval theater. These principles are derived from each editor's imagining of the (original) performance and of the playwright. Warne proclaims that Bodel puts the spotlight on the characters; Henry, on their subtly organized movements from one space to another; and Dufournet, on the total freedom of creation. These different outlooks create different staging and performances. The conceptualization of what is Bodelian and of medieval theater goes through an understanding and an imagining of staging. In fact, the layout itself of the manuscript and of the printed editions tries to encompass and to suggest the stage. The immediate perception of this complex and profound relation between the text and the stage is embodied in the rubrics of the text. They designate the character who is speaking, they punctuate the movement of the text, and they free the play from the page to the stage. What do the medieval rubrics tell about the stage? How do the modern editors interpret them? And how do their treatments of the rubrics reflect their definition of medieval theater?

1. Listed Emended Rubrics

All of the selected modern editions list the emended rubrics among all the emendations, in a linear order[20]. All of these lists are introduced within the context of the *Jeu*'s editorial tradition, by codifying the name of the editors who introduce the different inherited changes or by generally referring to them. Warne presents both the emended

[20] Warne is the only one that gives a category ("orthographical" additions) to his introductory comments for the critical apparatus.

reading and the rejected reading[21] and "if it represents a correction due to one of the scholars named below, it is followed by the appropriate abbreviation given in the list" (W, 69-70). In fact, in W, all of the emended rubrics are borrowed from different scholars, mostly Jeanroy, but also Knudson, Manz, Semrau, and one emendation borrowed from Schulze. Warne often follows the choice where there is agreement between two or more scholars, the moments of agreement are always discussed in the notes.



REJECTED READINGS OF THE MANUSCRIPT

This text of manuscript B.N. fonds fr., No. 25566 is reproduced without changes of any kind except as stated below.

A. Orthographical

1. Words or letters added by the editor are indicated in the text by the use of square brackets.

2. Diacritic signs have been used as far as possible in accordance with the recommendations of the congress of Romance philologists held at Paris in 1925.[1] No acute accent is used in the terminations *-ee*, *-er*, *-ere* and *-et* (the last is never *-ət* in this text); the N.E. second person plural (preterite excepted) is always printed as *-és* (*-ez* is not found in the MS.). The scribe's practice with regard to *que* has been maintained: wherever *que* is printed in full in the text, it is syllabic; see Introd., p. xxix.

3. Capitals and punctuation are employed in accordance with modern usage. Points of suspension (. . .) are used to indicate a pause for action or an interrupted remark, and never for *lacunae*, of which there appear to be none.

4. Distinction is made between *i* and *j* and between *u* and *v* according to modern practice. Scribal *w* has been maintained.

5. Numerals and abbreviations are expanded in accordance with the scribe's practice when writing the word in full.

6. Faulty or irregular word-division (fairly frequent) has been rectified; thus *Lavinrent* 22, *a willier* 288, etc. The scribe regularly writes *veschi*, *jamais*: these have been divided; but scribal *avis* has been kept as one word, *hui mais* as two words.

7. A list of *dramatis personæ* has been added and division into scenes (in accordance with the excellent system adopted in the Jeanroy edition, but with two slight modifications which seemed desirable) has been used for clarity, the names of the actors in each scene being added in italics in modern French.

8. All rubrics (in red or blue-green ink in the MS.) are given in capitals throughout.

B. Textual

Rejected MS. readings follow the square bracket. The reading adopted precedes the bracket; if it represents a correction due to one of the scholars

[1] Published in *Compte Rendu* of the Société des Anciens Textes Français (1929) and in *Romania* LII (1926), pp. 244–6 (*Rapport de la 2e Commission*).

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70 LE JEU DE SAINT NICOLAS

named below, it is followed by the appropriate abbreviation given in the list (corrections adopted by Jeanroy are also followed by the letter *J*), as follows:

B	= Bartsch.	*MM*	= Monmerqué et Michel.
G	= Guesnon.	*PL*	= Paris et Langlois.
J	= Jeanroy.	*S*	= Semrau.
K	= Knudson.	*Scb*	= Schulze.
M	= Manz.	*T*	= Tobler.

R placed before a line-reference denotes the rubric at this point in the text.

153 p. de n. *J*] de n. pardons — 196 asseür *J*] asseure — 258 A c. *J*] A c. est il — 267 p. *J*] porte — 285 S'a. un d. pour le p. *J*] Sares pour .j. d. le p. — 298 D. *J*] Distes — 367 pec *J*] pet (*or* pec??) — R368 Li A. D'O. *J*] Li A. Dorkenie — 379 p.] premet *or* permet (*abbr.*) — 411 ochit *M,J*] ochist — 427 r. *PL,J*] recheverons — 431 f. s. e. *PL,J*] f. sages e. — R448 C. D'O. *Scb*] C. Dorkenie — 468 e. *B,J*] euures — 491 p. chou n. p. *B* & *J* (*partly*)] paour con (*or* cou?) nul p. — 521 les p. *T,J*] ses p. — 553 v. *J*] uerite — 577 a l. *M,J*] a galan — 620 le p. *J*] le prome — 622 sont c. b. *B,J*] sont li c. batit — 638 P. c. *J*] P. chour — 639 m. *J*] mesprendre — 647 S. *T,J*] Sage — 656 en b. *J*] en bevera — R680 C. *J*] Caignes — R762 C. *J*] Rasoirs — R774 R. *J*] Clikes — R796 P. *S*] R802 Pincedes — R804 P. *M,J*] Rasoirs — R806 C. *M,J*] Pincedes (*Rubricator*) — R808, R810, R812 C. *M,J*] Pinchedes (*Scribe*) — R815 C. *M,J*] Pincedes (*Rubricator*) — R818 Li T. *M,S,J*] Clikes — 818 C. w. que t. e. *M,S,J*] Pinchede (s *expuncted*) w. que tempruntes — R852 R. *S,K*] Pincedes — R854 P. *S,K*] Clikes — R856 R. *S,J,K*] Pincedes — R875 R. *M,S,J,K*] Clikes — 884 un o. *Scb,J*] .j. noef — R896 P. *M,S,J,K*] Clikes — 901 d. *M,S,J*] de bontes — 919 Je c. *J*] Je comment — R932 R. *J*] Caignes — 934 C. *J*] Cliquet — R956 C. *J*] Caignes — 956 p. *J*] pardes *or* perdes (*abbr.*) — R962 R. *J*] Clikes — 974 serés] sercs (*badly formed* e?) — 991 r. *J*] raimaint — 1001 son c. *J*] son castel — 1016 P. *J* (*no note*)] Pren — R1036 C. *J*] Caignes — 1055 s. *MM* (*no note*), *J*] foif — R1056 C. *J*] Clikes — 1058 V. as d. *G*] Voir sa dit — 1061 A. n. mes] A. mes nous — R1085 R. *S,K*] Pincedes — 1085 G. *Scb,J*] Garder — R1086 R. *S,K*] Pincedes — 1087 C. d. v. *M,J* (*V. Notes*)] C. d. deviennent — R1088 P. *S,K*] Clikes — R1092 C. *K*] R1093 Pincedes — 1092 s. se je *M,J*] soi (t *expuncted*) ie se ie — 1097 a.] amaus — 1130 h. s. *J* (*V. Notes*)] honnissoient — 1149 p.] premis *or* permis (*abbr.*) — 1154 enn'est *G,J*] en nest — 1162 o. *J*] ostes — 1189 m. *J*] meismes — 1243 p. *J*(*V. Notes*)] parsomme *or* parsome — 1331 p. t. *J*] p. toust — 1374 C. *J*] Rasoir — 1401 S.] Denescal (*ornate cap.*) — R1478 Li A. d'outre L'A. S. *J*] Li A. Dorkenie — R1482 Li A. D'O. *J*] Li A. Doutre Larbre Sec — 1526 si le me *J*] si les me — 1537 A D. *J*] Adieus *or* A dieus.

Figure 2.1: Emendations in W (69-70)

[21] "The reading adopted precedes the bracket" (W, 69)

Apparat critique

Toutes les abréviations ont été résolues, y compris *-x = -us*. Les chiffres sont transcrits en toutes lettres ; certains sont écrits en toutes lettres dans le ms (consulter, à ce sujet, le glossaire).

Le copiste du texte a été plus ou moins soigneux : il a exponctué certains caractères, pour corriger des erreurs qu'il a reconnues, et il distingue régulièrement *u* et *n*. Nous tenons compte de ses habitudes : il écrit une fois *com*, mais 10 fois *con* ; il écrit presque toujours *m* devant *p* et *b*, et nous transcrivons *mm*, lorsqu'une voyelle avec tilde précède un *m* ; les formes pleines correspondant à multum sont *mout*.

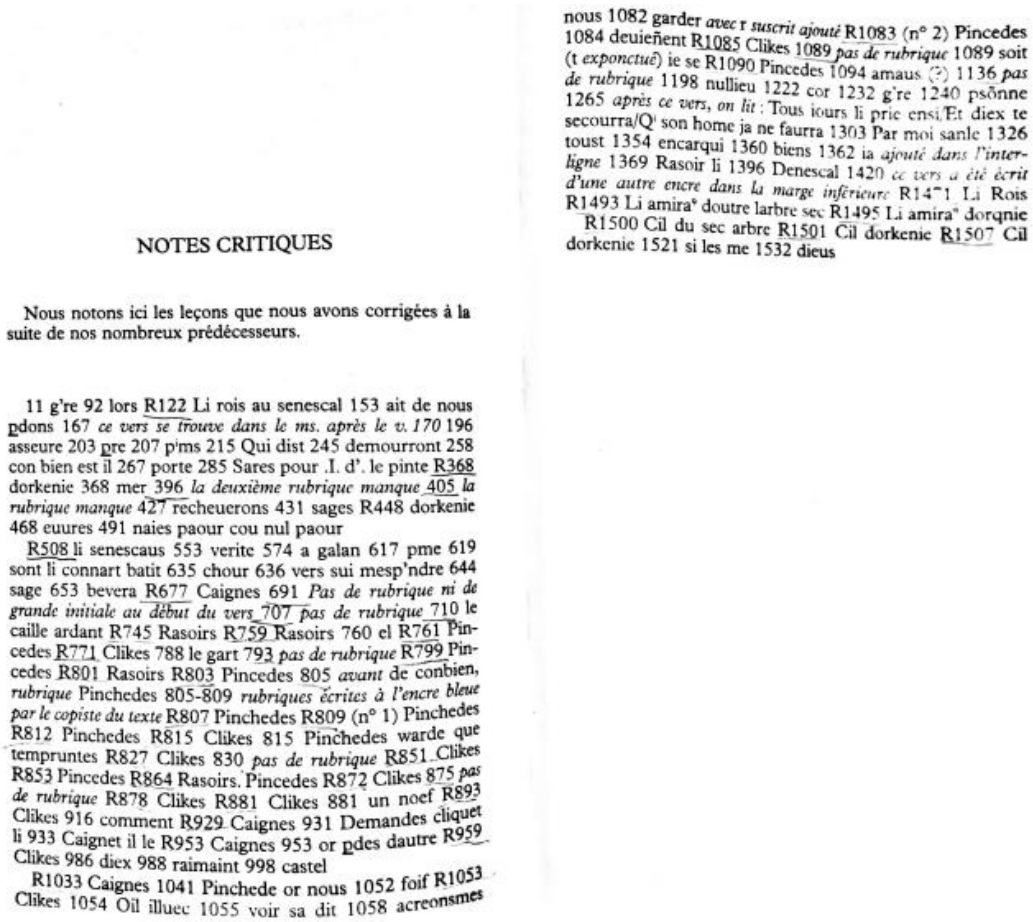
Nous imprimons *puisque* causal et *puis que* temporel.

Les graphies erronées ne sont pas corrigées, sauf, pour éviter une fâcheuse confusion de mots, aux vers 92, 986, 998, 1222, 1360, 1532.

Dans l'apparat critique ci-dessous figure, entre parenthèses, le nom du philologue qui, le premier, sauf erreur, a proposé une correction introduite dans notre texte. Pour les sigles et abréviations, voir, ci-dessus, *Bibliographie*, pp. 17 et ss.

Leçons du ms corrigées : 11 g're 92 lors (*corr. BF = Bibl. 3*) 122 *rubrique* Li R. au senescal (*corr. Rychner*) 153 ait de nous pdons (*corr. Manz*) 167-170 *ordre des vers dans le ms : 168, 169, 170, 167* (*corr. Reid*) 196 asseure (*corr. Manz*) 203 pre 207 p^{i}ms (*corr. BF*) 215 Qui dist (*corr. Jeanroy*) 245 demourront 258 con bien est il (*corr. Manz*) 267 porte (*corr. Jeanroy*) 285 Sares pour .I. d'. le pinte (*corr. Jeanroy*) 368 *rubrique* dorkenie (*corr. Manz*) 368 mer (*corr. Reid*) 396 *deuxième rubrique et* 405 *rubrique manquent* (*corr. Rychner*) 427 recheuerons (*corr. Paris-Langlois*) 431 sages (*corr. Paris-Langlois*) 448 *rubrique* dorkenie (*corr. Schulze*) 468 euures (*corr. Bartsch*) 491 naies paour cou nul paour (*corr. Bartsch*) 508 *rubrique* li senescaus (*corr. M. Pelan, cf. v. 454 et ss.*) 525 *signe ˜ à la fin du vers* 526 *commence par une grande capitale* 537 *signe ˜ à la fin du vers* 553 uerite (*corr. Manz*) 574 a galan (*corr BF*) 617 pme 619 sont li 9nart batit (*corr. Bartsch*) 635 chour (*corr. Manz*) 636 uers sui (*corr. BF*) mesp'ndre (*corr. BF*) 644 sage (*corr. A. Tobler, Mélanges...*, p. 50) 653 beuera (*corr. Manz*) 677 Caignes (*corr. BF*) 691 *pas de rubrique* (*corr. Manz*) *ni de grande initiale au début du vers* 707 *pas de rubrique* 710 le caille a. 745 *rubrique* Rasoirs 759 *rubrique* Rasoirs (*corr. Schulze*) 760 el (*corr. Manz*) 761 *rubrique* Pincedes (*corr. Reid*) 771 *rubrique* Clikes (*corr. Manz*) 788 le gart (*corr. Manz*) *en réalité, le copiste semble avoir écrit, peu nettement, d'ailleurs, un* r, *mais il l'a surmonté du signe diacritique du* i 793 *pas de rubrique* (*corr. Semrau*) 799 *rubrique* Pincedes (*corr. Semrau*) 801 *rubrique* Rasoirs (*corr. Manz*) 803 *rubrique* Pincedes (*corr. Manz*) 805 *avant* de conbien, *rubrique* Pinchedes (*corr. Manz*) — *A partir de ce vers jusqu'au vers* 809, *première réplique incluse, les rubriques ont été écrites par le copiste du texte et à l'encre bleue (voyez, d'ailleurs, la forme* Pinchedes) 807 *rubrique* Pinchedes (*corr. Manz*) 809 *première rubrique* Pinchedes (*corr. Manz*) 812 *rubrique* Pincedes (*corr. Manz*) 815 *rubrique* Clikes (*corr. Manz*) 815 Pinchedes warde que tempruntes (*corr. Manz*) 827 *rubrique* Clikes (*corr. Jeanroy*) 850 *pas de rubrique* 851 *rubrique* Clikes (*corr. Semrau*) 853 *rubrique* Pincedes 864 *rubrique* Rasoirs. Pincedes (*un trait rouge indique que cette seconde rubrique doit se placer entre* voir *et* aussi) 872 *rubrique* Clikes (*corr. Semrau*) 875 *pas de rubrique* (*corr. Warne*) 878 *rubrique* Clikes 881 *rubrique* Clikes 881 un noef (*corr. BF*) 893 *rubrique* Clikes (*corr. Schulze*) 916 9ment (*corr. Jeanroy, proposée avec point d'interrogation par Manz*) 929 *rubrique* Caignes (*corr. Manz*) 931 Demandes cliquet li (*corr. Manz*) 933 C. il le 953 *rubrique* Caignes (*corr. Manz*) 953 or ꝑdes dautre (*corr. BF*) 959 *rubrique* Clikes (*corr. Manz*) 986 diex (*corr. Jeanroy*) 988 raimaint (*corr. Manz*) 998 castel (*corr. Jeanroy*) 1033 *rubrique* Caignes (*corr. BF*) 1041 Pinchede or nous (*corr. Schulze*) 1052 *foif* (*corr. BF*) 1053 *rubrique* Clikes (*corr. Schulze*) 1054 Oil illuec 1055 voir sa dit (*corr. Guesnon, Le Moyen Age, XXI (1908)*, 82) 1058 acreonsmes nous (*corr. Manz*) 1082 garder, *avec* r *suscrit ajouté* (*corr. Schulze*) 1083 *seconde rubrique* Pincedes (*corr. Semrau*) 1083 *après* kia, *signe diacritique correspondant sans doute à notre point d'exclamation* 1084 *deuiẽnent* (*corr. Manz*) 1085 *rubrique* Clikes (*corr. Semrau*) 1089 *pas de rubrique* (*corr. Knudson*) 1089 soit (*avec un* t *qui paraît exponctué*) ie se (*corr. Manz pour* soie, *et Jeanroy*) 1090 *rubrique* Pincedes (*corr. Knudson*) 1094 amaus (*Monmerqué-Michel et Manz lisaient* amaus) 1136 *pas de rubrique* (*corr. Semrau*) 1198 nullieu (*corr. Manz*) 1222 cor (*corr. Manz*) 1232 g're 1240 *le ms porte* ꝑsõne, *avec le quatrième jambage légèrement exponctué et le tilde gratté ; il faut donc lire* parsome 1265 *après ce vers* Tous iours li prie ensi Et diex te secourra Q^{i} son home ia ne faurra (*corr. Manz*) 1303 Par moi sanle (*corr. Schulze*) 1326 toust (*corr. BF*) 1354 encarqui (*corr. Jeanroy*) 1360 biens (*corr. Jeanroy*) 1362 ia *a été ajouté dans l'interligne* 1369 Rasoir li (*corr. Manz*) 1396 Denescal (*grande capitale*) 1420 *est écrit dans la marge inférieure, d'une autre encre, et un signe de renvoi a été placé dans le texte, après le vers 1419* 1471 *rubrique* Li Rois (*corr. Reid ; voir la note*) 1493 *rubrique* Li amira ꝰ doutre larbre sec (*corr. BF*) 1495 *rubrique* Li amira ꝰ dorq̃nie (*corr. Monmerqué-Michel*) 1500 *rubrique* Cil du sec arbre 1501 *rubrique* Cil dorkenie (*corr. BF* Cil d'outre l'arbre sec, *et Manz* Cil du sec arbre) 1507 *rubrique* Cil dorkenie (*idem*) 1521 si les me (*corr. Manz*) 1532 dieus (*corr. BF*).

Figure 2.2: Emendations in H1 (258-260)



NOTES CRITIQUES

Nous notons ici les leçons que nous avons corrigées à la suite de nos nombreux prédécesseurs.

11 g're 92 lors R122 Li rois au senescal 153 ait de nous pdons 167 *ce vers se trouve dans le ms. après le v. 170* 196 asseure 203 pre 207 p'ms 215 Qui dist 245 demourront 258 con bien est il 267 porte 285 Sares pour .I. d'. le pinte R368 dorkenie 368 mer 396 *la deuxième rubrique manque* 405 *la rubrique manque* 427 recheuerons 431 sages R448 dorkenie 468 euures 491 naies paour cou nul paour

R508 li senescaus 553 verite 574 a galan 617 pme 619 sont li connart batit 635 chour 636 vers sui mesp'ndre 644 sage 653 bevera R677 Caignes 691 *Pas de rubrique ni de grande initiale au début du vers* 707 *pas de rubrique* 710 le caille ardant R745 Rasoirs R759 Rasoirs 760 el R761 Pincedes R771 Clikes 788 le gart 793 *pas de rubrique* R799 Pincedes R801 Rasoirs R803 Pincedes 805 *avant* de conbien, *rubrique* Pinchedes 805-809 *rubriques écrites à l'encre bleue par le copiste du texte* R807 Pinchedes R809 (n° 1) Pinchedes R812 Pinchedes R815 Clikes 815 Pinchedes warde que tempruntes R827 Clikes 830 *pas de rubrique* R851 Clikes R853 Pincedes R864 Rasoirs. Pincedes R872 Clikes 875 *pas de rubrique* R878 Clikes R881 Clikes 881 un noef R893 Clikes 916 comment R929 Caignes 931 Demandes cliquet li 933 Caignet il le R953 Caignes 953 or pdes dautre R959 Clikes 986 diex 988 raimaint 998 castel

R1033 Caignes 1041 Pinchede or nous 1052 foif R1053 Clikes 1054 Oil illuec 1055 voir sa dit 1058 acreonsmes nous 1082 garder *avec* r *suscrit ajouté* R1083 (n° 2) Pincedes 1084 deuieñent R1085 Clikes 1089 *pas de rubrique* 1089 soit (t *exponctué*) ie se R1090 Pincedes 1094 amaus (?) 1136 *pas de rubrique* 1198 nullieu 1222 cor 1232 g're 1240 psõnne 1265 *après ce vers, on lit* : Tous iours li prie ensi/Et diex te secourra/Q' son home ja ne faurra 1303 Par moi sanle 1326 toust 1354 encarqui 1360 biens 1362 ia *ajouté dans l'interligne* 1369 Rasoir li 1396 Denescal 1420 *ce vers a été écrit d'une autre encre dans la marge inférieure* R1471 Li Rois R1493 Li amira° doutre larbre sec R1495 Li amira° dorqnie R1500 Cil du sec arbre R1501 Cil dorkenie R1507 Cil dorkenie 1521 si les me 1532 dieus

Figure 2.3: Emendations in D (222-223)

Henry also includes "entre parenthèses, le nom du philologue qui, le premier, sauf erreur, a proposé une correction introduite dans notre texte" (H1, 258). He does not follow in Warne's steps by tracking an editorial concord, he only tracks down the first occurrence of the chosen emendations. He himself also introduces seven emendations of his own hand. Henry often discuss different scholars' take on a specific rubric, be they editors or critics of the *Jeu*. Dufournet, in contrast, only notes that he lists, in his "notes critiques", "les leçons que nous avons corrigées à la suite de nos nombreux prédecesseurs" (D, 223), but he does not give any precision about who used any specific

emendations. In fact, Dufournet does not declare the source(s) of the emendations he introduced to the rubrics or to the text.

The notes in W, H1, and H2 discuss the editorial tradition suggested by the list of emendations more in depth but not fully, because some emendations are not accompanied by a note. Moreover, some notes explain why a particular rubric is maintained. The notes themselves offer a range of comments: Warne's notes could be classified in four categories: his comments are based on scholarly authority, on the plot, on textual proof, or on common sense, while Henry's comments are almost every time more thorough and offer further details on his reasoning or the quoted scholar's reasoning. Dufournet, in contrast, is extremely laconic, as he only references the first rubric of *some* characters and suggests further reading, either from his paratextual material or from other scholars' works. While some textual emendations are discussed in his notes, no emendation of rubric is explained in these notes. Is he suggesting that these emendations are now unanimously accepted? Or is he reducing the critical apparatus, because his main targeted readership is not advanced scholars? Or maybe Duval was correct in stating that even if French editors present what they call a new edition, they are only reproducing previous editions? Or, at least, they refuse to participate in the broader discussion?

The emendations consist in added or corrected rubrics. They claim a problem within the manuscript that needs to be resolved. In addition, some maintained rubrics are accompanied by a justification to show how they fit within the perception of medieval theatre. The manuscript contains mostly nominative rubrics in addition to a couple of narrative directions, and to the opening and closing rubrics. A nominative stage direction essentially posits the dialogical nature of drama: a line is spoken by a specific character

who is addressing a particular body. The appearance of a nominative rubric therefore identifies either a change in speaker or a change in addressee, (either in person or in tone). How then would one go about identifying problematic or questionable rubrics?

2. Nominative Rubrics

There are some visual cues for potential problems: the layout registers some changes or disruptions. The handwriting changes, the ink is of a different color, the rubric does not have a designated space and is inserted in between lines. The different modern editors highlight some of these moments in their introductions, especially in their presentation of the manuscript, but also in the critical apparatus itself. For example, the change in ink in F. 75v interested all editors. Warne follows each listed emendation by distinguishing the hand of the "scribe" and that of the "rubricator" (See R806 to R815 in Figure 2.1), the same moment is commented on by Henry in these terms: "à partir de ce vers [v.805] jusqu'au vers 809, première réplique incluse, les rubriques ont été écrites par le copiste du texte et à l'encre bleue" (H1, 259; H2, 140); Dufournet summarizes Henry's description (See R805-809 in Figure 2.3).

The change in ink and in handwriting appears in three successive folios, 75r, 75v, and 76r:

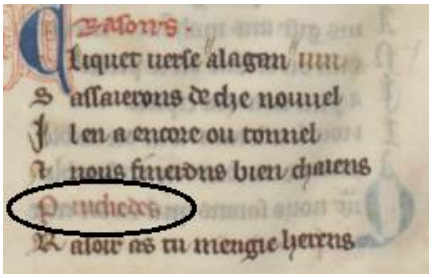


Figure 2.4: Folio 75r – End of second column

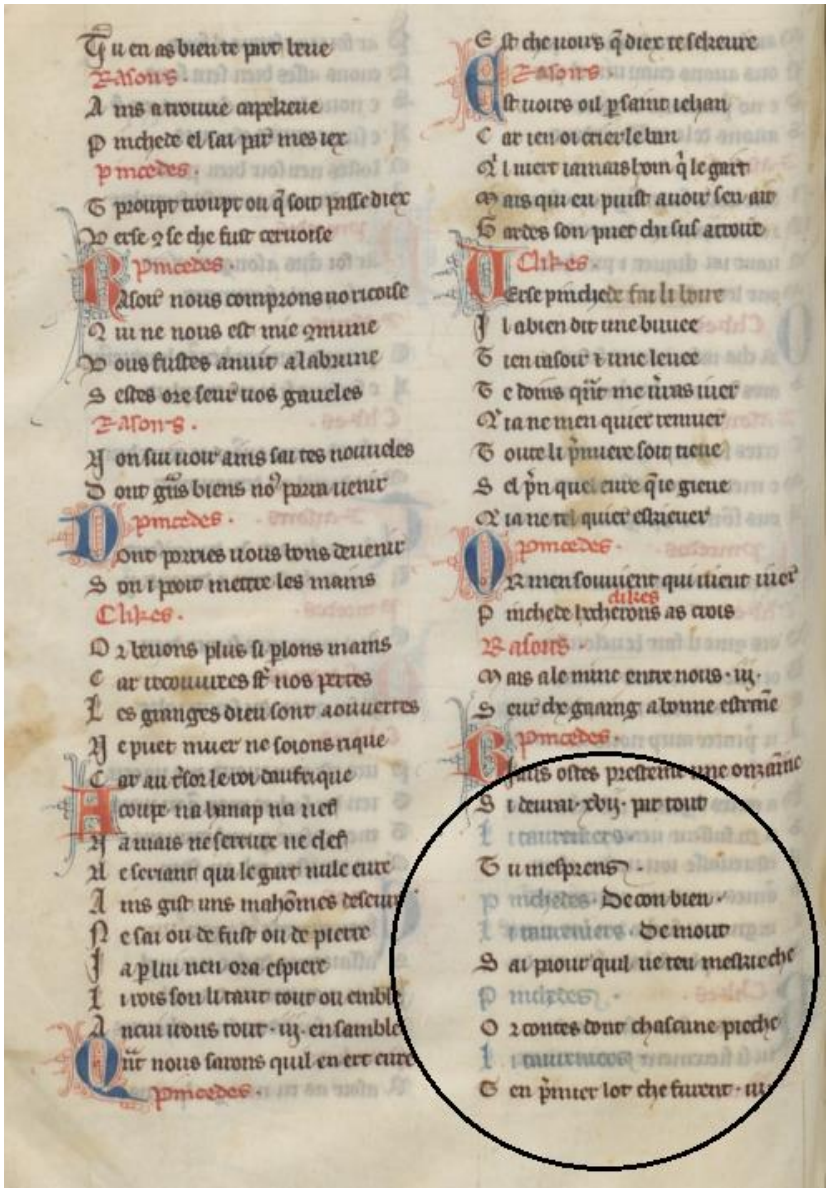


Figure 2.5: Folio 75v – Full page

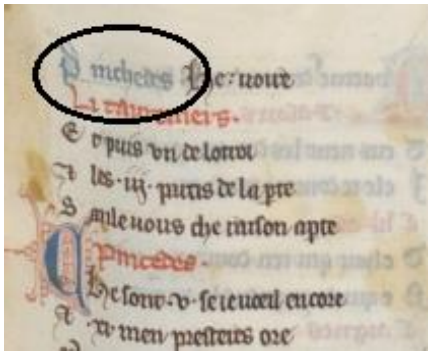


Figure 2.6: Folio 76r – Start of the first column

The first change in ink is overlooked: it is not questioned and is accepted. One could infer from comments on the next folio that it is the copyist's handwriting because in the next folio, it is clearly identified by all scholars as his and Henry also suggests that the spelling *Pinchedes* could be idiosyncratic to the copyist. The four modern editions keep the character attribution and the spelling (W, R760; H1, H2, and D, R757).

Five rubrics are written in a blue ink, instead of red ink, on folio 75v, immediately followed on folio 76r, by one rubric in the same ink and handwriting. All scholars agree to also attribute these rubrics to the copyist, instead of the rubricator. Warne explains that "the debt is not Pincedé's (MS. Reading), but Cliquet's" (W, 81), and Henry approves by stating that "le contenu des répliques et la situation montrent immédiatement que les rubriques données par le manuscrit sont fautives" (H1, 303). Therefore *Pincedes* is every time replaced by *Clikes* in all the selected modern editions[22]; Henry goes even further and explains that "c'est l'erreur du copiste au v.815 qui a dû induire en erreur le rubricateur" (H1, 303). On one hand, he refers to other errors in attribution in this folio and on the other hand, he refers to the usual sequence of writing in medieval manuscripts, first the line initials, then the text and finally the rubrics. Despite the insistence of scholars on the carefulness of the scribe and the carelessness of the rubricator, the manuscript production's process seems to suggest that some errors in rubrication find their source in scribal errors.

Moreover, if one examines the rest of these manuscript pages, one can notice that many other questions are raised and many other corrections were introduced (except for

[22] This correction was first introduced by Manz, according to Henry, and reproduced by Jeanroy, according to Warne.

folio 75r where no rubric is emended). Folio 75v contains another visual clue: no space is designated for one rubric, so it is written in between lines (Figure 2.7). All modern editors concur with the medieval editor's addition here and keep this attribution, but this moment is never reflected on to argue for an editorial acuteness to the rubricator. The medieval rubricator shows again his editorial sensitivity when, under a rubric containing two characters' names, he signifies a distribution between characters using a small red arc to mark the end of the first character's intervention.

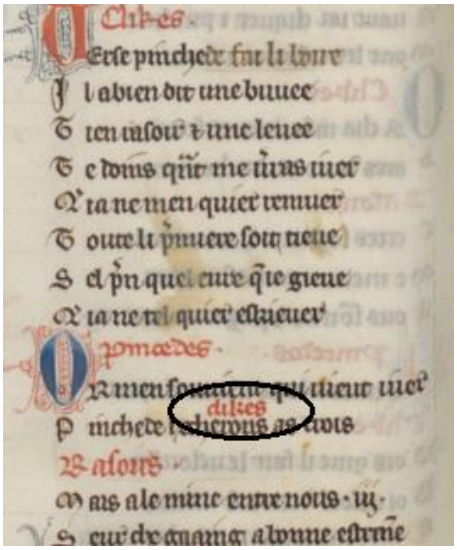


Figure 2.7: Folio 75v – Detail from the second column

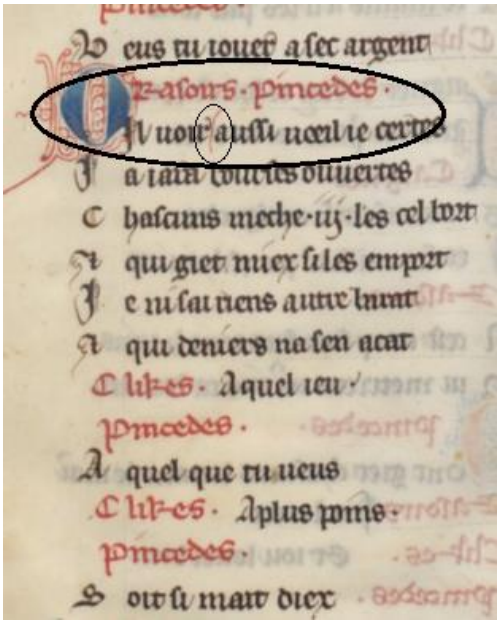


Figure 2.8: Folio 76v – Detail from the first column

In editing F. 75v (Table 2.1), Warne not only corrects characters' attribution for numerous rubrics, he also redistributes the lines. He does not comment on the reasons behind the first emendations, but he takes care to explain the last three changes. He argues that the fact "Pincedé said 796-802 is proved by 1142-3", that "there seems no reason why Rasoir (MS. reading) should answer a question addressed to Pincedé here", and that "the debt is not Pincedé's (MS. reading), but Cliquet's" (W, 81). Henry approves of the line distribution, but contests some characters' attribution. Henry does not think that Pincedé could pronounce lines 761-762; he argues that

> "ce n'est pas du tout dans ce ton que parle Pincedé (cf. 793-740 et 757-758) et il n'y a vraiment, s'ils sont tous dans la bouche de Pincedé, aucun lien entre les vers 761-762 et 763 et ss. Au contraire, les vers 761-762 sont exactement dans l'esprit et la manière de Rasoir : lui seul peut avoir, à ce moment, cette assurance (cf. 741-742, où se retrouve la même interjection)" (300).

In addition, he refers to the authority of T. B. W. Reid, who first introduced this reading. Henry explicitly approves Warne's redistribution of the lines 791-800, but he offers further details to prove the limits of Pincedé's intervention. The reference to lines 1139-1140 constitutes a good proof, but "la présence de *tien* au v. 793 (Pincedé execute l'ordre amical que vient de lui donner Cliquet)" (302) better defines the start of Pincedé's reply, and Cliquet's question in line 800 shows that Pincedé stops speaking in line 799. Dufournet faithfully follows Henry, without really explaining his reasoning.

Table 2.1: Lines' Attribution and Distribution in Folio 75v[23]

<table>
<tr><th>Ms</th><th>W</th><th>H1, H2, and D</th></tr>
<tr><td>Rasoirs: 2 lines</td><td colspan="2">Clikes: 2 lines (R762 / R759)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Pincedes: 2 lines</td><td>Rasoirs: 2 lines (R761)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Pincedes: 4 lines</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Rasoirs: 2 lines</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Pincedes: 2 lines</td></tr>
<tr><td>Clikes: 14 lines</td><td colspan="2">Rasoirs: 14 lines (R774 / R771)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Pincedes: 1 line</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Rasoirs: 5 lines</td></tr>
<tr><td>Clikes: 8 lines</td><td colspan="2">Clikes: 2 lines</td></tr>
<tr><td>Pincedes: 1 line</td><td colspan="2">Pincedes: 7 lines (R796 / R793)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Clikes: 1 line</td></tr>
<tr><td>Rasoirs: 2 lines</td><td colspan="2">Pincedes: 2 lines (R804 / R801)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Pincedes: 2 lines</td><td colspan="2">Clikes: 2 lines (R806 / R803)</td></tr>
</table>

[23] Except the end of the folio where the rubrics are written in different ink and that we comment on earlier.

Table 2.2: Lines' Attribution in Folio 76r

MS	**W**	**H1, H2, and D**
Pinchedes : half a line	Clikes: half a line (R812 / R809)	
Li Taverniers: 3 lines		
Pincedes: 3 lines	Clikes: 3 lines (R815 / R812)	
Clikes: 6 lines	Li Taverniers: 6 lines (R818 / R815)	
Pincedes: 4 lines		
Clikes: half a line		
Pincedes: 1.5 line		
Clikes: 2 lines	Clikes: 1 line [Pincedes]: 1 line (R831)	Rasoirs: 2 lines (R827)
Clikes: 6 lines		
Caignes: 1 line		
Pincedes: 3 lines		
Rasoirs: 2 lines		
Clikes: 2 lines		
Caignes: 2 lines		
Rasoirs: 2 lines		
Pincedes: 1 line		
Rasoirs: half a line		
Clikes: half a line		

MS	W	H1, H2, and D
Pincedes: 2 lines	Rasoirs: 2 lines (R852)	Pincedes: 1 line (R849) Rasoirs: 1 line (R850)
Clikes: 2 lines	Pincedes: 2 lines (R854 / R851)	
Pincedes: 4 lines	Rasoirs: 4 lines (R856)	Clikes: 4 lines (R853)

In editing F. 76r (Table 2.2), all modern editors continue substituting *Clikes* for *Pincedes* until R815 (W) or R809 (H1, H2, and D). Because of the extreme faultiness of the previous attribution, the next rubric is also corrected and attributed correctly to *li taverniers*, according to all of the selected modern editors and to Manz, Semrau, and Jeanroy (W, 70). Line 831 (W) or line 828 (H1, H2, and D) contains an apostrophe to Cliquet, which means that he himself "could hardly have spoken this line" (W, 82). Warne notes that some scholars have attributed lines 830-831 to a different character than Cliquet; he nevertheless prefers dividing these two lines. The first one is still spoken by *Clickes*, while the second one is attributed to *Pincede*, because "Cliquet answered Pincedé in 830 (MS. Reading), presumably alluding to a time when he lost heavily with Pincedé's dice; if so, it seems logical for Pincedé to reply" (W, 82). The caution inhabiting this note is also embodied through the brackets framing Pincedé's name within the body of the text. Henry disagrees with this division, because he does not perceive "la portée d'une telle remarque dans la bouche de Pincedé" (H1, 305) and prefers Jeanroy's solution of attributing the two lines to Rasoirs.

For his editing of the end of this folio, Warne offers no explanation, except a reference to previous scholars' work, specifically Semrau and Knudson. Henry again

goes into more details in discussing the attribution of these final lines of the folio. First, he insists on keeping the manuscript rubric for the line 849, because "Pincedé reprend, en insistant, ce qu'il a dit au v. 847" (H1, 306). Second, he cautiously agrees with Warne's attribution of line 850 to Rasoirs, because Rasoirs "joue le premier" (H1, 306). The sequence of this first round of the dice game is important to Henry's reasoning, because he summarizes it at the end of his note on "849 et ss." and it explains also his attribution of R853 to Cliquet, because he is "le dernier à jouer" (H1, 307).

A discrepancy in the position of the rubrics visually marks a potential problem: one rubric is inserted between two lines to correct an omission (Figure 2.7), one rubric is placed on the same line as its precedent (Figure 2.8), and finally four rubrics are placed on the right of a column (Figures 2.9-2.11). The editors do not refer to these divergences, their occurrence seem to cause them and any potential reader to examine the folios where they appear more closely.

In editing folio 76v (Table 2.3), Warne intervenes only at two moments. First, he replaces, on one hand, *Clikes* with *Rasoirs*, because "Cliquet throws only after 900" (W, 83). Second, he attributes four lines to *Pincedes* (an added rubric to 878-879 and an emended rubric to 896-897), because "Pincedé is the only thief who shows any consideration for Caignet" (W, 83). In contrast, Henry intervenes multiple times to emend this folio's rubrics. On one hand, his first intervention is one of his original emendations, which he explains in detail by referring to previous exchanges and to elements of characterization:

> "Pincedé ne peut pas dire *Aussi voeil je* (865), après avoir fait lui-même la proposition (863). D'autre part, c'est à Cliquet, qui vient de se moquer de

> lui (861-862) qu'il s'adresse, avec l'espoir de se venger : *Oïl, voir* est donc dit par Cliquet. Et comme il faut aussi l'accord de Rasoir, celui-ci intervient, et bien dans sa manière catégorique (comp., par ex., 893-840) ; on ne comprendrait pas une telle assurance chez Pincedé, qui vient justement de perdre" (H1, 308).

On the other hand, he agrees with Warne's emendations, but instead of referring to a character's nature, he bases his reasoning on an analysis of the play's plot: "Rasoir joue le premier" (H1, 309) and Pincedé. Moreover, the plot, and specially the sequence of the dice game, constitutes the heart of his argument: "Pincedé va jouer le second (il vérifie en ramassant les dés) et c'est à celui qui va jouer que s'adresse nécessairement Rasoir, aux vers 879-880" (H1, 309 and 310). Again, Dufournet follows Henry faithfully.

Table 2.3: Lines' Attribution in Folio 76v

<table>
<tr><th>MS</th><th>W</th><th>H1, H2, and D</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Pincedes: 1 line</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Rasoirs: 1 line</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Clikes: 2 lines</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Pincedes: 1 line</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">Rasoirs: part of a line
Pincedes: 5 lines and one part of a line</td><td>Clikes: part of a line (R864–1)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Rasoirs: rest of the line and 5 lines (R864 – 2)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Clikes: part of a line</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Pincedes: rest of the line</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Clikes: part of a line</td></tr>
</table>

MS	W	H1, H2, and D
Pincedes: rest of the line		
Clikes: 1 line	Rasoirs: 1 line (R875)	Rasoirs: 1 line (R872)
Caignes: 4 lines	Caignes: 2 lines [Pincedes]: 2 lines (R878 / R875)	
Rasoirs: 1 line		
Clikes: 1 line		Pincedes: 1 line (R878)
Rasoirs: 2 lines		
Clikes: 2 lines		Pincedes: 2 lines (R881)
Caignes: 4 lines		
Clikes: 2 lines		
Caignes: 4 lines		
Clikes: 2 lines	Pincedes: 2 lines (R896)	Pincedes: 2 lines (R893)
Rasoirs: 1 line		
Clikes: 3 lines		
Pincedes: 2 lines		
Clikes: 1 line		

The second type of special layout is the placement of the rubric on the right of a column. This occurs four times in the manuscript. The modern editors do not explicitly reflect on it, but they implicitly raise and answer the same main question: does the rubrication on the right mean that the character starts speaking at the same line, or at the next line, where the rubric appears? All editors answer this question in the same practical

manner: the speeches of the *preecieres* in F. 68r and *Pincedes* in F. 79r begin at the start of the line where the rubric appears and continue in the next line. In contrast, the *taverniers* in F. 70v and *Rasoirs* in F. 79r start speaking from the following line to the rubrics.

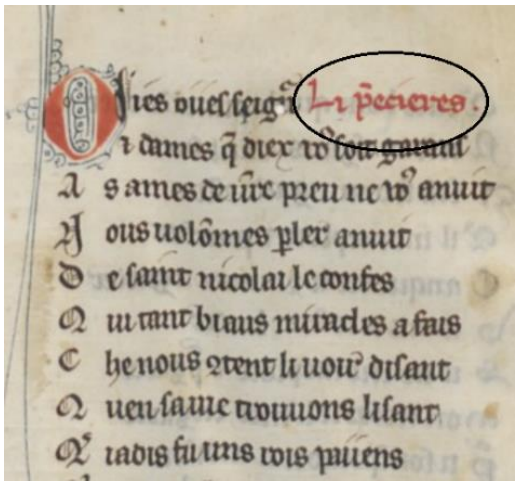


Figure 2.9: Detail from Folio 68r

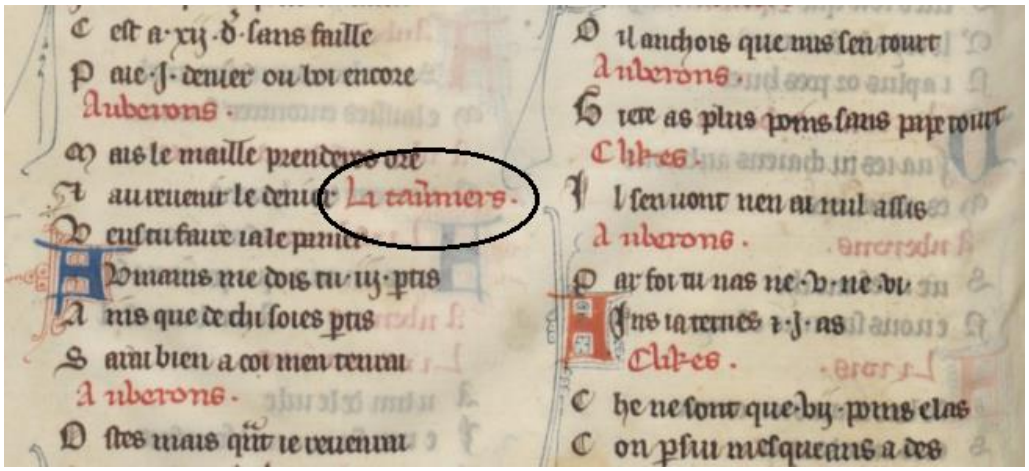


Figure 2.10: Detail from Folio 70v

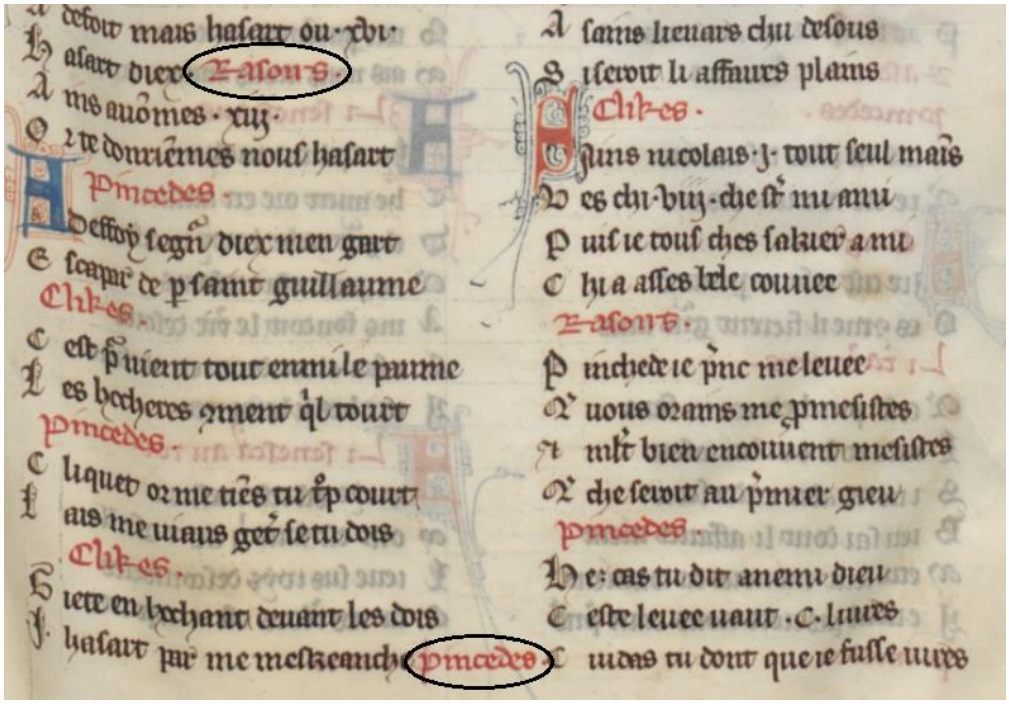


Figure 2.11: Detail from Folio 79r

While the line attribution between these folio pages and the modern editions is more consistent than the previous group of pages, there are still a couple of differing readings between the medieval editors and the modern editors. The modern editors identify an omission in the medieval manuscript and correct it (Table 2.4). Warne only notes that the manuscript attribution is "obviously impossible" (W, 88) and refers his reader to Semrau's and Jeanroy's works. Henry again agrees but goes into further detail by declaring that "la correction de Semrau, introduisant Pincedes, doit être acceptée sans hésitation, puisque Pincedé est vainqueur" (H1, 330) and Dufournet acquiesces. Another notable difference between the medieval reading and the modern readings consists in the layout: the modern editions reproduce separately the two opening octosyllabic lines

spoken by the *preecieres*, however the meter choices will be discussed further in this work.

Table 2.4: Lines' Attribution at the end of Folio 79r

MS	**W**	**H1, H2, and D**
Clikes: 4 lines	Clikes: 1 line [Pincedes]: 3 lines (R1139)	Clikes: 1 line Pincedes: 3 lines (R1136)
Rasoirs: 4 lines		
Pincedes: 4 lines		

A second category of cues for potential problems consists in the content of these rubrics: is there a stylistic effect behind the repetition of the character's name for successive lines? Is the speaker addressing two different characters or is the locutor speaking in different tones? Or does the repetition denote a scribe error? The manuscript offers five occurrences where the nominative rubrics suggest that the same character speaks successively.

First, *li rois* speaks twice in F. 69r and in F. 69v: the manuscript specifies the addressee, the Seneschal, only for the first reply of the King. The apostrophes within the King's speech suggest different addressees: the modern editors isolate the first poetic line in this speech (l. 164) as spoken to the Seneschal then the rest of the speech is addressed to *Tervagan* (l. 165-182), before the second rubric marks the return of an exchange between the King and his Seneschal. Warne denotes a pause by adding suspension points "whilst the King and the Seneschal move towards Tervagan" (W, 72) and identifies the

addressees between brackets: “[a Tervagan]” (R165) and “Li Rois [au Senescal]” (R183). Henry only explains that “la nouvelle rubrique indique le changement d’interlocuteur” (H1, 267). In H1, the pause and change of addressees between l. 164 and l. 165 is denoted by a blank space[24] in the old French text and explained by an added stage direction in the modern French translation[25]. In H2, Henry only inserts a spatial indication, “près de la statue de Tervagan” (72), and also keeps the second rubric to indicate the change in interlocutors. In contrast, Dufournet maintains the manuscript rubrication and only inserts blank spaces in the old French text and in the modern French translation.

Second, the King rubric is again repeated for successive replies on F. 71v; this same partitioning is maintained in all modern editions, except in the modern French translation in H1 where Henry combines both parts in one reply. According to Henry, the repetition does not signify a change in addressees, but “la reprise […] insiste sur un tournant important de l’action” or it might even be “une nouvelle erreur du rubricateur” (H1, 279). Two successive rubrics also designate the King in F. 82r[26]. These medieval rubrications are again maintained by the modern editors, with some additions: Warne specifies the addressee of the second part of the King's speech and signals his intervention by brackets, “li rois [au senescal]” (R1440). Henry reproduces this addition only in the modern French translation in H1. The old French text in H1, H2 and D reproduces faithfully the medieval rubrications, repeating “li rois” twice, explaining in the notes that “[la] rubrique [est] reprise pour souligner le changement d’interlocuteur”

[24] The blank space is repeated in the King’s speech to Tervagan, in H1 and H2, maybe to suggest pauses when the King waits for an answer which never comes.
[25] “Le roi et le sénéchal s’approchent de la statue de Tervagan et le roi dit” (133)
[26] This folio also contains a correction by the scribe: he omitted a line that he adds using the same sign to show its place in the King’s speech and to introduce the missing line at the bottom of the page.

(H1, 343). Finally, *Pincedes* receives two successive rubrics in F. 75v, then at the end of F. 76r and beginning of F. 76v. On one hand, while Warne repeats *Pincedes* in R764 and R766 to "impl[y] a pause whilst the wine is being poured out" (W, 81), Henry and Dufournet, as detailed earlier, interpret this repetition as an error and attribute the first part to a different character. On the other hand, because the second occurrence happens after a moment of multiple errors (F. 75v), all editors reject the first attribution to *Pincedes*: Warne corrects it to *Rasoirs*, whereas Henry and Dufournet substitute it by *Clikes*.

These repetitions, even if they are mostly maintained in the modern editions, catch readers' attention and lead them to examine more carefully the pages where they occur[27]. In F. 69r and F69v, the line attribution is consistent between medieval and modern editions, except for the second rubric of the play where the King addresses his Seneschal, according to MS and W, while he speaks to Auberon in H1, H2 and D. None of the editors explains his choice; it seems however that the more recent editions prefer starting with an exchange between only Auberon and his King, before the King introduces new characters by speaking to them, Tervagan, and then the Seneschal. In F. 71v, all modern editors correct the medieval reading "li amiraus dorkenie" to "li amiraus d'oliferne" (R368), because the King's question (l. 368: "Et don't ies tu?") shows a change in addressees, so as Warne says either "the MS reading ORKENIE is wrong, or […] R362 [, Orkenie again,] is wrong" (W, 75). But neither Henry nor Dufournet explain their agreement.

[27] The folios where Pincedes' repetitions occur are examined earlier in this work.

This example of diverging editing effects the general reading of the play. On one hand, Auberon enters the stage while the King and the Seneschal are present. He immediately informs the King of the Christians' attack, however the King does not answer him, he effectively delays his answer until he chooses a plan of action and can thus send Auberon to the Emirs. In this case, Auberon is only introduced as a *Courlius*, he is only a transmitter at the beginning of the play, which could be corroborated by his final exit from the stage after he returns to announce the success of his mission and the arrival of the Emirs. On the other hand, if there is a short exchange between Auberon and his King, the presence of the Seneschal on stage from the beginning becomes ambiguous. First, the Seneschal could be present at Auberon's entrance and maybe suggest a potential impotence of the King: at the start, the Sarasin King is unable to make a decision without his advisor, but, as he begins interacting with the *preudom* and believing in Saint Nicolas and the Christian God, he gains agency little by little and can be found on stage without his court or taking immediate action while in the company of his court. Second, the Seneschal could enter before the King addresses him and interrupts the King's threat against Tervagan. This second interpretation would insist on the immobility of the King. I would in this case follow Henry's direction of dividing the stage in four *mansions* and have the King be present at all time in the Palace's space to highlight even more his physical immobility against the movements of the other characters and to contrast with the King's spiritual evolution.

A third and final category of emendations consists of moments where the manuscript does not hint toward any potential problem, but where the modern editors seem to apply their careful reading of the text, and specifically their understanding of the

plot and its characterizations, to direct their editorial choices. Moreover, these moments present a unanimous agreement between the modern editors. In fact, if they are associated with a note, all these emendations are explained by logical references to the plot. For example, the folio 77v seems devoid of any discrepancy, however all modern editors introduce a change in the first rubric of the folio, by referring the plot. Warne explains that "the MS. reading (CAIGNES) is impossible in the view of *nous* in 961. Caignet did not join in the theft" (84). Henry reproduces the same reasoning, while Dufournet offers no explanation (Table 2.5). While the modern editors try to reconstruct what they believe is the logic of the narrative of Bodel's play, are the scribe's attributions completely absurd or could their sequence form meaning and constitute another logic?[28]

Table 2.5: Transcription of Cliquet's Lines (W: 956-961; H1, H2, and D: 953-958)

Clikès

Segneur, or parlès d'autre afaire,
Si que chaiens chascuns s'aquit.
Il est mout passé de le nuit
S'est bien tans d'aller a la brune,
Car esconsee est ja li lune
Et chi ne gaaignons nous rien.

[28] As analyzing these emendations would ask for a more literary interpretation, I believe I would leave it for another project.

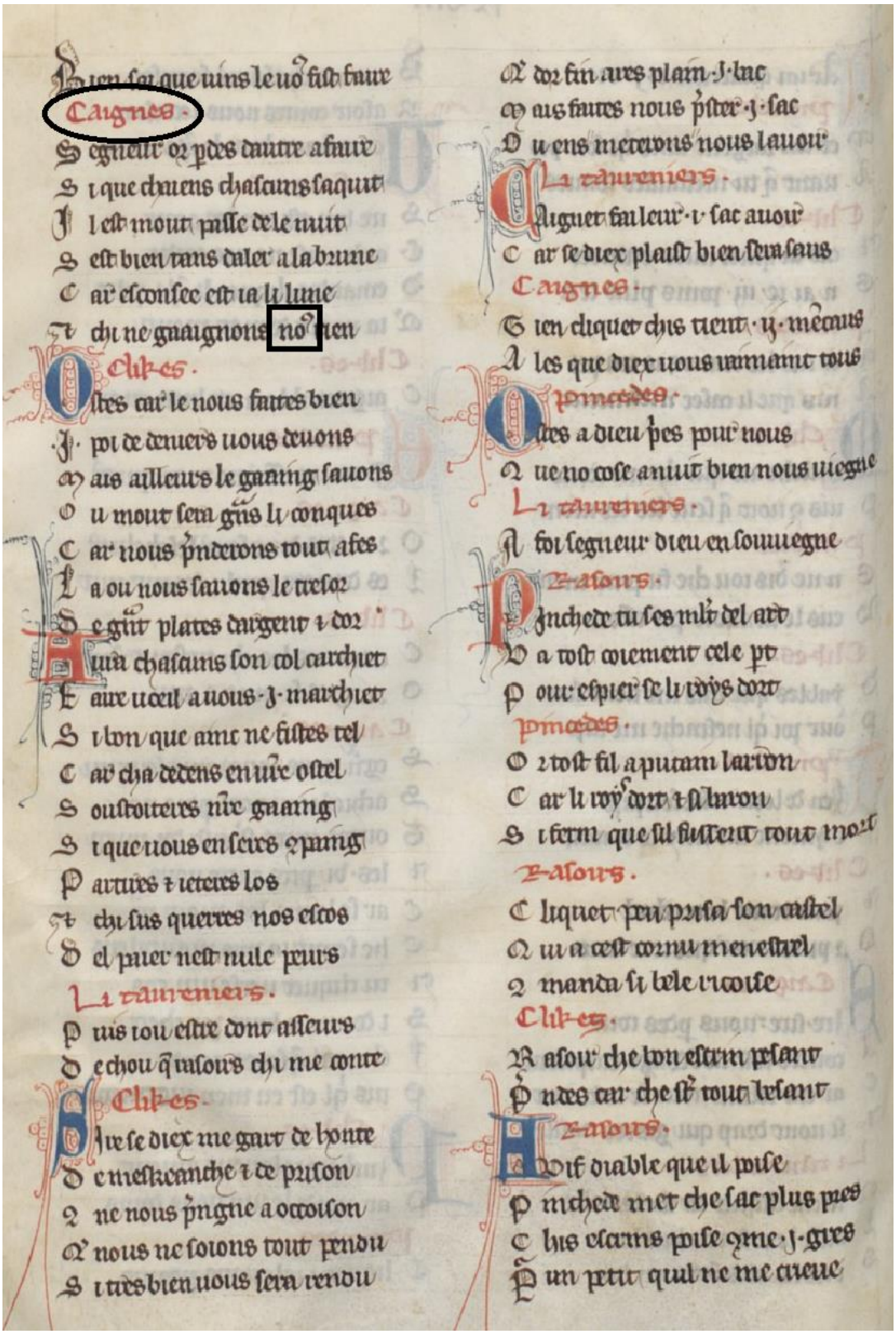


Figure 2.12: Full page of Folio 77v

3. Other Rubrics

The manuscript offers four types of rubrics: nominative stage directions, descriptive stage directions, the opening and closing rubrics, and the miniature. Except for the miniature, all of these categories are reproduced and even expanded in the selected modern editions. The manuscript contains three descriptive rubrics: In 71v, “Or parlent tout” followed immediately by “Li crestien parlent” (Figure 2.13) and a bit later on 72v, “or tuent li sarrasin tous les crestiens” (Figure 2.14). These rubrics mark fundamental stages in Bodel’s play.

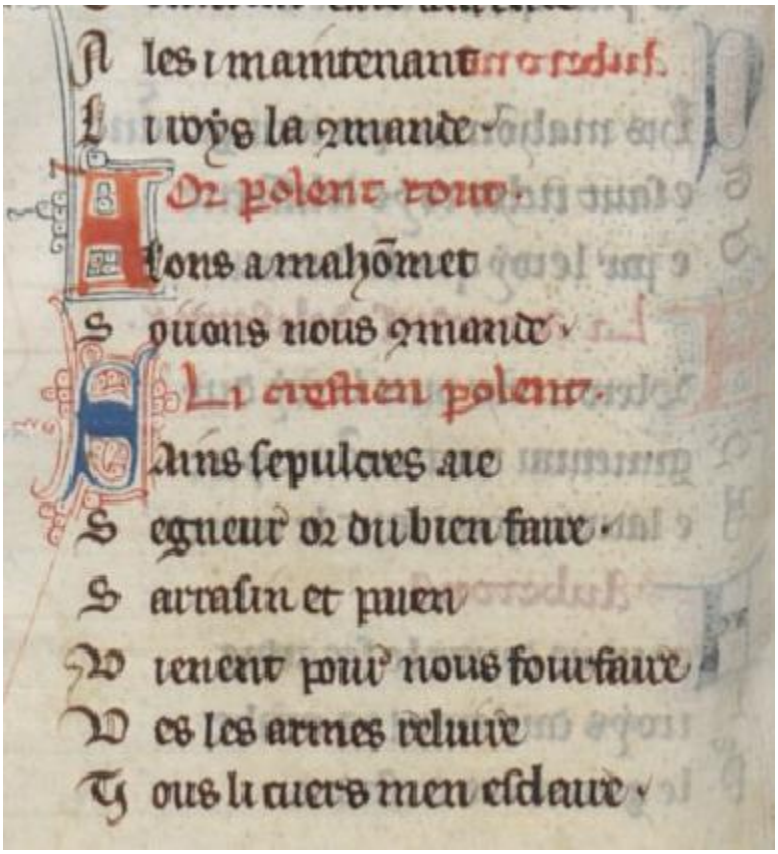


Figure 2.13: Detail from Folio 71v

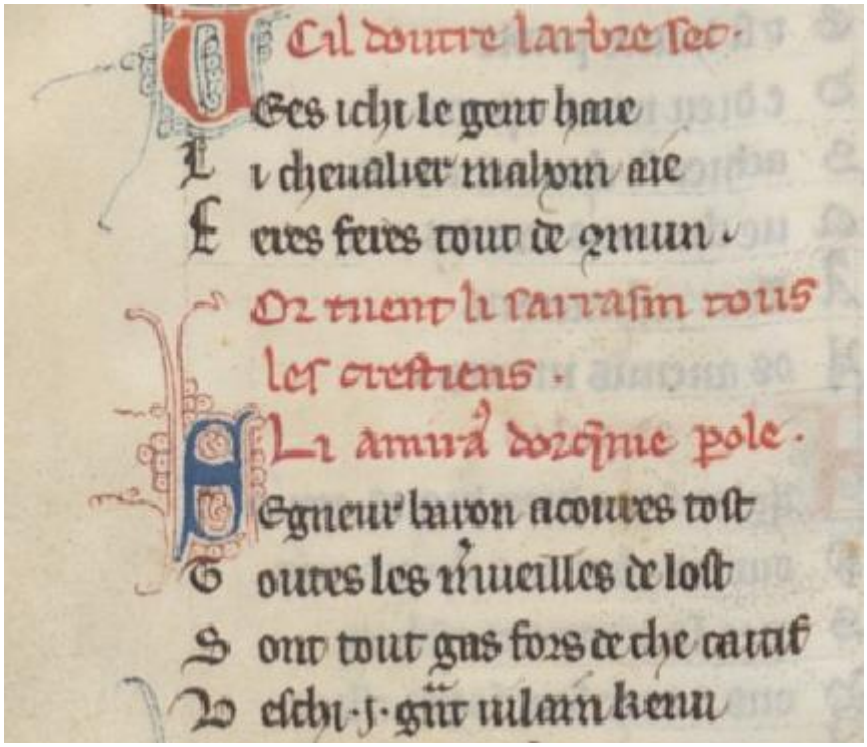


Figure 2.14: Detail from Folio 72v

The first rubric concludes the first Sarasin episode. After a series of exchanges between two to three characters, the successive arrivals of the Emirs result in the presence of most of the Sarasin characters on stage and they mark the end of this episode by speaking in chorus. The second rubric follows immediately and starts the Christian episode by having their representatives speak together: the main confrontation of the plot is embodied in the succession of these two rubrics and in their contrasted structures: in the former, the verb precedes the subject and the latter the subject comes first. The chorus is then decomposed. While the manuscript and Warne divide the group in two elements, "uns crestiens" and "uns crestiens nouviaus chevaliers"; Henry and Dufournet prefer attributing the first part to three Christians, in addition to the novice Christian knight. The meeting between the Sarasin group and the Christian groups lead to the annihilation of

the latter. However, one Christian survivor, the *preudome*, is enough to initiate the conversion of the Sarasin to Christianity. Dufournet and Ramney believe that Bodel is thus negating the efficiency of violent crusade to the profit of a non-violent movement. This desire of a conversion through performative words instead of violent actions, of preaching and art instead of war is also suggested by the hybrid nature of some of these descriptive rubrics: the action they are describing consists in the act of speaking, associating these rubrics more with nominative rubrics.

This hybridity also defines the opening and closing rubrics, as they certainly refer to the text itself, but they also directly address the reader and what is beyond the textual limits. The opening follows immediately the end of the preceding text in the manuscript and is followed immediately by the miniature (Figure 2.15), while the closing line follows a blank line after Bodel's play and is followed immediately by the opening rubrics of the next text in the manuscript (Figure 2.16). The opening is written in red while the closing is written in black. The visual contiguity of other texts should remind the reader that the context of the play in the manuscript is important, that "invariably, the plays transmitted before 1300 are presented as organic to their manuscript surroundings, suggesting that drama was not categorically removed from worship or daily life. Yet the available editions tend to ignore or distort the manuscript presentation of the plays" (Symes, 794).

Figure 2.15: Opening rubric - Detail from Folio 68r

Figure 2.16: Closing Rubric - Detail from Folio 83r

The opening and closing rubrics refer clearly to the artistic nature of the framed text. “Cest li jus de st. Nicholai” (68r) and “chi fine li jeus de st. Nicolai que Jehans Bodiaus fist, amen” (83r). On one hand, the use of demonstrative words is standard in these rubrics: one is cataphoric and the second is anaphoric. However, in both cases it includes a spatial nuance: the textual space and beyond it, the stage itself. Moreover, the final word of the text is “Amen” which blurs the lines between the text of the play itself which ends on the prayer of *Te Deum laudamus* and of its manuscript frame. On the other hand, while it is not unusual in medieval hagiographies to attribute the play or text to an author, Jehan Bodel, only at the closing, it is interesting that none of modern editions plays or comments on this aspect of authorship in the Middle Ages. In all these editions,

the name of the author is on the title page; only H1 makes a little effort to reproduce the medieval sequence by naming the author after the title of the text, “le *Jeu de saint Nicolas* de Jehan Bodel”, even if the author’s name is also present in the title page.

The opening could also potentially refer to the miniature which directly follows the rubric and whose leaves are framing the introductory rubric. This designation reinforces the relation between text, image, and stage, and beyond, between manuscript, modern conceptualization, and medieval theater. As we saw, despite its rich potential in meaning, the miniature is totally absent from the body of the edited forms of the text, even if it is mentioned in the introductory description of the manuscript. The miniature scene could be read as the highlight of the play or as referring to a specific moment. In addition to the direct references to the *preudome* and saint Nicolas mentioned above, the echoes and differences between the depicted scene and the conversations between the King and Tervagan are also meaningful: Tervagan is also surrounded by gold, however his gold is material, human, and earthly, while the gold in the miniature’s background represents the immaterial, the divine, and the hereafter.

The rubrics offer a direct representation of the medieval theater that each editor is imagining. All of them agree on the richness of Bodel's characterization: the discussions between Warne and Henry on who is speaking to whom show how much they value Bodel's style in characterization and how they try to identify a coherence in each character. Even if Dufournet is silent on this front, his suggested references for some

characters imply his agreement. Yet Warne's stage is empty of everything except the characters, their personalities, and their interactions. He sees individuals on stage instead of types, or at least more individualized characters, which is reflected in the explicative notes referring to changes in lines' attribution: this expression or that tone does not match the listed character's portrayal.

Henry borrows and contradicts some of these characterizations and attributions, but frames them within a spatial reading of the play: all characters, interactions, and movements fit within, outside, or in-between specific spaces. The King, for example, never moves, while the *preudome* is constantly transported from a place to another until he totally inverts the Sarasin space to a Christian space. Dufournet seems to combine and transcend the characters' and spaces' focuses and, by reducing his comments on the rubrication to the minimum, he might be offering his reader the same freedom of staging suggested, according to him, through Bodel's style. All of the editors seem to maintain a general coherence concerning their translation on a page of their conceptualization of Bodelian and medieval theater. Each edition is thus conducting its own performance of Bodel's *Jeu*.

The modern treatment of the medieval rubrics shows a better image of the reality of the medieval stage that was almost totally absent from the introductory material. Moreover, their discussions underline the work of the 14th-century scribe and rubricator as editors. All of them seem to agree on the presence of a previous manuscript[29], which was wrongly or rightly interpreted and emended by this Arras editor. The rubrics'

[29] This manuscript could be from Bodel's time or from a later period.

transformation highlights the movement from stage to text to manuscript and back to stage again.

Chapter 3. Moving the Text

All of the selected editions are trying to exploit fully the variations of page layout and the relations between the edited text and its paratext to produce the outline of the stage through the physicality of the manuscript and printed artefacts. The study of rubrication in all the editions demonstrates a clear perception of the stage, or at least a definite decision to make the stage more apparent on a page, a distinct choice to direct the staging of Bodel's play. This perceptible translation of the stage onto a page is made even more intense in the recent editions, in order to help the reader construct a medieval stage. The rubrics are in fact an essential part of the layout. This concept is so important that modern editors have not only felt the need to reattribute the text, but also to redistribute and reorganize it. They move the text: they present it in different ways by rewriting the text itself, by formatting it differently, and by laying it out in diverse manners. All of these changes serve to construct the vision each editor has of the play, of Bodel's theatre, and of the medieval stage in general.

1. Matters of Versification

The medieval text is versified and uses different meters. The problem is that the longer meters used do not fit one manuscript line or one line on a printed page and overflow on the following one. While most time, this situation is marked by a small sign, some other times, there is no mark, which opens the discussion and explains the need for a table of equivalence in line number. These tables are a symptom of diverging visualizations, stagings, and conceptualizations: the way in which each editor deals with these irregularities in the distribution of a poetic line on a line of a text is idiosyncratic to

his unique perception of the stage. Warne's *mise en page* and paratext suggests a staging focused on the characters and on the acting abilities of the medieval performers, specifically their mastery over their voice and facial expressions[30]. In contrast, Henry's framing would lead to more choreographic performance, giving precedence to the body of the actor and its movement on stage. Dufournet again comes out as less authoritarian, less directive, leaving most of the staging to the imagination of the reader. By analyzing these tables, I will support or nuance the staging ways defined above. Warne's table refer to previous editions which are outside of our delimited corpus of study in this work and Dufournet declares adopting Henry's lines number. Therefore, we will take Henry's table as a starting point of this analysis (Figure 3.1).

TABLE DE CONCORDANCE

Édition Manz-Jeanroy	Édition Warne	Édition Henry
1-549	1-549	1-549
550-551	550	550
552-553	551	551
554	552	552
555-560	553-558	553-555
561	559	
561 et 563		556
562 (lacune supposée)		
563-564	560	
564		557
565-1272	561-1268	558-1265
	1269-1270	
1273-1540	1271-1538	1266-1533

Figure 3.1: Table of Line Equivalence in H1 (119)

[30] Warne's idea seems to match the classical definition of theater in general: a confrontation between characters in a space rather defined as abstract.

This table demonstrates how Warne introduces a number of changes to the previous editorial tradition, established by Manz and Jeanroy. These changes are not all transposed in Henry's and Dufournet's editions. It seems that Henry and Dufournet, who follows the former's steps, agree with Warne in the first quarter of the play, before favoring the older layout. The table highlights two nexus of changes and disagreements: these moments correspond to the Angel's speech and constitute for some editors a basis for thinking about the structure of the whole play.

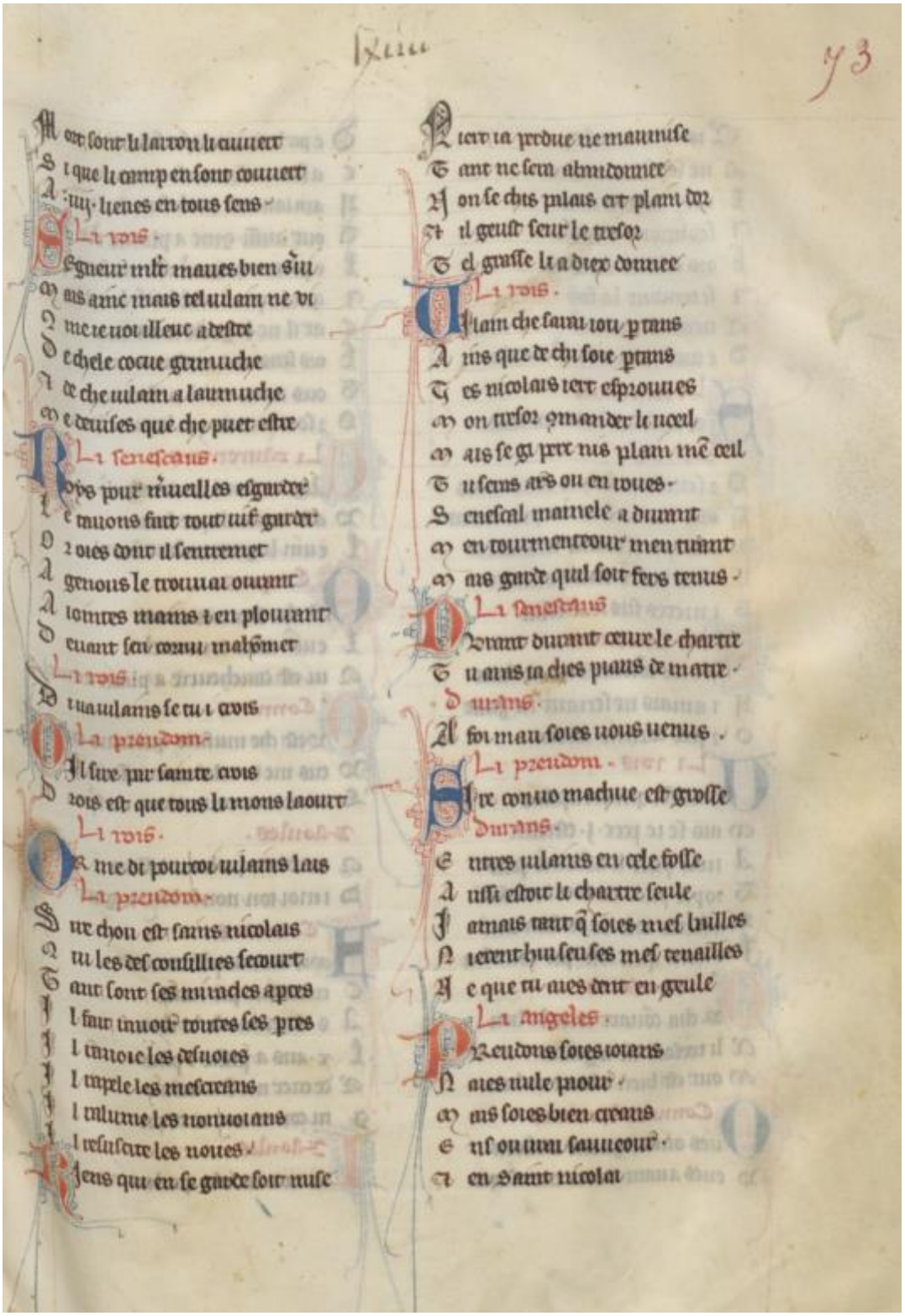


Figure 3.2: Full page of Folio 73r

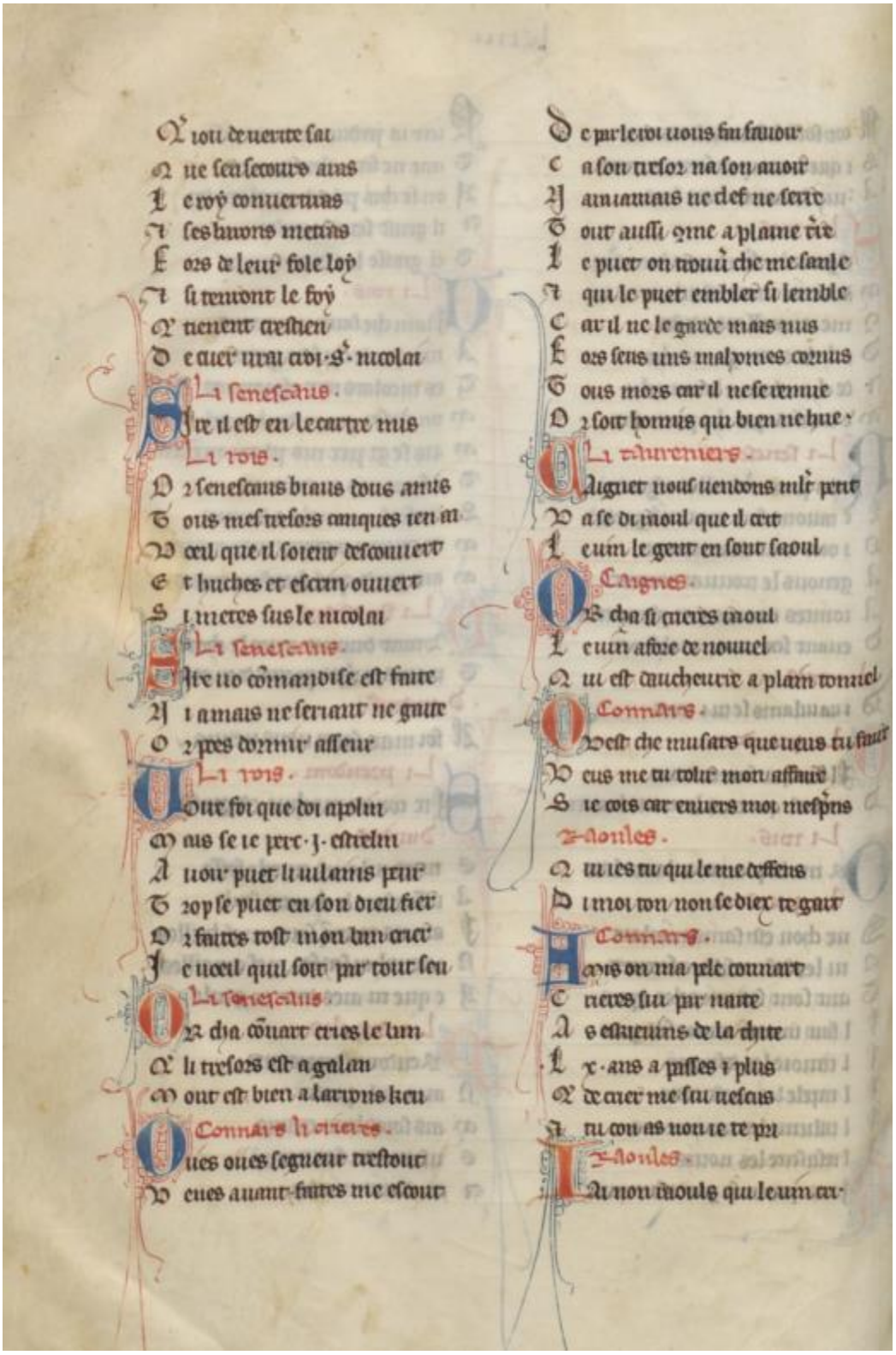


Figure 3.3: Full page of Folio 73v

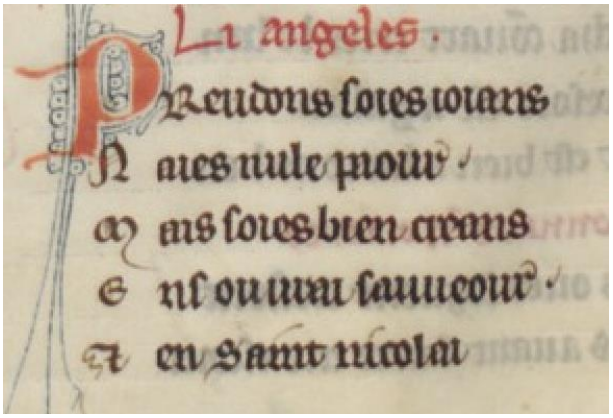


Figure 3.4: Detail from Folio 73r – Beginning of the Angel's Speech

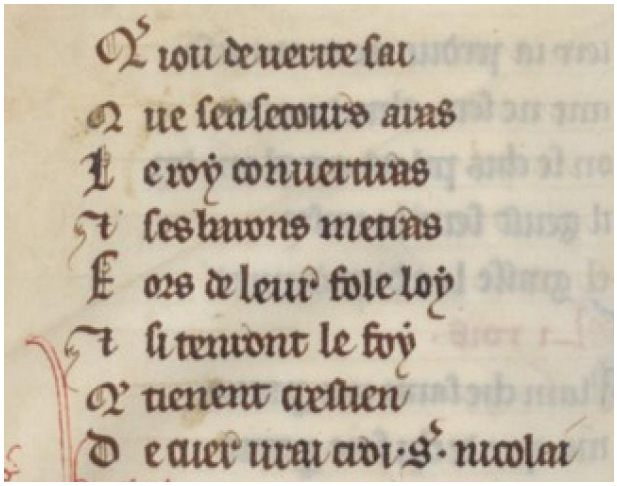


Figure 3.5: Detail from F. 73v – Continuation of the Angel's speech

XIV.—*L'ange, le prud'homme*

LI ANGELES

Preudons, soies joians! N'aies nule paour!
Mais soies bien creans ens ou vrai Sauveour
Et en saint Nicolai,
Que jou de verté sai
Que sen secours aras:
Le roy convertiras
Et ses barons metras
Fors de leur fole loy;
Et si tenront le foy
Que tienent crestïen, [che croy.]

[LI PREUDOM]

De cuer vrai croi saint Nicolai.

Figure 3.6: Corresponding Lines in W (22)

LI ANGELES

Preudons, soies joians, n'aies nule paour,
Mais soies bien creans ens ou vrai Sauveour 551
Et en saint Nicolai,
Que jou de verté sai que sen secours aras ; [73 v°]
Le roy convertiras et ses barons metras 554
Fors de leur fole loy, et si tenront le foy
Que tienent crestïen... de cuer vrai croi
... saint Nicolai. 557

Figure 3.7: Corresponding Lines in H1 (166), reproduced in H2 and D

In the manuscript (Figures 3.2-3.5), each textual line contains 6 syllables, except the final line which contains 8 syllables. The rhymes (here, the terminal sound(s) on a line of text) in this excerpt follow different schemes: the first four lines present alternate

rhymes (*-ans/-our*), followed by a couplet (*-ai*), a triplet (*-as*), and another couplet (*-oy*). The two final lines present no rhyme[31]. Moreover, there is a small mark at the end of the second and fourth textual lines. These lines are problematic because there is no clear pattern: The sign appears inconsistently all over the manuscript and it does not seem to have a coherent reference. On the other hand, the rhymes in this speech do not follow the usual medieval pattern of couplets.

Warne explains that he prints the first part of the Angel's speech in alexandrines, because he "make[s] the internal rhyme *ioians: creans* accidental" and "treat[s] the ticks which follow *paour* and *Sauveour* in the MS. as indicating alexandrines (as they do in 239-50, 384-411, 424-7). The tick is also used as an indication of checking at the end of the prologue and sometimes at the end of a speech" (77). The absence of a rhyme at the end of this speech baffles the editor. Warne constructs a hypothesis based on the idea of an original text or of a previous copy which the copyist is reproducing in this manuscript and on the frequent omission of rubrics in this unique extant copy: he thus explains that the angel might need "a final exhortation […] to persuade" the *preudome* which would be "che croy" – an exhortation to which the *preudome* would answer with his complete faith in Saint Nicolas. This addition has the result of making line 556 an octosyllabic as line 560 and of completing the rhyme of *loy* and *foy* (line 558), creating a series of two triplets (*-as/-oy*). Its omission would be explained by the puzzlement of the scribe in front of the absence of a rubric at this point.

[31] The following lines introduce a couplet (-is)

Henry starts by affirming that this passage is clearly altered in the manuscript, because the manuscript layout suggests a hexasyllabic line, which would be “la seule fois où Jehan Bodel aurait introduit l’hexasyllabe en série” (284). He first agrees with Warne’s comment on the tick and on its use “pour marquer la fin des vers écrits sur deux lignes, encore qu’il ne le fasse pas régulièrement” (284), whereas he totally discards the rest of Warne’s solution, explaining that, on one hand, it would be “une cheville bien indigne de Jehan Bodel” (284). On the other hand, “personne n’adresse la parole à l’ange, sauf le chrétien des vers 424 et ss., parce qu’il ne sait pas, à ce moment-là, qu’il s’agit de l’ange” (284). Moreover, the Angel always speaks in “des formes ‘strophiques’ régulières” (284). He thus rewrites this moment all in alexandrines and believes that the internal rhymes or echoes are a clear choice of the playwright. Henry also refers in his long note to the scholarly discussion concerning this moment, but strongly bases his decision on the analysis he offers in the introductory material on the structure of the play. Henry does add suspension points at the end to translate the pauses in the rhythm of the Angel’s speech. However, if the Angel speaks in such regular strophic forms, should these suspension points not mark omission instead?

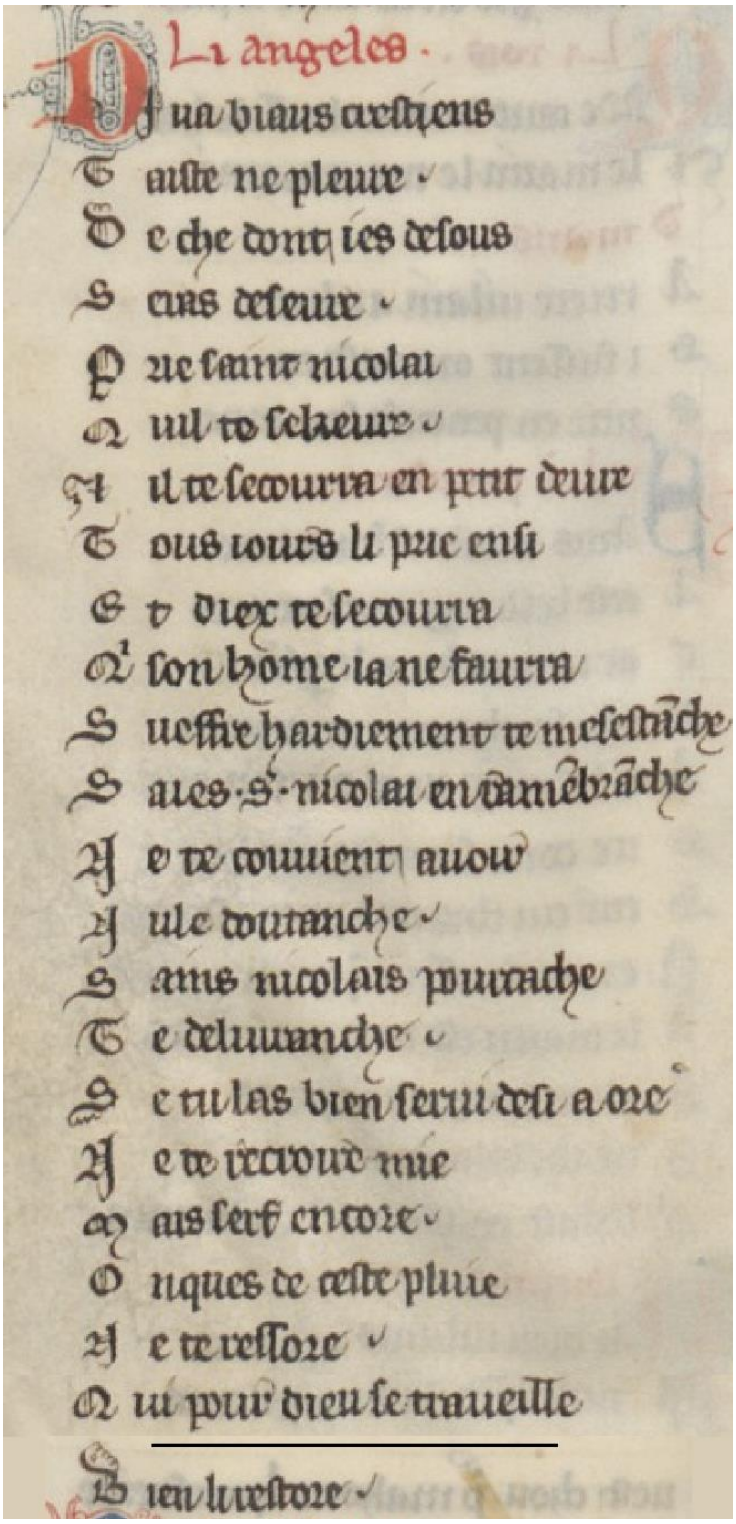


Figure 3.8: Detail from Folio 80v – Angel's Speech

XXVII.—*L'ange, le prud'homme*

LI ANGELES

Di, va! biaus crestïens! Tais te, ne pleure!
De che dont iés desous seras deseure.
Prie saint Nicolai qu'il te sekeure
1268 Et il te secourra en petit d'eure.
Tous jours li prie ensi, et Diex te secourra,
Qui son home ja ne faurra.

Sueffre hardiement te mesestanche,
1272 S'aies saint Nicolai en ramembranche!
Ne te couvient avoir nule doutanche,
Sains Nicolais pourcache te delivranche.

Se tu l'as bien servi de si a ore,
1276 Ne te recroire mie, mais serf encore!
Onques de ceste pluie ne te ressore:
Qui pour Dieu se traveille, bien li restore.

Figure 3.9: Corresponding Lines in W (56-57)

LI ANGELES

Diva ! biaus crestïens, tais te, ne pleure !
De che dont iés desous seras deseure.
Prie saint Nicolai qu'il te sekeure,
Et il te secourra en petit d'eure. 1265

Sueffre hardiement te mesestanche,
S'aies saint Nicolai en ramembranche !
Ne te couvient avoir nule doutanche,
Sains Nicolais pourcache te delivranche. 1269

Se tu l'as bien servi desi a ore,
Ne te recroire mie, mais serf encore,
Onques de ceste pluie ne te ressore.
Qui pour Dieu se traveille, bien li restore. 1273

Figure 3.10: Corresponding Lines in H1 (234 and 236)), reproduced in H2 and D

In the second moment, we also notice the ticks at the end of eight textual lines. This excerpt (Figure 3.8) presents three divided decasyllabic forms, followed by one full decasyllabic lines, two hexameter, one octosyllabic line, two full decasyllabic lines, and concludes with two divided decasyllabic, one full decasyllabic, and 3 divided decasyllabic lines. The change in pattern, as we saw, could be a sign of a problem. The three poetic lines containing the hexameters and the octosyllabic form constitute a moment of disagreement between the editors (Figures 3.9 & 3.10). All editors associate each of these lines with the line preceding them and transcribe the two of them in decasyllabic forms. The manuscript lays out these decasyllabics in a series of 6 syllables followed by 4 syllables. This distribution refers to the most common caesura in medieval decasyllabic lines and stresses how "au Moyen Age, l'autonomie métrique de chaque hémistiche, est particulièrement nette" (Aquien, 75). In that case, the splitting of this decasyllabic meter over two lines of text proceeds from a specific perception of versification that is totally discarded by the modern editors through the layout of the text and through an absence in the critical material of a reminder and analysis of the internal rhythm of medieval meter[32].

Lines 1269-70 are written in italics in W, because the scholarly tradition believes that these lines are "a later addition destroying the symmetry of the first stanza" (89). According to Warne, "they appear to be in the same handwriting as the rest of the text" (90), which is why he maintains them within the body of his edited text, however a different typographical style signals their problematic nature. On the other side, Henry favors the traditional interpretation of these lines as an "interpolation" (336), because of

[32] Remember that Henry described an internal rhymes as accidental.

the mediocre quality of the text and of the absence of the tick at their end. Henry thus reaffirms his portrayal of Bodel as a good writer and the common idea of the scribe as a simple copyist. Johan Otto Rohnström explains that "Jehan Bodel aurait cherché des rythmes peu connus pour bien distinguer le messager céleste des personnages terrestres" (qtd in H1, 336), Henry agrees on this constant distinction between divine and earthly , however he argues that it is based on a totally different aspect of versification. In fact, Henry declares that "quelque soit le lieu, quels que soient les personnages en présence, le langage de l'Ange se distingue prosodiquement de ce qui l'entoure immédiatement" (H1, 68).

Warne's solution for the first case is coherent with the main principle through which he reads Bodel: the characters and their dialogue. As two characters are present on stage, he expects them to interact and their interaction is the fabric of this play, according to Warne. However, in the second case, despite the presence of the same characters on stage, Warne does not look for a solution that creates dialogue and prefers to trust the scribe's choices: Warne effectively gives precedence to the general trust different scholars put into the scribe's correctness over the questions they have raised about this specific moment and its quality. In contrast to Warne, Henry explains in detail how the characters are less important by themselves and how the structure constructed by their speech, their interaction and their language is the heart of Bodel's writing. The Angel is never addressed[33] and always speaks in a distinct and cohesive pattern: the Angel speaks, in the first passage, all in alexandrines interrupted by a form of refrain on the name of "saint Nicolai", and all in decasyllabic lines in the second one. Warne isolates these two

[33] Except at the beginning when the young Christian does not know his divine nature.

moments in one scene marked by the presence of the Angel and the *preudome*, while Henry encases these moments within longer scenes which are identified through their location in the prison. For Henry, the Angel concludes the scene both times, which is reinforced by the bold circle in H1 and the asterisk in H2. Dufournet only follows them in the second case where he adds a blank space after the Angel's lines in the old French text, and explains that after the Angel's speech, the scene will change to "la taverne" (163). The first moment is totally unmarked in Dufournet's layout either in the old or modern French texts.

The modern solutions to questions of versification appear to be normative and aim for a certain coherence within the episode or in the general structure of the play. Even if the norm the modern editors construct seems to derive from observation of the manuscript and understanding of medieval theater, it is more inspired by the classical rules of versification. Taku Kuroiwa, Xavier Leroux and Darwin Smith shows how, despite its written form, a play manuscript constitutes a back and forth from oral through written to oral. In fact, "la versification du discours dramatique codifie son enregistrement : sa mise en vers le structure et apparaît comme un facteur actif de sa mémorisation et de sa conservation" (19). Versification in the Middle Ages is not only about rules of meter and rhymes, but first and foremost about rhythm: the difference between stressed and unstressed syllables is thought to be more pronounced in medieval French than its later versions. This probably leads to a more immediate identification by the medieval reader of the rapport between poetic line and line of text, whereas, the modern reader and editor tend to force on the text modern rules of versification. And if we accept the page layout as conductive of the staged performance, why could we not see

in it also a physical evidence of the flow of medieval discourse? Especially, if one remembers that even if this text is not performed on a stage, it is meant to be read aloud, to be *performed* (Figure 1.18).

2. Matters of Stage Directions

By underlining the link between layout and staging, these editions ask their readership to think also as performers: how would a stage director, a troupe of actors, and an audience create this play? For that purpose, the modern editors believe that even if a medieval reader is able to immediately imagine the stage through the medieval layout, a modern reader needs more help. Therefore, the modern editions maintain the descriptive, opening and closing rubrics, but they modify and add a number of different nominative rubrics. Nonetheless, the modern editors do not content themselves of interacting with the manuscript rubrics, they supplement them with their own stage directions. These additions break the flow of the play as it is presented in the manuscript, in order again to create a more authentic sense of the medieval stage.

Warne chooses to keep the continuous display of the text by offering his reader only the old French text, with no translation (Figure 1.3). However, he adds stage directions in modern French that consist only of a numbered list of the characters present on stage (Figure 1.10). He thus makes apparent for the modern reader the movement of coming and going of the characters and of the play itself. He enhances for his reader the importance in Bodel's style of the movement of communication, as shown by the explicit nominative rubrics identifying who is speaking to whom and by the repetition of the verb *parler* in the descriptive rubrics. One could identify different waves in the dramatic movement, according to the religious or social origin of characters present, or to the

number of characters, or to the movement of a specific character through his continuous presence on stage while the type of his companions changes (Auberon, the prud'homme, Connart, Pincedé, the Seneschal, the prud'homme, the thieves). Warne reminds his reader that Connart is speaking to the people, which transitions in the next scenes to the entrance of representatives of these people, the *Tavernier* and the *larrons*, and also that the Angel addresses only the Christians and the the *preudome*. Moreover, one could identify four distinct changes in the play through the characters' movements (Table 3.1): the switch from the Saracens to the Christians in scene IX, the shift from the tavern to the court in scene XXIII and conversely in scene XXVII, and the change back to the court in scene XXXII.

Table 3.1: List of Characters by Scene in W

Prologue	XVIII. Pincedé, Raoulet
I. Auberon, le roi, le sénéchal	XIX. Les mêmes, Cliquet, le tavernier
II. Connart, la foule	XX. Les mêmes, Rasoir
III. Le roi, Auberon	XXI. Rasoir, Pincedé, Cliquet
IV. Le tavernier, Auberon, puis Cliquet	XXII. Les mêmes, le tavernier, Caignet
V. Auberon, les émirs	XXIII. Le sénéchal, le roi
VI. Auberon, le roi	XXIV. Le sénéchal, Durant, le prud'homme
VII. Le roi, les émirs, leurs troupes	XXV. Le roi, Durant, le prud'homme
VIII. Les mêmes, le sénéchal	XXVI. Le prud'homme, Durant
IX. Les chrétiens, l'ange	XXVII. L'ange, le prud'homme
X. Les émirs, le prud'homme	XXVIII. Saint Nicolas, les larrons
XI. L'ange, le prud'homme	XXIX. Les larrons
XII. Les émirs, le roi, le sénéchal, le prud'homme	XXX. Les mêmes, le tavernier, Caignet
XIII. Le sénéchal, Durant, le prud'homme	XXXI. Les larrons
XIV. L'ange, le prud'homme	XXXII. Le roi, le sénéchal
XV. Le sénéchal, le roi, puis Connart	XXXIII. Les mêmes, Durant, le prud'homme, les émirs, la statue de Tervagan
XVI. Connart, la foule	
XVII. Le tavernier, Caignet, Connart, Raoulet	

Henry presents also only the old French text in H2, but his formatting underlines his interruptions, in the sense that they are not only a list of characters' names in modern French as in W, but that they consist of a more personal interpretation. In fact, Henry does list the characters present on stage but he introduces them through their spatial location. Most stage directions consist of location then a list of characters present in the delimited scene. For example, the first stage direction situates the scene "au palais du roi

d'Afrique : Auberon, le Roi, le Sénéchal, la statue de Tervagan" (70) are the characters present in this scene. A second stage direction after l. 164 suggests their movement "près de la statue de Tervagan" (72). This latter form of stage direction, consisting only of a location, is the second most frequently introduced indication. The localization could be divided into two categories: the first kind presents a simple position ("au palais sur le champ de bataille, dans la rue…"), the second one suggests a potential or past movement by positioning characters at the entrance of a building or near a specific landmarks on stage ("sur le seuil de la taverne, près de la basse-fosse, à la porte de la taverne, auprès du roi…").

In a unique occasion, the list of characters appears without a location: "Caignet et Cliquet" (127) are speaking. The plot explains the need for this indication: Saint Nicolas just appeared to the thieves and the Tavernier orders them to leave and Caignet to get their payment before letting them go. While Caignet catches Cliquet, the Tavernier, Pincedé and Rasoir leave the stage. In fact, the previous stage direction situates the scene "à la taverne : saint Nicolas, Pincedé ; puis Rasoir, Cliquet, le Tavernier, Caignet" (125). This form constitutes the third type of stage direction and occurs twice in H2: the characters are not simply listed, but instead the dynamics of their presence on stage are quickly outlined through the use of the semicolon and the adverb *puis*, signifying an evolution within the scene. Last but not least, a final type consists of active verbal sentences. The first occurrence opens a scene by summarizing that "Auberon se rend successivement chez les quatre émirs" (79). Sometime later, Connart leaves the court to spread the announcement concerning the open doors of the treasure room and encounters Raoul "dans la rue". Hearing them squabbling, "le Tavernier sort dans la rue" (93). A

moment later, everyone is inside the tavern and "entre Rasoir" (97). These sentences underline the movement from inside to outside and conversely. Moreover, different localizations play on this opposition between the inside and outside of the four *mansions* described in the paratext and highlight the space in between these *mansions*, the road. The focus is then less on the location but more on the movement from one place to another.

As these two editions present only the old French text, it is expected that they be closer to reproducing the feeling of reading the play in the manuscript. However, because of the need to structure the play, or at least make it apparent, these two editions break down the continuity suggested by the manuscript. The medieval text is present as a whole, the same way its layout integrated within the series of texts is contained in the manuscript, while the modern editions prefer to outline parts constituting the unit of Bodel's text and completely forgo its incorporation into the whole manuscript. The medieval editor suggests a certain experience of performance that is not communicated in these two editions: medieval theater is presented as a total universe, however, while autonomous, this creation is independent. The play is permeable to the world surrounding it, in the manuscript and on stage. In contrast, the chosen layout in the modern editions is marked by numerous interruptions to the natural flow of the play, causing and intensifying the gap between the modern reader and the medieval stage.

3. Matters of Translations

The other two modern editions made the choice of a bilingual edition: H1 and D offer a completely different interpretation of the page staging. It seems to suggest that the left page represents the script, or even the reconstituted original script, and the right

page the staging of the editor. Which type of staging? Is it aiming for a modern adaptation or for a reconstitution of a medieval performance? Both editions present a plethora of added stage directions. The difference is, however, that these indications do not interrupt the old French text, they are added in the translation. These added indications are matched by a blank space in the old French text, especially if it indicates a total change in location for Dufournet. Henry reinforces the moment of change in *mansions* marked in the translation by matching it with the bold circle in the old French text.

H1 contains the same stage direction as H2 and greatly supplements them. On one hand, the additional or longer stage directions stress the idea of movement from a place to another. H1 also plays more on the in-between space, such as "le seuil de la porte". On the other hand, these indications showcase how the interactions between characters are not only verbal but also spatial. The characters speaks in old French, but also in gesture and movement. These stage directions contain as a result a great number of verbal sentences or forms, describing an action of the character: for example, "le Roi se tourne vers Tervagan" (131), in addition to the addressee in the nominative rubric "à Tervagan", or "le roi fait claque son ongle sur sa dent" (137), while H2 finds the internal indication sufficient. Some additions associate an action with specific lines. For instance, Caignet speaks l.843-844 "[en] tendant ses dés à Rasoir" (195). The importance Henry gives to the association between word and act suggests a particularly performative perception of medieval theater and of theater in general. Language on stage is not limited to words; every element participates in creating meaning, every component is performative, in the sense that it creates movement, be it spatial, dramatic, or spiritual.

Dufournet also offers two types of stage directions: localization and action. He borrows them from Henry and sometimes introduces slight changes in preposition. However, the moments where he uses verbal sentences are less frequent and seem to be restricted to pivotal actions. The dramatic movement reaches another level, when "le roi fait claque son ongle sur sa dent", when Auberon "se rend chez les Emirs", when the Seneschal "exécute l'orde du roi" (93), or finally when Pincedé "relance les dés" (153). After this last stage direction, Dufournet does not see the need to make explicit any form of action: once the treasure is stolen, the dramatic movement is irremediable, the miracle is imminent and the conversion is thus assured.

Dufournet also opts for a versified translation, while Henry prefers a translation in prose. Henry's choice seems to posit the difference in versification's rules between medieval times and the modern era, Dufournet disagrees and tries to recreate for a modern reader a similar experience in reading both the old French and modern French texts. Elisabeth Gaucher, a French medievalist[34], states that "la traduction, précise et alerte, s'avère encore plus fidèle que la dernière version qu'avait proposée A. Henry en 1981" (189). Moreover, Dufournet chooses to restrict any addition to the translation pages and leave the old French as free of perceptible changes as possible, while, in H2, Henry still marks the old French text by big black bold circles. Despite the bilingual presentation, Dufournet seems to offer a more continuous layout of the text, even if this continuity is signified by superposing the text on the left page, instead of aligning the text from beginning to end.

[34] She is also the co-director of the Collection "Nouvelles Bibliothèques du Moyen Age" in Champion and of the journal Le Moyen Age.

All the editors, be they medieval or modern, believe that rhythm is an essential part of Bodel's play, both because of its versified form and because of its highly dramatic nature. Nevertheless, each one has a particular way to signal this tempo and none of them reproduces the same cadence, which produces different performance through the layout. The relation between the layout and the stage is even more complex. It is not only the medieval rubrications that could be problematic; the modern stage directions added to the play strive to voice as clearly as possible the performance their editor is imagining for the play. These additions incarnate a tension in the reading experience the editors are aiming for. They certainly expect a form of performance as a result of their text, be it mental or real. However, it is ambiguous whether they are trying to produce a medieval stage or a modern interpretation of a medieval play. In which way are these variations and editorial choices trying to make the medieval stage accessible? Are they trying to make explicit what they believe is present in Bodel's play itself? Or are they offering a total recycling of the medieval material on a modern stage?

I believe that the ambiguity is a result of not justifying to themselves and to their readers all of their choices in layout, all their decisions concerning the staging on a page. They could even be not completely aware of the process by which they are making these choices: the constant and subtle interference of the modern perception of theater can shape the editors' and their readers' expectations of medieval play texts. While most the changes in nominative rubrics are explained, other changes that occur in the old French text of Bodel's play are not mentioned, or not expanded on, anywhere in the paratextual

material. While the medieval editor presents the text successively, the modern editions introduce symbols, blanks and stage directions to punctuate the text of the play. Warne only inserts the numbered lists of characters present on stage, in addition to some "words or letters […] indicated in the text by the use of square brackets" (W, 69). H1 has more complex layout: Henry couples the use of blank spaces and bold black points to mark a change in scene. H2 associates asterisks and stage directions towards the same effect. Dufournet, in contrast, prefers to present a minimalist text, punctuated only with some blank spaces. Moreover, while MS, H2, and D present their text aligned along the left margin, W and H1 prefer a centered alignment. The latter makes the perception of a change in meter easier than the former. The perception of this movement or these movements is what Symes places at the foundation of our understanding of medieval theater.

Conclusion

All of the selected editions claim a high fidelity to the source: the demonstratives in the medieval opening and closing rubrics and the editorial statements or prefaces in the modern editions state that they present the reader with Bodel's text of *Le Jeu de saint Nicolas*. Moreover, through the ties between miniature, rubrics and text in the medieval form, and through relations between text and paratext in the modern editions, Bodel's style is presented as highly dramatic, even if none of the editors agrees on what makes it theatrical. One one hand, Roques explains that, in the case of the unique manuscript, “la première question est celle du degré de confiance à accorder au travail du scribe” (871), and how to justify conferring or withdrawing that trust. On another hand, Duval explains that the source which all editors mention is dual and ambiguous. It could refer to the potential text of the author or to the existing text in the manuscript, in addition to the expected performance of the work, be it original or reproduced. How much does each edition and its layout translate this stage?

While the critical material in the modern editions insists on the theatricality of Bodel's work, it is lacking in showing and explaining the reality of the medieval stage. In contrast, while the manuscript contains elements that could deny this dramatic nature, such as the narrative style of its typography and the mixed genres in the anthology, it strongly suggests that the present text is more than what is on the page and clearly refers to its performance. This develops through the rubrics which bring out the medieval stage within both the modern print and the medieval page. These rubrics are even extended in the medieval manuscript by the miniature and in the modern editions by stage directions. However, while the medieval additions relate the play to other genres, which are present in the manuscript itself, the modern extensions adopt elements from

modern theater. Certainly, these appropriations make the play more accessible and familiar to the modern reader, however they also denature the medieval stage.

The comparison of the manuscript and of its modern renditions showcases a fundamental difference in the layout that I believe is also an essential dissimilarity in the theatrical concept between the Middle Ages and modern times: the juxtaposition of these diverse editions demonstrates a play on (dis)continuity. The manuscript focuses more on continuity: it presents the text in an uninterrupted stream from a character to another, from a scene to another, and from a work to another. It suggests even that there are no boundaries between the stage and the audience through the numerous uses of mirroring. In the 13th and 14th centuries, the theatrical space is part of the city space, it is not separated from the church or from the public space. In contrast, the modern editions insist on marking the text, on dividing it into scenes and spaces, into text and paratext. This parallels the clear separation between stage and audience, and between the theatrical space, an amphitheater for example, and the town. In other words, the medieval perception of space is continuous and multifunctional, whereas Moderns view space as sharply delimited and univocal.

In conclusion, I join Gary Taylor in claiming that "the end of editing is to change literary history: […] to change our reading of the past, in order to change the future of reading" (quoted in Armstrong: 233). In outlining the changes brought by each new edition of the medieval play, the *Jeu de saint Nicolas*, and confronting their differing associated performances, I believe that medieval theater, or at least Bodel's theater, is all about continuity: a physical work that suggests movement, a moving idea that takes shape. A closer study of the interactions between Bodel's play and the other works present in the manuscript BnF fr. 25566 could offer a better understanding of multiple medievalist concepts, from theater to performance through *variante*.

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