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THE AIX *JEU DE ROBIN ET MARION*: IMAGE, TEXT, MUSIC

Mark Cruse, Gabriella Parussa, and Isabelle Ragnard

The Aix manuscript of Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion* (Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanes, MS 166 [Rés. ms. 14]) ranks as one of the most curious and exceptional fourteenth-century French manuscripts. Its unique status is conferred first of all by its text, the dramatized *pastourelle* known as the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*.¹ Traditionally considered the earliest secular play extant in any medieval vernacular, the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* is also one of few medieval French plays to survive in more than one manuscript.² Of the three surviving copies, only the Aix codex (A) and BnF, fr. 25566 (P) preserve the complete text and music, while BnF, fr. 1569 (Pa) has an incomplete text and space for music but no notation.³ Also noteworthy is the Aix manuscript's *mise en page*, a single, centered column of text and music with images in both margins (Fig. 1). It appears to be the only surviving fourteenth-century French manuscript with such a format. Most striking, however, are the Aix manuscript's 132 images, densely distributed across its eleven folios. Such extensive illumination is rare in both French and Latin manuscripts of the period and finds no parallel in other copies of dramatic texts from the fourteenth century.⁴

Although scholars have known of it for decades, the Aix manuscript has lain in relative obscurity until recently. This neglect is due in large part to the looming persona of Adam de la Halle, a prolific and multi-talented poet, composer, and performer famous in his day. Almost all the evidence about Adam's life comes from his poetic work and is thus suspect: he may have studied in Paris, married, traveled to Italy with Robert II d'Artois, and may have died there around 1288. His oeuvre is intimately tied to his native Arras, whose colorful personalities he commemorates in lyric and the famous *Jeu de la Feuillée*, and in whose poetic community he was a dominant figure. Adam's voice is so distinctive, and his persona so well drawn in his works, that scholars have long sought to excavate the "real" poet from the texts. Their principal source has been BnF, fr. 25566, a textual monument to Adam made most likely in Arras within a few years of his death that contains almost all his works. Because of its purported proximity to the poet's milieu, this codex has consistently been used both to buttress arguments about Adam's biography and as the

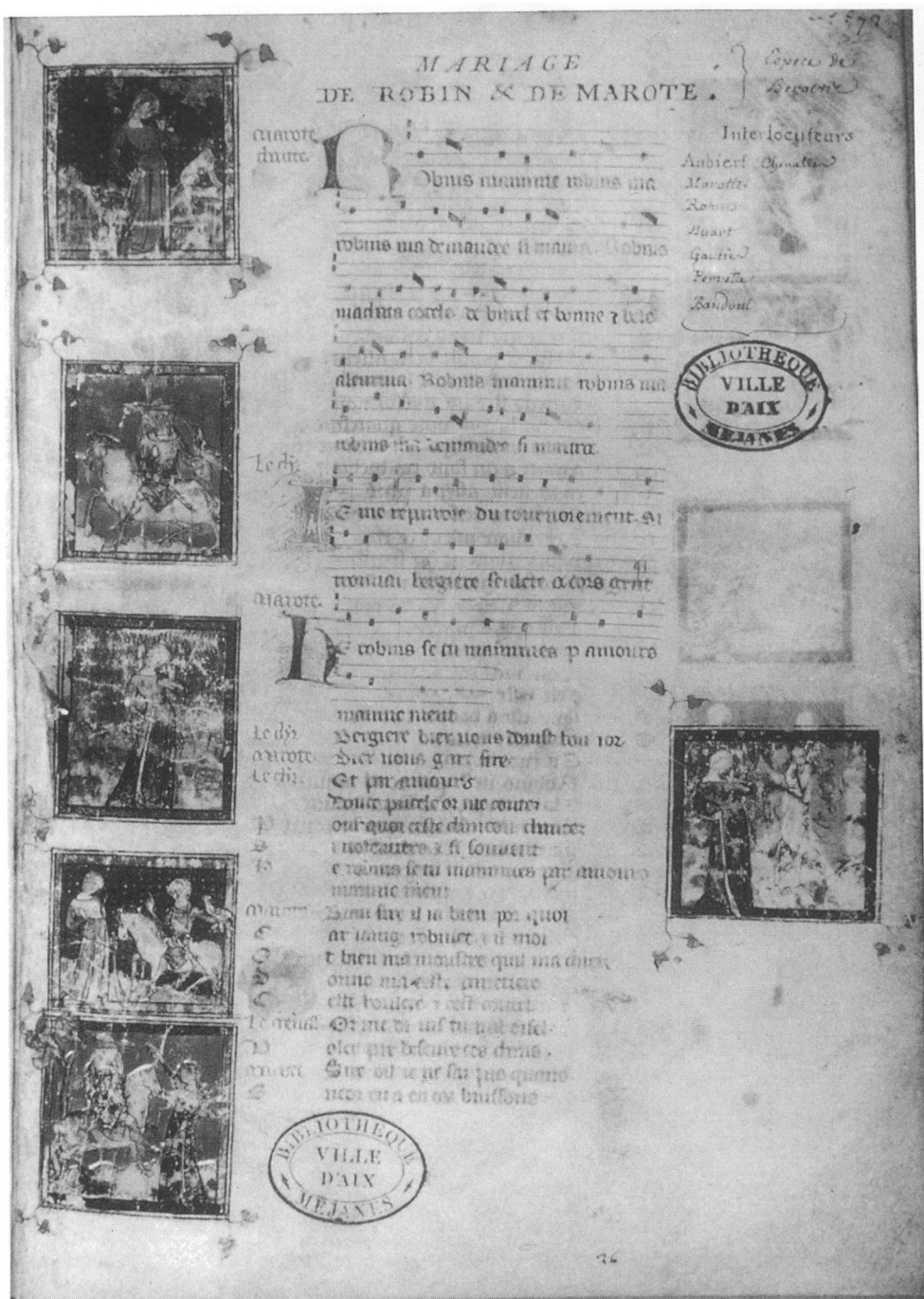


Figure 1. Opening page. *Jeu de Robin et Marion*; Bibl. Méjanes, MS 166 (Rés. ms. 14), fol. 1r. (Photo: Bibliothèque Méjanes, Aix-en-Provence.)

2 The Aix *Jeu de Robin et Marion*

basis for editions of his work. The Aix *Robin et Marion*, on the other hand, is mainly composed in the dialect of the Ile-de-France and therefore most likely not a Picard production. It is today not compiled with any other texts, nor is there codicological evidence of its original manuscript context. Scholars have therefore considered the Aix *Robin et Marion* further removed from Adam's original text than the version in BnF, fr. 25566 (and in BnF, fr. 1569, also copied in Picard); accordingly, it has been dated later and relegated to secondary status.⁵ Nor have most scholars shown an interest in the Aix manuscript's miniatures. Musicologists and philologists have been more concerned with musical and textual variants than with iconographic analysis, and the images' poor state, which obscures their beauty and legibility, has also discouraged close study.⁶

Preparation of an edition of the Aix *Jeu de Robin et Marion*'s text and music provides the occasion for a reassessment of this singular manuscript.⁷ Its rich multimedia content invites interdisciplinary study focused on the various strategies by which the Aix manuscript's makers adapted a textual and performance tradition and strove to achieve comprehensible and harmonious medial integration on the page.⁸ Following the order of the manuscript's production, we first address the collaboration of the text and music scribes. Their document differs notably from the other two versions of the *Robin et Marion*, reminding us that dramatic texts were protean artifacts subject to great textual, musical, and material variation. We argue that despite its alterity, the Aix version is a complete and carefully crafted record of text and music that should be accepted as a trustworthy and equally valuable witness to this play's history. We then consider the remarkable theatricalization of text and music in the accompanying miniatures. As the visual realization of setting, identity, dialogue, and dramatic evolution, the Aix miniatures provide an immediate and sustained performance of the text that crystallizes the unmediated essence of theatrical discourse. Although miniatures achieve similar performance effects in earlier manuscripts, there are no French or Latin play books pre-dating the Aix manuscript with a comparable iconographic program.⁹ The Aix codex is a major artifact because it is the earliest example extant of an illuminator responding to a play text with a thorough visual staging keyed to the work's inherent performance dynamics. The signifying hierarchy that heretofore privileged text over image in both religious and secular, Latin and French, play books is radically reimagined and re-formed in the Aix *Robin et Marion*.¹⁰

The Aix manuscript's place in the broader history of French and theater manuscripts requires a more thorough analysis than may be undertaken here. We therefore conclude with a brief examination of the Aix *Robin et Marion*'s cultural and manuscript context. A Parisian product, the Aix manuscript reflects both Adam

de la Halle's enduring and widespread reputation a generation after his death and a spirit of experimentation in Parisian ateliers. Our comments and conclusions are intended to serve as an introduction to, rather than a definitive study of, this remarkable manuscript, which promises to yield many more insights into the theater, literature, art history, manuscript history, and reading practices of the Middle Ages.

***Mouvance* and Scribal Adaptation**

Like all manuscripts, the Aix *Robin et Marion* is a static artifact whose fixedness belies a dynamic process of source gathering, decision making, and manual collaboration. The “know-how” behind the Aix manuscript involved four different roles—planner, text scribe, music scribe, and illuminator—and perhaps as many actors (though the planner could also have been one of the artisans). The first steps in the manuscript's elaboration were transcription of the text, followed by the addition of musical notation. The results of this initial, scribal collaboration are striking when compared to the other two extant copies of the *Robin et Marion*: the Aix manuscript's layout, text, and music all depart significantly from the preceding versions. This *mouvance* suggests, as many scholars have noted, that the Aix manuscript belongs to a family separate from that of BnF, fr. 25566 and BnF, fr. 1569. More importantly, its single text column, altered text and music, and images show that the Aix manuscript is the site of a radical reconfiguration of the *Robin et Marion* in which bookmakers adapt text and music to a new environment and frame it with a different horizon of expectation.

Textual variants in the Aix manuscript suggest not only shifts typical of scribal transmission, but also a conscious alteration of the text. Adam de la Halle is intimately identified with Arras, and the two other manuscripts preserving the *Robin et Marion* are Picard (and most likely Artesian), but the Aix manuscript's language is almost entirely Francien¹¹ and it is the only version of the play to contain a direct reference to Paris. These features led Kenneth Varty to comment on the text's “parisianisation” in the Aix manuscript.¹² Moreover, the text was copied in a Parisian hand in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and the Aix illuminations also point to a Parisian origin from this period.¹³ The Aix *Robin et Marion* is thus the product of the bustling fourteenth-century Parisian trade in vernacular books that produced a wide variety of manuscripts by copying texts from all over northern France and points further afield. A Parisian origin may further be suggested by the manuscript's confident integration of text, music, and image for this secular and vernacular work, which befits a successful urban atelier.¹⁴ With its Francien dialect,

reference to Paris, and creative layout, the Aix manuscript is the product of a motivated localization that influences not only its language, but also its entire conception.

A further sign of the Aix manuscript's material transformation of the *Robin et Marion* is its single text column (Fig. 1)—a contrast to BnF, fr. 25566 and BnF, fr. 1569, which are copied in the two-column format common in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts of vernacular verse and prose.¹⁵ In BnF, fr. 25566 and BnF, fr. 1569, this layout reveals a play divorced from theatrical performance and incorporated into the realm of book-bound, self-consciously literary, works. BnF, fr. 25566 is an author corpus devoted to Adam de la Halle that doubles as a biographical record through compilation, illuminations, and interpolated references to his life.¹⁶ In BnF, fr. 1569, the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* is appended to the *Roman de la Rose*, a stridently bookish text that combines lyric sentiment with scholastic discourse.¹⁷ Performance is an important feature of both BnF, fr. 25566 and BnF, fr. 1569, but in both it is subsumed into a larger textual and literary project that focuses attention on the *Robin et Marion* as either a post-performance textual record (in the case of BnF, fr. 25566), or a thematic counterpoint and dialogic flourish (in BnF, fr. 1569).¹⁸

The Aix manuscript has a hybrid format reflecting its position between books for reading and artifacts for performing. Though a codex, its single-text column replicates the layout of both actors' roles and musical rotuli, documents used for live performances.¹⁹ Although it has been suggested that the Aix manuscript itself was a script for live spectacle, it is certain that this book is not a performance document in the same way theater roles are.²⁰ Strips of parchment that fulfilled a practical function, roles allowed actors to memorize their lines in relation to other parts. Each role contains only the lines of a single part; other characters' lines are present only insofar as they immediately precede or follow that part. The Aix manuscript, on the other hand, contains a complete version of the *Robin et Marion*'s text and music. It is also heavily illuminated, whereas theater roles never contain images. Although the boundaries between individual vocalization, public reading, performing with roles, and memorial performance were often blurred in the Middle Ages, and the Aix manuscript may itself have been the platform for some form of voiced reading or singing, it is clear that it was not the means to a large-scale communal performance in the way roles were.²¹

Without knowing its patron and what texts originally accompanied it, if any, it is hard to judge the precise function and effect the Aix *Robin et Marion* was meant to have. Like manuscripts BnF, fr. 25566 and BnF, fr. 1569, it is a literary record, and a precious one at that, meant for private use and not produced to guide a troupe in its staging of the play. Yet the Aix manuscript's single column of text and music,

by evoking a relationship to roles and rotuli, suggests at the same time a desire to imbue the reader/viewer’s perception of the manuscript with live performance associations. The Aix manuscript’s layout announces these folios as a “dramatic space”; it is a visual device implying theatricality on the page.

Other aspects of layout further reinforce the impression of a dialogic and dynamic scenario unfolding before the eye. Rubricated names written to the left of the text indicate the moment at which each character begins a new spoken or sung enunciation. Pen-flourished initials four lines (1.5 cm) high, also placed to the left of the text column, join rubrics in highlighting the beginning of each character’s musical performance. These initials have alternating blue and red bodies with opposite color penwork, establishing a visual back-and-forth that mirrors that of the dialogue. Music’s presence is further signaled by the rubricated staff lines, which break the visual rhythm of the brown, closely packed dialogue verses and create a visible space for musical notation. Moreover, the spoken dialogue is composed in octosyllables copied one verse to a line (except when a verse is distributed among more than one character), but the musical notation and corresponding sung text are copied across the width of the text column, as in *chansonniers*. Several visual features thus collaborate to underscore the different dynamics of song and speech.

The same careful planning that leads the eye from dialogue to song, and vice versa, is also evident in the clear and comprehensible juxtaposition of text and musical notation in the songs themselves. Though it is further removed in space and time from Adam de la Halle than the other two copies of the *Robin et Marion*, and though its songs offer many variants from those in BnF fr. 25566, the Aix version nevertheless provides an authentic and precious musical record. Its internal coherence and integrity are visible in the song “Bergeronnete, douce baisselete,” for example, which points up the manuscript’s value as an independent performance document.²² The text of this song appears in two different forms in the three *Robin et Marion* manuscripts, and BnF, fr. 25566’s notation differs slightly from that of the Aix manuscript. In the following comparison the bracketed letters at the end of each verse refer to musical structure:²³

BnF fr. 25566 (fol. 41r) & BnF fr. 1569 (fol. 141r; no music)		Aix (fol. 3v) ²⁴	
Robin		Robin	
<i>Bergeronnete, douche baisselete,</i>	[A]	<i>Bergeronnete, douce baisselete,</i>	[A]
<i>Donnés le moi vostre chapelet,</i>	[B]	<i>Donnez [le] moi, vostre chapelet</i>	[B’]
<i>Donnés le moi vostre chapelet.</i>	[B’]		

Marion*Robin, veus tu que je le meche* [a]*Seur ton chief, par amourete?* [a']**Robin***Oil, et vous serés m'amiete;* [a]*vous averés ma chainturete* [a]*M'aumosniere et mon fremalet.* [a']*Bergeronnete, douche baisselete,* [A]*Donnés le moi vostre chapelet.* [B]**Marion***Volentiers, men douc amiet.* [B']**Marion***Robin, veuls tu que je le mete* [a]*Seur ton chief, par amourete?* [a]*M'en iert il miex se je l'i met?* [b]*M'en ert il meix se je l'i met?*²⁵ [b']**Robin***Oil, vous serez m'amiete;* [a]*vous avrés ma çainturete* [a]*M'aumosniere et mon fremaillet.* [a']*Bergeronnete, douce baisselete,* [A]*donnés le moi, vostre chapelet.* [B']**Marion***Volentiers, a mon amiet.*

The variation between the manuscripts is striking: Aix does not repeat the second verse of the refrain, “Donnés le moi vostre chapelet” (which is repeated in BnF, fr. 25566 and BnF, fr. 1569)²⁶; and Aix adds (or do BnF, fr. 25566 and BnF, fr. 1569 omit?) the two verses “M'en iert il mieus si je l'i met?” Moreover, the distribution of lines is different at the end of the song: it is Robin who concludes the song in the Aix manuscript, whereas in BnF, fr. 25566 Marion sings the last line.

Further comparison shows that despite these differences, the Aix manuscript is a reliable poetic and musical transcription. In both BnF, fr. 25566 and Aix, despite the different number and distribution of verses, each version has poetic integrity: each begins and ends with a refrain, and the intervening verses respect semantic, linguistic, and metrical rules. Likewise, the songs in BnF, fr. 25566 and Aix are different but equally viable from a musical perspective. In both manuscripts, each stanza ends with a cadence respecting the rules of the period,²⁷ and the refrains in both manuscripts follow a systematic musical structure as well. These refrains are composed of two musical phrases which, aside from minor ornamental variations, provide the melodic material for the entire song. In the Aix manuscript, the two verses of the refrain correspond respectively to these two melodic phrases (A and B'), so that a satisfactory musical organization is provided by the repetition of these melodies at the beginning and end of the song.

Although the Aix text and music are purportedly further from the “original” than BnF, fr. 25566 and BnF, fr. 1569, then, the version of “Bergeronnette, douce baissete” in Aix is acceptable as both a poem and musical piece. Indeed, the Aix version offers a more coherent distribution of verses and music because of the omitted verse in BnF, fr. 25566. In the final refrain of BnF, fr. 25566, the scribe apparently forgot to repeat the verse “Donnés le moi vostre chapelet” and instead wrote the first verse of Marion’s spoken reply, “Volentiers, men douc amiet.” The music copyist in BnF, fr. 25566, however, wrote in the notation, setting Marion’s line to music when, in the Aix manuscript, it is spoken. In BnF, fr. 1569 the verse “Donnés le moi vostre chapelet” is repeated twice at the end of the song, as it is in the first stanza, and Marion’s line is not accompanied by a space for music. Based on the otherwise perfect resemblance between the BnF, fr. 25566 and BnF, fr. 1569 versions of this song, as well as the demands of poetic symmetry, it is certain that the BnF, fr. 25566 scribe skipped the last line of the song and went directly to Marion’s spoken verse.

This is not to say that the Aix manuscript is flawless. Elsewhere the text scribe forgets part of an internal refrain, leaving the music copyist to write in three dangling notes with no corresponding text (“E! Robechon, leur leür va,” fol. 2v).²⁸ In this instance the difficulties of medial integration become glaringly obvious, since the music can not be altered to conform to the text on the page without fatally undermining its order and logic. In another example, omitted rubrics on fol. 7v lead to a confusing distribution of dialogue. Whether these omissions are due to the Aix scribe or his exemplar, they are interesting because they occur at a moment of accelerated dialogue, with lines divided between speakers and numerous characters intervening one after the other. At some point in the chain of transmission, this complex passage was garbled or awkwardly adapted.

Viewed comparatively as poetic and musical records, the three *Robin et Marion* manuscripts are an important testament to the constantly shifting terrain in which theater was performed and transmitted in the Middle Ages. Mutable artifacts fluctuating between fixed texts and ephemeral performances, medieval plays were altered to conform to different audiences, venues, events, and manuscripts. The surviving copies of the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* are themselves three different performances of this play—material manifestations with unique formats and contents, concocted for different manuscript and readership contexts.²⁹ Part of a textual and performance tradition, the Aix manuscript becomes the site for its reinvention in form and content. The most radical aspect of the Aix manuscript’s *mouvance* is not textual or musical, however, but the visual discourse that animates its dialogue and song.

Design of the Miniatures

The images in the Aix *Jeu de Robin et Marion* have received little attention until now, yet even a cursory look shows that they are a crucial feature of the manuscript that merits close examination. Their number, size, and rich colors make them an integral part of the pages' visual display, as does their placement on both sides of the text and, on fols. 10v and 11v, in the *bas de page*. These miniatures, which range in content from direct illustrations to lively interpretations of the dialogue, offer a rare opportunity to analyze in detail a medieval visualization of a dramatic text. The Aix images transform language and song into spectacle and remind us that any dramatic text is a potential visual performance. They are unique in offering a sustained visual rendering of dialogue on the page, and make the Aix manuscript seem in many ways like an experiment testing the capacity of images to enhance spoken, musical, and dramatic effects within the book.

Like its text, music, and one-column layout, the Aix manuscript's miniatures set it apart from the other copies of the *Robin et Marion*. The eye is not so dramatically engaged in BnF, fr. 25566 and BnF, fr. 1569's versions of the play: the former has a single image at the beginning of the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, the latter none. This visual difference reinforces the impression that the Aix manuscript is a confident reinvention of a dramatic *matière* by a creative atelier. Viewed in the wider manuscript context, this layout also suggests an ambitious experiment, since no contemporary French manuscript shares a similar *mise en page*. This lack of resemblance is striking given the boom in book production, and concomitant innovation in layout practices, in the regions between Paris and Bruges in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Aix manuscript appears to offer a novel approach to the recording not only of vernacular theater, but also of images and text in general.

With 132 images on only eleven folios, the Aix manuscript is a feat of spatial organization. Significantly, the distribution of its images was not planned in advance on the page. The margins in which the miniatures are placed are not ruled.³⁰ The images themselves give every indication of ad hoc, free-handed placement. Their frames do not align with the ruling in the central text column, and they often deviate from their vertical alignment as well. This is because the miniatures, although generally square or close to it, do not have regular dimensions, but expand and contract within the same margin. The absence of instructions on the pages and under the miniatures, although certainly not definitive proof of improvised illustration, reinforces the impression of a freely added, and freely invented, iconographic program.

The loose format and alignment of these images also suggest rapid execution. Stylistic analysis shows that the images in the Aix manuscript are the product of a

single artist who worked carefully and, it seems, quickly. The repeated poses in many images may reflect both personal technique and the need to save time. This is not to say that the images are an afterthought, however. Given the size of the margins left for them, it seems certain that these miniatures were intended from the beginning. They no doubt added greatly to the book's cost, and would have been accounted for by the patron or *libraire* from the outset. But their configuration suggests that they were not copied from a pre-existing model. Rather, the illuminator was left to adapt his images to the empty margins late in production, following either his own interpretation of the text or a program laid out for him by someone else.

The Aix miniatures are placed in close proximity to the lines they illustrate, following a pattern that is both varied and consistent. When the Knight first appears on fol. 1r (Fig. 1, min. b), his image straddles the last lines of Marion's song and the first line of his own.³¹ The rubric "Le chr" abuts the image's frame at its vertical midpoint. However, when the Knight engages Marion in dialogue for the first time (Fig. 1, min. f), it is the top of the frame—not its midpoint—that is aligned with the Knight's rubricated title and one-verse greeting. Again, this varied placement suggests an improvised approach, but one that is nevertheless governed by consistent rules. The illuminator repeatedly favors the left margin, which always contains as many images as the right or even more.³² Moreover, just as the text descends vertically, so do the images: on most folios, it is vertical placement that determines viewing order.³³ Thus on fol. 1r, the image in the right margin (Fig. 1, min. f) is the fourth in order of the unfolding action; it precedes the last two images in the left margin, even though it is alone and on the right. This distribution in both margins maximizes the number of possible miniatures and provides great flexibility in responding to the text. It also enhances visual interaction with the page by establishing a rhythmic movement from miniature to miniature that imitates both vertical and lateral motions of reading.

Every miniature in the Aix manuscript is a discrete, readable tableau. Throughout the manuscript, every frame is outlined with a black line spaced about a millimeter out from the frame.³⁴ The contrast between the colored frames and the parchment is thereby accentuated, to the point where the images seem almost to rise off the page. This visual distinctness becomes especially important in those margins where multiple images abut each other in a continuous vertical band resembling a film-strip (Fig. 2; see also Figs. 7, 12, 13). Rhythmic alternation among red, blue, and gold in the borders and backgrounds further ensures that each image is clearly set off from the others. The decorative detail, often very minute, changes from image to image and reinforces visual contrast: at times grid patterns of colored dots cover red and blue backgrounds; at others, lines are incised into the parchment in

checkerboard and lozenge patterns. Although conventional and repetitive, the energetic draftsmanship succinctly captures movement, while balanced compositions and careful painting allow the representation of multiple figures and details in compact scenes. None of these are original features, of course, but they are deployed in a deft manner that strikes a balance between visual continuity and separation. The illuminator uses what he knows and adapts his craft to a complex visual project in order to make it coherent.

Viewed in their wider artistic context, the Aix miniatures' design, drawing, and palette, along with the text's dialect, reference to Paris, and scribal hand, help to further establish the manuscript's Parisian origin. The Aix miniatures resemble the work of an illuminator associated with three Parisian manuscripts, a *Bible historiale* (BnF, fr. 155), a *Bestiaire d'amour rimé* (BnF, fr. 1951), and the opening illuminations of the famous *Kalila et Dimna* (BnF, lat. 8504) dated 1313.³⁵ This latter manuscript offers particularly intriguing parallels to the Aix *Robin et Marion*. On fols. Bv and 1r, which were added as an introduction to the translation of the *Kalila et Dimna* prepared for King Philip the Fair, six miniatures commemorating the Pentecost Feast of 1313 were pasted onto the page next to Latin captions describing them. One has detached completely and been lost (Fig. 3). The placement of these images to the side of the captions, their varied sizes, the thin black lines framing them, and the alternation among red, purple, and gold ink all echo the format and color scheme of the Aix manuscript, and the drapery folds in both manuscripts are quite similar. There are nevertheless noticeable differences between the drawing styles in these manuscripts. The miniatures in BnF, lat. 8504 have more carefully rendered proportions and varied postures than those in the Aix *Robin et Marion*. The eyes in the Aix miniatures are rounder and the hair less wavy and curly than in BnF, lat. 8504. The Aix miniatures are probably not by the artist of the opening bifolium in BnF, lat. 8504, but their resemblance to this and other securely attributed Parisian manuscripts of the period suggests that the Aix manuscript is a Parisian product of around 1315 as well.

The Play in Pictures: Setting, Identity, and Dialogue

More than just an ornament, the Aix program of miniatures translates the dialogue into a visual discourse that enhances the dramatic workings of the manuscript as a whole. The miniatures mirror the changing scenario described in text and song with striking clarity, thanks both to their formal features and their close correspondence to the play's content. Within the Aix manuscript's complex image-text-music relationship, we focus on four principal theatricalizing functions of the miniatures:

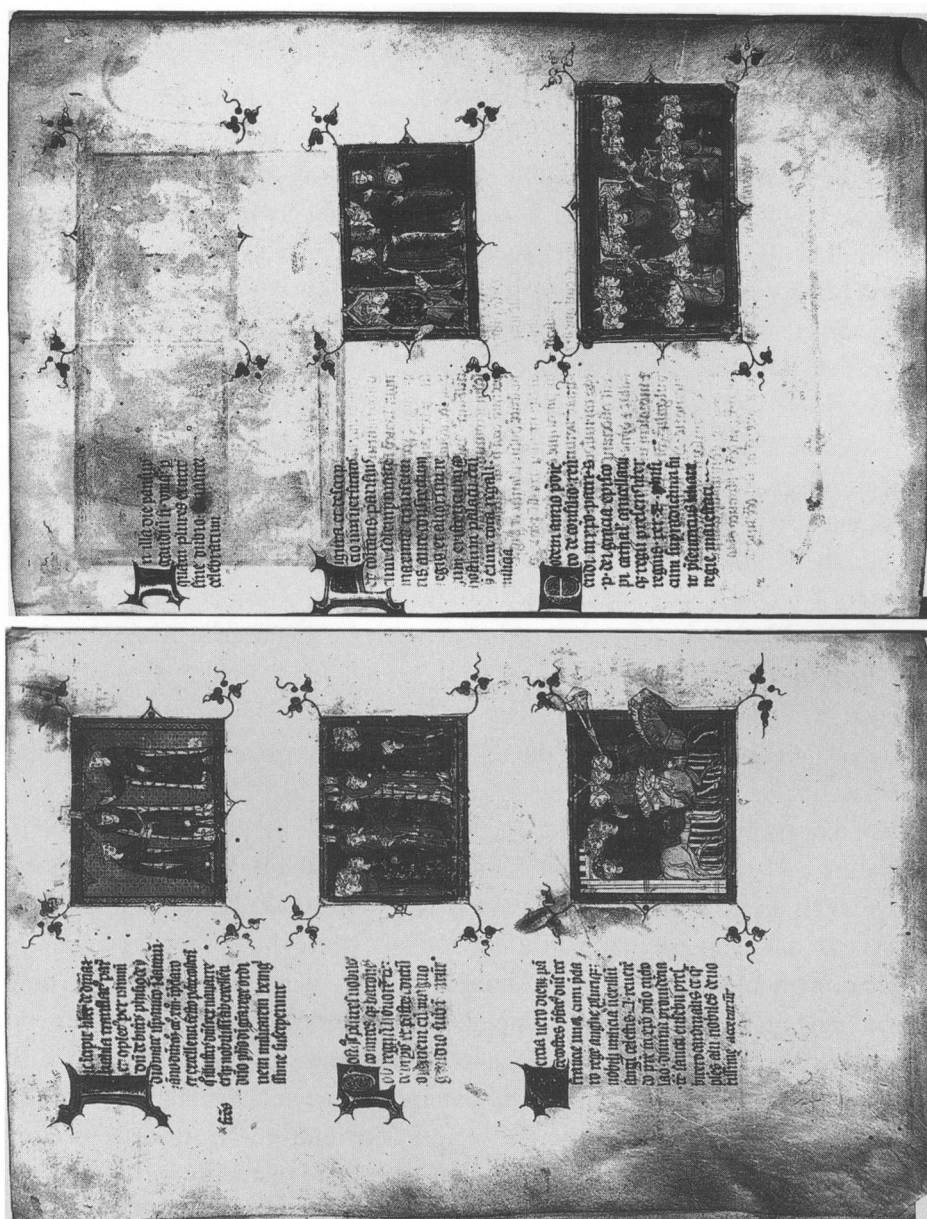


Figure 3. Opening bifolium. *Kalila et Dimna*; BnF, lat. 8504, fols. Bv and 1r. (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.)

evoking setting, identifying characters, representing speech and song, and dramatizing action. These functions often overlap, but by separating them into distinct categories we can better appreciate the choices made by the illuminator as he gave visual life to dialogue and music.

The *Jeu de Robin et Marion* contains very limited references to setting. This is not surprising, since the play is in fact a theatricalization of two popular genres, the *pastourelle* and *bergerie*. Names, songs, and dialogue suffice to indicate that the action unfolds in a stylized pastoral universe. The majority of the images in the Aix manuscript echo this schematization, generally supplying only a ground line placed at varying heights. The perspective, such as it is, is created through overlapping forms and juxtaposed colors. Nevertheless, the images do at times depict important textual details that refer to setting. On fol. 1r, for example, the Knight asks Marion if she has seen any birds flying over the fields. She replies that there are still some in “those bushes.”³⁶ The last image in the left margin depicts Marion gesturing over the Knight’s head toward a tree at the left edge of the scene (Fig. 1, min. e). On fol. 4v setting is once again visualized when Robin goes to fetch Gautier and Baudoul, and says: “Are you there? Open the door for me, good, kind cousins.”³⁷ Here again the illuminator responds to the text, depicting the door as an opening in a wall out of which a figure steps toward Robin. This and a similar image on fol. 5r are the only two illustrations of architecture in the entire manuscript. Simple as they are, these details have a theatrical function—they establish spatial relationships that are implied in the dialogue. Although they are not realistic representations of place, these images nevertheless translate the text into a visual context that clarifies dialogic interaction.

Like places, objects are another part of material setting that is concretized in the miniatures. Their presence is particularly evident in the images accompanying the two *fêtes champêtres* that punctuate the play.³⁸ In the dialogue for the second of these scenes, characters name the different items—cheese, ham, bread, peas—that they have brought to the gathering, and images in the margins depict figures holding these articles (Fig. 2). The representation of these mundane objects is a response to the text rather than an attempt at visual realism. Like the words they illustrate, which are semantic markers of a rural setting, these miniatures depict visual “props” composing the pastoral world of the play. The images here reinforce the text’s evocation of a shepherd community in which simple, informal, and rustic pleasures reign.

Musical instruments join mundane objects in the miniatures to evoke the materiality of the play’s pastoral and performative world. But their effect is also richer, because they highlight visually the aural environment represented by the many musical insertions. In the bottom left margin on fol. 10v, for example, Robin

raises his arms in what appears to be a dance step or theatrical gesture (Fig. 4, min. d). Behind him, two musicians blow on trumpets raised in the air. This image signals the transition to the play's final section, a group celebration in which Robin is transformed from pastoral bumpkin into master of ceremonies. The miniature procession he leads highlights his triumph—at this moment, with the musicians in tow, Robin becomes the focus of the play. Although there is no musical notation accompanying these images, the instruments nevertheless evoke a fanfare that is both visual and aural. Musical notation does accompany the image of Gautier's performance of a line from the scatological mock-epic *Audigier* on fol. 11r in which the shepherd holds a fiddle, the instrument of minstrels and jongleurs that evokes musical performance of epic poetry (Fig. 5, min. b). His song is heard by a figure standing to the right—perhaps Robin, who is offended by Gautier's choice of material. The gleaming gold trumpets on fol. 10v and Gautier's fiddle provide concise and theatrical visualizations of music's presence, their effect enhanced by the presence of visibly inscribed audiences.

The depictions of objects are of particular interest because they reflect thorough knowledge of the text—rarely, if at all, does an item appear out of place. Such close correspondence between images and text may not at first strike us as an impressive feat—the illuminator of the Aix *Robin et Marion*, after all, didn't have to translate mystical or theological discourse into images—but the consistency with which textual details are rendered throughout these 132 images bespeaks a very careful iconographic approach. Whether the illuminator himself read the text or followed a supervisor's instructions is impossible to say, but whoever was responsible for the Aix manuscript's miniatures paid extremely close attention to textual details. Along with the precise correspondence between the text and musical notation, and the highly legible layout, this textual scrutiny is another sign of the care taken in producing the Aix codex.

Employed to evoke setting and miscellaneous objects, material details also provide visual cues to the identities of characters. Because the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* draws on pastoral motifs traditional in literature, song, and iconography, the Aix illuminator was able to employ a well established visual repertory to depict characters, adapting it to the text as needed. For example, although it is a common iconographic attribute of shepherds, the bagpipe is identified solely with the shepherd Huart in the six images in which it appears, providing instant visual recognition. In the Aix manuscript, visible and identifiable figures provide reference points for the dynamic vocal performance in the central column. On fol. 1r, Marion is depicted in the first image (Fig. 1, min. a) with her staff, dog, and sheep, the usual iconographic attributes of the shepherd(ess), and the Knight is depicted in traditional

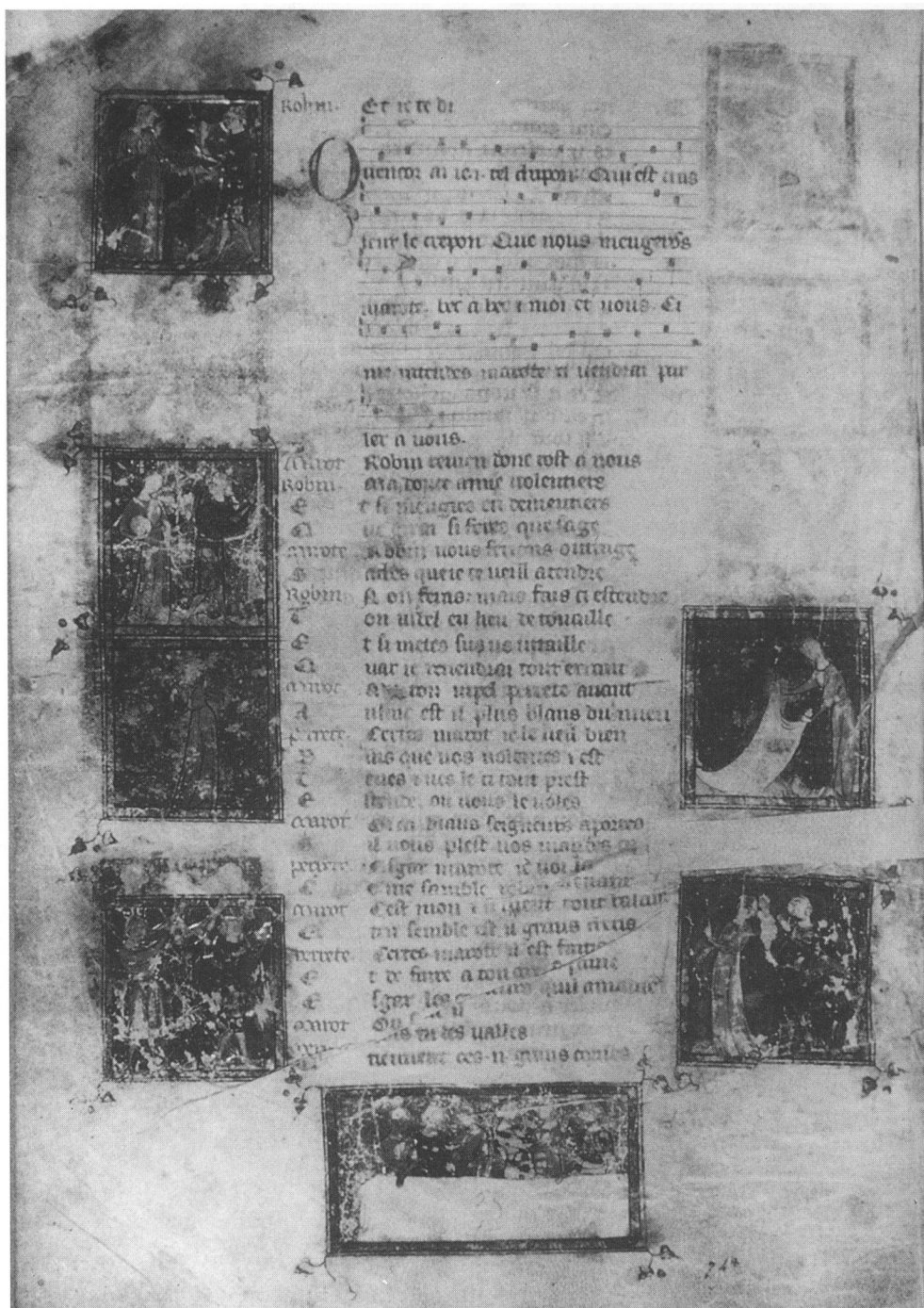


Figure 4. Min. d: Robin leads the trumpeters; Min. e: Perrette places a cloth on the ground; Min. f: Marion and Perrette watch Robin's entrance. *Jeu de Robin et Marion*; Bibl. Méjanès, MS 166 (Rés. ms. 14), fol. 10v. (Photo: Bibliothèque Méjanès, Aix-en-Provence.)

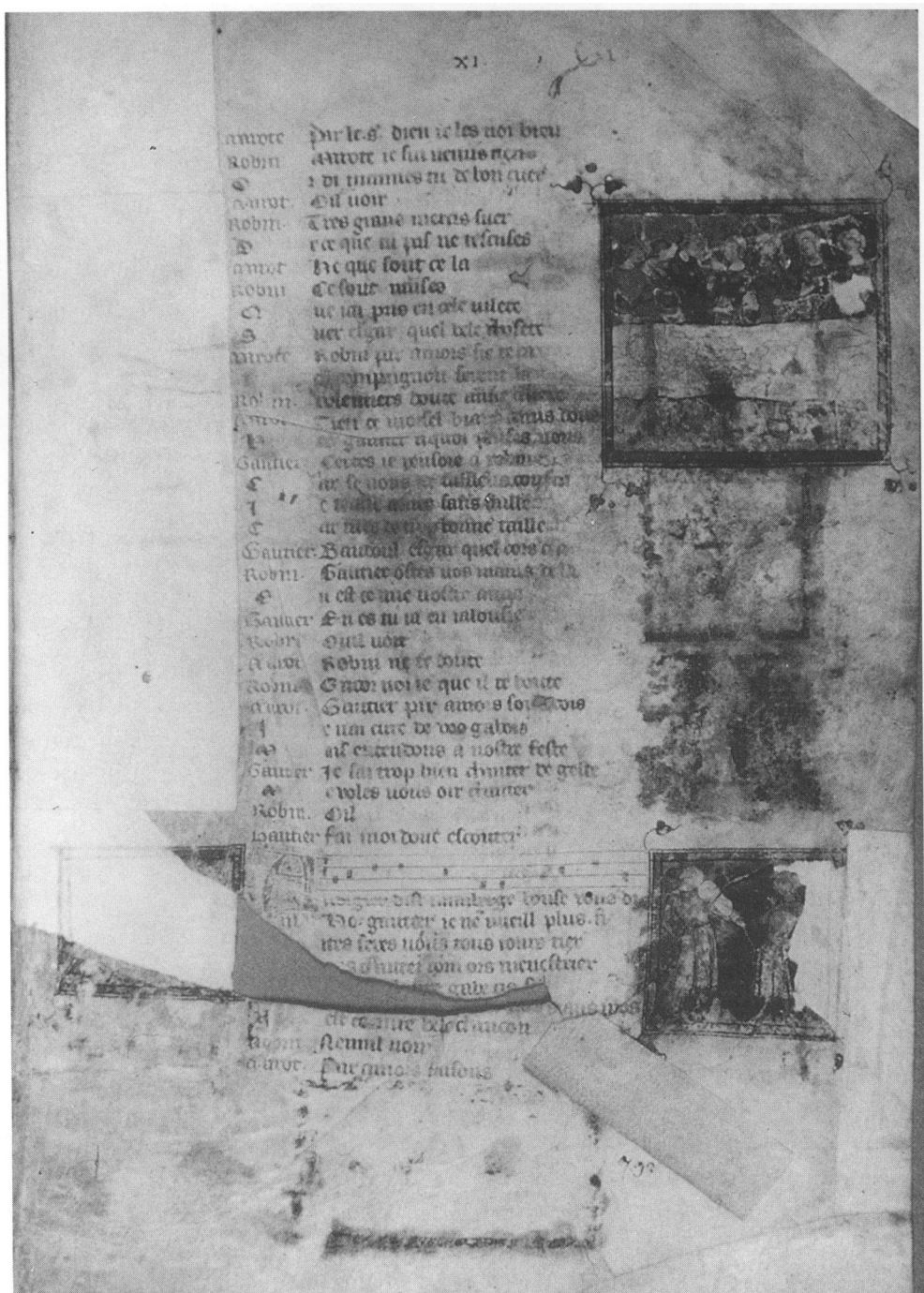


Figure 5. Min. b: Gautier and the fiddle. *Jeu de Robin et Marion*; Bibl. Méjanès, MS 166 (Rés. ms. 14), fol. 11r. (Photo: Bibliothèque Méjanès, Aix-en-Provence.)

style in the second (Fig. 1, min. b). He recurs throughout the manuscript viewed in profile on horseback, with a falcon on his wrist in most images. This image is both an accurate depiction of the dialogue (the Knight's falcon is mentioned three times in the text), and a common motif signifying nobility and courtly pursuits.³⁹ These first two images provide a visual complement to the two songs that open the play: Marion's evokes Robin's love for her, and the Knight sings about meeting a shepherdess while riding home from a tournament. Part of a traditional repertory,⁴⁰ both the music and words of these songs establish the genre on which the play is based and immediately identify the singers, just as the images do.⁴¹ Aural and visual recognition are thus joined in this opening section, where there is perfect semiotic correspondence among music, text, and image.⁴²

In the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, Adam de la Halle theatricalizes archetypal figures and attributes by giving unfiltered voices and attitudes to characters whose presence in the *pastourelles* is otherwise mediated by the lyric performer or persona. The direct interaction of the Knight and shepherds as distinct characters expands the dramatic and comic potential of the *pastourelle*, giving immediacy to the conflicts and word play of the genre.⁴³ This direct representation also affects the iconography of the Aix manuscript, where images translate the clashing identities and views of the different subject positions articulated in the text. Sociolinguistic identity, and the play and subversion to which it is subject, are among the play's central themes and are a recurring subject of the Aix miniatures as well. During the first encounter between Marion and the Knight, for example, the noble's horse becomes the object of their verbal jousting:

Knight: Now tell me, sweet shepherdess, would you like to come play with me on this lovely steed, by the copse in the valley?

Marion: Oh my, sire! Pull back your horse, it almost hurt me; Robin's doesn't jump around like that when I drive his plow.⁴⁴

As a sign of the Knight's social superiority and masculine force, his horse becomes the target of comic inversion when Marion states her preference for Robin's draft horse. The illuminator responds to this parodied status symbol by bending iconographic conventions. In the image accompanying this scene on fol. 2r (Fig. 6, min. b), Marion pushes the horse's head away. The illuminator has taken care to show Marion's hand on the horse's neck, which turns back toward the Knight. The twisted head is a striking contrast to the preceding images of the Knight on fols. 1r (Fig. 1) and 1v (see Fig. 8), which show the proud and iconic silhouette of the courtly rider often depicted on ivories and in romance manuscripts and prayer books.⁴⁵ On fol. 2r, the horse's profile is visibly altered by Marion's gesture—the horse is literally

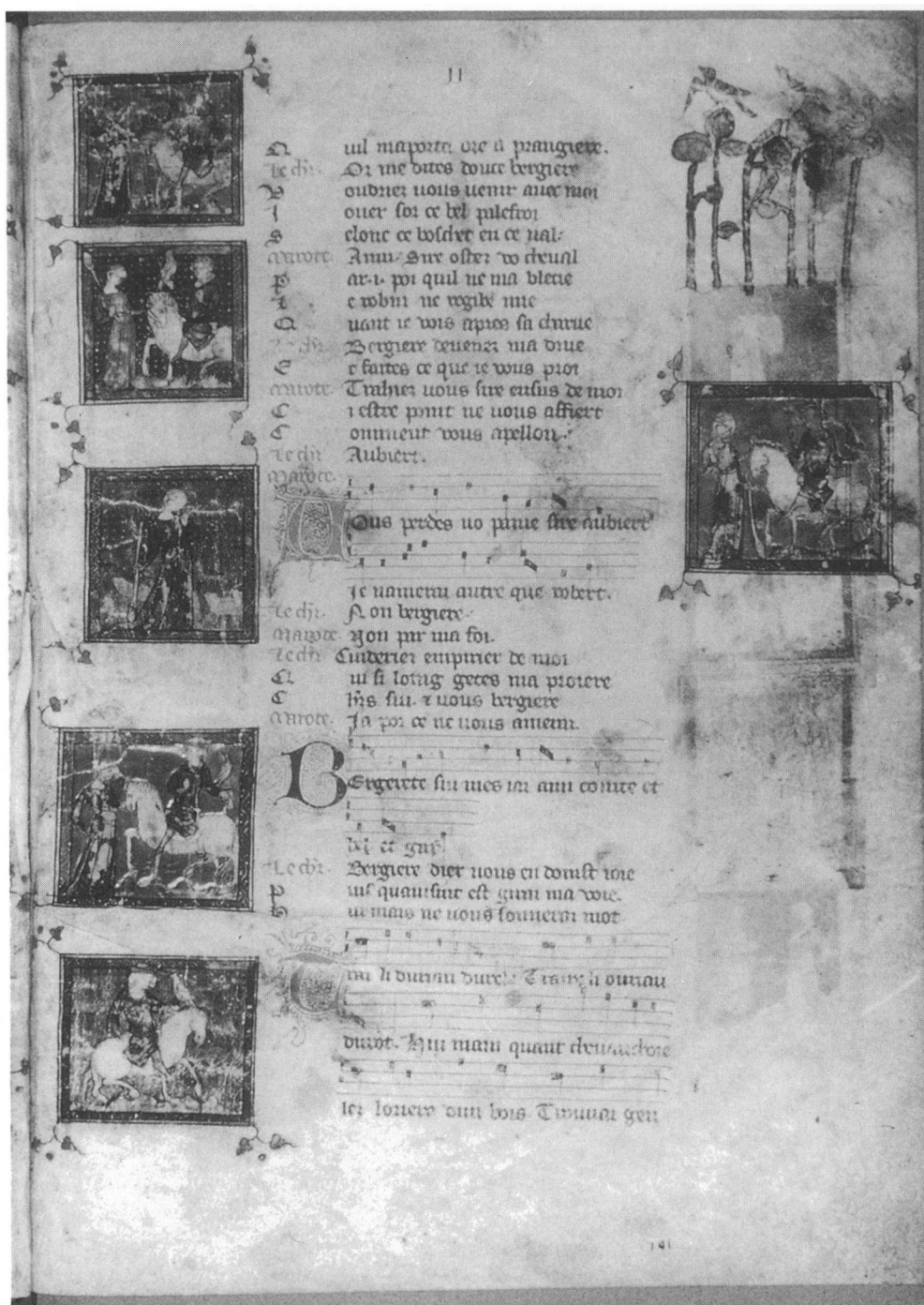


Figure 6. Min. b: Marion pushes the Knight's horse away. *Jeu de Robin et Marion*; Bibliothèque Méjanès, MS 166 (Rés. ms. 14), fol. 2r. (Photo: Bibliothèque Méjanès, Aix-en-Provence.)

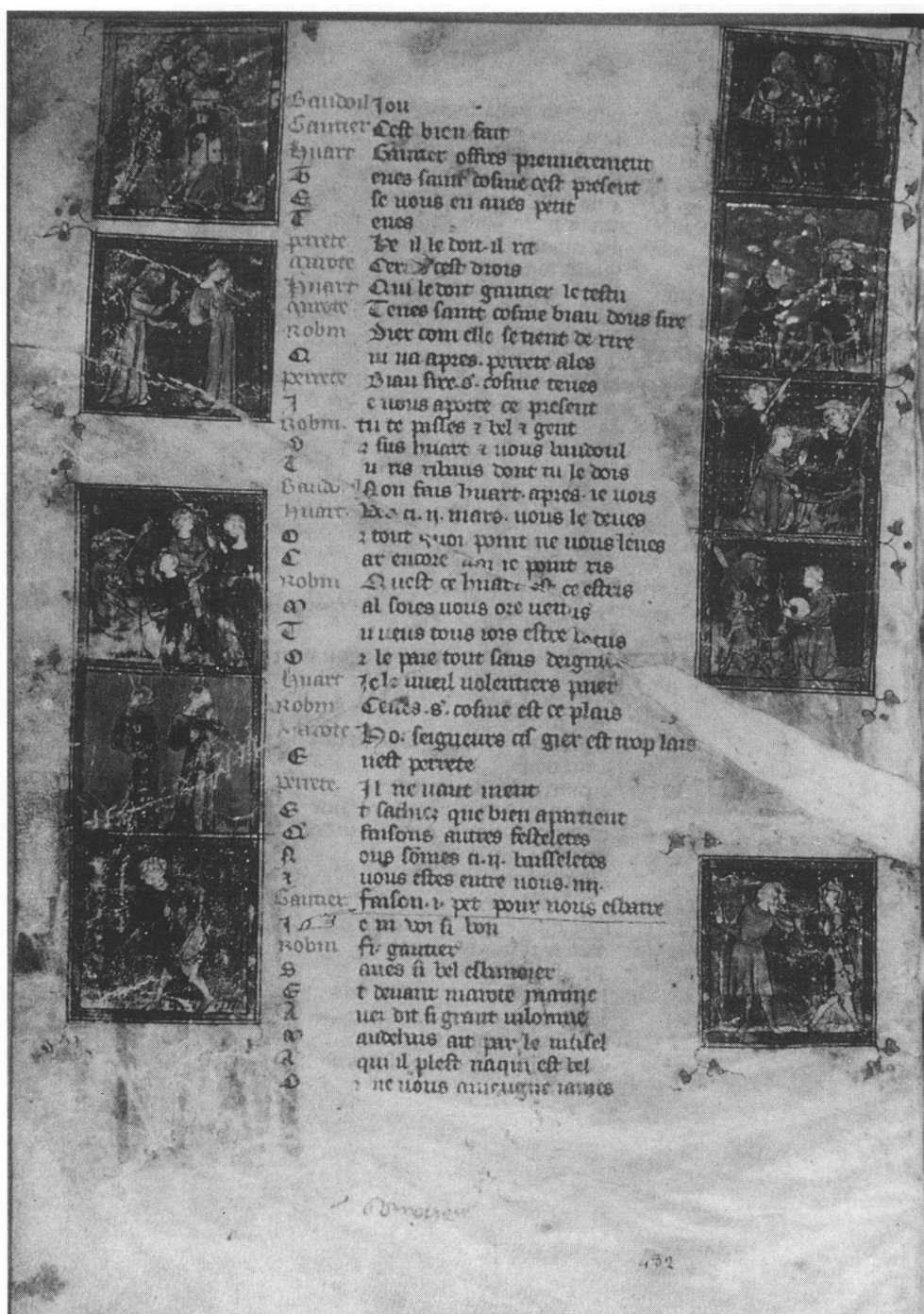


Figure 7. Mins. a–d, f–i: Game of “Saint Cosme”; Min e: Gautier’s fart; Min. j: Disgusted Robin and onlooker. *Jeu de Robin et Marion*; Bibl. Méjanès, MS 166 (Rés. ms. 14), fol. 7v. (Photo: Bibliothèque Méjanès, Aix-en-Provence.)

20 The Aix Jeu de Robin et Marion

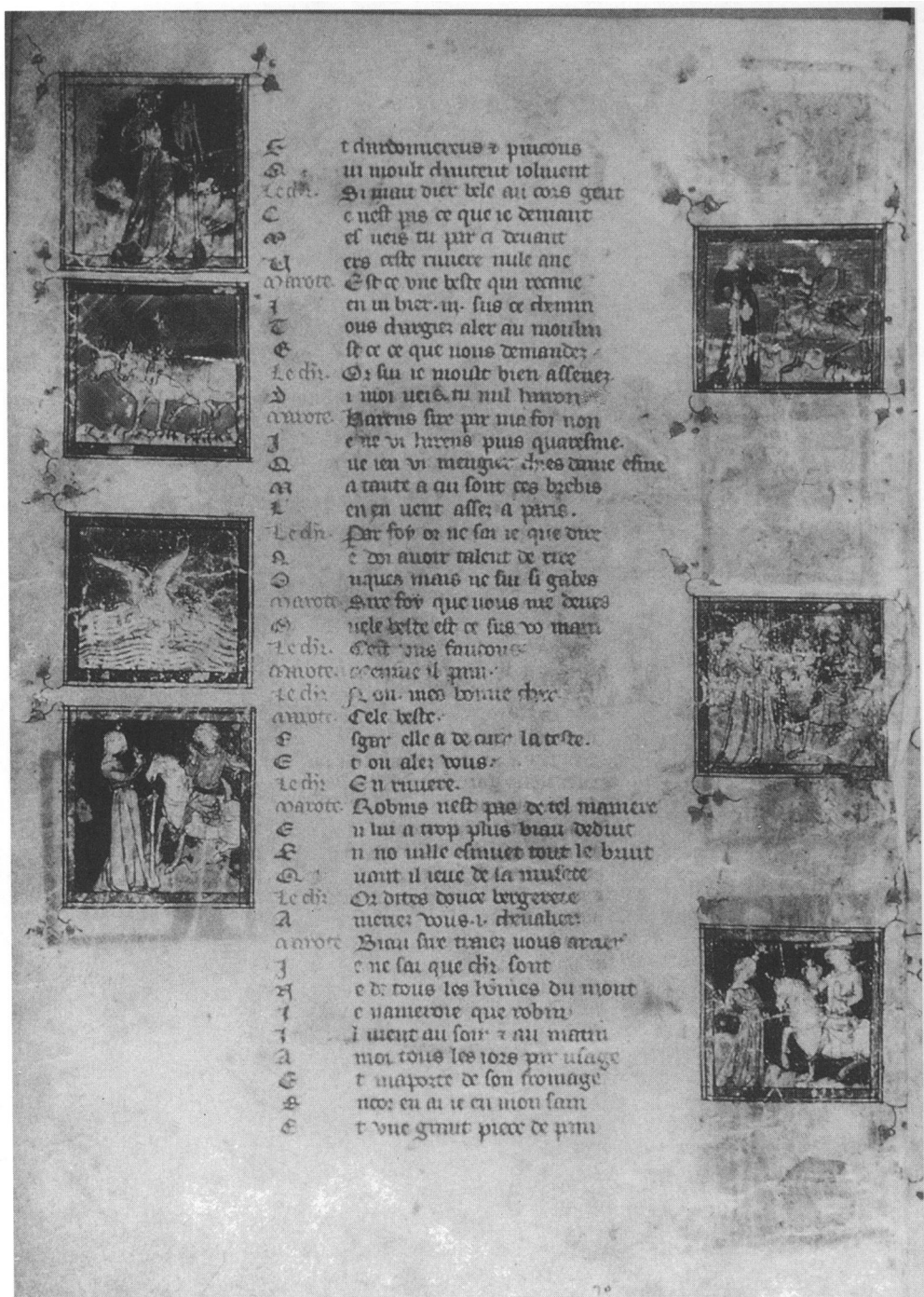


Figure 8. Visualized miscomprehension. Min. b: Marion's donkeys; Min. c: Knight's heron. *Jeu de Robin et Marion*; Bibl. Méjanas, MS 166 (Rés. ms. 14), fol. 1v. (Photo: Bibliothèque Méjanas, Aix-en-Provence.)

bent out of shape, just as Marion bends the Knight's discourse and blunts his seduction with her reference to Robin's beast of burden.

As its form and rubrication make clear, the Aix manuscript's text represents direct utterances by specific individuals. Just as it shapes the text's and music's layout and rubrication, the desire to represent vocal performance influences many of the Aix miniatures as well. In straightforward depictions of speakers, singers, and their interlocutors or audiences, it is the vocal act itself, rather than the substance of the dialogue, that is represented. The gestures for these actions in the Aix manuscript are common throughout medieval iconography: a raised index finger for speech, the open palm for a listening subject.⁴⁶ It is notable, given the emphasis on music in this manuscript,⁴⁷ that the majority of the visualized singers differ in no way from speakers. Singing figures in the Aix manuscript often raise their index, and are not depicted with the "o"-shaped mouths normally used to identify song in medieval iconography. It is possible that the illuminator illustrates music and speech in the same manner because of the music's dialogic format on the page, where songs are accompanied by rubricated names and, in certain passages, alternate like spoken parts.

The frequency of speakers and listeners in the miniatures reflects the absence of a narrator or lyrical "I" standing between the play and the audience. Dramatic texts such as the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* are constructed instead around a succession of speakers in time who quite literally "prennent la parole," appropriating enunciation by turns. In the French and Latin play manuscripts predating the Aix codex, verbal give-and-take is often indicated only by textual formatting and rubricated names identifying different speakers.⁴⁸ In the Aix codex, however, spoken exchange is echoed in and enhanced by the rapid succession of images. The spatio-temporal relationships implied in the text are reified in the miniatures, where interlocutors are grouped together and dialogic positions—speaker or listener—are made visible through gesture.

The visual articulation of dialogue is particularly evident on fol. 7v, where the shepherds play the game "saint Cosme" in one of the play's more famous passages (Fig. 7).⁴⁹ The characters take turns offering "presents" to the "saint," who tries to make them laugh with facial contortions. Those who laugh lose and must take the saint's place. Dialogically this is a complex scene, as speakers both comment on the action (who goes next, how each person does), and participate directly in the game. The accelerated dialogue is visible in the numerous rubrics, many of which are placed one above the other. It is also mirrored in the high miniature-to-rubric ratio (10:19) on this folio.⁵⁰ The illuminator responds to the layering of speech acts by depicting both those who comment on the action and those who play the game, in two cases placing these different speakers in the same miniature (Fig. 7, mins. c, h).

This simultaneous depiction of spoken exchanges in the same frame, coupled with the continuous juxtaposition of miniatures in both margins, succinctly translates the polyphonic effect of the text into a visual program. Like modern animation cels, these images create a tight and dynamic visual progression whose changing colors, compositions, and postures illustrate shifting spoken and physical relationships.

In two of the more curious miniatures, however, it is semantic content, not the acts of speaking or singing, that is represented. On fol. 1v the Knight pursues his innuendo-filled interrogation of Marion:

Knight: Have you seen around here, by this river, any female ducks [ane]?

Marion: Is that a beast that brays? I saw three yesterday on this road, all loaded to go to the mill. Is that what you ask about?⁵¹

This exchange is pictured in the top right miniature on fol. 1v (Fig. 8, min. e), which shows Marion and the Knight facing each other as on fol. 1r. The next miniature in the order of the text is in the left margin. It depicts not the interlocutors, but three donkeys walking in profile (Fig. 8, min. b). A momentary shift in representational modes occurs here, as the illumination moves from showing dialogue's situation to its subject. The image of the donkeys responds to a communication breakdown between the speakers. The word the Knight uses for duck, "ane,"⁵² is understood by Marion as "âne," or donkey. It is not clear whether Marion's incomprehension is feigned or not, but the miniature expresses the crucial dynamic of this exchange. The Knight's questions are part of his subtle aggression, meant to ensnare the shepherdess in a conversation that will lead to an erotic encounter. Marion redirects this language by making a pun on "ane," thereby deflecting the Knight's advance. The illuminator echoes this semantic shift with an image that highlights neither the speakers nor the Knight's intended meaning, but the referent Marion evokes. The donkeys underscore both Marion's humorous bafflement, and a dialogic dead end.

The clash of intentionality in this scene is further emphasized in the next image. The Knight, taken aback by Marion's response, is forced to start over. He responds: "Now I'm much more informed. Tell me, have you seen any herons?"⁵³ That the dialogue masks a *rapport de force* between the characters is clear in the word "as-senez," which may mean both "instructed" and "struck with blows." Marion responds by saying that no, she hasn't seen any herrings ("harens") since Lent, once again twisting the Knight's discourse. The next miniature, also in the left margin, corresponds to the Knight's question and depicts a heron in the water (Fig. 8, min. c). It is tempting to see in this image not only a response to a substantive in the text, but also a reference to the Knight's thwarted intentions. His second question, like the first, leads nowhere. The heron, like the donkeys, signals a dialogic rupture—it is

the point at which the Knight's speech ceases to operate meaningfully. His linguistic impotence is expressed in his response to Marion's puzzled reference to herrings: "In faith, now I know not what to say!"⁵⁴ As their discourse moves in opposite directions and at cross-purposes, the Knight and Marion are momentarily displaced by images of the words that disrupt their dialogue. Unlike most of the Aix miniatures, which represent speakers who are an immanent presence inscribed in the text, the donkeys and heron are distant referents that suggest language detached from both the immediate context and meaningful exchange. Signs of ruptured communication, they are given visual form in juxtaposed miniatures displacing the speakers. Not only do they reflect the taste for visual puns and jokes visible in many contemporary manuscripts, these animal images are also potent markers of verbal intentionality that structure this scene of skewed *badinage*.⁵⁵

Theatricalization and Dynamic Layout

At the same time that the Aix images complement the text's material references and dialogic structure, they also realize its dramatic potential. The various poses, gestures, and layout effects that the dialogue inspires are perhaps the most interesting features of the Aix manuscript, as they enact the text in particularly inventive and expressive ways. The illuminator exhibits a flexible approach to dramatic illustration that shows intimate knowledge of the play's dynamics. His theatrical response is varied and often subtle, triggered by many different kinds of textual and musical cues. For example, the presence of deixis in the dialogue sparks visualized action in a number of images. A deictic evokes a context of utterance, and in drama it often has a stronger effect than in narrative because the action, place, and moment denoted are not mediated by a narrative voice. Deictics appear throughout the *Robin et Marion* because the shepherds are a very demonstrative bunch, constantly referring to "this cheese," "this bread," places near and far, and each other. On fol. 1r we see deixis in visible form in a scene already mentioned, when the Knight asks Marion about birds flying over the fields. In the miniature accompanying this exchange (Fig. 1, min. e), Marion's outstretched arm and pointing finger provide an emphatic gestural complement to her response, "those bushes." Tied to gestures such as this, which articulate speakers' relationships to their setting and each other, dialogue and character become more expressive and clearly defined.

On fol. 7v (Fig. 7) it is not deixis but the desire to create a comic effect that leads to both emphatic gestures and evocative layout. Perrette proposes that the company play another game beside "Saint Cosme," and Gautier responds: "Let's fart! I can't think of anything as fun."⁵⁶ In the lower left margin (Fig. 7, min. e), a

figure hikes up his robe and raises his right index finger—this is Gautier making his ribald suggestion.⁵⁷ Directly across from this image in the right-hand margin, two figures hold their noses (Fig. 7, min. j). Robin turns his head away and raises his index to reproach Gautier, while the other figure walks away in disgust to the right. These images give vivid expression to the dialogue, translating it into comic gestures that have lost none of their force after almost seven hundred years. The intimate bond between dialogue and visual action in the Aix manuscript is nowhere more visible than in these miniatures, where figures make speaking gestures and act out the text at the same time. In this pair of images, as in live performance, action and speech are combined into a single moment. The effect of the illustrated gestures is enhanced by layout, which provides a veritable staging on the page. Placed opposite each other, these two miniatures are separated in both space and time. Their visual rapport therefore has rhythm and symmetry—a balance between Gautier's action and Robin's reaction—just as theatrical sight gags do.

On fol. 2v the illuminator again exploits the theatrical possibilities of cross-page symmetry, this time to evoke purely musical dialogue. Robin and Marion encounter each other for the first time on this page, and their initial exchange is performed in song. In the left margin, Marion stares to the right in an image whose height corresponds exactly to the lines occupied by her song (Fig. 9, min. a). Across the page, and only slightly lower, Robin faces left and raises his right hand toward Marion, palm open (Fig. 9, min. e). In these images, Marion sings her greeting to Robin across the music column, and he listens. The next image in the right margin is Robin again (Fig. 9, min. f). This time he sings a reply to Marion, who is depicted listening in the second image in the left-hand margin (Fig. 9, min. b).⁵⁸ Each song is thus framed by its performer and audience. Music connects Marion and Robin on both a dramatic level, as part of the play's action, and visually on the page, where the horizontal sweep of the staff lines, notes, and text joins these paired miniatures. This adroit layout creates a performance effect by staging the songs as both a visual and verbal exchange between Robin and Marion—as “song acts” linking singer and listener that are both seen and heard.⁵⁹ Thematically, this *mise en page* underscores the musical essence of Robin and Marion's relationship. Characters drawn from the lyric *pastourelle* tradition, they are both sung about and, in the play, singers themselves. In the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* the title characters become a performing duo whose musical and romantic relationship is at the heart of the drama. In these images on fol. 2v, music and image combine to highlight their theatricalized courtship.⁶⁰

Robin and Marion's relationship is thoroughly performative, expressed not only in song but also in dance, which provides another major motif for the Aix miniatures. For example, it is the key component in the miniatures on fols. 3v, 4r,

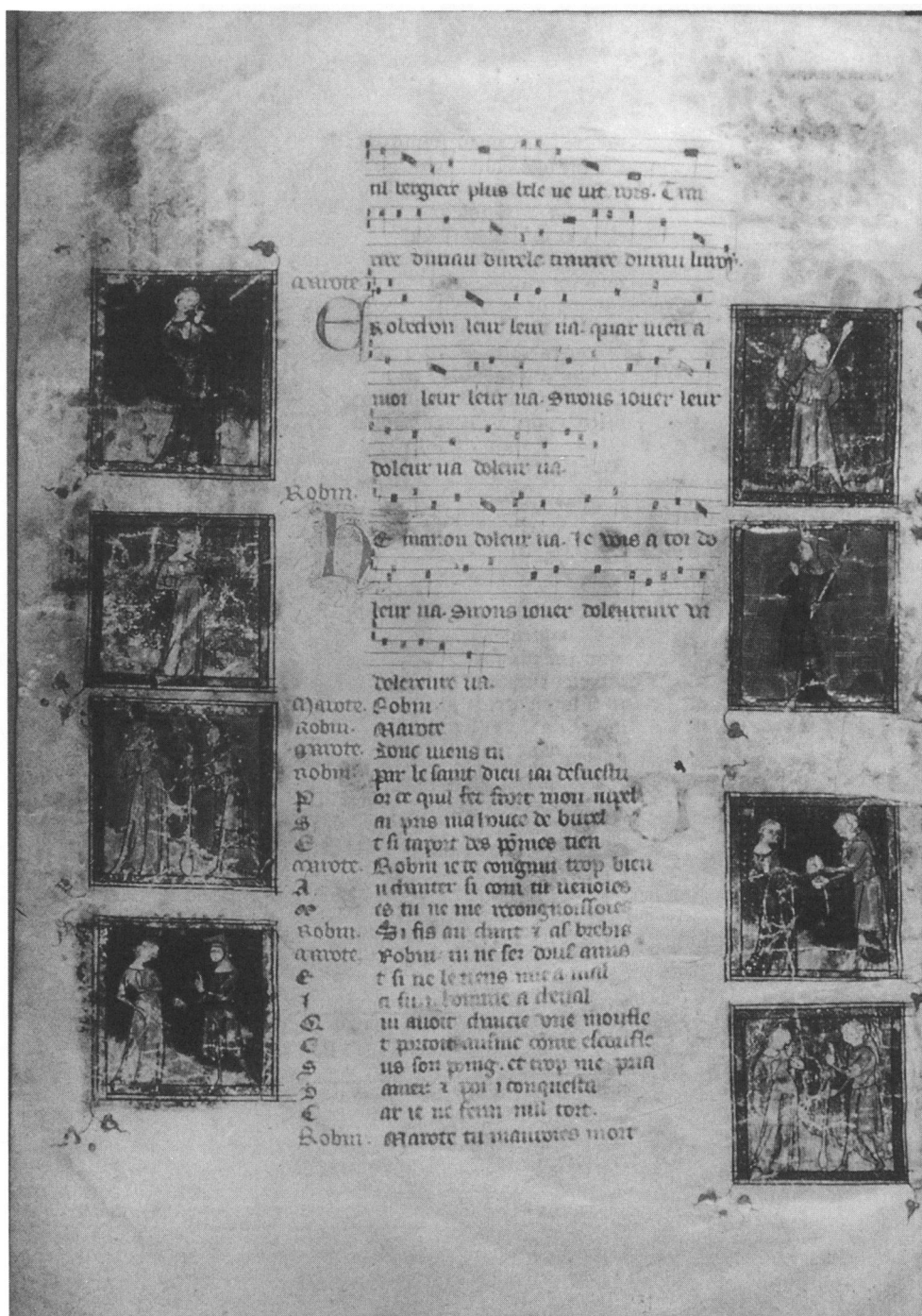


Figure 9. Mins. a and e, f and b: Marion and Robin sing to each other across the page. *Jeu de Robin et Marion*; Bibl. Méjanès, MS 166 (Rés. ms. 14), fol. 2v. (Photo: Bibliothèque Méjanès, Aix-en-Provence.)

and 4v, where Robin shows off for Marion by performing five different dance steps in a row (three of which appear in Fig. 10). On these pages music, verse, and image combine to cast the spotlight on Robin's showmanship. His dances are set in the context of another musical dialogue between himself and Marion. She begins by asking, in song: "Robin, by your father's soul, can you do the foot-step?"⁶¹ He responds: "Yes, by my mother's soul. Look how well it suits me."⁶² Similar exchanges occur four more times in music, text, and image, with each question-and-response repeating the same meter and music. This repetitive interaction is given visual form in several ways: by the rubrics, which are paired above and below decorated initial R's; in the repeated staff lines and musical notation; and in the five corresponding images, each of which is placed in the left-hand margin and depicts Marion to the left and Robin to the right. Not only do their similar compositions mimic the recurring musical and poetic structure, the images also add an important dynamic element by emphasizing the changing poses of the characters. The image on fol. 4r illustrating the "tor du bras" (Fig. 10, min. b) is especially noteworthy as a study in movement: Robin raises his robe with his left hand, arches his right arm up and out toward Marion, and deftly crosses his legs. In these scenes Robin performs for both Marion and the viewer: he quite literally makes a spectacle of himself. The illuminator complements Robin's antics with his own skillful graphic performance on the page that captures both corporeal motion and different theatrical moments.

Along with song and instrument playing, then, dance is another important feature of both the *Robin et Marion* and the Aix images. Just as gestures are implicit in the dialogue and invite a visual response, so are miming and dance evoked by several songs and visualized in corresponding miniatures. Dance is not simply an ornamental activity; in the play, as in the courtly culture where similar dances were performed, dance is an aestheticized form of social comportment and communication.⁶³ In the Aix manuscript, the illuminator inserts dance images that play a crucial dramatic role by theatricalizing songs and articulating the evolving play scenario.

Dance once again takes center stage at the end of the play to affirm the harmonious and festive atmosphere of the finale. Marion asks Robin to lead the *tresche*, a group dance in which dancers clasp hands and follow each other in a line. When he complains that she is wearing him out, she kisses him, at which point Robin consents happily. First he suggests they dance alone, however, "because we dance well together."⁶⁴ Marion invites Robin to place his hand on her side, then exclaims: "Good lord, Robin! How well we dance!"⁶⁵ On the final folio, 11v, the key moments in this progression are highlighted in images (Fig. 11). The top left image depicts Robin placing his hand on Marion (though here he appears to touch her breast, not her "costé"). Directly below this image, and across from it in the right margin, are

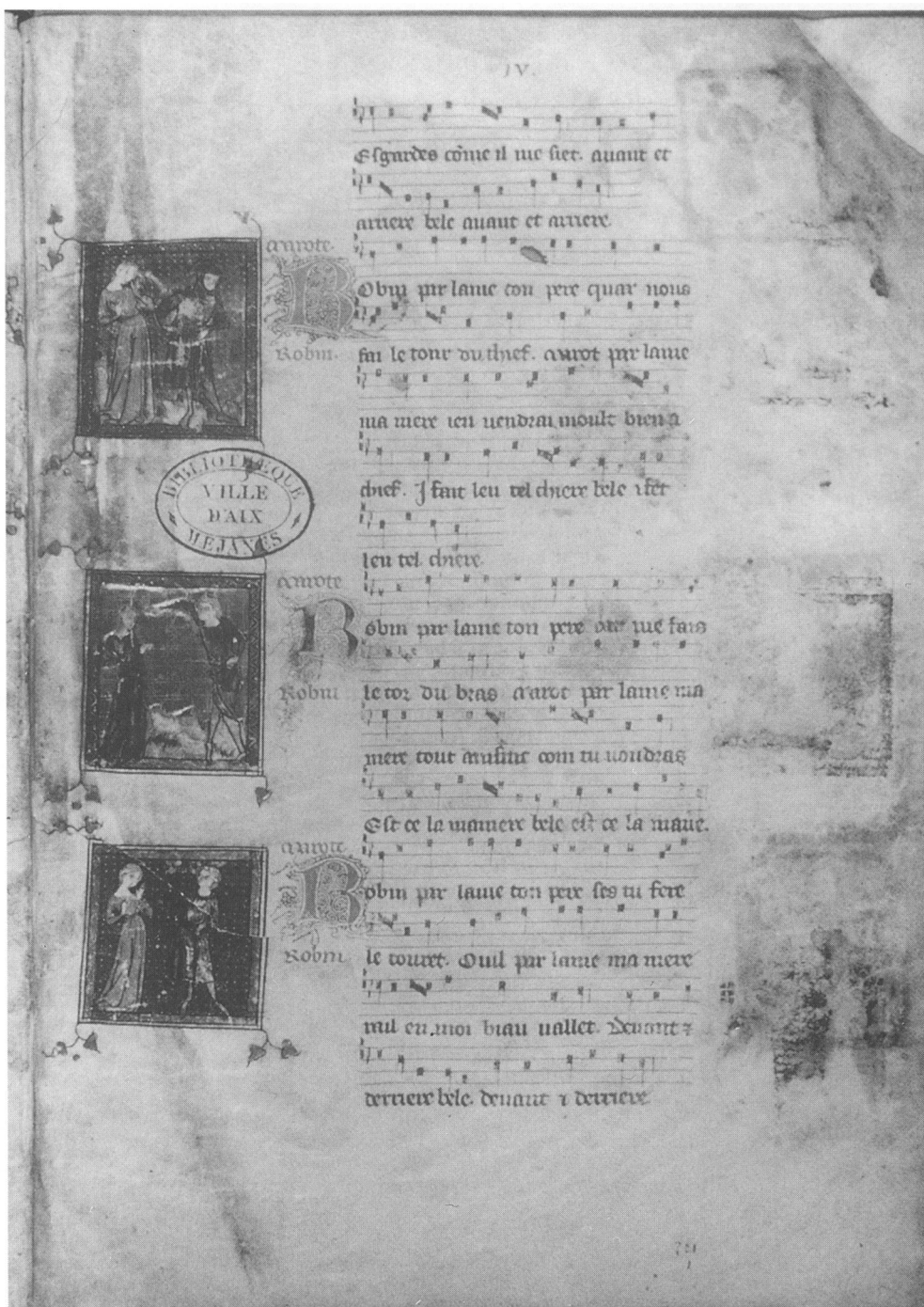


Figure 10. Robin dances for Marion. Min. b: The “tor du bras.” *Jeu de Robin et Marion*; Bibl. Méjanès, MS 166 (Rés. ms. 14), fol. 4r. (Photo: Bibliothèque Méjanès, Aix-en-Provence.)

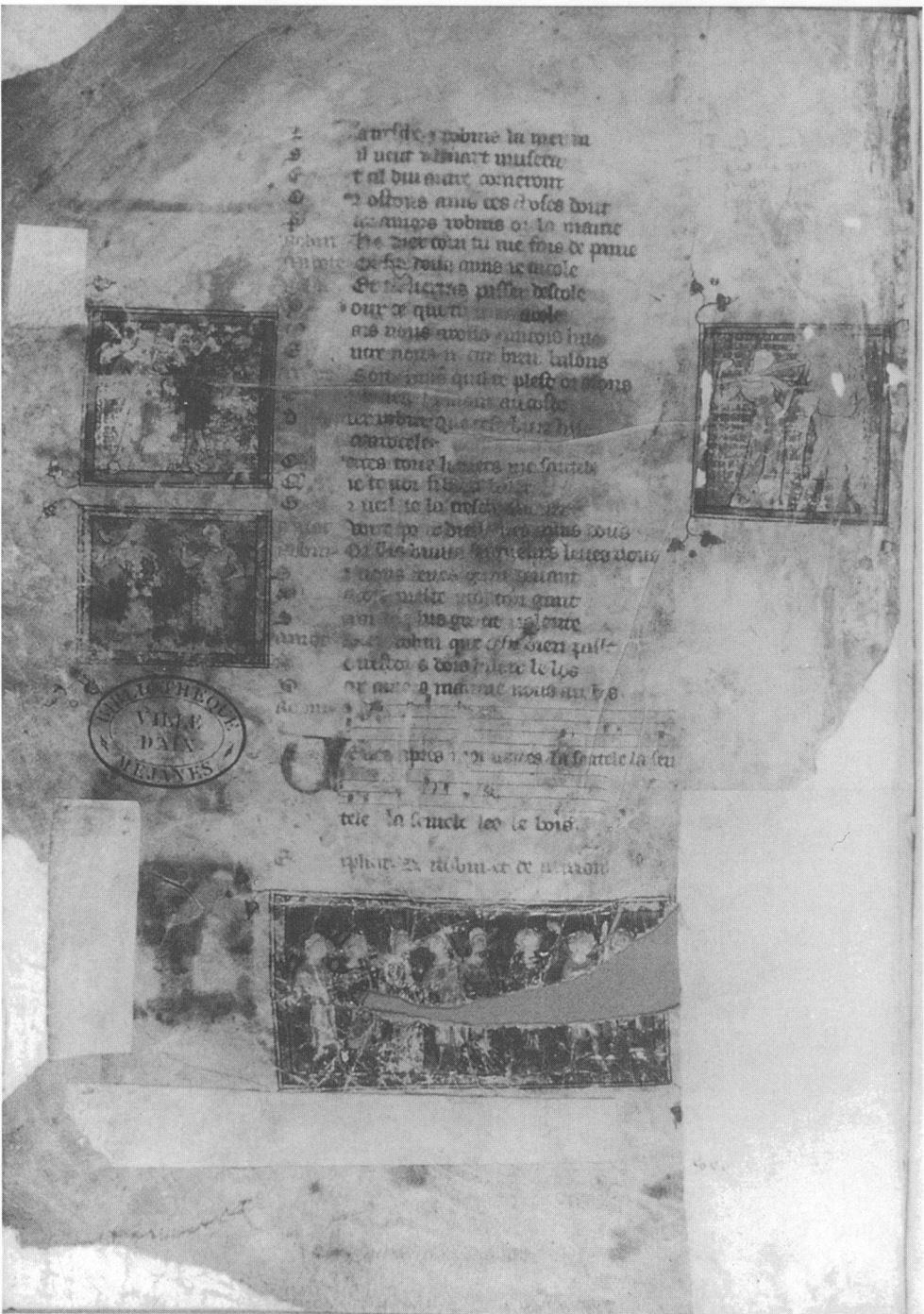


Figure 11. Mins. b, c: Robin and Marion dance together; *bas de page*: Dance finale. *Jeu de Robin et Marion*; Bibl. Méjanès, MS 166 (Rés. ms. 14), fol. 11v. (Photo: Bibliothèque Méjanès, Aix-en-Provence.)

two images showing a man and woman dancing together. The figures in these scenes strike postures that appear nowhere else in the manuscript, their arms away from their bodies and crooked at the elbows. Jonathan Alexander has discussed the importance of exaggerated gestures and angular postures as signs of social inferiority and transgression in medieval dance images.⁶⁶ Might these images be a commentary on the impropriety of this shepherd couple's dance? It hardly seems likely, given the illuminator's enthusiastic reaction to other scenes that are clearly vulgar. Rather, it appears that in these dance images we see again the illuminator's interest in capturing corporeal motion. And perhaps they reflect a desire to underscore the play's happy ending: in Adam's play it is the shepherd, not the knight, who gets the girl in the end, and the joy they express in the dialogue is given visual form in these images of an energetic dance *à deux*.⁶⁷

The group dance is deferred momentarily while Robin and Marion's union is cemented by their dance before the entire shepherd community. The play ends with Marion asking Robin to lead the *tresche* to the woods. Robin responds with the last lines of the play, in song: "Follow me, follow me, on the path by the woods."⁶⁸ Below this musical insertion a rubric reads "Explicit de Robin et de Marion," and below the rubric a rectangular image occupying the width of the column shows a group processing hand-in-hand to the right (Fig. 11, *bas de page*). Robin is once again highlighted here—he leads the dance with upraised arm as Marion had asked him too, while ahead of him walk the two trumpeters who first appear on fol. 10v (Fig. 4, min. d). As in the *pastourelles*, which often end with songs and shepherds' games, this last miniature evokes communal celebration. In the context of this play it is also a fitting final image of the "cast" whose antics and adventures have been depicted all along. And as a theatrical flourish, its bright colors, sinuous lines, and size—the largest in the manuscript—provide a visual complement to the all-embracing musical festivity of the finale.

The combination of musical notation and dance images on the same page is one of the exceptional features of the *Aix Jeu de Robin et Marion*, reflecting a theatrical and multi-media approach to its iconography and layout. Descriptions of festivities combining dance and music abound in medieval romances, but rarely are these passages given the kind of performative realization found in the Aix manuscript. In the *Roman de la Rose*, for example, the *carole d'Amour* described at the beginning of the romance is often depicted in manuscripts, but is never accompanied by music. Moreover, musical notation and dance are much more extensively joined in the Aix manuscript than in the other most prominent fourteenth-century examples of this pairing. Bod. Lib., Bodley 264, a *Roman d'Alexandre* completed in 1344, depicts two *caroles* and music for a *rondeau* in the *Restor du Paon*

(fol. 181v), a festive and courtly addition to the *Roman*. The *Remède de Fortune* completed in 1355 under the direction of its author, Guillaume de Machaut, is another theatrical book that also combines music with dance.⁶⁹ However, neither of these manuscripts achieves the immediate correspondence between image and music that is created in the Aix manuscript. Bodley 264 is a narrative, not dramatic, text, and its images are embedded in columns of alexandrine verse that separate them from the musical notation. In the *Remède de Fortune*, the *carole* depicted on fol. 51r is placed above the music, a layout that does not permit the kind of simultaneous viewing possible in the Aix manuscript. The Aix manuscript is therefore important as an early and extensive example of manuscript spectacle directly combining music with images of dance.⁷⁰

In the Aix dance images, gesture and image placement theatricalize the themes of celebration and community that infuse the finale. However, another common theme in the *pastourelle* tradition is violence, with knights forcing themselves upon shepherdesses, or shepherds fighting off the noble seducer. Adam de la Halle stages knightly violence in his play, to which the illuminator of the Aix manuscript responds with images that emphasize the Knight's excessive force. At the bottom of fol. 5v (Fig. 12, min. g), the Knight is depicted giving Robin a "souspape" (a blow on the chin) after Robin mishandles the Knight's falcon.⁷¹ This is the only image in the right-hand margin of this folio, whereas six images occupy the left. This layout may simply be due to spatial constraints, but it could also reflect a deliberate strategy to highlight the violent turn that events have taken in the play by visually punctuating the Knight's punch. This interpretation is reinforced by the layout on fol. 6r, where again the left margin is entirely filled with images, whereas on the right the sole miniature depicts the Knight abducting Marion (Fig. 13, min. f). Here the illuminator once again shows his attentiveness to gestural detail: Marion's hands join in a prayer gesture, as if she were pleading with the Knight or praying for deliverance.⁷² It is tempting to see these images not only as illustrations, but also as dramatic devices providing commentary on the play. The Knight's aggression, although an expected part of the *pastourelle*, underscores his radical difference from the shepherds. A disruptive force in the pastoral world of the play, the Knight's antagonistic position is underscored by these isolated images of violence.⁷³

The images in the Aix *Jeu de Robin et Marion* can not be classified into any single category, but range from direct illustrations to inventive and playful enactments of the dialogue. In a sense, the Aix manuscript contains not one but two plays—one in images, and one in text and music. Despite their close correspondence to the text, the miniatures respect a visual logic that at times has nothing to do with it. In the images of the final feast on fols. 10v (Fig. 4) and 11r (Fig. 5), for example,

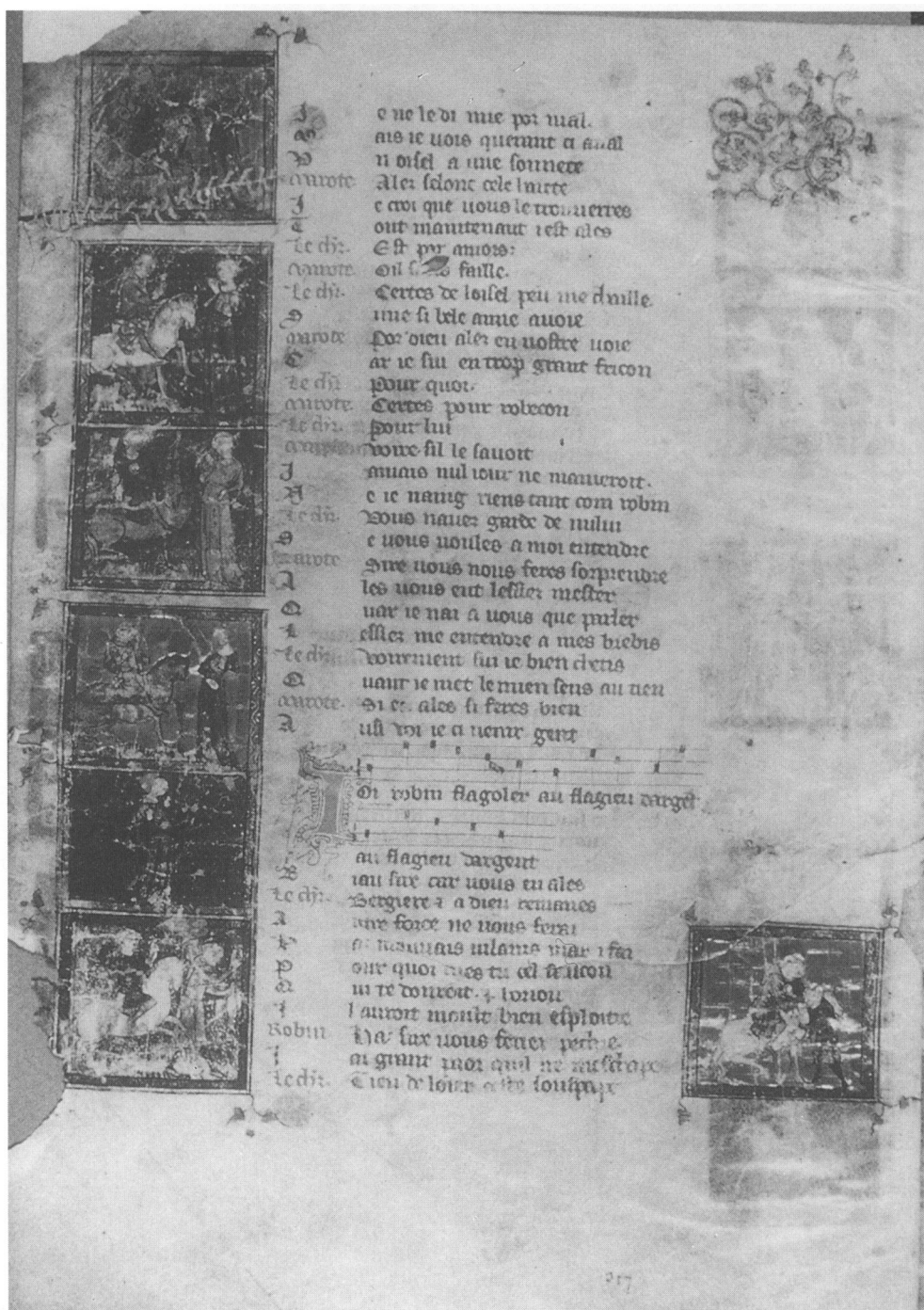


Figure 12. Min. g: Knight gives Robin a “souspape.” *Jeu de Robin et Marion*; Bibl. Méjanès, MS 166 (Rés. ms. 14), fol. 5v. (Photo: Bibliothèque Méjanès, Aix-en-Provence.)

the shepherds are arranged behind tables covered with jugs and plates, even though no tables are mentioned in the text, and Perrette is shown placing a cloth on the ground (Fig. 4, min. e). Elsewhere in the Aix manuscript, the illuminator depicts characters eating on the ground—why does he add tables in these images?⁷⁴ The final feast scenes reflect a clash between the language of iconography and that of the text. The artist must translate into images the communal repast evoked in the dialogue, and therefore turns to a common format for banquet scenes, one also found in romance manuscripts, Bibles, and stained-glass windows.

Nor is this the only instance where the Aix miniatures follow a logic that may strike us as disconnected from the text. Gautier appears suddenly with a fiddle on fol. 11r (Fig. 5, min. b) because it is the instrument that corresponds to performance of (in this case, parodic) epic, even though no fiddle is mentioned in the text and the bagpipe is the traditional shepherd's instrument. Iconographic convention, in other words, takes over from textual content here. Moreover, throughout the manuscript, as noted earlier, backgrounds, borders, and garments change color according to a pattern based purely on the need for chromatic variety and harmony. Marion's dress changes color three times on the first folio alone, as do the garments of other characters throughout the play. Robin's costume is equally mutable—sometimes his hood is up, sometimes down (Fig. 9). The Aix miniatures, then, are not realistic or mimetic. They do not depict an actual staging of the play and are not "photographs" of medieval theater, even if certain iconographic features were common to both illumination and theater.⁷⁵ What we see in the Aix images are not backdrops and costumes in the practical sense. These are manuscript miniatures, and, as such, respect visual traditions and constraints independent of dramatic representation.⁷⁶ Although he illustrates a dramatic text, the goal of the Aix illuminator is not to depict realistic staging, but rather to create a readable, pleasing, and dynamic visual complement to the dialogue.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we offer a few speculative comments about why the Aix *Jeu de Robin et Marion* was produced. Given the lack of data regarding the play's composition and performance history, a useful place to start is with the reception of other works by Adam de la Halle. Little is known about his life, and he is generally believed to have died in 1288, although the evidence for the time and place of his death is dubious.⁷⁷ Despite the lack of biographical evidence, however, it is clear that in his lifetime and afterward he enjoyed an esteem rarely attained by poets in the thirteenth century. The best evidence of his fame is BnF, fr. 25566. A monument

to Adam's life and work, the section devoted to him in this manuscript is unparalleled by any earlier vernacular single-author collection, except that of Gautier de Coinci.⁷⁸ Adam is depicted in this compilation—in music, text, and image—as a poet-performer esteemed by great lords and gifted in musical, dramatic, and poetic art, a reputation that no doubt extended beyond Picardy. Sylvia Huot has observed that “Adam's songs may have circulated as a collection independently of the *chansonniers*.”⁷⁹ Carol Symes notes that Arras was a cosmopolitan city and center of international trade, and that “as a result of such lively exchanges, Adam's compositions would find their way into many compilations intended for the wider European market, by no means limited to Arras or even to the Angevin territories in Italy.”⁸⁰ The *Robin et Marion*'s appearance in the Aix manuscript, a Parisian product, attests to the play's popularity and material transmission—either via performance, manuscripts, or some combination of the two—beyond Picardy. Whether it is a form of homage to Adam's memory—whether the poet remained associated with his work in this case—is harder to ascertain, since the Aix manuscript makes no mention of Adam and its original context is irretrievable. Adam's fame in the decades following his death can not be discounted as a motivation, however, and underlying the Aix manuscript may be his reputation as a great creator of poetry, music, and theatrical spectacle—all of which the manuscript preserves.⁸¹

The Aix manuscript's Parisian origin is another important factor that may help illuminate the motivations behind the book's production. Late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Paris was a textual magnet, its dynamic book-trade bringing together the corpus of Old French literature in manuscripts of widely differing textual and visual content. Although the Aix *Robin et Marion* is unique among surviving manuscripts, its appearance is not overly surprising, given the inclusive tastes of fourteenth-century patrons who appreciated both many different kinds of texts—French and Latin, secular and sacred—and pictorial complements to them. Nor is the Aix manuscript anomalous viewed in the context of the scribal and visual techniques employed by Parisian artisans to satisfy their clients' desires and the needs of medial integration.

Nevertheless the Aix manuscript is exceptional in its combination of image, text, and music, even by the standards of its Parisian context. An instructive comparison may be made to another unique Parisian product, the monumental *Roman de Fauvel* (BnF, fr. 146), which demonstrates the common spirit that infuses both manuscripts. The Aix miniatures bear stylistic resemblances to those in the *Fauvel*, suggesting related artistic milieus. Moreover, many of the performance features in the Aix manuscript are echoed in the *Fauvel*, although in the latter they appear on a much more elaborate scale. The *Fauvel* pages are a dynamic spectacle of

constantly metamorphosing content and *mise en page* that combines single-frame and multi-compartment miniatures, narrative verse, and songs of different genres in both Latin and French. This manuscript is intended as a didactic manual, and throughout it images, text, and music are employed to strike the imagination and make moral lessons clear and memorable. Part of BnF, fr. 146 is a narrative interpolation into the *Roman de Fauvel* in which the Virtues and Vices confront each other in a tournament. In this section poetry combines with images and song as the Virtues sing the glory of God. Voices visually break out of the poetic frame in musical insertions copied on the page; at the same time, on a narrative level some of these songs are in direct (musical) discourse, bypassing the narrator to perform directly for the reader in a theatrical manner (Fig. 14). Furthermore, in BnF, fr. 146 processions, tournaments, and banquets are visualized in miniatures that enhance the sense of spectacle with internal observers and evocations of urban space, while music adds a dynamic aural dimension.⁸²

Despite their different contents, the *Fauvel* and the *Aix Jeu de Robin et Marion* are the products of a similar desire for a signifying spectacle on the page—one that enhances the effects of deixis, dialogue, spatialization, movement, aurality, and action by means of *mise en page*, illumination, and musical insertion. Just as no earlier French plays appear in manuscripts with illumination comparable to the Aix codex, few narrative texts with musical insertions preceding BnF, fr. 146 are given such a rich manuscript display.⁸³ Given their temporal proximity and production in Paris, it is tempting to see the *Fauvel* and the Aix manuscript as products of a common spirit of experimentation and play in Parisian ateliers.

Comparison to the *Fauvel* may also provide clues to the Aix manuscript's social context and intended audience. Like other lavish vernacular manuscripts of the period, BnF, fr. 146 was produced for a learned readership that appreciated the play of literary genres, music, and striking display on the page. The *Jeu de Robin et Marion* is not a learned text, of course, and its humor, music, and spectacle could have been appreciated by a wide audience. But it also contains the kind of literary citations, jokes, musical insertions, and courtly dances particularly appreciated by the learned aristocracy and nobility. In the Aix manuscript these elements are enhanced by a lush presentation rivaling that found in other manuscripts made for elite readers. The *Aix Jeu de Robin et Marion* thus offers a private performance for the wealthy. An exceptional staging of the play in its own right, the Aix manuscript is a testament to the migration of performances across geographical space and, equally important, across the fluid boundaries dividing live theater and book-bound spectacle.

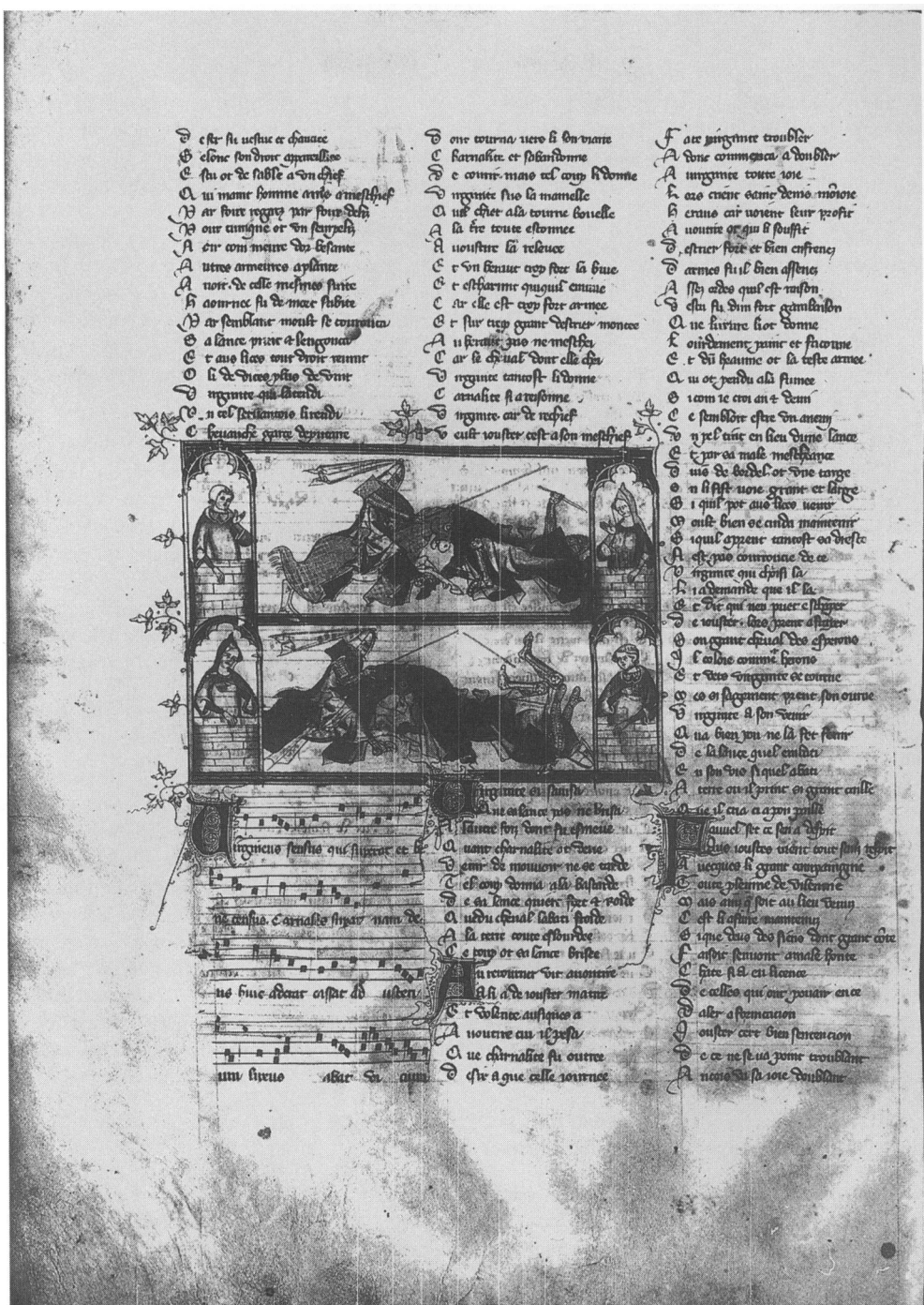


Figure 14. Tournament of Vices and Virtues, with image, music, and text. *Roman de Fauvel*; BnF, fr. 146, fol. 39v. (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.)

An earlier version of this article was presented in Darwin Smith's seminar on medieval theater at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Villejuif on 17 May 2000. The authors thank Philippe Ferrand of the Bibliothèque Méjanès, Marie-Thérèse Gousset, Nancy Regalado, Pamela Sheingorn, Darwin Smith, Helen Solterer, and Patricia Stirnemann for their generous assistance. We were also greatly aided by the conscientious reading and incisive comments of the journal's anonymous reader.

1. The title now opening the codex, "Mariage de Robin & de Marote," along with the note "Espece De Bergerie" and the names of the characters written to the right, are in the hand of Jean-Pierre Imbert Châtre de Cangé and provide an important, though partial, clue to the manuscript's post-medieval history. The manuscript is not mentioned in the inventory of de Cangé's books acquired for the Bibliothèque du Roi in 1733. The Aix *Robin et Marion* thus passed from de Cangé's possession to the Bibliothèque Méjanès by an unknown route at some point between the early eighteenth century and 1873, publication year of the Bibliothèque Méjanès' first catalogue.

2. We hesitate to definitively declare the *Robin et Marion* the first secular play in light of recent work by Carol Symes, who shows that current classifications of medieval texts as theatrical or non-theatrical tend to be inaccurate. As she notes in "The Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays: Forms, Functions, and the Future of Medieval Theater," *Speculum* 77 (2002): 778–831, many play texts "do not look very much like plays. Conversely, many texts currently considered to be unlikely candidates for performance are either juxtaposed with plays or laid out and rubricated in similar ways" (778). Given this flexible manuscript record and the loss of most documentation, it is problematic to name any text a "first" in medieval theater history. See also Symes, "The Makings of a Medieval Stage: Theatre and the Culture of Performance in Thirteenth-Century Arras" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard Univ., 1999).

3. There are numerous other differences between the three manuscripts: the dialogue is distributed differently, hemistiches and sometimes entire verses are added or omitted, dialect and spelling differ, and both the music (in Aix and BnF fr. 25566) and the refrains are different.

4. The other illuminated fourteenth-century French play manuscripts are the *Jour du Jugement* (Bibl. mun. de Besançon, MS 579), dated 1340–50 in the most recent studies; the *Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages* (BnF, fr. 819–820), ca. 1389; and the *Griseldis* (BnF, fr. 2203), ca. 1395. The most heavily illuminated of these is the *Jour du Jugement*, with eighty-eight miniatures placed throughout the text on thirty-six folios, plus a full-page frontispiece on fol. 1v. On this manuscript, see Richard K. Emmerson and David F. Hult, *Antichrist and Judgment Day: The Middle French Jour du Jugement* (Asheville: Pegasus Press, 1998); and *Le Mystère du Jour du Jugement: Texte original du XIV^e siècle*, ed. and trans. by Jean-Pierre Perrot and Jean-Jacques Nonot (Besançon: Editions Comp'Act, 2000). Entire folios and details of the miniatures from the Aix manuscript are reproduced on the website developed by Jesse Hurlbut, which also reproduces individual miniatures from the Besançon manuscript: www.byu.edu/~hurlbut/dscriptorium/.

5. For an excellent recent discussion of BnF, fr. 25566 arguing for its proximity to Adam de la Halle, see Symes, "The Makings of a Medieval Stage," 364–73.

6. A complete description of the Aix manuscript's wounds would take up much space. Every miniature has suffered some loss of pigment or gold leaf, every folio has at least one hole or tear (some have several, including tears covered with scotch tape), and fol. 11 seems to have water damage.

7. This article complements the only edition of the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* based on the text in the Aix manuscript, by Gabriella Parussa (forthcoming in the Pléiade collection on medieval French theater). It will include the only edition of the Aix music, by Isabelle Ragnard. A facsimile of the Aix manuscript under the direction of Darwin Smith, with an introduction by the present authors, is also in

preparation. The quotations from the play and their line numbers are from the forthcoming Pléiade edition. The other principal editions of the text are Edmond de Coussemaker, *Oeuvres complètes du trouvère Adam de la Halle, poésies et musique* (Paris: Durand et Pédone Lauriel, 1872), 347–412; Ernest Langlois, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion* (Paris: Champion, 1924); Kenneth Varty, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion* (London: George Harrap, 1960); Jean Dufournet, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion* (Paris: Flammarion, 1989); Shira I. Schwam-Baird and Milton G. Scheurmann, *Adam de la Halle: Le Jeu de Robin et Marion* (New York: Garland, 1994); and Pierre-Yves Badel, *Adam de la Halle: Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Librairie générale française, 1995).

8. An important model for our interdisciplinary collaboration is the introduction to the facsimile of BnF, fr. 146 by Edward H. Roesner, François Avril, and Nancy Freeman Regalado. See *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain. A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 146 (New York: Broude Brothers, 1990).

9. A groundbreaking study of aural effects in images is Michael Camille, “Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy,” *Art History* 8 (1985): 26–49. Our analysis also draws on the extensive work of Sylvia Huot, who has studied the manuscript staging of texts ranging from the *Roman de la Rose* to Froissart; and the many studies of BnF, fr. 146 published in *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146*, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

10. The only play manuscript, either religious or secular, produced in France prior to the Aix *Robin et Marion* to combine figural representation with the text is BnF, fr. 25566, in which both the *Robin et Marion* and *Jeu de la Feuillée* open with a single miniature, but contain no images thereafter. Other illuminated texts were inherently performative, of course, and some were perhaps meant for performance in certain contexts or sprang from theatrical tradition, but were not copied in a recognizably theatrical manner. Judging by the current evidence, however, the Aix manuscript marks a unique and seminal moment in the presentation of theater on the page. On layout techniques for plays, see Geneviève Hasenohr, “Les manuscrits théâtraux,” in *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*, ed. Henri-Jean Martin and Jean Vezin (Paris: Editions du cercle de la librairie-Promodis, 1990), 335–41.

11. The question of the Aix manuscript’s dialect merits further contextualization. Adam de la Halle’s *chansons courtoises* are written predominantly in Francien, because it was the dialect for elevated genres in northern France. However, his plays—which were spectacles for the Artesian community—were presumably composed in Picard. This is almost certainly true of the *Jeu de la Feuillée*, with its Artesian references and in-jokes. The appearance of the *Robin et Marion* in Francien thus strongly suggests that the play migrated beyond Picardy in the years around 1300, as did other works by Adam. The language of Adam’s *chansons* is discussed by Fabienne Gégou, “La langue du poète Adam de la Halle dans ses chansons courtoises,” in *Mélanges de philologie et de littératures romanes offerts à Jeanne Wathelet-Willem* (Liège: Cahiers de l’A.R.U.Lg., 1978), 175–88.

12. Marion says to the Knight: “Harens, sire? . . . L’en en vent assez a Paris” (fol. 1v; lines 39–43). Kenneth Varty discusses “parisianisation” in “Le Mariage, la courtoisie et l’ironie comique dans le ‘Jeu de Robin et de Marion’,” in *Mélanges de langue et littérature française du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance: offerts à monsieur Charles Foulon* (Rennes: Institut français de l’Université de Haute-Bretagne, 1980), 2:287–92. In his edition of *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion* (22), Varty writes that the Aix manuscript’s language “est plus moderne que celle de BnF fr. 25566 et BnF fr. 1569, et est sans doute du milieu ou de la seconde moitié du XIV^e siècle.” As we show in the conclusion, however, this dating is unlikely, since differences in dialect do not necessarily indicate significant chronological separation between a text and its origins.

13. A stylistic analysis of the miniatures appears in the conclusion.

14. We expand on the manuscript's Parisian origins in the conclusion. For more on the Paris book-trade, see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

15. For a thorough discussion of layout in French manuscripts, see the articles in *Mise en page et mise en texte*, ed. Martin and Vezin.

16. On the authorial consciousness underlying BnF, fr. 25566, see Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 64–74; and Symes, “The Makings of a Medieval Stage,” 364–73.

17. Codicological analysis of BnF fr. 1569 shows that the *Robin et Marion* was produced by the same shop that copied the *Roman de la Rose*.

18. We find several explanations for the curious juxtaposition of the *Robin et Marion* and *Roman de la Rose* in BnF, fr. 1569. One is thematic echoes: like the *Rose*, the play is set in an idealized world in which dangers (the Knight, the wolf) erupt and are eventually vanquished, and in which a somewhat crude and unsuccessful lover eventually wins the girl. Another explanation is performative: much of Jean de Meun's text is devoted to dialogues between the lover and various allegorical figures, a voiced structure not at odds with a play text. Furthermore, in many passages of Jean's text the speakers are indicated with rubrics, just as they are in the *Robin et Marion* (hence our reference to a dialogic flourish). Dance is another feature common to both texts, and it may be that the shepherd dances provide a counterpoint to the refined *carole* of the *Rose* (illuminated on fols. 6v and 7r of BnF, fr. 1569). Sylvia Huot, who has written about the role of rubrics as a gloss on the *Rose* in fr. 1569, touches on another possibility for the *Robin et Marion*'s presence: “The rubrication . . . sets up an allegorical framework and value system that contributes to the unification of the conjoined text(s) [i.e., the *Rose* poems of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun], understood as a celebration of love and courtly values, and expressed through the opposition of ‘contraires choses.’” Perhaps the *Robin et Marion* was appended to the *Rose* here in similar fashion—as an alternate amorous universe instructing through both its similarities and differences with the *Rose*. See Huot, “The Scribe as Editor: Rubrication as Critical Apparatus in Two Manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose*,” *L'Esprit créateur* 27 (1987): 67–78.

19. On theater roles, see Elisabeth Lalou, “Les rolets de théâtre. Étude codicologique,” in *Théâtre et spectacles hier et aujourd'hui*, vol. 1, *Moyen Âge et Renaissance* (Paris: Editions du CTHS, 1991), 51–71; and Graham A. Runnalls, “Towards a Typology of Medieval French Play Manuscripts,” in *The Editor and the Text*, ed. Philip E. Bennett and Graham A. Runnalls (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 96–113. Further afield, an analogy could be made with the layout of *chansons de geste*, which are also copied in a single column in several twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts. Whether these manuscripts were produced for performance remains in question and is discussed in the articles by Andrew Taylor, “The Myth of the Minstrel Manuscript,” *Speculum* 66 (1991): 43–73; and “Was There a Song of Roland?,” *Speculum* 76 (2001): 28–65.

20. Varty, “Le Mariage, la courtoisie,” noted that the Aix manuscript is “relié et forme ainsi un petit livre si usé et feuilleté qu'il donne l'impression d'avoir été souvent utilisé par des groupes d'acteurs” (287).

21. The continuity between modes of performance has recently been stressed by Symes, “Makings of a Medieval Stage,” and “Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays”; Evelyn Vitz, *Orality and Performance in Early French Romance* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999); Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); and Darwin Smith, *Maistre Pierre Pathelin: Le Miroir d'Orgueil* (Saint-Benoît-du-Sault: Editions Tarabuste, 2002).

22. This refrain is known from the famous *chansonnier* in Bod. Lib., Douce 308, which includes a *pastourelle* with the refrain “Bargeronnnette, tres douce compaignete / Doneis moi vostre chapelet /

donneiz moi vostre chaapelet” (fol. 196r) and a transcription of the variant refrain “Bergerounnette, tres douce baicelette / Doneiz lou moi vostre chaapelet / Donez lou moi vostre chaapelet” (fol. 226r). This text was edited by Karl Friedrich Bartsch, *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen* (1870; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1973), 146. It is also included in Hans Spanke, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes*, Neu bearbeitet und ergänzt, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1955), no. 974. Perhaps this song’s popularity is due in part to the fact that it escapes generic classification, as it does not correspond to any of the *formes fixes* of the period.

23. An apostrophe after a letter denotes a repeated musical phrase with a slightly different ending.

24. **Robin:** Little shepherdess, sweet young girl / Give me your chaplet.

Marion: Robin, do you want me to put it/ on your head, by our love? / Will you love me better if I do? / Will you love me better if I do?

Robin: Yes, you will be my little love / You will have my little belt, / My purse and my brooch. / Little shepherdess, sweet young girl / Give me your chaplet.

Marion [not sung in Aix]: Willingly, my little love (lines 176–86).

25. These last two lines are omitted in BnF, fr. 25566 and BnF, fr. 1569. In his edition, Langlois adopts the text in Aix.

26. This line is also repeated in Bod. Lib., Douce 308.

27. In the Aix manuscript, the final lines end on F—the tonic note—while the others end on A.

28. This song occupies lines 102–15.

29. BnF, fr. 25566 offers excellent examples of texts adapted to a specific manuscript context. The *Jeu du Pèlerin*, which was written after Adam de la Halle’s death, is inserted midway through his collected works in order to commemorate the poet. Immediately following this play is the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, in which the biographical thread is picked up again when the shepherds discuss Adam’s reputation with characters from the *Pèlerin*. This discussion does not occur in the other two versions of the play (Aix and BnF, fr. 1569); it is clearly tailored to tie Adam’s life and work together, as is the overall structure of the codex. Symes (“The Makings of a Medieval Stage,” 68–89) discusses instances in which both Adam’s and other Artesian works were adapted to other manuscript and performance contexts outside the Artois region.

30. Given their width, it is tempting to refer to the spaces occupied by the miniatures as “columns” instead of “margins.” Because they have not been ruled, however, we will refer to them as margins.

31. The Knight first appears in the second image on the left. For the sake of easy identification, on each folio we have assigned each individual miniature a letter, beginning with the uppermost image in the left margin and proceeding down to the bottom, then moving to the upper right margin and ending at its lowest scene. Thus Fig. 1, min. f is the sole image in the right margin on fol. 1r. As we will explain, this labeling is arbitrary and does not correspond to the actual order of the miniatures.

32. The right margins of fols. 4r, 4v, and 9v contain no images, but the left margins of these folios contain three; the right margins of fols. 1r, 3v, 5v, 6r, 8r, 8v, and 11v contain a single image, and the left margins contain between two and six images.

33. Exceptions to this rule, in which images are placed directly across from each other, are discussed below.

34. Two images—on fols. 2r and 5v—are drawings that have been colored but not framed or given backgrounds.

35. On the grouping of these manuscripts around a single master, see Akiko Komada, *Les Illustrations de la Bible historique: les manuscrits réalisés dans le Nord* (Ph.D. diss., Sorbonne-Paris IV, 2000), esp. 544, n. 13.

36. “ces buissons” (line 26).

37. “[E]stes vous la? / Ouvrés moi l’uis, biaux dous cousins” (lines 241–2).

38. The first picnic is a tête-à-tête between Robin and Marion on fol. 3r; the second banquet is a grander affair depicted on fols. 10r and 11v, which unites the entire shepherd company and ends as a communal dance.

39. The courtly falconer may also evoke summertime activities, as in the calendar image in the *Psalter of Guy de Dampierre* (Brussels, Bibl. Albert 1er, MS 10607, fol. 3r). For more on the falcon-bearer’s multiple meanings, see Michael Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 58 and bibl., 358–9.

40. As noted above, some of the music and refrains in the *Aix Jeu de Robin et Marion* occur in several other manuscripts, including the famous *chansonniere* in Bod. Lib., Douce 308; see the forthcoming Pléiade edition for a complete concordance. Editions in which these refrains are reproduced include Spanke, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie*; and Friedrich Gennrich, *Rondeaux, Virelais, und Balladen* (Dresden: Gedruckt für die Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 1921–27). For a concise discussion of medieval and modern definitions of the *pastourelle*, see Michel Zink, *La pastourelle: Poésie et folklore au moyen âge* (Paris: Bordas, 1972), 25–9.

41. These opening songs are not overtly part of a dialogue, a fact the illuminator has taken into account. Each song is more an address to the “audience” than to the other character—an act of individual identification—and the artist responds with images of single figures.

42. The use of images to announce genre is visible in various kinds of vernacular manuscripts. Each section of the *chansonniere* copied in Bod. Lib., Douce 308 is introduced with miniatures in which gestures, dress, and accoutrements evoke the genre of the included texts. In BnF, fr. 25566, the different subsections of the long portion devoted to Adam de la Halle are introduced by images indicating content: the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* is introduced by an image of a knight and shepherdess, while the *Roi de Sezile* opens with an image of a richly decked-out knight on horseback. Another example is the image of the solitary knight on horseback in the initials of certain chivalric romance manuscripts, which may be understood as an indicator of narrative told by and about knights. On Douce 308, see Mary Atchison, “The Structures and Scribes of the Chansonniere of the Oxford Bodleian MS Douce 308, Volume I” (Ph.D. diss., Monash Univ., 1995), 119–26; on BnF, fr. 25566, see Huot, *From Song to Book*, 64–74; on historiated initials in romance manuscripts as generic markers, see Sandra Hindman, *Sealed in Parchment: Rereadings of Knighthood in the Illuminated Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 83.

43. Much of the *Robin et Marion*’s interest lies in the ways that it overturns traditional socio-linguistic codes and disrupts the audience’s *horizon d’attente*. See Kevin Brownlee, “Transformations of the Couple: Genre and Language in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*,” *French Forum* 14, Suppl. 1 (Dec. 1989): 419–33.

44. **Knight:** Or me dites, douce bergiere / Voudriez venir avec moi / Jouer sor ce bel palefroi, / Selon ce boschet, en ce val?

Marion: Aïmi, sire! Ostez vo cheval, / Par .i. poi qu’il ne m’a blecie; / Le Robin ne regibe mie / Quant je vois après sa charue (lines 69–76).

42 The Aix Jeu de Robin et Marion

45. On ivories depicting this and other courtly motifs, see *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age*, ed. Peter Barnet (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1997), esp. Richard H. Randall, Jr., “Popular Romances Carved in Ivory,” 62–79, and the section on “Secular Objects and the Romance Tradition,” 217–48.

46. The raised index finger appears in at least fifty-one images, sometimes more than once in a single image. There are probably more depictions of this gesture, but some miniatures are too badly damaged to decipher.

47. Nearly one-eighth of the play is set to music.

48. Symes, “The Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays,” points out that in fact only “a very few, very privileged texts” predating 1300 indicated speakers’ names, and asks “how many other plays, denuded of their rubrics and scribal apparatus, remain undiscovered?” (829).

49. The game actually begins on fol. 7r.

50. The miniature-to-rubric ratios for the other folios are as follows: 1r (6:10), 1v (7:14), 2r (6:11), 2v (8:10), 3r (6:16), 3v (4:9), 4r (3:6), 4v (3:15), 5r (8:20), 5v (7:16), 6r (6:17), 6v (7:18), 7r (7:18), 8r (5:23), 8v (5:22), 9r (6:18), 9v (3:17), 10r (9:18), 10v (7:13), 11r (3:23), 11v (4:9).

51. **Knight:** . . . veïs tu par ce devant, / Vers ceste riviere, nule ane?

Marion: Est-ce une beste qui recane? / J’en vi hier .iij. sus ce chemin, / Tous chargiez aler au moulin. / Est-ce ce que vous demandez? (lines 31–6).

52. “Cane” in modern French.

53. “Or sui je moult bien assenez. / Di moi, veïs tu nul hairon?” (lines 37–8).

54. “Par foy, or ne sai je que dire!” (line 44).

55. Visual puns have been discussed a great deal in relation to devotional books and the memorial arts, which may have led to their wider use in secular and vernacular contexts. See Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992); Camille, *Mirror in Parchment*; Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Lilian Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966); Lucy Freeman Sandler, “The Word in the Text and the Image in the Margin: The Case of the Luttrell Psalter,” *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 54 (1996): 87–99; Sandler, review of *Mirror in Parchment*, in *Studies in Iconography* 21 (2000): 285–96; and Kathryn Smith, “Liminal Limning” (review of *Image on the Edge*), in *The Oxford Art Journal* 17 (1994): 92–6.

56. “Faison .i. pet! Pour nous esbatre / Je n’i voi si bon” (lines 471–2).

57. Gautier’s line is underlined and signaled by a pointing finger in the left margin. These are later additions that most likely date to the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, when farces increased the appetite for and appreciation of the bawdy and scatological. A similar hand (in the left margin) and underlines have been added on fol. 7r as well—the hand appears to indicate the game “aux rois et aux reines.” Another game mentioned 3 lines down, “saint Cosme,” is underlined, as is Marion’s reply: “C’est vilain geu! L’en i conchie” (That’s a dirty and offensive game! line 433). Another pointing hand in the right margin of fol. 8r points towards Marion’s line: “Je veill o Gautier le Testu / Jouer aux rois et aus roynes” (I want to play “aux rois et aux reines” with Gautier the Goof, lines 481–2).

58. In these images as elsewhere, enunciation does not only occur in the left margin. Figures may speak and sing in either the right or left margins. The direction of reading, in other words, is not the only direction of communication between images—dialogue moves both ways across the page.

59. Sylvia Huot, in *From Song to Book*, describes a similar kind of visual and musical interaction in BnF, fr. 1586, Machaut's *Remède de Fortune*. The two lays "Ne say comment" and "Se quanque Diex" are accompanied by two images, one in the column and one in the margin, depicting a man and a woman who "literally gaze at each other over the space in which the song is executed" (272).

60. Other examples of cross-page dynamics could be given: on fol. 6v, where the peasants on the left spy on the Knight and Marion on the right; fol. 9v, where Robin attacks the thieving wolf on the left, and returns Marion's ewe on the right; and fol. 10v (Fig. 4), where Marion and Perrette on the right watch Robin on the left and comment approvingly on his good looks and desire to please Marion. In some cases these pairings may be the accidental result of a need to fit another image on the right; in those discussed above, however, we are confident that the effect is planned.

61. "Robin, par l'ame ton pere, / sez tu bien baler du pié?" (lines 192–3). This text is at the bottom of fol. 3v, not next to the image in question.

62. "Ouïl, par l'ame ma mere, / Esgardes comme il me siet" (lines 194–5). This text begins at the bottom of fol. 3v and ends at the top of fol. 4r. Robin's invitation to look at him is echoed in a miniature on fol. 3v placed next to the first of these verses, in which his outstretched arms differ from his speaking postures and appear to emphasize his confident reply.

63. The similarity between the dances in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* and actual courtly dances is discussed by Marie-Madeleine Fontaine, "Danser dans le *Jeu de Robin et Marion*," in *Le corps et ses énigmes au Moyen-Âge*, Actes du colloque, Orléans, 15–16 mai 1992, ed. Bernard Ribémont (Caen: Paradigme, 1993), 45–54; and Nancy Freeman Regalado, "Courtly Dance Games and the Narrative of Chivalry: Woman's Role in the *Tournoi de Chauvency*," forthcoming in a Festschrift for Jonathan Alexander. Robin's *tour* or *tor* dance is also discussed by Robert Mullally, "Balerie and ballade," *Romania* 104 (1983): 533–8. All three authors note that the dances in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* correspond in many ways to those described in the *Tournoi de Chauvency*, an eyewitness account of a tournament that occurred in 1285 in Lorraine. The dances in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* are not in any way "low" or "vilain"—they are an integral part of noble social life.

64. "car bien balons" (line 746).

65. "Diex, Robin! que c'est bien balé!" (line 749).

66. J. J. G. Alexander, "Dancing in the Streets," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 54 (1996): 147–62, esp. 153, 158.

67. This is not to say that the end of Adam's play is unexpected, since many *pastourelles* end with the knight chased away or absent and the shepherds playing games and having a banquet.

68. "Venés apres moi, venés, / La sentele, la sentele, / La sentele les le bois" (lines 762–4).

69. For a thorough discussion of this manuscript (BnF, fr. 1586), see Huot, *From Song to Book*, 242–73.

70. The *Jour du Jugement* contains scenes of infernal dances performed by devils, but there is no accompanying music, even though elsewhere in the play music accompanies songs sung by angels.

71. The falcon scene also provides another example of rhetorical and iconographic play akin to the bent horse's head on fol. 2r. The falcon, like the horse, represents the Knight's social superiority, but is mistreated because of Robin's clumsiness and debased by his lower status. The comic potential in this class conflict and sight gag is still obvious and has many modern counterparts.

72. The accompanying dialogue is as follows:

Knight: N'autre amie ne vueil avoir. / Et vueil que cis chevaus vous porte. (I want no other lover [but you] / And I want this horse to carry you).

Marion: Certes, donc me ferés vous force? / Robin, que ne me resqueus tu? (Indeed, and will you force me? / Robin, why don't you rescue me?) (lines 347–50).

Marion's gesture may indicate her plea to Robin as well.

73. These images also reinforce the central contrast between the Knight, who is visually defined by his elite status and aggression, and Robin, the awkward lover who nevertheless demonstrates a certain rustic prowess. In the Aix miniatures—as, one imagines, in performance—the different dramatic qualities of these characters are made to stand out clearly. The haughty and lewd Knight's most sensational moments come when he attacks Robin and abducts Marion. Robin, on the other hand, is a consummate showman whose musical and dance skills are clearly displayed in the images, text, and music of the Aix manuscript. On a purely theatrical level, Robin (along with Marion) is the “star,” his appearances bringing music and comedy to the page/stage, as opposed to the imperious commands and nasty blows of the Knight.

74. On fol. 3r, the artist depicts Robin and Marion sitting on the ground for their intimate picnic. He was aware that images of the shepherds eating on the ground were fitting.

75. For a discussion of a completely different (and quite extraordinary) view of the Aix miniatures, see the article by Helen Solterer, “The Waking of Medieval Theatricality: Paris 1935–1995,” *New Literary History* 27 (1996): 357–90, in which she describes how Gustave Cohen's student troupe reproduced minute details from the images in their staging of the *Robin et Marion*. As Solterer notes, “they . . . assumed tacitly that [the Aix] representations were inspired by an actual fourteenth-century performance. They read the signs mimetically—as reproductions of a specific *jeu*. In other words, the manuscript was for them a transcript of a medieval happening” (367).

76. The scholars who have recently worked on the *Jour du Jugement*, on the other hand, see in that manuscript a reflection of actual staging practices, and suggest that it may even be a record of a performance event. As Perrot and Nonot write, “Les *mansions* et les autres *lieux* proposés par le miniaturiste procèdent . . . sans doute d'une reconstitution intellectuelle. Mais si cette reconstitution n'est pas fondée sur le souvenir d'un spectacle précis, ce qu'au demeurant rien ne peut empêcher d'imaginer, elle révèle pour le moins une connaissance certaine des techniques et des procédés employés dans l'organisation d'un mystère” (15–16). The illuminators of the *Jour du Jugement* certainly go to greater lengths to evoke context, detail, and perhaps even audience than the illuminator of the Aix *Robin et Marion*: architectural elements are much more common, objects and dress are rendered with greater detail, and there are several scenes of speakers addressing crowds. For these miniatures, see Richard K. Emmerson, “Visualizing Performance: The Miniatures of Besançon MS 579 (*Jour du Jugement*),” *Exemplaria* 11 (1999): 245–72.

77. The *Robin et Marion* may have been written and first performed in Naples at the court of Charles of Anjou, where Adam may have gone in the company of his lord, Robert of Artois, in 1283. Symes reviews the meager evidence concerning Adam's stay in Italy and his demise in “The Makings of a Medieval Stage,” ch. 8. She points out that he left an “invisible path” into Italy, and that the two sources that speak of his death are “poetic, and oddly jocular”—therefore far from trustworthy.

78. Gautier de Coinci, a remarkably self-defined author, designed the manuscript containing his musical and narrative compositions. See Kathryn A. Duys, “Books Shaped by Song: Early Literary Literacy in the *Miracles de Notre Dame* of Gautier de Coinci” (Ph.D. diss., New York Univ., 1997).

79. Huot, *From Song to Book*, 67.

80. Symes, “The Makings of a Medieval Stage,” 368.

81. Adam's enduring memory is visible in the well known colophon mentioning his death in BnF, fr. 375, a hefty vernacular compilation produced in Arras in the early fourteenth century. The scribe identifies himself as Jehan Madoc and claims to be Adam's nephew. As Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book*, notes, "The date given in this colophon, 1288, is too early to apply to this manuscript Possibly . . . the date was copied accidentally On the other hand, perhaps [the scribe] copied it by design: it is not, after all, inappropriate to the themes of the collection. The eulogy of Adam anticipates the *Congé* of Jehan Bodel, which follows after the next entry; the stories of Troy and Athens are interwoven with the story of Arras and its poets and clerks" (26). An indication of Adam's fame several generations after his death appears in BnF, fr. 837, a late thirteenth-century codex, in which a fifteenth-century scribe has written Adam's name above the incipit of the *Jeu de la Feuillée*. As Symes notes in "Early Vernacular Plays," "The fact that a fifteenth-century annotator could identify the author of the anonymous 'geus' in BnF fr. 837 strongly suggests that the piece was easily recognizable over a hundred years later" (819).

82. On the construction of spectacle on the page in BnF, fr. 146, see Nancy Freeman Regalado, "Allegories of Power: The Tournament of Vices and Virtues in the *Roman de Fauvel* (BN MS Fr. 146)," *Gesta* 32 (1993): 135–46; on many other performative aspects of BnF, fr. 146, see *Fauvel Studies*, ed. Bent and Wathey.

83. BnF, fr. 146 contains an array of inventive page layouts. Folios may be divided into two or three columns; if two, they may be of equal width, or one may be twice the width of the other. Symmetrical and asymmetrical layouts are used to great effect. Text is squeezed between, in, and around images, most famously on fol. 42r, where the text and music are molded around the triangular image of the Fountain of Youth. On works combining spoken and sung, narrative and lyric elements, see the introduction to the facsimile of BnF, fr. 146, esp. p. 17; and Maureen Barry McCann Boulton, *The Song in the Story: Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction, 1200–1400* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993). Among the few works in this category pre-dating BnF, fr. 146 that are given lavish manuscript display are Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* and the *Roman de la Poire*. On Gautier, see Duys, "Books Shaped by Song"; on the *Poire*, see Huot, *From Song to Book*, 174–93.

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