

Sonia Maura Barillari
University of Genoa
maurasonia.barillari@unige.it
ORCID: 0000-0002-1514-7844

ORALITY IN WRITING: THE CASE OF *JEU D'ADAM* (XII SEC.)

Abstract

The *Jeu d'Adam* is the oldest theatrical text written in a vernacular language that has come down to us in its entirety. Composed around the mid-twelfth century, it has survived in only a single witness (Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. n° 927, cc. 20r–40r) datable to the second quarter of the thirteenth century. The peculiarity that better characterizes the *Jeu d'Adam* is undoubtedly its large apparatus of Latin stage directions, aimed to regulate its staging scrupulously.

The zeal lavished in the attempt to regulate diction by a pervasive and careful use of punctuation marks is very important. Considering the dating of the code, it appears sufficiently diversified, contemplating the *punctus planus*, placed both at the foot of the letter and in the middle position, the *virgula* ('), the *punctus elevatus* (.'.') and the *punctus interrogativus* (two points with one or two *virgulae* on their top).

The iterated use of the *punctus interrogativus* to indicate an interrogative or exclamatory intonation – extremely rare in the other manuscripts of the same time – is motivated both by the will to suggest in turn the appropriate intonation for the sentences in the form of direct speech, and by the 'paraliturgical character of the *Jeu*, shaped

by the concrete needs of the staging without however never abdicating its edifying purposes.

Keywords: Jeu d'Adam, medieval theatre, director's notes, punctuation, *mise en page*

I think that talking about 'theatrical literature' is wrong: of course, the texts written for the theatre can be read, studied, analysed in their written form, but they have been written for the theatre anyway, that is, to be recited by actors, and to be enjoyed in the body of their voice. Often, especially in the past, they were composed for specific circumstances, and then readjusted when these had changed, see for instance the fluctuating physiognomy of the first prints of Shakespeare's plays.

Also for this reason very little survived of medieval theatrical texts: they were written on manuscripts of little value and small dimensions, easy to handle and suitable to be carried in a bag, they were of little interest for the bibliophiles who enriched their libraries with precious codices adorned with miniatures.

From this perspective, it is interesting to study the only manuscript that has transmitted the oldest theatrical work in vernacular language, the *Jeu d'Adam*, which with its rubrics, its *mise en page* and its wise and innovative use of punctuation can tell us a lot about the attention paid by the author and by the scribe to the dimension of orality.

1. The Tours' manuscript

As is known, the *Jeu d'Adam*¹ or, as the incipitary title in the manuscript reports, *Ordo representationis Ade*, is the oldest theatrical text written in a vernacular language that has

¹ The use of this denomination is in part due to Alfred Jeanroy who translated the text in JEANROY 1937.

come down to us in its entirety.² Composed around the mid-twelfth century, it has survived in only a single witness (Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. n° 927, cc. 20r–40r) datable to the second quarter of the thirteenth century.³ It is the result of the assembly of two distinct units, formed respectively from cc. 1–46 (headless) and 47–229. While it contains for the majority old French texts – specifically Anglo-Norman⁴ – it was written in the South East of France⁵ by Provençal scribes, as suggests, in the first unity,⁶ the rhyme *hahan: pan* (instead of *pain*)⁷ in the *Jeu* (vv. 435–436), the spelling *tarzera* instead of *tardera*⁸ that appears in the following vv. 558 and 918, and the confusion / assimilation of the substantives *cuer* < *COR*

² The *Auto de los Reyes Magos* is composed approximately in the same period but there are only 147 verses of it left. Cf. Bertolucci, Alvar, Asperti 1999, 150–152.

³ The dating has long been debated: according to Victor Luzarche the first part was composed in the second half of the twelfth century (opinion shared by Foerster) and the second one in the early thirteenth century; Delisle and Dorange indicate half of the thirteenth as the term *post quem*; Marichal and Gachet – based on the nature of the writing material – definitively set the date at the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Cf. AEBISCHER 1964, 14.

⁴ Exceptions are a liturgical drama *de Resurrectione* (headless) and a series of hymns that celebrate the Virgin or Resurrection, both in Latin. To these must be added the first four stanzas of the *Épître farcie de S. Etienne* in Provençal language, transcribed by a slightly later hand in the space left free at the bottom of the last text in the manuscript.

⁵ And it remained there, kept in the library of the castle of Sault en Provence, until the seventeenth century when the lineage of the Agouts who owned it became extinct, their book patrimony passed first to the family of Créqui then to the family of the Villery that in 1716 sold it to the monastery of Marmoutier. Cf. AYMARD 1940, 72–75; BARILLARI 2017, 454–455.

⁶ The hypothesis that the scribe resided in places far from the northern regions enough to not have any notion of their toponomastic is supported by the double recurrence of the wrong form *mannetic* in place of *nannetics* in the hymn for the arrival of a new bishop in Nantes (*O sedes apostolica*: c. 14).

⁷ *Hahan* (of which the graphic variant *ahain* is attested) can in fact rhyme with *pain* in the ancient-French pronunciation but not in the Provençal one. We can hypothesize a derivation of *hahan* (deverbal) from lat. **AEANNARE*, postulated on the basis of prov. *afanar*. Cf. BARILLARI 2019, 82.

⁸ It must be remembered that the passage of *D* and the *DR* group (primary and secondary) intervocalic to *z* has been a characteristic feature of the Provençal since ancient times. Cf. BARILLARI 2019, 82.

and *cors* < CORPUS.⁹ And as in the second one reveals the word *coq* which in the *Vie de saint George* corrects a previous *gal*, expunged and crossed off, the evident fruit of an extemporary and instinctive translation by the writer.¹⁰

A further confirmation of this is provided by the nature of the writing support: both quires are handwritten on sheets of cotton fibre paper¹¹ whose Hispano-Arab origin¹² is confirmed by the fact that they are not ribbed, by the absence of watermarks as well as by the mediocre shredding of the long filaments of linen, hemp or rags from which they were made, finally by a very accentuated coating which has certainly favoured the preservation of the book.¹³

The reasons that, at this chronological level, can explain why two Occitan clerics transcribed two collections of texts written in *langue d'oil* in all probability lie in the intense catechesis activity exercised by the Church in a region still reeling from the offensive against Cathars.¹⁴ A catechesis aimed both to reinforce the faith of the northern invaders called to restore orthodoxy, and to contrast with the 'errors' of those who still, more or less openly, embraced the creed, or the morality, professed by the 'good Christians'.¹⁵

⁹ It is due to the substantial homophony of the Provençal results of *COR* > *cor* and *CORPUS* > *cors*. *Cors* appears in fact in vv. 19 and 900 of the *Jeu* with the meaning 'body' and in v. 28 with the meaning 'heart'. Cf. BARILLARI 2019, 82.

¹⁰ Cf. AEBISCHER 1964, 14–15; and NOOMEN 1971, 6.

¹¹ This makes it the oldest Oitanian vernacular manuscript that has come down to us written on paper.

¹² It should be borne in mind that the use of paper as library material was, in the era in which the two manuscripts were written, completely exceptional for the Christian West, which gradually learned its manufacturing techniques by the Arabs settled in the Iberian Peninsula.

¹³ Cf. H. GACHET 1938, 6. The meticulous analysis of the manuscript performed by Gachet is extremely important also because it was made before the indispensable restoration of the manuscript, after which some of the data collected by the scholar are less perspicuous.

¹⁴ Cf. BARILLARI 2017, 456–460.

¹⁵ In this way the followers of what the inquisitors called Cathar heresy designated themselves.

In fact the 'crusade'¹⁶ led by Louis VIII had succeeded in assigning the dominion of Languedoc to the crown of France, but it had not been able to eradicate heresy, a goal achieved only in the next decades through an intense activity of preaching and a widespread inquisitorial practice also entrusted to the preaching Orders.¹⁷ The military offensive was followed by another, more effective, 'cultural' one: already in 1229, when the signing of the Treaty of Paris put an end to hostilities, a University was opened in the Dominican convent of Toulouse. Among the *magistri* called mostly from Paris there were the Cistercian Hélinand of Froidmont, John of Garland and Roland of Cremona, who will, however, abandon the city after a few years, discouraged by a tenaciously hostile climate.¹⁸

It is difficult to establish when the Anglo-Norman¹⁹ anti-graph of *Jeu* had arrived in the lands of Midi: if in this these years²⁰ or previously, while the House of Plantagenet – perhaps John, or Henry III²¹ – reigned there, a period in which relations between this geographical area and England were particularly intense. What is certain is that the contents of the first section of the manuscript,²² for their purely liturgical

¹⁶ In truth is improper talk about a crusade because the Pope's call did not mention a penitential pilgrimage and, above all, it did not have as its aim the liberation of the Holy Land: it is no coincidence that both in the canons of the III Lateran Council and in those of the IV the fight against heresy is treated separately from the armed *peregrinatio* to Jerusalem. Cfr. DEMURGER 2010, 128.

¹⁷ In fact in 1233 Gregory IX instituted a 'monastic' inquisition, delegated to the Dominican Order, to support the episcopal and secular one. Cf. ROQUEBERT 2002, 320.

¹⁸ Cf. DELARUELLE 1953, 355–374.

¹⁹ The high presence of Anglo-Norman spellings – in the face of the lower incidence of the Francian ones – in fact suggests not only that the work has been repeatedly copied in England but has also been composed there.

²⁰ Some transcriptions of the manuscript in the continental area are proved by rhymes like *joie : poie : oie : afoloie* (vv. 57–60).

²¹ This is the opinion of Paul Studer: STUDER 1918, xxxiv.

²² Namely, in addition to the *Jeu*, a liturgical drama *de Resurrectione* (headless), 33 hymns – both accompanied by musical notation – and *Les*

features,²³ are well suited to providing an agile aid to the practices of the ritual. Its origin, and its use, in the ecclesiastical sphere, and not monastic, is proved by the presence of three hymns: *Jam ver exoritur*, celebrating the arrival of spring and the resurrection of Christ, *O sedes apostolica*, which greets the arrival of a new bishop in Nantes, and *Ve mundo a scandalis*, on the injustice of the exactions towards the clergy.²⁴

The subsidiary function for the exercise of the priestly office, which is the dominant feature of this small collection of texts, is reflected in the material characteristics of the manuscript: drawn up on a 'poor' and perishable matter such as paper at the time, small in size, and therefore handy and easily transportable, laid out in a *littera textualis currens* with a fast, irregular and rather neglected *cursus*, it is evident that it was conceived and created as an instrument of current use, handy also in view of an itinerant activity of its owner.

2. The 'director's notes'

Conventionally the *Jeu d'Adam* is divided into three parts, on the bases of thematic-content criteria²⁵: the story of Adam and Eve up to the expulsion from the earthly paradise and their short stay on earth (the longest one, contemplating 591 verses)²⁶, the story of Cain and Abel (very short, only 154 verses),²⁷ and the *Ordo prophetarum*, composed of 200 verses²⁸ marked by the subsequent appearance of eleven

quinze signes du Jugement dernier, a *dit* composed by 362 verses (*couplets* of *octosyllabes*) in which the signs preceding the end of the world and the last Judgment are evoked.

²³ With the only exception of *Les quinze signes du Jugement dernier*.

²⁴ Hymns that according to Léopold Delisle would lead more precisely to the field of *scholae*: DELISLE 1873, 92.

²⁵ About the structure of the *Jeu d'Adam* cf. BARILLARI 2014.

²⁶ Vv. 1–590.

²⁷ Vv. 591–744.

²⁸ Vv. 745–944.

prophets called to announce the next coming of Christ and then dragged to hell one after another by the devils.²⁹

The peculiarity that better characterizes the *Jeu d'Adam* is undoubtedly its large apparatus of Latin stage directions, aimed to scrupulously regulate its staging. First of all, it takes into consideration the scenography, describing in detail the two most relevant *mansiones*: the earthly paradise, surrounded by drapes of precious cloth and adorned with a delicious greenery garnished with fragrant flowers and trees full of fruits, and the hell from which great smoke and a great din rise, alluding to the usual demonic equipment suitable for inflicting painful tortures on the damned.³⁰

The same precision characterizes the description of costumes: *Salvator*, later named *Figura*, wears a dalmatic³¹ – like a bishop – and after the fall he also wears a stole,³² a holy garment usually used in the sacrament of confession. In the Garden of Eden Adam wears a *tunica rubea*³³ but after the sin he

²⁹ A prescription explicitly expressed for the two first prophets but envisaged for all, as the following stage direction suggests – in accordance with a common practice of the liturgical *Ordines* – applies to «similiter omnes prophetae», to indicate that what has been said, although not repeated, also must be applied to all the subsequent scenes.

³⁰ The same attention to the scenic furniture is not found in the stage directions concerning the heaven and the earth, the former simply defined by the substantive *ecclesia*, that does not require further clarification, the latter qualified through a few essential concrete things: the briars planted by the devil in the fields sown by Adam and Eve, the «duo magni lapides» that represent the altars where Cain and Abel make their offerings to God, the *scamnum* on which some prophets sit.

³¹ With regard to the symbolic meanings attributed to dalmatic, it may be interesting to note that it is the vestment worn by the figure of *Ecclesia* in the *Deposition* by Benedetto Antelami that we can see in the transept of the Cathedral of Parma. A detail very significant because the work, dated 1173, is roughly coeval with the *Jeu*.

³² On the meaning of the use of these two liturgical vestments to identify *Figure* in relation to the parenetic values of the *Jeu* cf. JUSTICE 1987, 861–862; and MUIR 1973, 38.

³³ This colour could be allusive to red clay with which Adam was moulded, in accordance with the etymology conventionally associated with its name, starting from what St. Jerome says in the *Liber de nominibus hebraicis*: «Adam, homo, sive terrenus, aut indigena, vel terra rubra».

has on poor clothes interwoven with fig leaves. Cain's dress is also red; perhaps to emphasize his being the elder brother, while Eve, the angel³⁴ and Abel wear white clothes. Finally, the prophets are recognisable by their own attributes: Abraham has a flowing beard and loose garments; Moses holds the tablets of the Law; Aaron wears episcopal vestments, he holds a flowering rod from which a fruit hangs, David is adorned by the royal signs and the diadem...

With regard to acting practice the most interesting aspect is the meticulous attention paid to the modalities of recitation,³⁵ starting with an exact definition of the timing of the action: it is underlined at the beginning how Adam should to be «bene instructus, quando respondere debeat, ne ad respondendum nimis sit velox aud nimis tardus»,³⁶ when *Figura* enters the stage after the murder of Abel has to wait till the end of the choir's chant: «interim ab ecclesia veniet Figura ad Chaym et postquam chorus finierit responsorium ... dicet ei» before starting to talk. And directions such as «interea», «vicissim», «diucius», «nondum», «statim», «interim», «aliquantum», «sepius», «postquam», «modico facto intervallo», «facta aliquantula mora», masterfully regulate the succession of characters' gestures, gestures that must be «convenientes rei de qua loquantur» and «competentes» to become a faithful reflection of the words spoken and the concepts conveyed by them.

The location of the protagonists is specified with equal care («propius», «demissiori», «aliquantum remota», «remotus»...)

³⁴ Actually, in the text we found «albis indutus», a *lectio* that raises the question of whether the substantive *vestibus* should be considered implied (or negligently omitted), or it is an incorrect transcription for «alba indutus», wearing an *alba*, the white alb worn by priests, deacons and subdeacons under the other vestments, and most often by the angels in liturgical plays to suggest their celestial belonging.

³⁵ It should be borne in mind that knowledge about the acting practice in the Middle Ages is very limited, and the evidences in this regard are skeletal and late. Studies about it are equally rare and episodic: PETIT DE JULLEVILLE 1885; DOMINGUEZ 2007; BOUHAÏK-GIRONÈS 2010.

³⁶ All quotes are taken from BARILLARI 2010.

and the action too is meticulously described by adverbs, adjectives, participles, predicates suitable for suggesting postures («*vultu demisso*», «*non erecti*», «*aliquantum curvati*», «*incurvati*», «*versa facie*», «*caput inclinans*»...) and states of mind: «*attencius*», «*honeste*», «*hilaris*», «*gaudens*», «*tristis*», «*leto vultu*», «*diligenter*», «*moleste ferens*», «*multum tristes*», «*minaci vultu*», «*tristes et confusi*», «*fatigati*», «*flebiliter*», «*cum magna indignatione*», «*gaudentes*», «*blande*», «*amicabiliter*», «*quasi subsannans*», «*micius*», «*quasi placuerit*», «*torvum vultum*», «*callide*», «*quasi furibundus*», «*minacem*», «*iratus*», «*alta voce*», «*simulans dolorem*», «*admiracione simulans et timorem*»³⁷.

An annotation in the initial stage direction is noteworthy for its rich theoretical implications: «*in rithmis nec sillabam addant nec demant, sed omnes firmiter pronuncient et dicantur seriatim que dicenda sunt*». In fact, it is indicative both of the centrality attributed to the written text to which – although in a vernacular language – a high degree of authority is indirectly conferred, and – consequently – of the importance that is given to acting as an essential means to facilitate the understanding and assimilation of even complex contents.

3. The *ars punctuandi*

From this perspective, the attention lavished on the attempt to regulate diction by a pervasive and careful use of punctuation marks³⁸ is very important. Considering the dating of the codex, it appears sufficiently diversified, contemplating the *punctus planus*, placed both at the foot of the letter and in the middle position, the *virgula* (´), the *punctus elevatus* (·) and the *punctus interrogativus* (two points with one or two

³⁷ In this regard, it can be said that the author of the *Jeu* already prefigures the precepts formulated about the recitation by Geoffroy of Vinsauf in the *Poetria nova* (1210) where he maintains that the actors have to imitate, to interpret the feelings of the text that they interpret.

³⁸ On the use of punctuation marks in medieval vernacular manuscripts – especially Provençal and French – cfr. M. CARERI 1986; CARERI 1992; CARERI 2008. It is also useful to consult LAVRENTIEV 2007.

virgulae on their top). It should be noted that the function that these signs partly depends on the characteristics of the *mise en page*:³⁹ in the leaves where the *scriptio continua* is adopted (20r–25r), the *punctus planus*, as well as indicating the abbreviations of capital letters alternating with the *virgula*,⁴⁰ has, like the *punctus elevatus*,⁴¹ mainly a metrical function.⁴² On the contrary, in the leaves where the lines are lined up, it has very few occurrences, whereas in the prose of the stage directions, it reveals syntactic functionalities as a demarcator of clauses or syntagms.

The iterated use of the *punctus interrogativus* is very significant, appearing 65 times of which 48 occur in sentences where a question is asked: «sire?» (v. 1), «estas tu bien?» (v. 114), «e moi que chalt?» (v. 117), «por quei non?» (v. 118), «voldras l'oir?» (v. 126), «creras me tu?» (v. 131), «del tut en tut?» (v. 132), «de quel chose?» (v. 133), «criens le tu tant?» (v. 135), «que te poet faire?» (v. 137), «n'es tu en gloire?» (v. 140), «quel est cist grant trespassement?» (v. 143), «li quels est ço?» (v. 151), «veez le tu la?» (v. 151), «sez tu por quoi?» (v. 153), «e jo en quei?» (v. 160), «creras me tu?» (v. 169), «nel feras?» (v. 171), «Adam, que fais?» (v. 173), «changeras tun sens?» (v. 173), «es tu encore en fol porpens?» (v. 175), «ne munteras james plus halt?» (v. 180), «altre honor ne te voldra atraire?» (v. 186), «e jo coment?» (v. 197), «et tu pur quoi?» (v. 206), «orris me tu?» (v. 213), «celeras m'en?» (v. 215), «quel savor a?» (v. 252), «est tel li fruiz?» (v. 259), «ne me crerras?» (v. 262), «e tu coment?» (v. 282), «est il tant bon?» (v. 295), «dont me vendra iloc aïe?» (v. 336), «por quei nel arst, e moi oscist?»

³⁹ Cf. *infra*, § 4.

⁴⁰ *Virgula* is also used in the stage directions like a hyphen to indicate the division of a word when it continues in the next line.

⁴¹ With a significant difference: in the case in which the *punctus planus* appears mainly marks the end of a period, while the *punctus elevatus* marks the end of a proposition.

⁴² Exceptions are the points aimed to signal the end of the lines of a character if it is in the middle of the verse.

(v. 364), «e tu por quoi?» (v. 400), «cum l'as tu ja si tost perdue?» (v. 447), «ore di de quoi?» (v. 624), «quoi offriras tu?» (v. 643), «fras le tu ensi?» (v. 661), «por quoi?» (v. 668), «sui jo mesfait?» (v. 681), «dis tu que non?» (v. 683), «por quoi?» (v. 698), «u est ton frere Abel?» (v. 723), «en livre est escrit?» (v. 891), «e tu coment?» (v. 893), «sui jo donc malades?» (v. 903), «nonne mi-simus tres pueros in fornace ligatos?» (the first words spoken by Nebuchadnezzar).

In 13 other cases it indicates an exclamatory intonation:⁴³ «Adam!» (v. 81), «jol toi comand por maindre e por garder!» (v. 85), «si frai bien!» (v. 213), «por ço fait bon traire a toi!» (v. 235), «primes le pren e a Adam le done!» (v. 263), «nel laisser mais venir sor toi!» (v. 287), «manjue, Adam. Ne sez que est!» (v. 293), «manjue, ten!» (v. 299), «tel vergoine ai jo, sire, de toi!» (v. 399), «le fruit manjas, dunt jo t'oi dit!» (v. 413), «la femme que tu me donas!» (v. 417), «ço est de ton pru!» (v. 625), «tant m'est plus bel!» (v. 625), «or en vien donc, bon le fras!» (v. 674), «trop te fais de Deu privé!» (v. 699), «jo sai bien, tu l'as occis!» (v. 732). In only one occurrence (v. 209) it merely separates two verses in a leaf where the *scriptio continua* is adopted.

Where the lines are laid out in a column, the *punctus elevatus* seems to have a similar function to the *punctus interrogativus*, bearing an interrogative value («tot tens poez vivre si tu tiens mon sermon», v. 51,⁴⁴ «e tu por quoi?», v. 400; «por quei trespasas mon devé?», v. 403; «cum l'as tu ja si tost perdue?», v. 447; «as tu fait gain ou perte?», v. 449) or an exclamatory one («n'en serrai trait por home né!», v. 377; «or te voi mult triste e mornel!», v. 397; «jo de mon blé», v. 649), exactly as it occurs for the colon («certes non sui!», v. 683; «e jo coment?», v. 685; «est ço fable ou prophecie?», v. 884.

⁴³ The use of the same sign to identify both interrogative and exclamatory sentences is also noted by Maria Careri: CARERI 2008, 33.

⁴⁴ Only in this case the *punctus elevatus* repeated two times.

Although the *punctus interrogativus* is not present in all cases where a question is posed, or where is an exclamation, its almost exclusive use in such circumstances, and above all in conjunction with a thick and fast exchange of words,⁴⁵ suggests that it – just like the *punctus elevatus* and the colon – can be interpreted as a graphic expedient indicating a change in the timbre, or in the vocal setting during a reading aloud (as is found in many ecclesiastical texts intended for public reading), in this case coinciding with theatrical recitation. A graphic expedient whose frequency is motivated by the desire to suggest the appropriate intonation for the sentences formulated as direct speech,⁴⁶ and by the ‘paraliturgical’⁴⁷ character of the *Jeu*, shaped by staging requirements without, however, never abdicating its edifying purposes. In fact, it is well known that the use of *punctus interrogativus* in writing practice is attributable to the innovations introduced from the second half of the eighth century by the scribes in liturgical texts combining the traditional *distinctiones* and the new *positurae* endowed with values similar to the ‘eco-phonetic’ signs used in coeval Hebrew and Byzantine manuscripts.⁴⁸ The *positurae* system, typical of the monastic culture and proper to it, radiated from the Carolingian court establishing itself with the spread of the Cistercian order as an efficient support to liturgical practice and reading aloud for its aptitude to facilitate both a more immediate understanding of the reader and

⁴⁵ It should be borne in mind that, in the *ordo prophetarum*, the *punctus interrogativus* appears, if we exclude the aforementioned short Latin line of Nebuchadnezzar, exclusively in the only dialogue there present, where Isaiah contrasts with *Judeus*.

⁴⁶ About this see the careful analysis of the manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes’ *Erec et Enide*: GASPARRI, HASENHOR, RUBY 1993.

⁴⁷ A definition proposed by Roger Dragonetti and adopted by Rosanna Brusegan: cfr. BRUSEGAN 1980, 80.

⁴⁸ Cf. PARKES 2012, 35–36. The oldest examples of *punctus interrogativus* are found in the manuscripts copied in Corbie at the time of Abbot Maurdramme (772–781): VEZIN 1980.

an oral fruition of the texts by the listeners.⁴⁹ An attitude that is well suited for theatrical acting combined with parenetic and didactic intentions, fulfilling the purpose of guiding the staging so that it adheres as closely as possible to the text.

4. The *mise en page*

The entire manuscript is written on a single column, the writing mirror is 130 × 80 mm. in size and there are between 27 and 29 lines per page. There are traces of the lining, performed with a dry point. The *Jeu* begins about halfway through the c. 20r of which it occupies the last 17 lines⁵⁰ and – as stated above – up to the third of c. 25v the verses are written one after the other, as if it were a text in prose, separated by a punctuation mark. This is perhaps due to the fact that the scribe had initially reproduced the type of writing adopted by an Anglo-Norman antigraph and he had subsequently abandoned it in favour of his usual conventions, based on the transcription of lyrical texts.⁵¹ But more likely the reason lies in the need to adopt a distribution of the text that makes it easier to read for acting.

In this regard, it should be noted that the passage to the verses put in column at the beginning of c. 25v shows a curious anomaly: the first three lines, in prose because they are part of a stage direction, are obviously written – like any other – in the *scriptio continua*, but the next two, while being the final part of the same stage direction, do not fill up all the writing mirror but only a length equal to that of the following *octosyllabes*. The fact that this is not accidental but the result of a choice consciously pursued by the extensor seems confirmed by the segmentation of the last word («in | cipiens») before moving

⁴⁹ VEZIN 1980, 40.

⁵⁰ At the bottom of the last of the 30 Latin hymns transcribed in the previous pages, all with musical notation: *Vinea meam plantavi*, the final part of which occupies the first eight lines of the leaf.

⁵¹ Cf. VAN EMDEN 1996, v; and LEGGE 1963, 312–313.

on to the next line even though there was enough space to end it without starting a new line: «Maxi | mum simulans dolorem in | cipiens lamentacionem suam»: almost a sort of sign of the scribe's decision to give the pages an appearance suitable for their use on the stage. Or, if you will, it is the concrete and instinctive outcome that marks the urgency of this decision, anticipating the need to put it in practice at the debut of Adam's lament, perhaps suggested by the extreme length of this speech divided into two parts – one in form of monologue (vv. 315–357), the other addressed to Eva (vv. 357–386) – separated by the short stage direction «tunc aspiciet Evam uxorem suam et dicet» (c. 26r).

The same hesitation can also be found at c. 27r where, contrary to the case just examined, the speech of Figure, preceded by the rubric .f., («Adam ubi es», first hemistich of v. 388), is incorporated within the two stage directions that respectively precede it and follow it. The second hemistich, that is Adam's answer, is instead written in a new line, as in the majority of cases in which the *octosyllabe* is broken by a stage direction (such as aforementioned v. 357) or by a rubric, if the *octosyllabe* contains the lines (or parts of line) of two different characters.

The c. 27r is also the first leaf in which the solution to insert the rubrics essential to understand who must pronounce a line is adopted, in the absence of an explicit stage direction to that end – whether they are the name *per extenso* or only its initial – on the right margin of the leaf, a solution certainly put forward or induced by the verses laid out in the column. The decision to place the rubrics on the right, and clearly detached from the verses, is also certainly due to the desire to make the articulation of the dialogues more immediately perceivable, even in terms of simple visual impact, allowing for easy identification at a glance at the beginning and end of each speech, therefore, consequently, promoting a less hesitant diction and a more fluid representation.

Also the placement of these rubrics at the end of the previous verse – so before the speech that begin in the next line – seems to respond to the same needs: the prolepsis of the rubrics, in good evidence at the extremity of the leaf, clearly emphasizes the close of one speech and indicates with equal clarity the character to whom the next speech is assigned before the eye begins to read. A *mise en page* intended without a doubt to facilitate the task of the *meneur de jeu*,⁵² assuming that at this chronological height it could be similar to that played by the figure appearing on the scene of the *Martyre de Sainte-Appoline* in the well-known illumination of the *Heures d'Etienne Chevalier* (1461):⁵³ a man with a long garment holding in his left hand a stage book and in the right one a rod that he uses to direct the performance.⁵⁴

There is an exception to the marginal placement of rubrics at the bottom of c. 32r where at the end of a short stage direction («*iterum alloquatur Abel fratrem suum Chaim | qui micius usual respondit dicet | Abel*») in which the name *Abel*, exceeding the margins of the writing mirror, is written in the next line on the right – hence in accordance with the practice described above about rubrics and not with the modalities adopted in all other stage directions⁵⁵ – the two short lines, and related rubrics, follow one another without interruption («*Chaim, bel frere, entent | a moi. Chaim. Volentiers ore di de | quoi: ' Abel.*»; vv. 623–624).⁵⁶

⁵² I use this locution in purely conventional terms to indicate the person who in the Middle Ages staged a theatrical text and guided its execution. On the true historical and lexical validity of this locution, whose pervasive use can be traced back to Gustave Cohen (COHEN 1906), cf. KIPLING 2006.

⁵³ Cf. DOMINGUEZ 2004.

⁵⁴ Cf. REY-FLAUD 1980, 27–33.

⁵⁵ In accordance with these modalities, *Abel* should have been on the next line written at right, leaving the rest of the line empty and starting a new line with the speech he pronounced.

⁵⁶ The beginning of a new line after *entent*, so before the end of, is due to the presence of the name *Abel* on the right edge that limits the available space of the line.

To this double anomaly – a name belonging to a stage directions treated as if it were a rubric of its own and the use of continuous writing for two verses that incorporate the rubrics – a third one is added: after the rubric «Abel» at the end of v. 624, that is at the end of Cain's reply, the remaining two-thirds of the line are left blank and the first hemistich of the *octosyllabe* to which the rubric refers are regularly written on the next page. Ultimately, it is as if vv. 623–624 were treated as part of their previous stage direction, showing a sort of indecision of the scribe on the *mise en page* to be achieved, indecision perhaps also nourished by the fact that starting from c. 30r the verses are *décasyllabes*,⁵⁷ therefore they occupy almost entirely the writing mirror as do the stage directions.

These anomalies suggest that the solution of placing the rubrics at the edge of the leaf was conceived and introduced by writer of the codex in the face of an antigraph that did not contemplate it: a valid expedient aimed – as well as the verses laid out in column – to make the manuscript more suited to a real staging of the text. Rubrics would therefore provide an indication about the role he played in the transmission of the text and about its cultural individuality: not just a scribe but also rather a figure well aware of the problems inherent in the scenic representation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AEBISCHER 1964: P. Aebischer (ed.), *Le Mystère d'Adam (Ordo representacionis Ade)*, Genève–Paris 1964.

⁵⁷ It should be remembered that the *Jeu d'Adam* is mainly composed of couplets of octosyllabes, but also of quatrains monorhymed of decasyllabes, namely the vv. 49–116, 461–472 and 519–622, for a total of 184 verses corresponding to just over 18 percent of the text. The use of *décasyllabe* has the function of giving a solemn tone to the words pronounced on its rhythm: cf. GREGORY 1963; and BUCKBEE 1977, 30.

AYMARD 1940: A. Aymard, *Une collection de manuscrits vendue à Toulouse en 1716*, "Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Midi de la France" 3^e série, 4 (1940), pp. 72–75.

BARILLARI 2010: S.M. Barillari (ed.), *Adamo ed Eva. Le Jeu d'Adam: alle origini del teatro sacro*, Roma 2010.

BARILLARI 2014: S.M. Barillari, *Cronotopo scenico e cronotopo letterario a confronto: il 'copione' del Jeu d'Adam*, [in:] G. Lalomia, A. Pioletti, A. Punzi, F. Rizzo Nervo (eds.), *Forme del tempo e del cronotopo nelle letterature romanze e orientali*, Soveria Mannelli 2014, pp. 429–452.

BARILLARI 2017: S.M. Barillari, *Dall'Inghilterra alla Provenza. Riflessioni sulle vicende testuali del Jeu d'Adam*, [in:] P. Divizia, L. Pericoli (eds.), *Il viaggio del testo*, Alessandria 2017, pp. 453–464.

BARILLARI 2019: S.M. Barillari, *Il Jeu d'Adam in scena: spie paleografiche dell'arte della recitazione*, [in:] P.M. Della Porta, A. Tinterri (eds.), *Teatro sacro. Pratiche di dialogo tra religione e spettacolo*, Perugia 2019, pp. 81–93.

BERTOLUCCI, ALVAR, ASPERTI 1999: V. Bertolucci, C. Alvar, S. Asperti, *Le letterature medievali romanze d'area iberica*, Roma–Bari 1999.

BOUHAÏK-GIRONÈS 2010: M. Bouhaïk-Gironès, *Comment faire l'histoire de l'acteur au Moyen Âge?*, "Médiévales" 59 (2010), pp. 107–125.

BRUSEGAN 1980: R. Brusegan, *Verità e finzione nel Jeu d'Adam*, "Cultura neolatina" 40 (1980), pp. 79–102.

BUCKBEE 1977: E.J. Buckbee, *The Jeu d'Adam as Ordo representacionis Evae: truth and dramatic consequences*, "Medioevo romanzo" 4 (1977), pp. 19–34.

CARERI 1986: *Interpunzione, manoscritti e testo. Esempi da manoscritti medievali*, "Cultura neolatina" 46 (1986), pp. 23–41.

CARERI 1992: M. Careri, *L'interpunzione nella tradizione manoscritta delle biografie trobadoriche*, [in:] E. Cresti,

N. Maraschio, L. Toschi (eds.), *Storia e teoria dell'interpunzione*, Roma 1992, pp. 23–38.

CARERI 2008: M. Careri, *Manoscritti provenzali e francesi. Dalle origini alla fine del XIII secolo*, [in:] B. Mortara Garavelli (ed.), *Storia della punteggiatura in Europa*, Roma–Bari 2008, pp. 213–232.

COHEN 1906: G. Cohen, *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du moyen âge*, Paris 1906.

DELARUELLE 1953: E. Delaruelle, *Les papes, les dominicains et la Faculté de Théologie de Toulouse aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, "Annales du Midi" 65/23 (1953), pp. 355–374.

DELISLE 1873: L. Delisle, *Note sur le ms. de Tours renfermant des drames liturgiques et des légendes pieuses en vers français*, "Romania" 5 (1873), pp. 91–95.

DEMURGER 2010: A. Demurger, *Crociate e crociati nel medioevo*, Milano 2010 [ed. or.: Paris 2006].

DOMINGUEZ 2004: V. Domínguez, *La scène et l'enluminure. L'Apolline de Jean Fouquet dans le Livre d'Heures d'Etienne Chevalier*, "Romania" 487–488 (2004), pp. 468–505.

DOMINGUEZ 2007: V. Dominguez, *La scène et la croix: Le jeu de l'acteur dans les Passions dramatiques françaises (XIV^e–XVI^e siècles)*, Turnhout 2007.

GACHET 1938: H. Gachet, *Six siècles d'histoire du papier*, "Courrier graphique" (14 avril 1938), pp. 3–9.

GASPARRI, HASENHOR, RUBY 1993: F. Gasparri, G. Hasenhor, C. Ruby, *De l'écriture à la lecture: réflexions sur les manuscrits d'Erec et Enide*, [in:] K. Busby (ed.), *Les manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*, I, Amsterdam–Atlanta 1993, pp. 97–148.

GREGORY 1963: J.B.E. Gregory, *A note on lines 113–122. Le Mystère d'Adam*, "Modern Language Notes" 78/5 (1963), pp. 536–553.

JEANROY 1937: A. Jeanroy, *Le théâtre religieux en France du XI^e au XIII^e siècle*, Paris 1937.

JUSTICE 1987: S. Justice, *The authority of ritual in the Jeu d'Adam*, "Speculum" 62/4 (1987), pp. 851–864.

KIPLING 2006: G. Kipling, *Le Régisseur toujours sur les planches: Gustave Cohen's construction of the medieval 'meneur de jeu'*, "Medieval English theatre" 28 (2006), pp. 29–130.

LAVRENTIEV 1973: A. Lavrentiev (ed.), *Systèmes graphiques des manuscrits médiévaux et incunables français. Ponctuation, segmentation, graphies*, Chambéry 2007.

LEGG 1963: M.D. Legge, *Anglo-norman literature and its background*, Oxford 1963.

MUIR 1973: L.R. Muir, *Liturgy and drama in the anglo-norman Adam*, Oxford 1973.

NOOMEN 1971: W. Noomen (ed.), *Le Jeu d'Adam (Ordo representacionis Ade)*, Paris 1971.

PARKES 2012: M.B. Parkes, *Pause and effect. An introduction to the history of punctuation in the West*, Farnham (Surrey) 2012 [1992].

PETIT DE JULLEVILLE 1885: L. Petit de Julleville, *Les comédiens en France au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1885.

REY-FLAUD 1980: H. Rey-Flaud, *Pour une dramaturgie du Moyen Âge*, Paris 1980.

ROQUEBERT 2002: M. Roquebert, *Histoire des Cathares*, Paris 2002 [I ed. 1999].

STUDER 1918: P. Studer (ed.), *Le Mystère d'Adam. An anglo-norman drama of the twelfth century*, Manchester–London 1918.

VAN EMDEN 1996: W. van Emden (ed.), *Le Jeu d'Adam*, Edinburgh 1996.

VEZIN 1980: J. Vezin, *Le point d'interrogation, un élément de datation et de localisation des manuscrits. L'exemple de Saint-Denis au IX^e siècle*, "Scriptorium" 34/2 (1980), pp. 181–196.