The Breton "*An Buhez Sante Barba* – The Life of Saint Barbara" and its Contemporaries:
a Comparative Study

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Sonja Schnabel
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Gutachter: Prof. Dr. Erich Poppe (Universität Marburg)
Prof. Dr. Paul Widmer (Universität Zürich)

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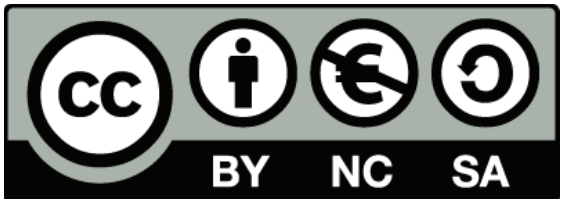

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When Paul Widmer asked me to join him on the DFG-project "Kritische Edition des mittelbretonischen *Buhez Sante Barba* – Leben der heiligen Barba" I gladly accepted the opportunity. The topic for my thesis grew out of this project and I was and still am very grateful to Professor Widmer for giving me that chance and motivating me to develop my skills in Breton and French, even via skype if necessary.

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1. Introduction

> A play was a one-off occurrence, virtually never repeated. Or rather if and when it was repeated, it was no longer the same play. [...] However, even if an existing text could be used, it was always, in the end, quite substantially modified, often for practical reasons [...]. [N]o completely original Passion Play has survived which was written after 1452. All were to some extent derivative of earlier plays. Even when no existing text was available, as in the case of a "new" saint's play, the *fatistes* drew heavily on narrative texts.
> (Runnalls 1999, 62-69)

The studies Graham Runnalls conducted on Medieval theatre are based on meticulous research. He did not only investigate the surviving manuscripts or print versions of the plays, but analysed various types of material relating to the performances of the plays, such as archive records, contracts, records of payments etc. This resulted in a very practical approach to the stage of late Medieval Europe. Although he focussed on the French Medieval theatrical world, his results apply well to the Breton context, which unfortunately has as yet not been investigated in such detail. That is why I have drawn on Runnalls' work extensively in my study of the Breton saint's play *An Buhez Sante Barba* – "The life of Saint Barbara" (referred to as *An Buhez*). I have attempted to understand how the Breton play may have been put on stage. Based on Runnalls' findings, I have asked various questions of the Breton text: Who played the roles? What might the stage have looked like? How big was it and what constructions were essential for the performance of the play? Was the play meant to be performed at all? Due to the absence of any archival material, I was only able to approach these questions from the point of view of the text itself. This yielded good results, which I present in the following chapter on Medieval Theatre (chapter 2). However, more research, particularly in the archives of Brittany, would be immensely desirable in order to determine any hints with regard to the questions if, when and where the play may have been performed. The survey in chapter 2 will 'set the stage', so to speak, and provide the cultural and historical background for the literary approach to the text, which constitutes the core of my study. After illustrating the complex Breton rhyme scheme and the effort that went into the composition of the Breton play (chapter 3), I will address the questions why a Breton play about Saint Barbara exists in the first place and which audience it was intended for (chapter 4). After that, I will examine the play for possible sources the author may have had in mind by comparing each of the motifs in *An Buhez* to the corresponding sections in two French plays and two Latin legends (chapters 5-13).

The Breton play *An Buhez* has come down to us in three (four) print versions. These date from the years 1557, 1608 (two surviving copies) and 1647. Their inter-textual relationship

was investigated by Ricarda Scherschel, who in her article also provides considerable detail with regard to the history of the prints and their layout. She concludes that there is "a close link between the 1608 and 1647 prints" and argues for a descent of the latter from the former. Furthermore, she suggests "that the 1608 print descends directly from the 1557 print, although a split descent of these two prints from a common ancestor cannot be ruled out completely" (Scherschel 2014, 13). With regard to the content, the three versions hardly differ and can be treated as the same text for the intents and purposes of my study. In 1888 Emile Ernault edited the oldest version of 1557, using the youngest version of 1647 to supplement the missing parts as the 1608 version was yet undiscovered. He included a French translation and a *Dictionnaire étymologique du Breton moyen* in his edition[1] and thus provided a very helpful tool for the study of the Breton play (Ernault 1888). The 1608 version was made accessible as a diplomatic text edition by Paul Widmer in collaboration with Christina Fischer and Ricarda Scherschel in 2013 (Widmer 2013). Widmer has also been working on a new edition with an English translation of the oldest version, taking into account the variant readings of both 1608 and 1647. As part of the project, I made the English translation and thus the English translations of the Breton play used in this study are my own. The numbering of the stanzas, however, corresponds to Ernault's edition. It has recently come to my attention[2] that Yves Le Berre published a new edition with an introduction and a French translation of *An Buhez* (Le Berre 2018). Unfortunately, I could not include Le Berre's edition in my thesis because it had already reached a state of near completion by the time I became aware of the new edition. However, it will be of great importance to any subsequent studies of *An Buhez*.

In order to find out which texts may have inspired the author of the Breton play, I have compared the Breton play to contemporaneous sources about Saint Barbara. First and foremost among these are the two French mystery plays about her, because they do not only have the same heroine, but also belong to the same genre. The older of these two French plays, *Le Mystère de sainte Barbe en cinq journées* (referred to as *cinq journées*), has been preserved in one manuscript version, which is currently being edited by Mario Longtin and his colleagues Laurent Brun and Jacques Lemaire ('Le Mystère de sainte Barbe en cinq journées, BN fr. 976'). He has very kindly allowed me to use his work in progress for my studies, for which I am exceedingly grateful. Parts of the play were edited previously by Jun-Han Kim (Kim 1998). The manuscript version is dated to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century (Longtin 1996, 5; Kim 1998, 365). The play consists of five days. The end and the beginning of each day are marked

[1] In fact, Christian-J. Guyonvarc'h accuses Ernault of having used *An Buhez* merely as a means to publish the dictionary rather than to provide a true analysis of the play: "La *Vie de Sainte Barbe* a été ainsi le prétexte, pour Ernault, à la publication du *Dictionnaire étymologique du breton moyen*, mais non d'une étude de la pièce" (Guyonvarc'h 1987b, 212).

[2] I would like to thank Prof. Nelly Blanchard for the reference.

by stage directions, but not by introductions or epilogues. The play is of considerable length (23792 verses) and sophistication on the part of the author (*fatiste*). The younger French play, *Le Mystère de sainte Barbe en deux journées* (referred to as *deux journées*) was also edited by Longtin (Longtin 1996), and by Paul Seefeldt before him (Seefeldt 1908). Like the Breton version, the younger French play has come down to us in several print versions spanning more than a century. According to a list compiled by Petit de Julleville in the nineteenth century (Julleville 1880, 486), seven print versions of the play have survived. The oldest of these was printed between 1511 and 1517, the youngest is dated to the beginning of the seventeenth century. The play consists of two days, each of which is introduced by a prologue. In addition to the two plays that have been preserved in their entirety, there is a "role" of Saint Barbara. This was edited by Jacques Chocheyras (Chocheyras 1971) and is dated to the sixteenth century. Longtin discusses the relation of this fragment to *deux journées* in the introduction to his edition of the French two-day-version. He highlights the evident similarities between the fragment and *deux journées*, but as there are also some significant differences, Longtin suggests that the fragment may have been part of a three-day-production of the life of Saint Barbara (Longtin 1996, 5-10). I have not included this fragment in my study, partly because of its obvious similarity to *deux journées*. In addition to that, I gave preference to the texts that were able to provide more than a fraction of the play. Based on the results of the present study, it might be interesting to compare the fragment to *An Buhez* as a future project.

The contents of Saint Barbara's legend are almost as varied as the accounts of her life. In general, it can be said that she is the daughter of a rich pagan (king) named Dioscorus and converts to Christianity due to an intuitive knowledge of Christian faith. In addition to this, she is instructed in Christian beliefs by different persons, depending on the source text, and baptised a Christian. Her father puts her into a tower in order to keep her and her beauty away from the eyes of men. This tower and/or a bathhouse are built for her use by a crew of craftsmen. Dioscorus orders these craftsmen to build exactly two windows into the tower/bathhouse, but after her conversion Barbara convinces the craftsmen to add a third window, representing the trinity, to the respective building. Upon discovering the addition, Dioscorus is furious and attempts to kill Barbara. Although she is able to flee, she is soon recaptured and then has to stand trial and torture. Eventually, Dioscorus kills her and suffers instant death by heavenly intervention.

The editors of the respective versions of the Saint Barbara plays all voiced some suggestions or assumptions with regard to the connection between the texts. Ernault perceives some similarities between *An Buhez* and *deux journées*, but finds more differences. He dismisses *cinq journées* mostly because of its sheer length and richness in motifs which cannot be found in *An Buhez* (Ernault 1888, IV). Seefeldt on the other hand dismisses any direct relations and in the

introduction to his edition of *deux journées* he states:

> Meine Untersuchung hat ergeben, daß den drei Barbara-Mysterien eine gemeinsame Quelle zu Grunde liegt. Mit absoluter Sicherheit habe ich diese zwar nicht ermitteln können, höchstwahrscheinlich aber ist sie des Jacobus de Voragine Legenda Aurea. […] Die Vergleichung der sich entsprechenden Szenen der drei mittelalterlichen Barbara-Dramen zeigt, daß dieselben nicht voneinander abhängen. An keiner Stelle lässt sich eine direkte Entlehnung feststellen.
> (Seefeldt 1908, XV)

While I wholeheartedly agree that all three versions are highly individual works of art, I have reached different conclusions with regard to the interdependency of the texts on the one hand and the common source on the other. Gustave Cohen was probably the first to see striking similarities between *An Buhez* and *cinq journées* and accordingly suggests a relation between the two (Cohen 1956, 395-400). While Cohen's assessment is much longer than that of either Ernault or Seefeldt, his comparison of the Barbara plays is part of a wider study of French Medieval theatre, which leaves room for more analysis. Kim has also drawn some general comparisons between *An Buhez* and *cinq journées* and states that "bien qu'il soit probable que l'auteur du *Mystère* en breton connaissait le *Mystère* du XV^{e} siècle [*cinq journées*] et qu'il en a exploité quelques épisodes, le *Mystère* en breton ne semble pas avoir un rapport direct avec le *Mystère* du XV^{e} siècle" (Kim 1998, 167). Kim continues by listing the differences between the two plays and refers to the episodes of Barbara's refusal of marriage, her baptism, her perspective on the tower as a prison, the pool/fountain, and the shepherds (Kim 1998, 167f). Although all of this is true, some different conclusions can be reached when looking at the details. Furthermore, as I demonstrate in the following chapters, there are parts of the Breton play that are strikingly similar in style and structure to *cinq journées*, for example in the case of the hermit-pilgrim or the tower. Nevertheless, it is true that *An Buhez* is far from being a copy of the older French version. The younger French play, *deux journées*, appears to be much closer to *An Buhez* at first sight. Both have survived in more than one print version. The earliest of the respective versions were printed within fifty years of one another. In addition to that, both are of similar length and both have an introduction, which distinguishes them from *cinq journées*. These similarities are probably what Ernault refers to when he writes that "[*deux journées*] ressemble davantage à la rédaction bretonne" (Ernault 1888, IV). But apart from this, the two have few commonalities, a view which is shared by Longtin who notes "le peu de liens existant entre ce texte [*An Buhez*] et *Le Mystère de sainte Barbe en deux journées*" (Longtin 1996, 4). And yet, those commonalities that can be found are intriguing, such as the character of the hermit (*deux journées*) and the hermit-pilgrim (*An Buhez*). In addition to the similarities between the

three plays, there are also some motifs in *An Buhez* that are, as Kim remarks on the matter of Barbara's refusal of marriage (Kim 1998, 167), quite unique to the Breton version.

In order to expand the pool of possible sources, I have also considered two of the most popular prose versions of the life of Saint Barbara. One of these is the Latin version of the immensely popular *Legenda Aurea*, which is also the common source Seefeldt suggests as an ancestor of all three plays. However, Saint Barbara's legend is not a part of the original version of Jacobus de Voragine's compilation (1252-1260). Unfortunately, no study that dates the numerous copies of the *Legenda Aurea*, or provides a genealogy, came to my attention and it is thus difficult to determine exactly when Barbara entered the collection of saints' lives.[3] According to Kirsten Wolf's introduction to her edition of the Old Norse-Icelandic version of Saint Barbara's legend[4], the "*Legenda Aurea* seems to have continually expanded to include additional lives" (Wolf 2000, 16). Theodor Graesse's edition of the *Legenda Aurea vulgo historia lombardica dicta*, which does include Saint Barbara's legend, became a standard source for scholars of the field, and it is also my source for the Latin *Legenda Aurea* version of Saint Barbara's life (Graesse 1965). Unfortunately, Graesse neither provides a useful introduction nor notes to his edition. Wolf argues that this *Legenda Aurea* version has most likely come into existence some time after the end of the fourteenth century (Wolf 2000, 22). Thus, the *Legenda Aurea* version of Barbara's life predates the Breton play by a maximum of 150 years rather than the 300 years of Jacobus de Voragine's first compilation. Wolf bases her assessment on research by Baudouin de Gaiffer (Gaiffier 1959) and Albert Derolez (Derolez 1991), who have studied another popular Latin version of the legend of Saint Barbara. This is the second Latin version of Saint Barbara's legend that I used for comparison (referred to as John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*). It is part of "a grand encomium on Saint Barbara composed in the last decades of the fourteenth century by a Flemish Augustine monk called John of Wakkerzeel (a village north of Louvain)" (Wolf 2000, 22). John of Wakkerzeel, who lived in the second half of the fourteenth century, was a great admirer of Saint Barbara's and attempted to reconcile the numerous sources and pieces of information that were circulating about the saint at the time. His work "is characterised by an astonishingly uncritical attitude" (Derolez 1991, 202), which is reflected for example in his explanation of the location of Nicomedia, Saint Barbara's hometown. This is particularly interesting, because it has a certain impact upon my study. Some of the legends about Saint Barbara suggest Heliopolis, others suggest Nicomedia, and some even give Tuscany and Rome as the

[3] I would like to thank Christina Fischer for providing me with her findings on the subject.

[4] The first 45 pages of this introduction are, in fact, a detailed yet concise analysis of the transmission history of Saint Barbara's legend. Furthermore, it is firstly of a fairly recent date in comparison to similar papers (e.g. Gaiffier 1959), it is secondly easily accessible due to the fact that it was published in English and with an excellent index, and thirdly, provides a considerable amount of primary sources as well as literature published on Saint Barbara in various languages. Therefore, I have drawn heavily on Wolf's work for my own introduction.

place of her martyrdom. John of Wakkerzeel attempted to reconcile Nicomedia and Heliopolis by explaining that the Heliopolis in Saint Barbara's legend is that of Egypt rather than that of Syria, and that this was founded by the Bithynian king Nicomedes, which is why the city is also known as Nicomedia (Wolf 2000, 24; Wakkerzeel 1495, 6).[5] This is interesting insofar as the hermit-pilgrim in *An Buhez* and the pilgrim in *cinq journées* travel between Alexandria and Jerusalem. If Nicomedia was located in what is today Turkey, the pilgrim would hardly pass it by en route. Heliopolis in Egypt, however, is right on track (chapters 2.4, 7.1). It is possible that this instance was the reason for Gaiffier to state that "c'est aussi notre compilation (John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*) qui inspire *Le mystère de sainte Barbe*, tragédie bretonne de XVI^{e} siècle" (Gaiffier 1959, 12). Although he does lamentably not become more precise, Gaiffier apparently observed some obvious similarities between John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *An Buhez*. Furthermore, John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* was immensely popular, which is attested by the high number of manuscript copies that have survived (Gaiffier 1959, 9f). The popularity of John of Wakkerzeel's compilation endured into the age of print and an incunabula from the year 1495 has survived and thankfully been digitised (Wakkerzeel 1495). It was also translated into and published in French, German and Dutch (Gaiffier 1959, 11). The latter has also been digitised and served me as a point of reference in difficult passages (Wakkerzeel 1497).

The number of (re-)prints of her plays, the wide distribution of John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and the addition of Saint Barbara's legend to the *Legenda Aurea* attest to the popularity of the saint. According to Lynette Muir, "among the women, the most renowned were St. Catherine of Alexandria and (in France) St. Barbe or Barbara" (Muir 1986, 139). Saints Barbara and Catherine of Alexandria are joined by Saints Margaret of Antioch and Dorothy to form the group of the *quattuor virgines capitales* (Wolf 2000, 1). Saint Barbara is also part of the group of the *Vierzehn Nothelfer*, who are induced in the hour of need. This cult is strongest in Germany, where folk beliefs and customs concerned with Saint Barbara are still commonplace among practising Catholics. Each of the fourteen auxiliary saints is ascribed a particular power against different problems, such as a certain disease. In the case of Saint Barbara it is her potential as an intercessor at the hour of death that qualifies her for the group (Wolf 2000, 28f; Wimmer 1980, 1433). Furthermore, Saint Barbara was and often still is worshipped by miners and artillerymen, but her patronage extended significantly on the basis of – sometimes creative interpretations of – her legend (Carpentier-Bogaert, Catherine and Françoise Baligand 1997, 71-150).[6] As suggested by Muir, Saint Barbara was worshipped particularly strongly in

[5] Tuscany and Rome figure strongly in John of Wakkerzeel's account of the translation of her relics (Wolf 2000, 22).

[6] "Sainte Barbe n'est pas seulement la patronne des mineurs et autres corps de métier ayant un rapport quelconque avec la foudre ou le feu… comme les artificiers, salpêtriers, fondeurs, couleuvriers, arquebusiers, pompiers… Elle ne protège pas uniquement ceux que leur travail mène sous la terre. Elle patronne aussi les fourreurs, les

France, but she was also an exceedingly popular saint in Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany (Wolf 2000, 34-37). Worship of Saint Barbara expanded during the thirteenth century and reached its climax between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries (Wimmer 1980, 1433). The prime example for this is the fact that her legend was put on stage sixteen times between 1450 and 1550 in France alone (Longtin 2003, 1; see also Julleville 1880, 181), which makes Saint Barbara's legend "the most frequently performed of all saint's plays in France" during that time (Muir 1986, 165).

The earliest written testimony of her legend is dated to the seventh century and is probably of Egyptian origin (Wolf 2000, 1, Wimmer 1980, 1432). Evidence of her worship before that time is her patronage of a fourth-century monastery in Edessa, of a seventh-century Coptic basilica in Kairo, as well as of several churches in Constantinople (Wolf 2000, 3; Wimmer 1980, 1433). In Western Europe, the earliest testimony of her veneration is a fresco in the Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome, dated to 705/706. From there, her popularity spread northwards and she is traceable as a patron saint of churches north of the Alps from the eleventh century onwards (Wimmer 1980, 1433). Further evidence of the veneration of Saint Barbara is her inclusion in the European martyrologies. According to Wolf, "the first notice of the feast day of Saint Barbara occurs in the historical martyrologyies [sic.] of Rabanus Maurus (776/784-856), Archbishop of Mainz, and Ado (ca. 800-875), Archbishop of Vienne." Appearances of Saint Barbara in earlier martyrologies have been judged to be late additions, which is why her feast day "was expunged in the new Roman calendar published in 1969 after the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965)" (Wolf 2000, 12f). This does not have much impact on folk beliefs and/or customs.[7] The absence of Saint Barbara from early martyrologies is in accordance with the fact that while legends about her are preserved in Syriac, Greek and Latin, there are no written sources that can be dated to her lifetime. Furthermore, her legend can be regarded as "a mosaic of commonly used topoi" (Wolf 2000, 3), which lends support to the assumption that Saint Barbara is not a historical figure. It is therefore not surprising that the accounts of the time and place of her martyrdom vary. Her death, however, is predominantly located in Nicomedia in the year 306 (Wimmer 1980, 1432).

In order to be able to compare the different versions of the legend of Saint Barbara, I have isolated specific motifs and looked at the structure of the respective versions. A similar method was employed by Séamus Mac Mathúna in his study of the Medieval Brendan material. Like the

pelletiers, les chapeliers. Elle serait aujourd'hui encore titulaire d'une quarantaine de patronages dont la plupart trouvent leur origine dans le récit légendaire de sa vie qui peut donner lieu à des interprétations très différentes" (Carpentier-Bogaert, Catherine and Françoise Baligand 1997, 71).

[7] In fact, Saint Barbara's absence from the Roman calendar seems to remain widely unknown. As part of a Catholic youth organisation, I have spoken to several people, including a priest, about Saint Barbara's deletion and nobody was aware that her feast day had been officially removed from the calendar.

legend of Saint Barbara, the legend of Saint Brendan has come down to us in several versions and languages. The *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* – "The sea-voyage of Saint Brendan" – survives in 120 Latin manuscript copies and was translated into Anglo-Norman, Old French, Provençal, German, Dutch, Flemish and Norwegian (Mac Mathúna 1994, 313). Mac Mathúna compares the voyage tale to the *Vita Brendani*, which survives in both Latin and Irish but was not transmitted intact (Mac Mathúna 1994, 321f). The *Vita* contains two episodes of sea voyages conducted by Saint Brendan, which led Mac Mathúna to look for commonalities between the two versions of the saint's life. In his study, Mac Mathúna compares the structure of the respective tales on the one hand and isolated episodes common to both versions on the other. He concludes that despite the fact that "episodic detail is so close in some instances, […] there is no proof here of slavish borrowing" (Mac Mathúna 1994, 339). Mac Mathúna's method of comparison was a useful inspiration to my own approach to the legend of Saint Barbara. Therefore, I have begun by dividing the Breton play into episodes, in which the respective motifs familiar from the general legend of Saint Barbara are detectable. I use the term "episode" instead of the term "scene", which is more familiar from a theatrical context. However, "scene" together with "act" are commonly used terms for the subdivision of plays and as these are not employed in *An Buhez* it would have been misleading to speak of "scenes". Medieval theatre commonly employed "days" (French: "journées") as a method of subdividing a play. Such a "day" is usually based on the number of verses that could be performed on stage within one theatrical session, which in the beginnings of Medieval theatre lasted about one Sunday or feast day; hence, the distinction of the two French plays into a play containing five days (*cinq journées*, the older play) and one containing two days (*deux journées*, the younger play). Unlike the two French plays, the Breton play does not provide information on the exact number of days it is subdivided into. In the introduction, it illustrates the action of the first day, only, and does not specify how many more days the performance was to last. It is, however, reasonable to assume a three-day performance for the play as it stands. Further details on the subdivision of *An Buhez* will be given in chapter 2, which also illustrates the Breton play's historical and cultural background.

The following table provides an overview of the episodes of the Breton play and their respective contents. Some episodes are clearly related to one another or form a discernible group (e.g. stanzas 1-31). In some cases, the beginning and/or end of an episode is not clearly identifiable and could belong to either the preceding or the following larger group (e.g. 395-405). The numbers of the stanzas are the same as in Ernault's edition:

stanzas	episode/motif	contents
1 -4	the witness	introduction of Barbara and her father king Dioscorus, who has workers build a tower for her
5 -21	introduction	summary of the action of the first day
22 -31	devils	partitioning of the world
32 -79	tower & building process	Dioscorus introduces himself and his wish to have a tower built for the protection of his daughter; he sends for workers who begin building the tower for him
80 -129	Barbara's education & conversion	Dioscorus sends for a schoolmaster to educate his daughter; Barbara displays an intuitive knowledge of the Christian God
130 -138	the hermit-pilgrim	Barbara meets a hermit-pilgrim who tells her of Origen
139 -185	Origen, Valentine & baptism	Barbara sends a messenger to Origen; he sends her a teacher (Valentine), who instructs and baptises her
186 -203	moving into the tower	upon finding a foreigner (Valentine) in his daughter's chambers, Dioscorus has her move into the tower
204 -240	lords & marriage proposal	two lords approach Dioscorus about imprisoning his daughter and her status as an unmarried heiress; Barbara refuses to marry → first estrangement of father and daughter; end of first day
241 -254/5	third window	Dioscorus leaves, Barbara's request for the third window
255 -280	fountain, cross in stone & idols	Barbara revives a fountain, draws a cross into a stone with her bare finger and defies the idols
281 -385	discovery of third window, flight through the stone	Dioscorus returns, discovers the third window and confronting Barbara about it attempts to kill her; a stone opens for her and she is able to flee
386 -394	shepherds & Barbara's recapture	Dioscorus searches for his daughter; one of two shepherds betrays her location to him, and Dioscorus recaptures her

395 -449	imprisonment & inquisition	Dioscorus imprisons Barbara, then accuses her in front of the provost, who in turn questions her about her beliefs
450 -492	torture 1	upon her refusal of abdication, the provost has her tortured; 3 torturers + Claudin; bound and beaten with clubs and bull-pizzles, rolled in a barrel spiked with metal pieces, rubbing salt into wounds, beating with hair shirt
493 -533	prison & visit by Christ	Barbara is returned to prison where she is visited by (a vision of) Christ, who heals all her wounds and assures her of his love for her → likely end of second day
534 -648	torture 2	Barbara repeats her refusal of abdication, the provost has her tortured again; burned with torches, beaten with hammers, breasts cut off, chased naked through streets → divine intervention
649 -652	enraged Dioscorus	very short intermediary episode initiating the following action
653 -679	Barbara's prayer	Barbara makes a request that the souls of her followers will be specially protected; Christ grants her this favour
680 -723	Barbara and Dioscorus on the mountaintop	Barbara tries to convince Dioscorus of the mistake he is about to make
724 -726	Barbara's final prayer	short prayer; her last words in the play
727 -782	morality episode	Beezlebub and Conscience appear and each tries to lead Dioscorus in the direction of good and evil, respectively
782 -813	end	Dioscorus beheads Barbara and despairs immediately; Beezlebub takes his soul to hell; the king's end is witnessed by Claudin and his companion; Valentine buries Barbara's body

The episodes and motifs that appear in *An Buhez* are for the most part also present in at least one other source. This fact forms the basis of my study. However, even if two or more texts employ the same motif, it is not always embedded into the same episode, nor does the order of motifs and episodes, respectively, always match. Nevertheless, the texts often correspond in a striking way. Mac Mathùna voices a similar opinion with regard to the comparison of the Brendan-material:

> In considering the interrelationships between the various voyage texts, it is important that sufficient prominence be given to episodes which combine similarity of content with more or less the same sequencing. Neither the detail nor the sequencing need match exactly in order to establish a common nucleus.
> (Mac Mathúna 2006, 147)

Although my approach to the material is quite similar to Mac Mathúna's, I employ the term "motif" rather than "nucleus" mainly for two reasons. For one, some of the commonalities are also part of a larger pool of common motifs, such as for example "(the maiden in) the tower", which is also familiar from fairy tales. For another, the term "motif" suggests a slightly larger scale than "nucleus", which is more suitable to my study. In the following chapters, I therefore examine one motif after another and compare it to its counterparts in the four other versions in order to point out commonalities. The study progresses along the order of events as provided by *An Buhez* and thus corresponds to the order in the table above. *An Buhez* has two remarkably idiosyncratic episodes. One of these is the morality episode, which does not appear in any of the other versions (chapter 13.2). The other is the fountain, which appears to be a Breton adaptation of the bathhouse that is more common in the other versions of the legend of Saint Barbara (chapter 11). The two French plays each contain several episodes and/or characters that are unique to them and do not appear in *An Buhez*. The presence of Barbara's mother and the fact that, during her torture, Barbara spends one of the nights in prison together with a prostitute, whom she converts to Christianity, are the most prominent examples for such singularities in *deux journées*. However, many other details that figure in the other sources were changed or omitted in *deux journées*. Longtin includes a list of those deviations in the introduction to his edition of *deux journées* (Longtin 1996, 16f). In the case of *cinq journées*, a list of episodes that do not appear in *An Buhez* (or *deux journées*) would be extensive. The play is extremely long and detailed (five days, 23792 verses), and while it mirrors the legend as presented by John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* in large parts (cf. Kim 1998, 375-377), it also expands upon it, partly from the necessity of adapting the subject matter to the stage (e.g. the pilgrim who tells Barbara of Origen, chapter 7.1). Since the focus of my study is on the Breton play, I have only looked at those episodes that correspond to *An Buhez*, although their respective contents often differ. However, I did not include the episode about Barbara's torture in great detail in this thesis. On the one hand, it is a very long episode in all three plays and would have taken considerably more time and space to analyse in detail. On the other hand, it is unlikely that the detailed analysis of the torture episode will lead to any unexpected insights. Even without the additional information the torture episode may or may not provide, it is clear that the Breton play consists for the most part of motifs and episodes common to the life of Saint Barbara, but includes some highly individual episodes that I did not encounter in any of

the other four versions under consideration. This points to the fact that the author has likely used or at least known other sources apart from the ones I compared to *An Buhez*, not only with regard to the contents of the play, but also with regard to the genre (chapter 13.2). With regard to the results of the direct comparison between the Breton play and the four sources under consideration in this study, it appears that *An Buhez* has a certain relation with both *cinq journées* and the *Legenda Aurea*. It corresponds particularly closely to either version in some cases, for example in the case of the baptism to the *Legenda Aurea* and in the case of Barbara's education and her encounter with the pilgrim-hermit to *cinq journées*. Direct correspondences between *An Buhez* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* are difficult to isolate due to the fact that *cinq journées* usually corresponds to John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, too, and thus provides the same information. However, there is one detail that might hint at a more direct relationship between *An Buhez* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* in the case of the fountain/bathhouse-episode (chapter 11). Direct correspondence between *An Buhez* and *deux journées* is rare. The only really intriguing example for an exceptional commonality between the two texts is the name of the character "the hermit" (chapter 7.1). Those episodes that do correspond to one or several of the other sources often still display individual features, for example in the case of the building process of the tower, or the shepherd episode (chapters 6, 12). All this suggests that the author of *An Buhez* has not based the play on any one source in particular, but instead created a very individual piece of art. This impression is supported by the fact that the author employed a typically Breton rhyme scheme throughout the entire play which is considerably more complex than the pair rhymes employed by the two French plays (chapter 3).

2. Medieval Theatre

> Mais en tant qu'historiens du théâtre, c'est notre devoir de chercher à faire ressortir non seulement les qualités d'un texte, mais aussi la vision de son metteur en scène. (Runnalls 2002, 134)

In the case of Middle Breton plays, this is particularly important, for their great value as testimonies of the Breton language and the linguistic interest therein has often overshadowed theatrical or literary research (Guyonvarc'h 1987b, 212; Le Duc 2006, 269). Therefore, I would like to consider *An Buhez* in a context of European Medieval theatre and share some considerations with regard to whether and if so how it may have been put on stage.

According to Lynette Muir (Muir 1995), Brittany and Cornwall began to develop their theatrical culture only after they "came under the influence of their more powerful neighbours", France and England. Indeed, the Breton plays are very similar to their French contemporaries. *An Buhez* shares most of the general features that distinguish medieval theatre from (early) modern theatre. Therefore I mostly rely on studies of French medieval theatre in order to evaluate the Breton play. It is precisely because of the strong resemblance of the Middle Breton plays to their French contemporaries that the early scholars of the Breton texts have been extremely critical, which Gwennole Le Menn illustrates clearly in the first chapter of his "Histoire du théâtre populaire Breton XV^{e}-XIX^{e}" (Le Menn 1983, 7-24). The most judgemental attitude is maybe reflected by Anatole Le Braz:

> [Le] Catholicon (1464), une Vie de sainte Nonne, des Heures en moyen breton, un mystère de la Passion, un mystère de sainte Barbe, une Vie (en prose) de sainte Catherine, une poème intitulé Le Miroir de la Mort, tels sont les premiers monuments écrits de la littérature bretonne. Par la composition comme par les sujets, ils sont d'essence toute francaise.
> (Le Braz 1905, 231)

However, it is hardly surprising that Breton theatre was influenced by its French counterpart, firstly because of the geographical proximity of the two cultures, and secondly because of the dominance of French theatrical works:

> Die Aufführungen der französischen Mysterienspiele vom 14. Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts stellten den Höhepunkt der mittelalterlichen Theaterkultur in Europa dar. Vermutlich übertraf die Zahl der in Frankreich aufgeführten «Mystères» auch bei weitem die aller anderen europäischen Länder.
> (Brauneck 1993, 315)

It is therefore not surprising that such successful entertainment served as an inspiration outside of France, as well. Three Middle Breton plays apart from *An Buhez* have come down to us, two of which appear in Le Braz' list of Middle Breton literature (s.a.): *An Passion*[8], *An Buhez santez Nonn*[9] and *An Buhez Sant Gwenole*[10].

Medieval theatre includes a wide variety of stage performance such as for example the liturgical drama, which is an early form, and the later and sometimes massive productions of mystery and morality plays.[11] In this study I will focus on mystery plays or French "mystères", due to the fact that *An Buhez* and the two French plays of Saint Barbara belong to this genre. According to Runnalls, "*Mystère* is the widely-employed label for most of the Passion plays and large-scale saints' plays of the 15th and early 16th centuries" (Runnalls 1998, 52) and refers to a "[dramatization] of narrative material based on the Bible (Old and New Testament), on the lives and miracles of the saints, and on the virgin Mary" (Runnalls 2004, 3). However, "mystère" is by far not the only term employed in the title pages or introductions of plays. Other terms used in the French versions are "vie", "histoire", "jeu", "miracle", "moralité", and occasionally "livre", "passion", "martyre", and "representation". None of these terms refers exclusively to plays, but the additional descriptive phrase "*par personnages* or *a personnages* [...] is really the key expression which distinguishes dramatic from non-dramatic literature" (Runnalls 1998, 55f). In the case of *An Buhez* the descriptive term is, of course, "vie" or "life". Instead of "par personnages", however, the phrase "euel maz custumer he hoary", which can be translated as "like it is customarily done in a play", is used and supports the same idea, i.e. that the text is based on an actual dramatic production (4).

It is important to note that even the earliest of the Breton versions of mystery plays date from the sixteenth century and even though any performances may have occurred at a significantly earlier date, at least the written versions as they stand coincide with the later tradition of mystery play performances in France. However, as Runnalls points out, "it is difficult to say when the last performance of a mystery took place in France", because the theatrical culture evolved and changed without a clean break (Runnalls 2004, 5). Nevertheless, the year 1548 marks a turning point in the history of medieval theatre in France, for the Parlement issued an edict which "sought to restrict large-scale, outdoor public performances of biblical plays, in particular those which the audience had to pay money to attend" (Runnalls 2004, 5). While this edict was directed at the Paris *Confrérie de la Passion*[12], other edicts restricting the production

[8] Three print versions from 1530, 1609 and 1622; edited by Villemarqué 1866 and Le Berre 2011.

[9] One manuscript, dated to the end of the 16th century; edited by Ernault 1887b and Le Berre 1999.

[10] One manuscript-copy from 1716 (Le Pelletier 1716), which dates the text to 1580; edited by Ernault 1932-1933 and Widmer 2013.

[11] For an overview of medieval theatre in Europe see Brauneck 1993; for an overview of French medieval theatre see for example Smith, Parussa and Halévy 2014, Bordier 2009, Knight 1983, and also Frank 1954.

[12] The *Confrérie de la Passion* was a group "whose main function was the performance of mystery plays" (Runnalls

and performance of mystery plays in some of the larger cities of France followed ("Bordeaux in 1556, Rennes in 1565, and in Flemish towns in 1559", Runnalls 2004, 5). However, "outside the Paris area and in the remoter provinces, mystery plays were put on until the early seventeenth century" (Runnalls 2004, 5), which fits well with the evidence from Brittany: "en Bretagne [...] le théâtre restera vivant au XVIe siècle, et probablement au début du XVIIe siècle, comme le montrent plusieurs interdictions" (Le Menn 1983, 36). These repeated prohibitions apparently could not persuade "ces braves gens" that staging the lives of the saints and God was an "oeuvre impie" (Cohen 1956, 400). Guyonvarc'h, on the other hand, claims that even the remoteness of Brittany did not keep it from the controversies the theatre faced in the cities:

> La rareté des oeuvres est déjà un signe: le théâtre en langue bretonne n'a pas eu longtemps la faveur de clergé, la faveur officielle s'entend. C'est que, lorsqu'il apparaît, le genre du mystère est déjà condamné, tant par la Réforme que par la Contre-Réforme qui s'annonce.
> (Guyonvarc'h 1987b, 212)

The loss of favour with the clergy and the officials are the main reason for the restrictions placed upon the performance culture of the late Middle Ages. As Enders illustrates in her chapter *The Laughter of the Children*, the solemn deeds of Jesus, the apostles and the saints were not meant to be mocked by the public, but this is precisely what happened when inept amateurs intoned the saintly lines wrong or some of the special effects – such as, for example, the descent of the Holy Ghost – did not work and thus lead to considerable mirth and amusement on the part of the audience, but not at the appropriate instances. Furthermore, attendance at the Sunday masses was impaired because people would leave early or not attend at all in order to obtain better seats for the performance (Enders 2002, 105-117; cf. Runnalls 1998, 98f). Such behaviour was particularly offensive to the emerging Protestants, and "[e]ven in countries where the Catholic Church remained the dominant form of worship they did not survive the pressures of the Reformation" (Allen 1983, 75). Runnalls makes a similar point when he says that "[t]he plays no longer appeared to be in keeping with recent changes in theology, both Catholic and Protestant" (Runnalls 1998, 89) and refers to another reason for the decrease of mystery play performances from the sixteenth century onwards:

> Most of [the complete or partial texts of some 500 plays written in French and performed in Medieval France] were written and performed between 1450 and

1998, 67). In 1402 Charles VI granted them the right to publicly perform Passion and mystery plays in Paris, both in their abode as well as in the open (Smith, Parussa and Halévy 2014, 58f). It "was composed of lesser clergy and the more devout members of the general public and tradesmen" (Allen 1983, 77). See also Runnalls 1995, 480.

> 1550, i.e. during the period of relative calm between the end of the Hundred Years War and the beginning of the Wars of Religion [...]. Successful theatre requires favourable social conditions.
> (Runnalls 1998, 63)

However, the situation in Brittany differed slightly from that in central France. While there are no records of performances, the reprinting of existing mystery plays flourished in Brittany in the seventeenth century (4). This corresponds with the fact that in the rest of France, the (re)printing of mystery plays was at that time already moving away from Paris to the other centres of print, such as Lyon, Rouen, and Troyes (Runnalls 1999, 38), and was on a general decline. According to the data gathered by Runnalls, only 21 of the 123 editions of mystery plays printed between 1485 and 1630 have been issued after 1550 (Runnalls 1999, 36). This strengthens the impression that mystery plays were retreating to remoter places and that while their general loss of popularity had already begun in the capital, it reached even the outlying regions of France, albeit at a later time.

2.1. The Days

"Favourable social conditions" as mentioned by Runnalls (Runnalls 1998, 63) were partly necessary simply because the performance of a play could take a long time. Plays were performed during a number of (often consecutive) Sundays and/or Feast Days. Hence, plays were divided into "days", or French "journées" instead of "acts" and "scenes", which are the terms of division familiar to our contemporary perspective on theatre. The very short plays could be performed within one day, but the large-scale productions such as the Valenciennes Passion plays of 1547 and 1549 lasted twenty-five and twenty days, respectively (cf. figure 2), and the *Acts of the Apostles* play, which was performed in Paris in 1541, lasted thirty-five days (Runnalls 2004, 7; Runnalls 1998, 98f). It is unknown exactly how long a "day" was, but Runnalls has conducted some very useful studies to that effect. Based on evidence of two plays (the *Mystère de Saint Martin*, performed at Seurre-en-Borgogne in 1496, and the *Mystère du Viel Testament*, performed in Paris in 1542), he suggests that a day could be divided further into a *matinee* and an *apres-disnee* and that each session would then have lasted about 4 hours, "which means that, on average, [a] performance proceeded at the rate of about 500 lines of written text every hour" (Runnalls 2004, 8-9). *An Buhez* appears to have been divided into days, as well, and the contents of the first day at least are mentioned in the introduction:

> *An Introduction*
> [...]
> [20] Ez deuz an broys tut discret

Da mannat dezy reiff priet
Ha ne deuruoe quet concedaff
Rac mazoa dren fez demezet
Da Iesu crist ann ministr net
Na ne deuruoe quet nemeta.

[21] Chetu aman an dez quentaff
Em entroit a recitaff
Guelhaff maz gallaff quentaff pret
Da dan eil dez ez discuezher
Dich vn tra arall mar galler
Gant gracc Doe roen ster mar queret.

> *The Introduction:* / […] The countrymen of the learned people came / in order to ask to give her a spouse / and she did not want to concede / because she was married through the faith / to Jesus Christ the holy priest / and she did not want anyone else but him. // Voilà, here of the first day / in my introduction I narrate / as best I can first of all / and with regard to the second day will be presented / to you one other thing if it is possible / with the grace of God the king of the stars if you wish. //

If the first day did end at the specified point of the action, it would end after stanza 240 and thus after roughly 1.440 lines of text. Between stanzas 240 and 241 there is a distinct lack of information with regard to the changes evidently taking place in the Breton play. As indicated in the introduction, two lords visit Dioscorus and talk to him about his daughter's prospects for marriage. After they have left Dioscorus, they discuss Barbara's unwillingness to marry on their way home (238-240). The next stanza (241) is spoken by Dioscorus again. He explains that he will now go on an excursion of an unspecified nature and does not refer to his daughter's refusal of marriage or any other part of the past stanzas in any way. Instead, he gives further instructions about his tower to the master worker. Thus, he must either have summoned the master worker to his palace, or visited the building site on the way to his "mission". Similarly, Barbara appears to change her place during the assumed break after stanza 240. She has been moved into the tower by her father in stanza 203, and when he visits her again later (225-230), there is no reason to suppose that she has changed her place in between. In stanza 248 she speaks to the craftsmen in order to request the third window. While it is possible that Barbara shouts out of her window during the ensuing conversation, it is more likely that she visits the craftsmen "downstairs", because after the conversation she moves on to the fountain, and this is

unlikely to be situated above ground level (11). In any case, there is clearly a contextual break at this point, which is supported by an inconsistency in the rhyme scheme between stanzas 240 and 241. As will be discussed in 3, such inconsistencies can serve to highlight a break in the action of the play. Unfortunately, there is no stage direction to indicate the beginning of a new day (or any other change in the action of the play), nor is there a second introduction at this point or anywhere else in the Breton play. While the concept of a new introduction for a new day is familiar from *deux journées* as well as from other French plays, it is not a universal feature. In the case of *cinq journées*, for example, the beginnings of new days are clearly marked by the Latin phrase "Incipit [number] liber misterii beate Barbare virginis" ('Le Mystère de sainte Barbe en cinq journées, BN fr. 976'), but there are no introductions at the beginning of a new day. In his article on the *Mystère de Saint Laurent*, Runnalls argues that

> les éditeurs de mystères avaient tendance, naturellement, à supprimer [des prologues et des indications scéniques], lorsqu'ils transformaient un manuscrit de théatre en un livre destiné à la lecture privée
> (Runnalls 2002, 123)

or as Vicky Hamblin puts it "prologues and epilogues […] generally accompanied a performance but did not necessarily accompany the surviving copy" (Hamblin 2012, 37). In fact, even in famous Shakespeare's time it was not yet common to include the division into acts and scenes in the printed versions of the plays, for as Wells notes: "none of the texts of Shakespeare's plays printed in his lifetime […] marks any divisions into either acts or scenes. The plays were printed continuously" (Wells 2016, 412f).

Both *An Buhez* and *deux journées* begin with an introductory episode spoken by more than one person. In the case of *An Buhez*, there is "An test" ('the witness'), who speaks the first four stanzas. In contrast to the two French plays about Saint Barbara, the Breton play does not depict any miracles associated with Barbara in the end. These miracles usually serve to establish the saint's holiness (Longtin 2005, 343). It is possible that the witness in *An Buhez* serves a similar purpose, that of legitimising the plot of the play and stating its importance. The witness mentions some key elements of the play, namely Barbara and her father king Dioscorus, who has craftsmen build a tower for her in their place of residence, Nicomedia. Then, the actual introduction begins, which summarises the action of the first day (stanza 5-21). After that, the devils appear for the first time (5) and the story proper begins in stanza 32. In *deux journées*, the prologue introduces all the actors of the play and sends them to their respective places. This is clearly intended to help the audience understand the roles and purposes of the respective characters they will encounter on stage. In contrast to the introductory section of *An Buhez* it does not provide a summary of the plot. The most intriguing part of the introduction in

deux journées, however, is the "folle [femme]", who gives a short monologue on her life of easy virtue directly before the plot of the play begins. This contrasts strongly with the more solemn subject of the saint's life. Longtin notes that "cette façon de débuter est des plus singulières" and wonders if it possibly serves to assure the audience's attention (Longtin 1996, 30). The French and the Breton play thus do not have much in common with regard to the content of their respective introductions. Another French mystery play, the *Mystère de Saint Laurent*, has similarities with both types of introduction. It is similar to *An Buhez* insofar as its prologue also provides a summary of the plot, although in the case of *Saint Laurent* the plot of the entire play is summarised. The prologue of *Saint Laurent* also describes the stage design in considerable detail. Structurally, this resembles the introduction of the characters in *deux journées*, because both introduction point out one feature or character, respectively, after the other. However, *Saint Laurent* and *An Buhez* have more in common, for neither includes stage directions that indicate the plays' division into *journées*, but both are too long to be performed in one session. Runnalls has identified three sections of similar length in the play and thus claims that the performance of *Saint Laurent* likely took three days (Runnalls 2002, 124). In the same manner, it is possible to identify opportunities for breaks in the Breton play, as well. As discussed above, the first day likely ended after stanza 240. Allowing a similar length for the second session/day of *An Buhez*, the next break in the play would likely occur around stanza 500 (Ernault 1888, iv). And indeed, at that point we meet Barbara in prison, where she spends some time between her torture sessions, and where Jesus visits her in order to heal all her wounds. This would make an excellent setting for another break, because time needs to pass within the play. The question is whether the break occurs before or after the intermediate episode in prison (493-533). Both, the beginning (492/493) and the end (533/534) of the episode have an inconsistency suggesting a break of some kind and/or a movement of the characters on stage (3.1). If the break was to occur before the episode in prison, the actor of Jesus would not have had to spend the entire day on stage awaiting his entry during the last half hour of the performance, for Jesus does not appear on stage before then. Of course, the actor could simply have sat on his seat and only entered the stage shortly before appearing in the play, or he may well have enjoyed watching the performance from his possibly elevated position (2.4). Nevertheless, it might have been considered serviceable for the action of the third day to begin with Barbara in prison, where she is visited by Jesus, who would then appear for the first time on this last day of the play. With regard to the contents, however, the break would probably fit better after the episode in prison, because then the first day would end with Barbara's prayer after she has received a great gift from God. This could create a cathartic effect for the audience and the next day could then resume the action with the Provost calling for Barbara to be brought before him again in 534:

[534] Duet flam aman pep vnan ahanech
Guytebunan pur buan oar an lech
Entroch ma flech pēp pe huech ezech ſcaff
Et da querchat tizmat ſinchat batant
Barba guerches ent eſpres em preſant
Eſpediant dam hoant de tourmantaff.

> Come here, indeed, every one of you / all of you, very quickly, on the spot / all together my lads, five or six strong guys, / shall go to fetch quickly, go on, immediately, / the virgin Barbe, truly, into my presence / quickly, to torment her according to my wish. //

This speech is very interesting, because it may well be addressed – at least partly – to the audience. Ernault's translation is quite similar to the above: "Que chacun de vous vienne ici sur-le-champ; allons, mes garçons, que cinq ou six gaillards vigoureux aillent me chercher […] Barbe […]" (Ernault 1888, 125). However, he translates the expression "oar an lech", which often means "right away, on the spot", in a more literal way as "onto the field". Similarly, a more literal translation of the following lines would be "among you my lads five or six husbands, easy, go to fetch […] Barbara […]." It would be unreasonable to assume that among the FOUR torturers that have made Barbara suffer in the previous episode and will do so in the next are five or six husbands. Of course, there may simply be a kind of mob on stage who is instructed by the Provost to fetch Barbara. But it is worth considering that the Provost is actually calling the audience to the place ('lech') of the theatre when he calls for "every one of you / all of you" ('pep vnan ahanech / Guytebunan') to "come here" ('Duet aman'), assuming that among the people will likely be "five or six husbands/heads of the family" ('pēp pe huech ezech'). These "heads of the family" may well be familiar with the concept of headstrong daughters and relate to the situation accordingly. Thus, the Provost's speech can at least be considered to be addressed to a double audience. Ernault also suggests that "il semble qu'un nouveau prologue serait à sa place, après la strophe 533, pour commencer une troisième journée, ou un troisième acte" (Ernault 1888, iv). His distinction between "journée" and "acte" suggests that he also considered a scenario of having two sessions of about 1.800 lines each in one day with a break in between, as proposed by Runnalls for the *Mystère de Saint Martin* and the *Mystère du Viel Testament* (s.a.; Runnalls 2004, 8-9). Moreover, this approach to structuring the action of the play fits the description given in the introduction of *An Buhez* best, for the introduction mentions the end of one day and then suggests a second or other day ("eil dez", 21), but not a third.

2.2. The Production of a Play

Apart from the time it took to perform the plays, there was a considerable amount of preparation and material that went into a mystery play performance. It was a very time consuming and costly business, which is why the plays were not usually put on by individuals, but by groups of influential members of a town.

> Although for the most part of the Middle Ages, the Church supported and participated in the performance of miracle and mystery plays, the Church rarely initiated such performances. Most frequently, the organisers were religious societies, for example the *confréries*, or the town administration.
> (Runnalls 1998, 67)

If plays were put on by a confraternity, these would often choose to put on a play on the day of their annual assembly, which usually took place on their patron saint's feast day. They would also very likely choose the subject matter accordingly, i.e. put on a play about their patron saint. Performing a saint's play on his/her feast day was generally common practice (Runnalls 1998, 66). In the case of Saint Barbara this is slightly problematic, because her feast day is the fourth of December, which makes a multiple day-long outdoor performance an uncomfortable prospect. Some performances seem to have taken place inside:

> The masons who sponsored performances of the Parisian *Mystère de saint Christofle* in the mid-sixteenth century did so in a celebration that wound its way through city streets before moving into a private 'abode and place' ('logis et lieu' Runnalls 1973, xxvii).
> (Hamblin 2012, 50)

But such performances and their sets had to be small because the amount of space available in a guildhall was limited, as was the amount of time allotted to the performances. The guild needed time for its annual business and other activities on the day of assembly, and thus it "circumscribed many aspects of the plays themselves" (Runnalls 1998, 70). Thus, most of the large-scale performances had to take place out of doors, where there was enough room for the stage and the audience.

There were no theatre houses in the Middle Ages. These came into use during the Renaissance period and were not yet in use for the performance of mystery plays. Instead, the stage and set of a play had to be built individually, which was laborious and costly:

> For each large-scale performance, a special theatre had to be built – and then taken down again afterwards. The medieval method of staging was also very

> space-consuming. This method, known nowadays as the *décor simultané*, meant that all the sets – representing, say, Heaven, Hell, a town, a castle, a room, a church – that would be required by the action were placed in the playing area at the beginning and stayed there during the whole performance. There were not curtains or scene changes. Actors would thus have to move from one set to another. (Runnalls 1998, 71)

In contrast to Runnalls' depiction of the Medieval Stage, Hamblin allows for a certain flexibility with regard to the sets: "some of [the sites] were part of the permanent "eschaffaux" that enclosed the theater [sic!], while other sites consisted of movable props that were brought into place for the appropriate scenes" (Hamblin 2005, 195). In any case, the size of a theatre was determined by the plot of the play that was to be performed, but the available space could in turn limit how much of a saint's legend would be portrayed on stage (Runnalls 1998, 91). As will be discussed below, the stage required for *An Buhez* involved several sets and places. It would have needed some space. Runnalls suggests that town squares were the most popular sites for a stage, and cemeteries were another, due to the amount of space each of these public locations offered (cf. Runnalls 1998, 71).

The physical place a theatre occupied was therefore very much at the centre of a town. The impact on the lives of the citizens was considerable. They were involved in the production of the play as actors, for there were hardly any professional actors yet and the roles fell to those citizens who could read and thus study their roles, and who were able to spare the time, i.e. the middle class (cf. Runnalls 1998, 75). Smith mentions professional acting as one of the occupations associated with the profession of the *jongleur*. The *jongleurs* often seem to have supplied the fools (*stultus*, who appears frequently in *cinq journées*), for example, but appear not to have been restricted to that kind of role (Smith, Parussa and Halévy 2014, 51-54). Non-professional actors appear to have been more common, however, and Runnalls lists members of the bourgeoisie such as priests, barristers, royal counselors and magistrates for a mystery play performance in Paris in 1536 (Runnalls 1998, 76; 166f). Before mystery plays fell out of favour with the Church, priests would often play the religious – and thus often the main – roles of Christ, the saints, or God, an arrangement that was deemed appropriate according to Runnalls (Runnalls 1998, 75). Of course, the clerical class was generally well qualified to act on stage due to the fact that they were mostly literate as well as used to speaking in front of an audience. Reasons for acting were manifold, and while Smith claims that the professional actors did – or at least tried to – make a living from their art (Smith, Parussa and Halévy 2014, 52), the non-professional actors' reward was "usually social and personal, rather than financial" in nature and "they traditionally had to supply their own costumes", as well (Runnalls 1998, 76). Nevertheless, "[p]laying a role in a major mystery play was a highly esteemed and desirable

situation" and could lead to a certain rivalry during auditions (Runnalls 1998, 75). In addition to the personal glory, actors did receive a reduction on the entrance fee, which was a particularly motivating factor for the less wealthy but literate theatre-goers (Runnalls 1998, 169). Acting was thus surely not a way to become rich, but it held certain attractions, not least of which was the proximity to the theatrical event, for actors and spectators were often the same. There was a considerable amount of variety with regard to the place the spectators occupied during a performance, as well as a good deal of movement:

> Spectators gathered either on the ground, on scaffolds, or in the rooms of the houses with windows looking out onto the square, according to the entrance fee they had paid. The diversity of these viewing sites makes it difficult to specify a single location associated with the audience and also points to the fluidity between the spaces designated for performers and those reserved for audience members. (Weigert 2015, 98)

With regard to women on stage, we can assume that their absence from the stages was a phenomenon coined by the Elizabethan era. In the professional milieu of the Middle Ages, the women's presence is often masked because their husbands take precedence in lists and contracts. But while the "première liste des jongleurs et jongleuresse de Paris" lists eight women, they are certainly a minority (Smith, Parussa and Halévy 2014, 54-57). Runnalls confirms that in the case of non-professional actors, women did also appear on stage, but as an exception rather than regularly (Runnalls 1998, 75).

In addition to participating on stage, the inhabitants, merchants and craftsmen of a town took part in the production of a play as suppliers of expertise and material (cf. Runnalls 1998, 69-77; Smith, Parussa and Halévy 2014, 62-64). In order to build stages and scaffolds, a considerable amount of wood was necessary, which was supplied by local wood merchants (although sometimes they could not satisfy the entire demand and wood had to be brought in from further afield). Carpenters and builders would then construct the stages and scaffolds (if required). Painters were responsible for the stage design and worked on the *décors* and props. This task was at least as important as the construction of the stage and scaffolds, since it was indispensable for creating the atmosphere and realism of a play. Weavers and tailors supplied and made cloth for the costumes and tapestries. Actors, artists and audience required nourishment and drink during the rehearsals and the performance, which was sold to them by local bakers, brewers and so on. There are many other examples illustrating that "[a]lmost all the economic and productive capacity of the town was thus swallowed up by the performance for several weeks" (Runnalls 1998, 73). Rehearsals and performances were organised by the director (*meneur du jeu*), who was responsible for the movements and the effects on stage, but

also for the duplication of manuscripts such as roles for the actors, and keeping of records such as noting the names of the actors and the characters they played (Runnalls 1998, 77). Another important figure was the author (*fatiste*) of a play, who worked on the text and manuscript. Runnalls says of the *fatistes* that they "appear to have been a special breed; they [...] travelled far and wide in pursuit of their art" and that "[their work] was often more that of a compiler or anthologiser than that of a creative dramatist [for t]hey plundered other existing plays when these were available" (Runnalls 1998, 68). Apparently, the *fatistes* often had main occupations such as minor churchmen, lawyers or court officials (Runnalls 1998, 70). Instead of creating a text in advance for a play performance, they worked and updated the text continually as the preparations of the play progressed. The plot on the page and the plot and conditions on stage were therefore in a constantly changing relationship, and the author served as mediator (cf. Runnalls 1998, 68-70; 85; 91). In the case of *An Buhez* it seems that the contents of certain episodes have been influenced by the conditions the author encountered during the preparations of the play (6, 11). It ism however, impossible to judge whether any of the offices (director, stage designer, author) were fulfilled by more than one person and, if so, whether they were of local origin or came from further afield. But it seems certain that the author (or compiler) of the Breton play was from Brittany, for he must have had considerable command of the native language and style in order to create the work of art *An Buhez* is.

All the workforce and material required by the production of a play had to be paid. According to Runnalls' data, the entry fees the spectators had to pay did not suffice to balance the costs. Thus, mystery play performances were loss-making (Runnalls 1998, 78-80), but this does not appear to have discouraged Medieval people from putting plays on stage (Julleville 1880). According to Runnalls, several reasons for a performance can be traced from the available historic evidence:

> rivalry between towns or guilds (the play is a way of demonstrating the superiority of one town over another); to ward off a natural disaster like the plague or a drought (the play has the same function as a collective prayer); to obey the wish of an important individual (the performance is a political necessity); to attract visitors to the town (the play is a commercial event, a loss-leader).
> (Runnalls 1989, 92)

Particularly the aspect of attracting visitors to town would have served to balance the amount of money that went into the production of a play because visitors would of course generate income for the local merchants. Apart from these practical reasons, a mystery play performance was a very special event. It offered a diversion from everyday life on the one hand and may well have served to strengthen the identity of a town's citizens on the other hand, because it often

told the (hi)story of a local patron saint (Brauneck 1993, 325). Frank and Fox illustrate what a play performance may have meant for a Medieval audience when they say that "to witness miracles being performed before one's very eyes by the founder of one's monastery or by the holy man from whom one's town took its name, these were experiences calculated to hold the rapt attention of medieval spectators" (Frank 1954, 198) and "[f]or thousands of spectators these plays may well have constituted a unique and intensely moving occasion" (Fox 1974, 254), respectively. This, particularly in combination with the fact that mystery play performances were a costly business, shows clearly that mystery plays were not an economic but a social event of considerable scale and importance. In Paris, where mystery play performances were a regular business, the impact may not have been so great, but in the rural towns of Brittany a mystery play performance was bound to make an impression on the citizens. It would therefore be rewarding to investigate the archives of Brittany and look for any records of performances that may have taken place in the Middle Ages.[13]

2.3. The Stage Directions

The introduction of *An Buhez* gives an account of the plot rather than provide information of the staging and stage-design, as does the *Mystère de Saint Laurent* in a most illuminating manner (Runnalls 2002, 123). *An Buhez* has a total of 101 stage directions of varying length and information content. Hamblin conducted a study of the stage directions (French *didascalies*) in the *Siège d'Orléans*. She distinguishes between five categories of stage directions:

1. les didascalies directives: celles qui annoncent une pause musicale et qui indiquent où vont les acteurs entre les lieux différents; […]
2. les didascalies descriptive: celles qui indiquent les gestes et l'habillement des personnages; […]
3. les didascalies spatiales: celles qui indiquent la place des *lieux*, la composition des *secrets* ou les besoins scéniques tels que la présence d'une chaise ou d'une arbre; […]
4. les didascalies temporelles: ce sont les rubrique en prose qui font commencer et clore l'action de la journée ou de la demi-journée; […]
5. les didascalies narratives: celles qui racontent des événements non-annoncés qui ont lieu entre les discours des personages; […].

[13] It has recetly come to my attetion that a PhD thesis on a closely related subject was successfully defended by Clément Saliou in 2019 ('Vie théâtrale dans le Nord-Ouest de la France (Bretagne, Pays de la Loire, Poitou, Aunis) du XIIIe au XVIe siècle'). I am looking forward to reconsider my own studies in the light of his fidings.

(Hamblin 2002, 94)

When applying Hamblin's approach to *An Buhez*, it is also necessary to adapt her categories in order to fit the Breton play better. *An Buhez* has about 100 comments of a directive/descriptive nature in between two stanzas, which I will refer to as stage directions for lack of a better term. Most of these can be categorised as directive in so far as they usually indicate which character speaks, sometimes indicating the addressee as well. These would fit Hamblin's first category, but while Hamblin also includes stage directions providing information with regard to music in this category, there are no such stage directions in *An Buhez*.[14] This is remarkable, because "the use of musical interludes" is deemed a universal feature of mystery play performances (Hamblin 2005, 196). As Hamblin suggests, the "directive" stage directions often indicate the direction of a character's movement, but many of these also describe the action taking place on stage. As there are no stage directions indicating what the characters wear, I have adapted the second category to include those stage directions describing the action on stage. Such "descriptive" stage directions are plentiful in *An Buhez*, but do not seem to fit into any of Hamblin's original categories. Furthermore, "les didascalies spatiales" are difficult to determine, because the stage directions in *An Buhez* hardly ever describe where a place is to be or how it is to look. Props are sometimes mentioned, e.g. hammers during the episode of Barbara's torture, but such information is usually part of a descriptive stage direction indicating the action that takes place on stage. Similarly, some of the descriptive stage directions include information about the place the respective character/s occupies/occupy, but are not of an exclusively spatial nature. Therefore, I have added "local" and/or "props" to those descriptive stage directions that provide information on the respective subject. There are no stage directions complying with the fourth category, "didascalies temporelles", in *An Buhez*. The fifth category is special, because stage directions of this kind cannot be found between the stanzas, but within the stanzas. I will therefore discuss those separately. In order to provide an overview of the stage directions in *An Buhez*, I have listed them all in a chart. The first column refers to the stanzas between which they can be found. The second and third column contain the actual stage directions in Middle Breton and their English translations, respectively. The fourth column offers suggestions with regard to the categorisation of the respective stage direction. However, in contrast to Hamblin's approach, the stage directions in *An Buhez* cannot be sorted. Instead, almost all of them (95%) belong to the category of directive stage directions, but accumulate additional functions, such as also being "descriptive", or providing information on a "local" aspect, or on "props" required on stage at a particular point in the play.

[14] The possible exception may be the stage direction 78/79 "Aman e can an mecherouryen – Here the workers sing now", but this refers to the characters on stage rather than to the musicians accompanying the performance.

Stanza	Breton	English Translation	Category
(0/1)	An aelez a dezrou canaff	The angels begin to sing	directive
(4/5)	An introduction	The introduction	descriptive
(21/22)	Lucifer a dezrou	Lucifer begins	directive
(25/26)	Belzebuth a comps	Beezlebub speaks	directive
(31/32)	Aman ez dezrou an ystoar.	Here begins the (hi)story.	descriptive
(48/49)	Aman ez ariff meſſager Dioſcorus da comps ouz vn meſtr mecherour.	Now arrives the messenger of Dioscorus in order to speak to a master worker.	directive/ descriptive
(51/52)	An meſſager aya da lauaret de meſtr ezeu duet an mecherouryen.	The messenger goes to tell his master that the labourers have come.	directive/ descriptive
(60/61)	Aman dioſcorus aya da diſcuez dan meſtr mecherour an lech han dāffuez da ober an tour.	Here Disocorus goes to show the master worker the place and the material to build the tower.	directive/ descriptive & local & props
(68/69)	An meſtr ān euffr a diuis gant e mecherouryen euit ober ho mecher.	The master of the work speaks with his workers in order to (make them) do their work.	directive/ descriptive
(78/79)	Aman e can an mecherouryen.	Here, the workers sing now.	directive/ descriptive
(79/80)	Dioſcorus à quacc da claſq vn mestr à scol da diſquiff e merch.	Dioscorus sends (someone) out to search for a tutor to instruct his daughter (at home).	directive/ descriptive
(82/83)	An meſſager a comps ouz an meſtr a ſcol hac a lauar.	The messenger talks to the schoolmaster and he says.	directive/ descriptive
(84/85)	An meſtr a ſcol a ſalut dioſcorus.	The schoolmaster greets Dioscorus.	directive
(88/89)	Dioſcorus a comps ouz e merch.	Dioscorus speaks to his daughter.	directive
(89/90)	Sante barba a reſpond de tat.	Saint Barbara replies to her father.	directive

(92/93)	An meſtr da ſante Barba.	The master to Saint Barbara.	directive
(102/103)	Dioſcorus a lauar da meſtr e merch ſante Barba.	Dioscorus says to the master of his daughter Saint Barbara.	directive
(108/9)	Sante barba a lauar de meſtr.	Saint Barbara speaks to her Master.	directive
(109/10)	An meſtr a reſpōt dan ytron ſante Barba.	The Master answers to the lady Saint Barbara.	directive
(125/6)	Aman he meſtr he les hehunā hac aya buanec digāty: ha neuſe equeff un ermit pirchirin peheny alauar:	Here her master leaves her to herself and goes, irritated, away from her and then she finds a hermit-pilgrim, who says:	directive/ descriptive
(129/30)	Aman an ermit a queff ſante barba hac he ſalut.	Here the hermit meets Saint Barbara and greets her.	directive/ descriptive
(138/9)	Sante Barba de ſeruicher.	Saint Barbara to her servant.	directive
(143/4)	An ſeruicher à comps ouz Origenes.	The servant speaks to Origen.	directive
(145/6)	Origenes à lauar de ſeruicher.	Origen speaks to her servant.	directive
(148/9)	Origines à lauar de ſeruicher.	Origen speaks to his servant.	directive
(150/1)	Origenes à quacc e cloarec Valentin dạ comps ouz ſante Barba.	Origen sends for his cleric Valentine in order to speak to Saint Barbara.	directive/ descriptive
(158)	Valentin da ſeruicher ſante barba.	Valentine to the servant of Saint Barbara.	directive
(176/7)	Sante barba a ſtoudan nouglin.	Saint Barbara kneels.	directive
(185/6)	Aman ez arriff Dioſcorus.	Here arrives Dioscorus.	directive
(186/7)	Sante Barba a reſpond de tat: ha Valentin aya ehent.	Saint Barbara answers her father and Valentine goes his way.	directive/ descriptive
(192/3)	An meſtr mecherour a quemēn Dioſcorus da guelet ac ef ſo groat mat fondamant e tour.	The master worker sends for Dioscorus to see if the foundation of his tower is made well.	directive/ descriptive & props

(195/6)	Dioſcorus aya da guelet an tour.	Dioscorus goes to see the tower.	directive/ descriptive & local
(203/4)	Aman dou autrou bras a querēt ſante Barba/ſo ſoezet oar an pez ara he tat dezy: hac ez lauar an eil de guile.	Now two great lords of the relatives of Saint Barbara, who are astonished what her father does to her, and one speaks to the other.	directive/ descriptive
(224/5)	Dioſcorus aya da comps ouz e merch.	Dioscorus goes to speak to his daughter.	directive/ desciptive
(226/7)	Sant e Barba à reſpont de tat.	Saint Barbara answers her father.	directive
(230/1)	Dioſcorus aya da lauaret dān autrounez an reſpont.	Dioscorus goes to tell the lords the answer.	directive/ descriptive
(234/5)	Aman an autrounez a que-mer conge diouz Dioſcorus.	Here the lords take leave from Dioscorus.	directive/ descriptive
(239)	Aman ezeont do bro: hac ez lauar an eil de guile.	Here they go to their lands and the one speaks to the other.	directive/ descriptive & local
(243/4)	An meſtr mecherour a comps ouz e tut.	The master worker speaks to his people.	directive
(255/6)	Aman ez queff an feunten ſech.	Here she finds the fountain dry.	descriptive
(256/7)	Aman ez ſtouff oar he douglin.	Here she kneels.	directive/ descriptive
(258/9)	Aman ez queff an feunten leun.	Here she finds the fountain full.	descriptive
(262/3)	Aman ſante Barba ara gāt he bes gli byet en feunten vn croas en men/peheny ſo hoaz ēnhaff: hac ez lauar:	Here Saint Barbara makes with her finger – moistened in the fountain – a cross in a stone which is still on it and she says:	directive/ descriptive & props
(276/7)	Aman ez pet doe oar he doulin en e cambr.	Here she prays to God on her knees in her chamber.	directive/ descriptive & local

(280/1)	Dioſcorus a deu e veig.	Dioscorus returns from his voyage.	directive/ descriptive
(282/3)	Dioſcor9 a deu e q̃ffridy:hac aya de tour.	Disocorus returns from his mission and goes to his tower.	directive/ descriptive & local
(283/4)	Aman pan ſell ouz an tour ha guelet groaet try freneſt ez lauar dan mecherour:	Here when he looks at the tower and sees that three windows were built he says to the worker:	directive/ descriptive & props
(304)	Dioſcor9 a cōps ouz e merch.	Dioscorus speaks to his daughter.	directive
(327/8)	Sante barba a reſpont.	Saint Barbara answers.	directive
(336/7)	Sante barba a reſpont.	Saint Barbara answers.	directive
(358/9)	Sante barba a pet doe de diffēn: ha neuſe vn men bras en em digoras hac he cuzas ouz he tat a predere neuſe he lazaff.	Saint Barbara begs God to defend her and then a great stone opened (itself) and covered her against her father, who then intended to kill her.	directive/ descriptive & props
(362/3)	Meſſager Dioſcorus a reſpōt dezaff.	Dioscorus' messenger answers him.	directive
(363/4)	Dioſcor9 a goulēn ouz claudin.	Disocorus demands from Claudin.	directive
(367/8)	Aman gueguen ha riuallen aya dan menez da miret hoz deauet.	Here Gueguen and Riuallen go to the mountain to tend their sheep.	directive/ descriptive & local & props
(370/1)	Amā ez guelōt ſante barba ouz techet rac he tat: hac ez lauar Riuallen drouc.	Here they see Saint Barbara fleeing from her father and evil Riuallen speaks.	directive/ descriptive
(374/5)	Dioſcorus a goulēn e merch.	Dioscorus asks for his daughter.	directive
(375/6)	An berger mat Riuallen.	The good shepherd Riuallen.	descriptive
(377/8)	Goudeſe ez goulēn ouz an drouc berger:	Then he demands of the bad shepherd:	directive/ descriptive

(378)	An drouc berger Gueguen.	The bad shepherd Gueguen.	descriptive
(379/80)	Riuallen a lauar da Gueguen	Riuallen speaks to Gueguen.	directive
(382/3)	Neuſe ān drouc berger ſo cōuertiſſet en vn men mabr: hac e deffuet a quelyen raden. Hac ez lauar ſante barba.	Then the bad shepherd is transformed into a marble stone and his sheep into grasshoppers. And Saint Barbara says:	directive/ descriptive & props
(383/4)	Sante Barba a ſell ouz ān eff.	Saint Barbara looks towards heaven.	directive/ descriptive
(390/1)	Dioſcorus a croc en e merch.	Dioscorus catches his daughter.	directive
(394/5)	Dioſcorus a cōps ouz e tut.	Dioscorus speaks to his people.	directive
(396/7)	Dioſcorus ara he miret en priſon didā poan an buhez.	Dioscorus has her guarded in a prison under a life sentence.	directive/ descriptive & local
(405/6)	Dioſcorus a clem e merch ouz an prouoſt.	Dioscorus accuses his daughter in front of the provost.	directive/ descriptive & local
(416/7)	Dioſcorus are e merch ouz he cannaff bede an prouoſt ouz lauaret dezy.	Disocorus leads his daughter beating her to the provost talking to her.	directive/ descriptive & local
(417/8)	Aman he preſant dan barner.	Here he presents her to the judge.	directive/ descriptive
(421/2)	An prouoſt a comps ouz ſante Barba.	The provost speaks to Saint Barbara.	directive
(449/50)	Aman ez comps an Prouoſt ouz e peụ ar bourreu.	Here the provost speaks to his four executioners.	directive/ descriptive
(454)	Aman an bourreuyen a diuiſq ſante Barba.	Here the executioners undress Saint Barbara.	directive/ descriptive
(466/7)	Aman hoz em queffont ſcuiz: hac ez lauar Agripant.	Here they find themselves tired and Agripant says:	directive/ descriptive
(477/8)	Claudin dan prouoſt.	Claudin to the provost.	directive
(491/2)	Aman ez laquaer en priſon.	Here she is put into prison.	descriptive & local

(492/3)	Sāte barba ara he oraeſon en priſon: ha quen buhan Ieſus a deuz de confortaff.	Saint Barbara makes her prayer in prison and at once Jesus came to comfort her.	directive/ descriptive & local
(495/6)	Ieſus a cōps en baradoes.	Jesus speaks in paradise.	directive & local
(533/4)	An prouoſt ara digacc ſante Barba.	The provost has Saint Barbara brought.	directive
(538/9)	Claudin a digor an priſon.	Claudin opens the prison.	directive & local
(540/1)	Claudin ſo abaiſſet ouz he guelet ſalu.	Claudin is dumbfounded at seeing her sound.	directive/ descriptive
(543/4)	Claudin he preſant dā barneur.	Claudin presents her to the judge.	directive
(563/4)	An prouoſt ara ober tan euit e tourmēta.	The provost has a fire made in order to torment her.	directive/ descriptive & props
(576/7)	An prouoſt a gourchemēn dan tirātet he cānaff gant morzolou.	The provost commands the tormentors to beat her with hammers.	directive/ descriptive & props
(578/9)	Aman ez quemeront hoz morzolou hac ez lauar Agripant.	Here they take their hammers and Agripant speaks.	directive/ descriptive & props
(592/3)	Aman ez troucher he diu broff.	Here both her breasts are cut (off).	directive/ descriptive
(608/9)	Claudin da ſante Barba.	Claudin to Saint Barbara.	directive
(609)	Claudin dan prouoſt.	Claudin to the provost.	directive
(623/4)	Ieſus a quacc e ael de golo.	Jesus sends his angel to cover her.	directive/ descriptive
(628/9)	An ael a golo figur ſante barba.	An Angel covers Saint Barbara's figure.	directive (& props)
(636/7)	Aman ez diſparty an ael:hac lauar an prouoſt.	Here the angel departs and the provost says:	directive/ descriptive
(648/9)	Dioſcorus euel den arragiet.	Dioscorus like an enraged man:	directive

(650/1)	Dioſcorus a quemer ſante barba diuar an dorn hac he re en menez.	Dioscorus takes Saint Barbara by the hand and takes her to the mountain.	directive/ descriptive & local
(652/3)	Sante Barba ara he pedēn.	Saint Barbara makes her prayer.	directive/ descriptive
(672/3)	Ieſus a lauar dān ael.	Jesus speaks to the angel.	directive
(723/4)	Amā ſante barba ara he oraeſon.	Here Saint Barbara makes her prayer.	directive/ descriptive
(726/7)	Amā an diaulou a incit Dioſcorus da haſtaff lazaff he merch. Sathan a comps.	Here the devils incite Dioscorus to hurry to kill his daughter. Sathan speaks.	directive/ descriptive
(742/3)	Conſciancc a comps.	Conscience speaks.	directive
(744/5)	Bezlebut a cōps a eneb cōſciancc.	Beezlebub speaks against Conscience.	directive
(770/1)	Dioſcorus da bezlebut.	Dioscorus to Beezlebub.	directive
(771)	Dioſcorus da conſciancc.	Dioscorus to Conscience.	directive
(782)	Dioſcorus a dipēn e merch.	Dioscorus beheads his daughter.	directive/ descriptive (& props)
(782/3)	Dioſcorus a diſemper.	Dioscorus despairs.	directive
(796/7)	Bezlebut a comps ouz dioſcorus.	Beezlebub speaks to Diosocorus.	directive
(806/7)	Valentin baelec/ a enterr ſante Barba.	Priest Valentine buries Saint Barbara.	directive/ descriptive
(813)	Finis.	The End.	descriptive

It is surprising how few information the stage directions provide about the places the characters are in and the props required by the action. Only fourteen stage directions indicate a place that a character occupies or goes to. Several of these are very precise, such as 276/7 “Here she prays to God on her knees in her chamber” or 495/6 “Jesus speaks in paradise”. Some are, however, less informative, for example when the lords “go to their lands” in 239 after taking their leave from Dioscorus, or when “Dioscorus leads his daughter […] to the provost […]” (416/7). Stage directions providing information on the use of props are equally rare; there are only ten. Similar to the “local” stage directions, some are very precise, such as 578/9 when the torturers “take their hammers”. Others are rather vague, as for example in 60/1, when

Dioscorus shows "the master worker the place and the material to build the tower". In two additional cases, the required props have to be guessed instead of being mentioned, which is why the "props" appear in brackets in the chart: 628/9 when the angel covers Barbara, but the stage direction does not indicate what she is covered with, and 782 when Dioscorus beheads his daughter, but the stage direction does not mention a weapon.

Furthermore, not every action taking place on stage is illustrated by a stage direction. Often the information on what a character does or where he/she moves can be found within the spoken text. Hamblin calls this particular version of directing the characters "didascalie narratives" (Hamblin 2002, 94), Wells calls them implicit stage directions and highlights their importance in a time when stage directions were not as frequently employed as modern editions of plays may lead to believe (Wells 2016, 417). There are many examples in *An Buhez* that fit into this fifth of Hamblin's categories (s.a.). In fact, all episodes rely on this way of directing the characters towards their respective goals. For instance, after Dioscorus has finished instructing the master of the craftsmen about the tower and he in turn has communicated the king's wishes to the craftsmen, they begin to move around. They look for a spot to lay the foundation; they carry stones and equipment to the building site; they help one another out in general. None of this is supported by a stage direction, thus the entire action that takes place has to be gleaned from the craftsmen's dialogue (69-78). Similarly, when Barbara has to go and live in the tower, there is no stage direction to mark exactly when she is supposed to move into it. Instead, Dioscorus tells the audience that she has to enter the tower now: "Rac ſe tizmat ſinchat batant / Et ēnhaff eſpres em preſant / Bezeț diligant ouz antren" ('Therefore quickly, evermore immediately / go into it [the tower], truly, in my presence. / Be swift at entering!', 203). Later, when Barbara leaves the building site after having made the request for the third window, her movements and her surroundings are illustrated very precisely by her speech instead of a stage direction:

> [255] Meya heb fellell da ſellet
> Oar vn tro a me caffo quet
> Un bānhech dour net da quētaff
> Dan feunten mat ſo diadreff
> Ma hunan ha heb den gueneff
> Er hoant ſo em eneff da euaff.
>
> I go straightaway to see, / on the spot, if I will find / a drop of clear water first of all, / to the good fountain which is (hidden) back there / on my own and without anyone with me / because there is a wish in my mind to drink. //

Barbara tells the audience that she will now move ("meya" – 'I go') to a secret place ("to the good fountain which is hidden back there" – 'Dan feunten mat ſo diadreff'), and she will be alone there ("on my own and without anyone with me" – 'Ma hunan ha heb den gueneff'). It is very important for her to mention all this, because the place cannot in fact be hidden – the audience needs to be able to see the place and see it well, for Barbara will perform her first miracle there and impress a cross into a stone with only her finger. Moreover, Barbara is not actually alone on stage. The other actors will remain in their respective positions, which in case of the craftsmen at the building site is very close by. It is therefore necessary for Barbara to explain that she is alone at the fountain. Furthermore, when Barbara sacks the idols and abuses them fluently in stanzas 269-276, it is again her lines that indicate quite clearly what she is doing: "Crachet ez viſaig heb flachaff / Araff dit ha da depitaff" ('I spit in your motionless face and I defy you!', 272).

Another very interesting example of the narrative stage directions is Barbara's torture. There are only a few stage directions about the kinds of torture Barbara is to endure: that she is to be undressed, that a fire to burn her flesh is to be lit, that she is to be beaten with hammers and that her breasts are to be cut. In addition to those, the characters state that she also suffers being bound with ropes (455), walking while being beaten with clubs and bull-pizzles (456-7), being rolled down the streets in a barrel spiked with nails (471), having salt rubbed into her wounds (482), being beaten with a hair-shirt (486), and finally being chased through the streets naked (618), although most of these tortures are prevented or allayed by divine intervention. Those stage directions that do instruct the characters during this episode of torture are always supported by the characters' lines:

> *An prouoſt a gourchemēn dan tirātet / he cānaff gant morzolou.*
> [577] Cza ſergantet cleſquet na tardet muy
> Morzolou calet haſtet pe ſonget huy
> Gruet oarnezy vn tourny an muyhaff
> […]
>
> *The provost commands the tormentors / to beat her with hammers:* / Well, sergeant, find, tarry no more, / strong hammers, hurry!, what do you deliberate? / Employ the most violent effort upon her! […] //

This fits well with Hamblin's analysis that mystery play performances "alternate speech with action, rather than integrating the two" (Hamblin 2005, 195). In many cases, the actors announce their movement/action and then complete it, which is exactly what Barbara is doing in 255 (s.a.). Hamblin's description of the torture episode in *Le Mystère de saint Christofle* (Run-

nalls 1973) would suit *An Buhez* equally well: "During the torture scenes that dominate the last half of the performance, the king's henchmen also perform their gestures after having first announced them aloud" (Hamblin 2012, 46).[15] Both, Hamblin and Longtin stress that this doubling of gestures and words has been practised by all *fatistes* and was a characteristic feature of the (late) Middle Ages: "N'est-elle pas monnaie courante tout au long du Moyen Âge, tous genre confondus, et cela dès les premières chansons de gestes jusqu'aux romans de chevalerie tardifs?" (Longtin 2010, 209; c.f. Hamblin 2005, Hamblin 2012, 47). Hamblin also underlines the importance of the "didascalies narratives" as markers of the genre:

> These embedded staging cues are one of the features that distinguish theatre texts from their literary cousins, in that the visual or gestural act predicted in the text is necessary in order to complete the narrative. In mystery plays, this 'speech then action' convention moves the narrative forward and helps the spectators to identify décors representing places, performers representing persons, and movement representing both time and space.
> (Hamblin 2012, 45f)

This is entirely true for *An Buhez*, as all major events are invoked by the characters' speeches and never only by stage directions. These may serve as additional sources of information on a character's following action and movement. But they are clearly of limited importance in comparison to the information provided by the characters' lines. A very good example of this is the fact that in one of the key episodes of Barbara's life, her visit to the building site of the tower in order to make the craftsmen add a third window, there is no stage direction to indicate either her request or its being followed by the craftsmen. Yet it becomes perfectly clear from the dialogue between Barbara and the master worker, and even more so from Dioscorus' reaction upon returning to the tower, that the modification has been made in answer to Barbara's request.

2.4. The Stage Design

As has been discussed, medieval plays were usually performed outdoors on stages built for the exclusive use of one specific play. What this stage looked was highly dependant on the contents of the play and limited by the resources of the town that mounted the production. Some French plays provide considerable information with regard to their staging, for example the prologue of *Le mystère de saint Laurent*. Furthermore, there are other sources, such as contracts made in the course of the production of a performance, which provide additional or

[15] Interestingly enough, one of the torturers in *Le Mystère de saint Christofle* is named "Agrippart" (c.f. Hamblin 2012, 46), which is very similar to "Agripant", who is one of the torturers in *An Buhez*.

background information about the play productions, and sometimes give an insight into the stage design, as well (Hamblin 2012). In the case of the Breton plays such helpful sources of information have yet to be discovered. But even though the stage directions mentioning a particular place are sparse, a lot can be gleaned from the plot of the play.

The two images that are frequently presented when discussing medieval theatre and its stage designs are Jean Fouquet's *Martyrdom of Saint Apollonia* (figure 1) and the stage design of the Passion Play performed at Valenciennes in 1547 (figure 2). According to Weigert, "Fouquet['s *Martyrdom of Saint Apollonia*] presents what was identified as the medieval 'theater in the round'; the Valenciennes frontispiece depicts its linear platform stage" (Weigert 2015, 24) and "relate[s] to an actual performance" (Weigert 2015, 104). Runnalls illustrates a stage design that appears to be a cross between the two when he describes an oval structure that "consiste en une vaste aire de jeu entourée de 39 loges rangées en deux lignes courbes" (Runnalls 1998, 172), and which has served for another Passion Play performed at Châteaudun in 1510. While any of these stage designs could theoretically have served as a model for *An Buhez*, I consider the design of the Valenciennes Passion Play most helpful and well applicable with regard to depicting the contents of the Breton play. The image of the Valenciennes frontispiece clearly shows several "lieux", or "places". These are platforms or scaffolds on which the performance takes place. They can have multiple storeys, which can be accessed via ladders or steps. In between these places, the actors can move, for example when travelling from one place to another. In such a stage design, the line between audience and actors is slightly more pronounced but still permeable, for the stage and the places are easily accessed. While the Valenciennes frontispiece depicts a raised stage, this would not be necessary for *An Buhez*. The scaffolds representing the various places of a play could also be placed on the ground instead, thus saving a considerable amount of building work and timber. In the following sections I will try to illustrate which designs *An Buhez* might have required and what the respective places could have looked like.

2.4.1. Nicomedia

Although Nicomedia is not exactly part of the stage design, it is the place where the entire action is supposed to take place. Barbara is the daughter of the king of Nicomedia, which is established in the second stanza spoken by the witness ('Merch dan roe voe hy / A Ycomedy', 2) and then repeated in the introduction:

> [6] An guerches man ameux hanuet
> Da Dioscorus den ruset
> Rac affet a ycomedy
> Ezoa hy merch leun a guerchdet

[…]

This maiden, who I have named / to Dioscorus, cunning man, / indeed of Nicomedia / was she, daughter full of virginity / […]. //

The audience does not learn more about that place, since the introduction continues with a summary of the plot instead. When the devils appear, they apportion the world among them and the only continent that is singled out is Asia, which is assigned to Beezlebub:

Luciffer.
[29] An bet so diuiset seder
En teir queffran splann eu an guer
Pep a carter a quemerhet
[…]

[30] Dide bezlebuth deputet
Ez roaff Asy hep muy quet
[…]

Lucifer: / The world is clearly divided / into three parts; the word is clear / you each take a quarter / […]. // To you, Beezlebub, deputy, / I give Asia, without much ado. / […] //

Although Lucifer does not refer to Barbara or Dioscorus in any way, the implication is clear, because no other continent is given to one particular devil or even mentioned by name. Beezlebub is the elected tempter of the people who populate the part of the earth where the action of the play takes place. Locating Nicomedia in Asia is in accordance with the modern understanding: "Nicomédie (en Bithynie, sur le littoral sud de la mer noire)" (Le Berre 2011, 152). However, once the hermit-pilgrim enters the action, the situation becomes a little more complicated. He is on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land: "I have to go […] / truly, on a righteous pilgrimage / to the tomb of Jesus" ('Memeux da monet […] / En pirchirindet affet rez / Da bez Ieſus […]', 126). When he meets Barbara, she asks him where he comes from and he answers: "Very much directly from Alexandria / I come indeed, do not doubt' ('Tout batant a Alexandry / Ez deuaff affet na lequet ſy', 131). It is quite unlikely that a pilgrim would come by Bithynia when travelling between Alexandria and Palestine (figure 3).
As I will discuss further in 7.1, the episode is strikingly similar to *cinq journées* in several details, which in turn corresponds closely to John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia.* In his compilation,

John of Wakkerzeel attempted to reconcile the numerous accounts of Barbara's martyrdom. According to some of the legends this took place in Heliopolis, while others suggest Nicomedia, and even Tuscany and Rome occur. Therefore, John of Wakkerzeel explained that the Heliopolis in Barbara's legend is that of Egypt rather than that of Syria, which is located near Alexandria. The Egyptian city was, according to John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, founded by the Bithynian king Nicomedes, which is why the city is also known as Nicomedia (Gaiffier 1959, 22f). In both *An Buhez* and *cinq journées* the (hermit-)pilgrim travels between Alexandria and Palestine and passes by Nicomedia on the way. Thus, both plays apparently concur with John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* insofar as Nicomedia is in Egypt, in which case Africa should be assigned to Beezlebub instead of Asia. However, it is quite possible that this discrepancy did not occur to the author, let alone the audience, of *An Buhez*. Both places would likely have been considered a remote part of the world, located on a different continent, but not necessarily required further specification.[16] Nevertheless, the discrepancy is a noteworthy detail, because the episode of the devils does not correspond to any other of the texts compared in this study, while that of the hermit-pilgrim clearly does (7.1).

2.4.2. Hell

The play begins with the witness and the introduction. These, however, clearly focus on the contents of the play rather than the places to be seen on stage. After the introduction, the devils begin to speak and Lucifer calls his allies to himself: "Aliancc hoz em auancet" ('Allies, advance!', 22). On a modern stage Lucifer would probably step in front of the curtains and call for his allies, who would then likely appear at different positions, possibly having been seated among the audience, and approach the stage. Apart from Lucifer's entry and the curtains, this may indeed be the case in *An Buhez*, as Weigert points out:

> The figures that most forcefully demonstrated the permeability of the spatial division between audience and performers were the devils. Whereas the hell-mouth was a solid framework constructed on scaffolding for a Passion performance, the devils had the potential to erupt into the crowds of spectators. They were not confined to the physical structure of the scaffoldings but could hop off them and run around among the spectators.
> (Weigert 2015, 99)

Runnalls is of a similar opinion when he points out that the line between audience and actors, and thus between "théâtre et scène", was thin to non-existent. Those citizens acting in the

[16] I thank Dr. Natalia Petrovskaia for pointing that out to me during a talk she gave on *Delw y Byd*.

plays would be sitting and watching the performance in between their appearances on stage, wearing the costumes required by their roles (cf. Runnalls 1998, 172). Therefore, the devils may well have been sitting in the audience awaiting their turn.

Lucifer, however, is different. When describing the different performances of the French mysteries, Hamblin explains that in one case "Lucifer […] sits chained to his throne above Hell" (Hamblin 2012, 43). While there is no stage direction in *An Buhez* that proves such a setting, the fact that Lucifer calls his allies to himself is indicative of a similar arrangement. He may not be chained to a chair, but he appears to be restricted to a particular space. Unfortunately, Lucifer only appears at the beginning. In the end, shortly before Conscience enters the stage, it is Satan that instructs Beezlebub to ensure the complete corruption of Dioscorus' soul. Yet Satan appears in the same way Lucifer did in the beginning: "Cza mazouchuy ma alliancc / Deneſſet cleuet ma ſetancc" ('Well, where are you my allies? / Approach in order to hear my judgement!', 727). This suggests that Lucifer and Satan are the same character, and in turn further promotes the idea that the head-devil is confined to a particular space. As the devils begin the play by apportioning the world among them (24), it would be conceivable that they are indeed upon a raised space, which would offer them a better overview.

Dioscorus' death at the end of the play also suggests that the place of hell may be a construction of more than one storey:

Jesus:
[790] […]
Digor heb grap en vn ſtrap ān abim
Reun a venim ha frim ineſtimabl
Glan gant tan gor deuor Dioſcorus

[…]

Satan:
[792] […]
Digueriff abim an ty man
Maz duy gāt touffoul dan goulet
Preſant antier corff ha ſperet
[…]

[793] Ordrenaff tizmat en ſtat man
Foultr ha curun dre fortun glan
Quemeſquet a tan breman ſcaff

Hac et preſant gant tourmant bras
De ditumpaff an quentaff pas
Dān iffern diblas az gaffaff

[…]

Bezlebut
[…]
[797] Ne alhes flach heb ataig mez faicho
Dān iffern yen […]

Jesus: / […] open in an instant without trickery the abyss / full of venom and unspeakable cold! / Devour Dioscorus with a blazing fire! / […] //
Satan: / […] I open the abyss of this house / so that he will go to the bottom with a whirlwind / instantly, completely, body and soul. / […] // I order immediately, on the spot, / you, lightning and thunder, according to the destiny, / together with fire, now, / go with great torture / to precipitate him at once / into the most despicable, terrible hell. // […] //
Bezlebub: / […] you would not be able to move! Without putting a leash (on you) I will drag you with me / to the cold hell […]. //

That Dioscorus is to be drawn into an abyss which is opened by Satan could be realised by a two-storey construction with Satan on the upper level and a door or an entry on ground level, through which a hellish scenery might be visible, quite possibly involving flames and noise. Dioscorus could then be issued through that door by Beezlebub and taken into hell, while light and noise ("lightning and thunder", 793) are produced on stage.[17] The way in which the characters describe hell would almost be worthy of the Valenciennes frontispiece (figure 2), except for the other souls already suffering tortures in hell that do not feature in *An Buhez*. When discussing a massive production at Châteaudun, Runnalls illustrates how much effort could go into the design of hell:

This [assistant stage designer] had a team of 20 men, who worked underground, producing the noise and smoke associated with Hell. He bought large quantities of salt-peter to make gun-powder, and, with either parchment or metal casings,

[17] If Barbara could indeed go through the door into the tower, there might be deliberate parallels between the two episodes (2.4.4).

made large numbers of fire-works and rockets to be projected from Hell.
(Runnalls 1998, 73)

Even though the stage design of *An Buhez* may not have been quite as elaborate, there does appear to have been a certain amount of pyrotechnical support involved, if the characters' speeches are indeed supportive of the action on stage.

2.4.3. The Royal House

The story proper begins with Dioscorus and his intentions to build a tower for Barbara. There is no stage direction to illustrate the place Dioscorus occupies. But the action taking place around him indicates that he is settled in one place and that other characters come and "visit" him there. In the beginning, Dioscorus tells his messenger to "go surely, be true, / to find for me quite quickly workers" ('quae seder bez certen / Da clasq diff flour presour mecherouryen', 39), to which the messenger answers "I will go, truly, with pleasure" ('meyel plen a venant', 40). The king repeats the order again and then the craftsmen begin to speak among themselves. There is no stage direction to indicate a change of place at this point, but when the messenger arrives at the craftsmen's place, this is underlined by a stage direction: "Now arrives the messenger of Dioscorus in order to speak to a master worker" ('Aman ez ariff meſſager Dioſcorus da comps ouz vn meſtr mecherour', 48/49) and his speech makes it perfectly clear that the king is in the city while he and the craftsmen are not (yet):

[49] Meſtr mecanic ſcientic apliquet.
Ret eu dich don hep fingion monet
Rac en effet gourchemēnet net voe
Ez reſech lem hep quen quem a breman
Tut a mecher guenech ſclaer an kaer man
Da prezec glan pur buhan ouz an roe.

Master artisan, skilled and industrious! / You need, really without deceit, to go / – because indeed it was clearly ordered / that you would lead without further ado now / workmen clearly with you into the city – / indeed to very quickly discourse with the king. //

Similar to Dioscorus' repetition of his order to the messenger, the master answers by first repeating the information that he must go "I will surely go with you fully without sorrow" ('Meyel certen guenech plen hep enoe', 50), and then stressing the necessity for a change of place again by wanting to know "to which end [the king] summons [him]" ('pe da pēn em

quemēn', 50). The messenger then approaches the king in order to notify him of the craftsmen's arrival: "The messenger goes to tell his master / that the labourers have come" ('An meſſager aya da lauaret de meſtr / ezeu duet an mecherouryen', 51/52). On the one hand, this back and forth way in which the characters move serves to highlight the king's elevated social position. On the other hand, it illustrates the spatial dimension on stage. The physical gap between the king's place and the craftsmen's place could likely have been bridged by shouting. But in the reality within the play, there is some space in between the two places. The messenger thus enhances the impression of separate places by "[linking], both spatially and thematically, disparate sites on the playing area" and becomes a theatrical device (Hamblin 2005, 196).

The spatial action repeats itself in the next episode, when the king sends his messenger to find a schoolmaster for his daughter: "Dioscorus sends (someone) out to search for a tutor to instruct his daughter (at home)" ('Dioſcorus à quacc da claſq vn mestr à scol da diſquiff e merch', 79/80). The conversations between the king, the messenger and the schoolmaster are very similar to the previous ones between the king, the messenger and the master worker. When Dioscorus informs the schoolmaster of his task, we learn more about Dioscorus' place. Welcoming the schoolmaster the king says: "May you be greatly welcome indeed / master of reason, without being hesitant come into (the) house!" ('Duet mat meurbet affet rauihet huy / Meſtr a ſquient hep bout lent duet en ty', 86). Dioscorus mentions his house again when he commands the schoolmaster to move in with the royal family in order to assure the highest quality of education for Barbara: "It is necessary that you move so that you will be carefree / now with her in my good and decent house / for a long time and I will compensate you" ('Ret ez chenchet maz vihet dibreder / Preſant ganty em ty mat ha fier / A hir amſer ha moz remunero', 103). Barbara, too, is summoned in order to meet her schoolmaster: "Come my sweet, little daughter" ('Duet ma merchic douczic', 89). It is not clarified where Barbara was before her summons, but she has probably simply stood or sat in a slightly removed place close by.

When Barbara is visited and then baptised by Valentine, the play does not provide much information on Barbara's whereabouts. But the fact that she is to "play the invalid" ('gruet an claff', 166) suggests that she is in her room in the royal house. While it could be possible that the stage design involved some structure signifying at least two rooms, it is more likely that Barbara is simply in the same place that has previously been occupied by her father. The impression of two rooms in one place could be achieved by movable props as suggested by Hamblin (s.a., Hamblin 2005, 195), for example a throne for the king and a mattress for Barbara's private room. These could then be exchanged in order to comply with the respective part of the play. In order to assure the characters' privacy required by the action on stage, Dioscorus must in turn have moved to a place slightly apart, like Barbara did before being summoned to meet the schoolmaster. This would fit well with the stage direction indicating the king's return after the

baptism has been performed ("Here arrives Dioscorus – Aman ez arriff Dioſcorus", 185/6), since he must have been absent in order to arrive. Thus, while the royal house appears to consist of more than one room when reading the play, the performance space only requires a single place that can be occupied by at least three people and possibly some props like a throne for the king and/or a mattress or stretcher for Barbara to "play the invalid" on, but even these are dispensable.

It appears that the royal house functions as a permanent place for Dioscorus to which he can withdraw when he is not needed elsewhere in the play. This is indicated by the fact that characters approach him in order to talk to him, as do the lords in 206 for example: "Let us go quickly regarding her father and to him / in order to learn from him all the considerations" ('Eomp diouz he tat tizmat ha dauetaff / Euit gouzout an holl dout dioutaff'). Similarly, the master worker sends for him in order to ask him to inspect the progress at the building site: "The master worker sends for Dioscorus to see if the foundation of his tower is made well" ('An meſtr mecherour a quemēn Dioſcorus da guelet ac ef ſo groat mat fondamant e tour', 192/3). If my assumption is correct, the actor of Dioscorus will have spent more than half of the play in the place of the royal house, similar to Lucifer who resides in the devils' place. In contrast to Lucifer, however, Dioscorus can leave his place and when he does it is a noteworthy change of place. During the play, Dioscorus leaves only once, when he goes on an unspecified mission in 241 ("Memeux da monet heb quet ſy / Gant effet en vn queffridy / Monet ēnhy a ſtudiaff – Without any doubt I really have to go / on a mission: / I plan to concern myself with it"). It is then that Barbara makes her move to request the third window. This on-stage absence of the king provides the setting in which Barbara can descend from her tower and speak to the craftsmen.

2.4.4. The Building Site and Tower

The third place that is introduced in the play is the building site which becomes the tower. During the conversation of the master and the king a stage direction indicates this place for the first time: "Here Disocorus goes to show the master worker the place and the material to build the tower" ('Aman dioſcorus aya da diſcuez dan meſtr mecherour an lech han dāffuez da ober an tour', 60/61). The consecutive action depicts the building site as one of the focal points of the play. It appears that the tower is being built on stage during the performance, for the master worker asks Dioscorus to come and inspect the progress (s.a.). Dioscorus approaches the building site in order to clarify the number of windows he wants his tower to have (242), and Barbara in turn approaches the craftsmen in order to request the third window (248). However, it is striking that the master worker wants the king to "to see if the foundation of his tower is made well" ('da guelet ac ef ſo groat mat fondamant e tour', 192/3), and merely 10 stanzas later

Dioscorus tells Barbara to enter the tower and live in it from now on: "Rac ſe tizmat ſinchat batant / Et ēnhaff eſpres em preſant / Bezeț diligant ouz antren" ('Therefore quickly, evermore immediately / go into it [the tower], truly, in my presence. / Be swift at entering!', 203). The speeches in between indicate the progress that has either already been made or is possibly taking place while the characters are talking. The master worker begins by telling the king that "I have gladly begun your pretty tower" ('Hoz tour flour net ameux dezrouet', 194). And when Dioscorus goes to visit the tower, he talks himself and the audience into believing that the tower is ready for Barbara to move into:

Diofcorus aya da guelet an tour
[196] Mecherour mat dam grat a pep ſtatur
Ouz dalchaff plen ſouueren ha den fur
Dam pligadur ouz eux ſur figuret
Vaillant meurbet ez labouret ſeder
Heb neb rebeig na breig en hoz mecher
Coant hac antier ezeu ſclaer prederet

[197] Ret ve gant ſtriff ez ve eff achiuet
Maz liquiff ſcaff ēnhaff hep tardaff quet
Ma merch guerch net da miret a het ſpacc
Me dalcho hy hep ſy heuiziquen
Certen eno nep tro ne guelo den
Cre na ſeuen dre nep termen en facc.

[198] Heb dale muy me ſtudy he dicaczc
Pan eux heb vicc propiczc logeiczc acc
Camprou ha placc dilacc en pep faczon
De herberchiaff rac ſcaff he logaff hy
Acrēn ēnhaff a mennaff neraff ſy
Euel ma ſpy hep muy dilacion

Dioscorus goes to see the tower. / I find you a good workman in every way to my taste, / fully supreme, and a wise man. / You have certainly designed to my pleasure, / you surely work very skillfully / without any reproach nor trouble in your workmanship, / clearly, it is thought through orderly and completely. // It would be necessary that it would be accomplished zealously / so that I can quickly put into it without tarrying / my virginous daughter to guard her for some time. /

> I will hold her, without doubt, from now on / surely there, (at) no time will a man look her, /(neither) strong nor healthy, by no means, in the face. // Without more delay I intend to bring her / because there is enough lodging without opportunity for vice, / chambers and free space in every fashion / to accommodate her, because I want to lodge her soon, / completely in it (the tower), I do not doubt, / according to my intent, without more delay. //

The question is how the tower is represented on stage. Do the craftsmen build an actual tower? If they do, which material do they use? Is this tower big enough to be entered into? And if it is possible for Barbara to go into the tower, how does the audience see her when she is inside? For the first day it would suffice that the craftsmen laid a foundation, possibly made from real or realistic looking stones, because they joke about carrying them in stanzas 74-76. That Dioscorus issues Barbara into the tower in stanza 203 (s.a.) suggests that some sort of construction including a door or an opening has been added to this foundation. However, this would have had to be accomplished very quickly, as there are only ten stanzas between the foundation being mentioned and Barbara entering the tower. Therefore, it is quite possible that the tower is not big enough to be entered into, but instead appears as a kind of prop that transforms this part of the stage into the place of "The Tower". The actors could then simply perform in front of the tower. Such a setting has been suggested by Hamblin for the performance of Saint Estienne's play (1548; unedited): "the platforms or décors must have been relatively small in size. Thus, performers either come forward or stand in front of a décor" (Hamblin 2012, 44).

During the second day, the design of the tower becomes more complicated due to the fountain and the dispute over the number of windows. When Dioscorus mentions his unspecified mission in stanza 241 (s.a.), he also commands the craftsmen to make but two windows. Shortly after Dioscorus has left, Barbara approaches the craftsmen and asks them to add a third. She states that they have already made two: "seeing that you have made, obviously, / only two since you began" ('Guelet nozeux groaet heb quet gou / Nemet dou a pan dezrouſoch', 248). Upon his return, Dioscorus discovers three windows, which is indicated by a stage direction on the one hand: "Here when he looks at the tower and sees that three windows were built he says to the worker" ('Aman pan ſell ouz an tour ha guelet groaet try freneſt ez lauar dan mecherour', 283/4), and by his speech on the other hand: "There, up high, I see / three windows when I take a closer look" ('Vahont a vhel ez guelaff / Try freneſt ſeul maz arhueſta', 284). If the stage design wanted to represent this change in the number of windows, the set could hardly consist of a real tower. If indeed a prop is used, windows made of painted cloth could simply be pinned onto it. A more complicated design could involve a two-storey scaffold with a door at ground level and a balcony structure at the top, from which the windows – again probably being made

of painted cloth or wood – could be hung. This more complex design could accommodate Barbara's chamber, in which she prays according to a stage direction: "Here she prays to God on her knees in her chamber" ('Aman ez pet doe oar he doulin en e cambr', 276/7). Her chamber could be represented by the upper storey of the scaffold. The argument between father and daughter over the third window in stanza 304 could also take place, there. The accompanying stage direction merely states that "Dioscorus speaks to his daughter" ('Dioſcor9 a cōps ouz e merch', 304), but not where he goes in order to do that. However, it is equally conceivable that the conversation takes place in front of a prop of the tower, as suggested above.

In his article on the corresponding episode in *cinq journées*, Longtin argues that the masons did not act within a realistic setting, but used their speeches and accompanying gestures to create the world of a building site out of some basic props (Longtin 2003, 10, 13). Like in *cinq journées*, the workers in *An Buhez* comment frequently upon what they are doing on stage. Thus, Longtin's supposition that the extensive verbalisation of the processes on stage points towards a less elaborate setting would hold true for *An Buhez*, as well. About the tower in its advanced building stages he suggests that

> le décor devait être peint sur une immense toile. On aurait déroulé le décor progressivement jusqu'à ce que la tour apparaisse au public dans sa totalité. (Longtin 2003, 15)

With regard to the windows, he concludes that the French play did not employ actual windows, because the plot does not require the windows to function. While they need to be looked at from the outside and need to be visible to the audience so that the conflict between the king and his daughter can result from their presence, the windows are never part of the action in any other way (Longtin 2003, 19). This is the same in *An Buhez*, and so is Longtin's statement that the tower is a key element of Barbara's legend. It is therefore inconceivable that there were no actual windows the king could become enraged over (Longtin 2003, 24). Longtin concludes that while there have most likely been windows visible on stage, these were no realistic windows able to be opened or even looked through (Longtin 2003, 30). As the two episodes are rather similar with regard to structure and contents (6), Longtin's arguments are also very suggestive for *An Buhez*.

After Dioscorus's discovery of the third window and the reasoning behind its construction, he threatens to kill his daughter:

> [358] Meray dit cruell meruell yen
> En placc man breman oar en men
> Ez renty dyen da eneff
> […]

Mez lamo pep tu a buhez
[…] gant ma clezeff

I will cruelly put you to the cold death! / In this place, now, on the stone / you will return your soul. / […] / I will remove every bit of your life / […] with my sword. //

She escapes due to divine intervention, the manner of which is supplied by a stage direction: "Saint Barbara begs God to defend her and then a great stone opened (itself) and covers her against her father, who then intended to kill her" ('Sante barba a pet doe de diffēn: ha neuſe vn men bras en em digoras hac he cuzas ouz he tat a predere neuſe he lazaff', 358/9). The astonished Dioscorus states "that the stone swallowed her now" ('En he loncas breman an men', 360), which likely refers to the stone on which he apparently planned to behead her. It is very striking that the particularly descriptive stage direction is the only one to make use of the past tense. All other stage directions are in the present tense and thus indicate an action that takes place at the time. In addition to that, the usual pattern of the actor announcing the action before completing it is broken (c.f. Hamblin 2005, 195, 198) I therefore suggest that this stage direction may serve a different purpose than only directing the action. Depending on the complexity of the set on stage and the creativity of the director, Barbara could have been covered by a stone in an action so clearly visible that the entire audience was able to see it and no further explanation was necessary. She may also simply have left the place of the tower, possibly being covered by some sort of prop on her way, and the stage direction was read out by someone in order to explain the action that took place on stage. In this case it would make perfect sense for the stage direction to be in the past tense, for it would be a narrative device to illustrate the action rather than serve as an instruction to the actors. It would also explain why none of the characters makes it quite plain what has happened, but instead there is only the one line in stanza 360 to indicate that Barbara has been swallowed by a stone. It is also possible that this stage direction was specifically added to the print version in order to clarify the events that would have been visible on stage. And, of course, it might be a simple mistake by the author or the printer, especially since the stage directions are exempt from the rhyme scheme.

Furthermore, the tower is apparently located next to a fountain. Barbara approaches the fountain after having made the request for the third window in order to find a drink there. Barbara illustrates where she is going in stanza 255: "to the good fountain which is (hidden) back there" ('Dan feunten mat ſo diadreff', s.a.) and adds in stanza 263: "The fountain is well and properly full / of pure water next to the tower" ('Feunten ſo leun mat ha natur / Equichen an tour a dour pur'). As will be discussed in 11, I consider it possible that an actual fountain,

or saint's pool, may have been employed to represent this place in the play. If this was so, the tower would have to be erected close by. In any case, the fountain – whether it is a prop or an actual fountain – needs to be accessible by Barbara, since she must be able to interact with it. This is indicated by the following stage direction: "Here Saint Barbara makes with her finger – moistened in the fountain – a cross in a stone which is still on it […]" ('Aman ſante Barba ara gāt he bes gli byet en feunten vn croas en men/peheny ſo hoaz ēnhaff […]', 262/3). Looking at the depiction of the Valenciennes frontispiece (figure 2), there is a garden-like structure on the left hand side, between the places "une salle" and "le temple" and in front of "Nazareth". A similar way of surrounding and thus connecting the tower and the fountain with a fence might be worth considering for *An Buhez*, because it would support the description of the fountain being "(hidden) back there" ('diadreff', 255).

2.4.5. The Mountain

This place of the mountain is hardly described. It is first mentioned when Dioscorus states that he will look for his daughter in the mountains:

> [365] Ret eu gouzout piu he ſouten
> Rac meya tizmat a ſtat plen
> Da gouzout a den an menez
> En quarter ſe he guelſe quet
> […]
>
> It is necessary to know who is helping her. / Therefore I will go quickly, in all my might, / to find out whether anyone in the mountains / would have seen her in the area in question. / […] //

At that time, he is probably still located in the place where Barbara has disappeared. There is nothing to suggest that she might be hiding in the mountains. The mountain is next mentioned in a stage direction that indicates a change of place: "Here Gueguen and Riuallen go to the mountain to tend their sheep." ('Aman gueguen ha riuallen aya dan menez da miret hoz deauet', 367/8). There, the two shepherds "see Saint Barbe fleeing from her father and evil Riuallen speaks. // Hey! Listen! / Tell me, do you know where Barbe is going? ('Amā ez guelōt ſante barba ouz techet rac he tat : hac ez lauar Riuallen drouc. // Hau cleu / Lauar a te goar maza Barba', 370/1f). The language employed by the shepherds suggests that the mountain is not immediately recognisable as a place, for they frequently remind the audience of their whereabouts. During the shepherd episode (368-390) the word "mountain" ('menez') is used

five times, always in a way that highlights the current whereabouts of the characters, for example in stanza 368: "Do we go, Gueguen, to the mountain / to tend our sheep today?" ('A ny ya gueguen dan menez / Da miret hon deffuet vetez'), or "I have not at all seen her / coming into this mountain nor ascending" ('Me e neb guis ne guilis quet / Duet en menez man na goureet', 376). There has got to be enough room for the two shepherds, possibly with sheep[18] or props representing sheep, for Barbara to go past and hide somewhere, and for the king to approach the shepherds, possibly with his entourage. Such range could best be accomplished by situating the mountain in between other places on ground level. While an upper storey setting would help to illustrate the higher ground on a mountain, and would improve visibility, the movements required by the play would be much harder to accomplish than on ground level. This is probably why the characters refer to their setting so frequently. In accordance with these references, there might be a painted backdrop depicting a mountain scenery. This method has been suggested by Hamblin for the portrayal of a river in *Le mystère de saint Christofle*: "the hermit points out a river that was likely no more than a painted backdrop: 'Do you see that wide river?' ('Vois tu celle riviere grant?')" (Hamblin 2012, 46).

The next episode that takes place on the mountain is Barbara's execution. In this case, there are not many references to the place. Only one stage direction, which is taken up by Dioscorus' speech, indicates that he takes Barbara to the mountain: "Dioscorus takes Saint Barbara by the hand and takes her to the mountain" ('Dioſcorus a quemer fante barba diuar an dorn/ hac he re en menez', 650/1) and "come to the mountain – also where you will end – / to die coldly" ('Dueux dan menez yuez maz finuezy / Da meruell yen', 651). Apparently, it is either not of particular consequence where the following action takes place, or the setting was considered to have been established well enough during the first episode taking place there. However, the entire end of the play appears to take place in the mountains, for there is no stage direction or embedded cue to indicate that the action shifts to a different place. However, the fact that an angel descends, probably from paradise, in order to collect Barbara's soul, and Beezlebub can come from hell in order to collect that of Dioscorus, suggests once again that the mountain is located in an in-between position.

2.4.6. The Provost's House

Dioscorus speaks to the provost for the first time in stanza 406. According to the stage direction accompanying that stanza, "Dioscorus accuses his daughter in front of the provost" ('Dioſcorus a clem e merch ouz an prouoſt', 405/6). The following conversation indicates that they are in the provost's house:

[18] When discussing the sixteenth century mystery play *Sacrifice d'Abraham*, Barbara Craig suggests that "the sheep herded by the shepherds may well have been real" (Craig 1983, 75).

Dioscorus:
[406] [...]
An doeou louen heb quen ſy
Ro miro pep tro huy ho ty
Ouz vileny ſeul maz vihet.

An prouoſt.
[407] Autrou louen ſouueren ordrenet
Duet mat em ty adeffry ra vihet
[...]

Dioscorus: / [...] / The fervent gods, without any doubt, / may they guard you and your house always / against villainy as long as you will live. //
The provost: Good lord, legitimate sovereign, / may you be surely welcome in my house! / [...] //

According to a comment Loupart makes during the torture episode, the provost's house is in the town centre: "we have arrived in the town-centre / so that the judge will take a look" ('Arriuet omp a plen en kaer / Maz guelo vn darn an barner', 477). This is in accordance with the information that Barbara will be "interrogated here in public" ('aman dirac an bet [...] interroget', 414). It appears that the provost stays in his place during the whole play. Either, the characters approach him, like Barbara who is always brought before him: "I will lead her before you right away" ('Dirac hoz facc en placc e digacziff', 414), "come to bring quickly, go on, immediately, / the virgin Barbe, truly, into my presence" ('Et da querchat tizmat ſinchat batant / Barba guerches ent eſpres em preſant', 534), and "bring her to the place of custom. / Make her come, my friends" ('He digaczc dan placzc a faczon / Gruet ma tut mignon he donet', 536). Or the torturers call for him to look: "look lord, do you see, / whether she is not seriously chastised" ('Autrou ſellet aguelet huy / Andeu hy deffry caſtizet', 467), "and provost, is she roasted? / Look, how is she prepared?" ('Ha prouoſt an deu hy roſtet / Sellet penaux ezeu auſet', 576). Yet there is never an indication that the provost leaves his place in order to look. The provost can apparently observe the torture well from his place:

Agripant.
[454] Naret heb mar nemet arhueſt
Hōn ſellet hac ez vihet teſt
Peguen oneſt ez rempeſter.
[...]

> Agripant: / Do nothing but observe, without doubt! / Watch us and you will be witness to / how a thorough beating is given! / […] //

And he is close enough during the torture to be able to command the torturers to change their methods:

> [471] Rac ſe crēn me gourchemēn net
> Ez cleſquet tachou heb gou quet
> Ha bezet ſcoet/ muy eguet mil
> A plen en pip dren diſcribaff
> De ruyllaff ha de ſcandalaff
> […]

> Therefore I explicitly command / that you fetch nails without any deceit / and let there be more than a thousand of them, / hammered right into the barrel, as I instruct, / in order to roll and to torture her. / […] //

Towards the end, Barbara is bound to a post close by the provost:

> An prouoſt.
> [566] Goudeſe freſq et da quemeſq cleſquet
> A dou en dou flambeſou heb gou quet
> Gante affet ezeu ret credet diff
> Leſquiff dam poſt tēn ha toſt he coſtou
> […]

> [569] […]
> Rac ſe certen gruet he haeren en mat
> Oz vn poſt prēn gāt querdēn tēn men bry
> […]

> The provost: / Then, quickly go together and fetch / in groups of two torches without any trickery, / with them, indeed, it is necessary, believe me!, / to burn her ribs strongly and violently to my post. / […] // Therefore certainly bind her well / to a wooden post with strong ropes, certainly, / […]. //

This wooden post is the only information provided about the place of the provost. That he uses "to my post" ('dam poſt', 566) suggests that the post is part of his place. While it is possible that

there is an isolated wooden post stuck into the ground somewhere close by the provost's place, it is more likely that he refers to one of the supporting posts of the construction that makes up his house, i.e. his place. It could also be one of the posts supporting a two-storey construction of which the provost occupies the upper level. The impression that the provost is located in a raised position is strengthened when he comments during the last part of the torture, in which Barbara is to be chased through the town (i.e. in between the various places and sets of the theatre) naked:

[618] Queczet hy lem dirac ma drem breman
En holl ruou knech ha tnou gant ſouzan
[…]

[621] A ſe moz pet na fellet tro
Rac me a diabell ouz ſello
Me aznauezo neb ſo ſcaff
[…]

Chase her before me, now, / along all streets, high and low, with terror / […]. // Hence, I ask you, do not fail at all! / because I will observe you from afar / I will spot anyone who is soft. / […] //

Such a two-storey construction with the provost's place on the upper level could then accommodate the prison on ground level. A prison is also found in the Valenciennes frontispiece (figure 2). This appears to be underground and it can hardly have been possible to see what would have taken place inside. In the case of *An Buhez*, the prison needs to be well visible because Jesus visits Barbara there in order to comfort her and heal her wounds. This is probably why the characters describe the horrors of the prison quite elaborately, so that the audience will be able to grasp the terrible situation despite the fact that Barbara is not in fact imprisoned in a hole:

An prouoſt.
[489] Orcza tizmat dam pligiadur
Lequet hy en lech clos oſcur
Da miret ſur hac affuret
[…]

Claudin.
[491] Me lacay certen heb quen bry

En vn priſon a melcony
En vn abry diamiabl
En vn lech ort ha diſordren
Re vil hac auill ha bilen
Dirac pep den hac inrenabl.

Aman ez laquaer en priſon.
[492] Duet dādrot nac ouch mar notabl
Da vn toull vil abhominabl
[…]

The provost: / Well then, quickly, following my wish, / put her into a dark, enclosed place / to be guarded, under lock and key, / […]. //
Claudin: / I will certainly put her without any regard / into a prison of grief / into an unpleasant shelter / into a nasty and vile place / very wretched and odious and ugly / for everyone and intolerable. //
Here one puts (her) into prison. / Come quickly, however noble you might be, / into the wretched, abominable hole / […]. //

According to a stage direction, the prison can be opened: "Claudin opens the prison" ('Claudin a digor an priſon', 538/9), which suggests a door, or some sort or entrance. Again, there is not much information provided about this place. It appears to be slightly removed from the provost's place, for he needs to command the torturers to fetch Barbara back to him after she has been imprisoned (493-533). Furthermore, the provost appears to be unable to see what happens in the prison:

An Provost:
[566] […]
Groa he donet gant effet competant
An meſchantes en eſpres em preſant
Maz guiliff coant an ſeblant ſo ganty

The provost: / […] make her come with suitable effect / truly, into my presence, the wretch, / so that I will nicely see the state she is in. //

Both these impressions could be accomplished by placing the prison beneath the provost's place. However, the prison and the provost's place might simply be two separate places on

ground level. There is no way of knowing, since *An Buhez* does not provide enough information on this.

2.4.7. Paradise and Alexandria

Paradise is mentioned only once in a stage direction: "Jesus speaks in paradise" ('Jesus a comps en baradoes', 495/6). There is nothing in the play to indicate how this place may have been designed, whether it was elaborate or simple. It is highly likely that Jesus remains in paradise, except when he visits Barbara in prison. Then, he announces his movement before completing it: "I go benevolently to the wide world" ('Meya cloar dan douar eſparet', 496). While this is customary in Medieval theatre (s.a.), the action is apparently relevant enough to be announced. Thus, in analogy to Dioscorus, Jesus can leave his place and when he does so, it is a noteworthy action (2.4.3). In addition to Jesus there seems to be at least one angel dwelling in paradise. The angel functions, quite appropriately, as a messenger of Jesus and announces his arrival to Barbara in prison:

> An ael.
> [497] Barba bez ioaus dre an cas
> Ez deu Ieſus dre e graciuſdet
> Roen ſent en quentel daz guelet.
> […]
>
> The angel: / Be joyous, Barbe, due to the fact / that Jesus comes out of his mercy, / the king of the saints, in order to see you. / […] //

When Barbara is to be chased through the town naked, Jesus sends his angel to her, again:

> *Ieſus a quacc e ael de golo.*
> [625] Ma ael quae vuel euelhēn
> Ha quemer vn couricher guēn
> Ha diſquēn pan gourchemēnaff
> Da golo cloụar ma cares
> […]
>
> *Jesus sends his angel to cover her.* / My angel, go humbly forth / and take a white kerchief / and descend, because I command (it) / to warmly cover my friend. / […] //

It is interesting that Jesus commands the angel to "descend" ('diſquēn'), for it suggests a raised position for the place of paradise. While this is not surprising, there is, unfortunately, not much evidence for it, either. When Barbara greets Jesus in prison, it becomes clear that he, too, has descended in order to come to her:

> Sante Barba.
> [509] Autrou louen dreis pep heny
> Penaux en bet e priſet huy,
> Euit queffridy quen bihan,
> Bezaff euelhēn diſquennet,
> […]
>
> Saint Barbara: / Good Lord above everyone! / However do you deign / for such a minor thing / to descend thus / […]? //

However, descending from heaven is simply the usual way for Jesus and the angels to move, as Barbara illustrates in one of her explanatory monologues: "What an event it will be, at the time / when he will descend from heaven with a naked sword' ('Eno pebez tro vezo hēn / Pan duy ān eff gant clezeff guēn', 350). Nevertheless, paradise is often depicted as a raised place, like in the Valenciennes frontispiece (figure 2) or in *Le Mystère de saint Christofle*, which had "a twelve-foot tall Paradise [sic!] tower covered in wooden planks with a door at the base" (Hamblin 2012, 40). Furthermore, if hell did indeed occupy a raised position as I suggested above, it would be fitting for paradise to be on an equal level, at least.

However, this raises the question of what kind of place may have occupied the ground level. The most practical solution would be for the ground level to house Alexandria, i.e. Origen's place. It would fit the heavenly context best, if Origen, one of the fathers of the Church, were to dwell there. During the first day, Barbara hears of Alexandria from a hermit who comes by Nicomedia on his way to Jerusalem, and who tells her that she will find an instructor of the Christian faith there:

> An ermit.
> [131] Tout batant a Alexandry
> Ez deuaff affet […]
>
> [132] En Alexandry ancien
> Credet ſaczun ezeux vn den
> So hanuet plen Origenes

hennez ſo criſten ha den fur
hac a goar prezec e lectur
Me ouz aſſur croeadures.

The hermit: / Very much directly from Alexandria / I come indeed [...]. // In ancient Alexandria / believe (it) entirely!, there is a man / who is called Origen. / Him, he is a Christian and a wise man / and he is able to teach his holy texts / I assure you, child of God. //

Barbara sends her servant to Alexandria in order to ask Origen for his support in becoming a Christian: "It is necessary that you will go, do not delay!, / indeed on a mission / to Alexandria for me" ('Ret ezehet na tardet muy, / En effet en vng queffridy, / Da Alexandry euidouff', 139). The stage direction "the servant speaks to Origen" ('An ſeruicher à comps ouz Origenes', 143/4) marks the beginning of the very short part of the play, merely sixteen stanzas (143-160), which takes place in Alexandria. Of these sixteen stanzas, twelve are spoken by Origen. Due to the shortness of the episode and the fact that there is no information provided with regard to the whereabouts of Origen or the design of his place, his place has likely not been very specific in design. Therefore, I would consider locating Alexandria beneath the set of paradise a particularly practical decision. Because even though paradise itself does not host a lot of action, either, it would have been a prestigious set and likely been designed with some care, due to its status as Jesus' dwelling place. The inherent dignity and obvious link to Christianity of a figure like Origen would fit well into that context. Although there is not much text to judge from, I would suggest that Origen, like king Dioscorus, sits on a chair or throne and is approached by the other characters, particularly by the servants. According to one of the stage directions, he "sends for his cleric Valentine" ('à quacc e cloarec Valentin', 150/1) and then commands him to go and instruct Barbara in the Christian doctrine:

[151] Quae preſant chapelan antier,
[...]
Deſq an guerches da diuiſat,
Da entent en mat he Latin.

[152] Lẽn dezy creff an ſtat diuin,
Hac ãn natur an ſcriptur din,
Hac an diciplin an dreindet
E mam guerches hac à Ieſu,
Ha pe dre termen contenu

Effoe pep tu conſtituet.

> Go now, loyal chaplain / […] / instruct the girl to differentiate, / to understand her Latin well. // Read to her emphatically of the divine essence / and of the nature of the holy scripture / and of the doctrine of the trinity, / its virgin mother, and of Jesus / and through what constant design / he was created, in all respects. //

While he clearly tells Valentine what to say and to "stay with [Barbara] according to her wish" ('Ha diouz he hoant chomet ganty', 156), and not to move away from her ('Na flachet textelp diouty', 156), the authority of his role appears to stem from his accomplishments as a church father rather than his social status as in the case of the king or the provost.

2.4.8. Closing Remarks

The above discussion of the places that appear in *An Buhez* suggests that there would have been at least five places, four of which may well have consisted of more than one storey. However, it is equally possible that the stage design was very basic and that hell and paradise, for example, were simply located each on a small dais, while the rest of the places were represented by appropriate small props, for example a throne for king Dioscorus to sit on, representing the royal house, and a tower that could not be entered into or stood on, but in front of which the action could take place (s.a.). It is similarly unclear whether the stage was set in front of the audience, i.e. a linear stage, or whether the audience sat in a circle (or oval) around it, i.e. a theatre in the round (cf. Runnalls 1998, 91). Both stage designs could be realised on the basis of the text, although I consider a linear production more practical due to the amount of places involved. In a circular construction at least half of the audience would have difficulty seeing the performance at times, if indeed the stage contained all the places suggested by the contents of *An Buhez* for the entire duration of the play (cf. Runnalls 1998, 71). If the play was performed in the round, it is therefore likely to have consisted of a very basic set without any multi-storey constructions. Another factor that discourages the idea of multi-storey constructions on the stage of *An Buhez* is the absence of stage directions indicating that characters move up or down. As Hamblin notes for the complex stage design of the *Mystère de saint Laurent*, the play "required a multitude of stage directions in order to coordinate a series of parallel actions that crossed and climbed four scaffolds multiple times over a period of eight to twelve hours" (Hamblin 2012, 42). However, in the case of *An Buhez* two-storey constructions would be adequate to the purpose. The upper sections would be occupied (mostly) by stationary characters. Thus, a direction to approach a certain character would suffice to direct another character up- or downwards.

Partly, the information provided by Hamblin 2012 about the plays of *Saint Christofle* and *Saint Estienne*, respectively, could be applied to *An Buhez*, as well. In contrast to the French *Saint Christofle* play, there are unfortunately no performance contracts or similar sources for the Breton play that could support any such speculations. Nevertheless, it may be instructive to point out the similarities. Hamblin writes that "from those contracts it is clear that a confraternity of Parisian masons staged a *Saint Christofle* play" (Hamblin 2012, 40). As I illustrate in 6, *An Buhez* places considerable emphasis on the depiction of the building process and the working crew, and the role of the master builder makes a particularly authentic impression. I therefore suggest that the builders of the town that worked on the sets and stage(s) of *An Buhez* may have been closely involved in the production of the play, possibly in a way similar to that of the Parisian masons.

Whether or not this is due to the authority of the masons, the *Saint Christofle* play required considerable building work, namely "two separate raised platforms which faced each other" of twenty and thirty metres in length, respectively. The shorter platform was used as a stage, the larger hosted the audience, thus providing a sharp separation between the performers and the spectators. On the stage, the actors moved laterally between the places (*lieux*) and props (*décors*), without having to move up or down.

> The contracts mention the following staging *lieux*: a decorated backdrop six feet high that hung the length of the platform, a twelve-foot tall Paradise tower covered in wooden planks with a door at the base, two eighteen-foot long planks that formed a gallows for the torture scenes, and a masonry Hell mouth. Since the Paradise tower was to be placed at one end of the platform, we can assume that Hell was at the opposite end, as tradition would have dictated.
> (Hamblin 2012, 40)

While *An Buhez* requires similar places on stage, the effort and money required to build two huge platforms may or may not have been spared. Another possibility is a staging arrangement like the one required for the *Saint Estiennes* play. There, the "performers do not simply move laterally; instead, they move on ground level or across platforms about the staging space when they are directed to process or search for someone" (Hamblin 2012, 43). In that play "a few décors are higher than others" and a "chapel […] is located under paradise" while "Lucifer […] sits chained to his throne above Hell". It would fit the contents of *An Buhez* very well if the actors were to move in between the places in order to illustrate travelling or searching. Instead of a chapel, Alexandria may have been beneath paradise and while Lucifer/Satan would not necessarily have been chained to his throne, he very likely remained stationary at some elevated spot in the Breton play. There is one detail in *An Buhez* that might point towards a

more basic staging arrangement. In *cinq journées*, Dioscorus joins Dyogenes in order to wage war on the Christians of Alexandria, and this military operation is staged at the end of the second day. In contrast to this, Dioscorus disappears on an unspecified mission in *An Buhez*. He simply leaves (241-243) and returns some time later (281), clearing the stage for Barbara to request the third window. Rather than defining and thus portraying what he does and where he goes, this information is omitted entirely in the Breton play. The reason for this may well have been an economical one, because instead of putting a battle on stage, Dioscorus could simply disappear through an exit and reappear when needed.

Ambiguous as the staging arrangement may present itself in the case of *An Buhez*, it is rewarding to try and determine the places in between which the characters may have moved. Records of *Saint Barbara* play performances in France are abundant (Longtin 2003, 1; Julleville 1880). However, it does not become clear which Barbara play was performed and how many versions in addition to the two that have come down to us may have existed. Nevertheless, the fact that plays about Saint Barbara have been performed in the French speaking parts of France heightens the likelihood that either or both of the surviving French versions was put on stage at some point. As such evidence is lacking for Brittany, it is possible to argue that *An Buhez* was meant to be read, maybe to be read aloud, but not to be performed.

> Le contenu des didascalies dépend de l'usage pour lequel la copie a été préparée: elles disparaissent dans les manuscrits destinés à la lecture méditative ou pieuse; pour une lecture récréative, elles auront plutôt un caractère narratif comparable aux têtes de chapitre d'un roman. Seuls les abrégés et les rôles continennent de véritables indications techniquess et scénographiques, parfois d'une grande précision […].
> (Smith, Parussa and Halévy 2014, 45f)

As has been shown above, the stage directions of *An Buhez* are indeed almost entirely of a narrative function. Furthermore, Laura Weigert considers the possibility that not every edition of a play that has come down to us was the result of a previous production of the subject matter on stage:

> A working assumption of scholarship on individual manuscripts is that their origin lies in the event of a performance. I argue that this was not the case. Some themes that were performed live also survive in books, others only ever existed in manuscript or printed form. […] Written and illuminated manuscripts […] created the opportunity for an elite clientele to enjoy an alternate experience of subject matter that also formed the theme of contemporary performances […]. Only with

> the production of printed play scripts at the end of the fifteenth century [...] was this experience available to a broader audience.
> (Weigert 2015, 11)

However, my illustrations show that *An Buhez* supplies considerable information with regard to the practical aspects of performance, but that such information is not necessarily to be found in the stage directions. Instead, *An Buhez* makes extensive use of embedded cues (or *didascalies narrative*) which, according to Hamblin, are a defining feature to "distinguish theatre texts from their literary cousins" (Hamblin 2012, 46). Another related argument is that while it is entirely possible to understand the story of *An Buhez* without seeing the play performed, it is of considerable help to know the legend from different sources and/or to visualise what is taking place on stage. Longtin lists the lack of the sacking of the idols as one of the "principaux traits distinctifs" of *deux journées*: "Il n'est pas question non plus de saccage d'idoles païennes dans ce Mystère" (Longtin 1996, 16). In *An Buhez*, this sacking takes place on the basis of embedded cues, only. There are no stage directions to support the action. When reading the play, the action is therefore easily missed and Barbara's monologue taken for mere general vilification of idolatry. When seeing the performance, however, the action on stage clearly depicts one of the defining aspects of Barbara's legend. Thus, the accumulation of such and similar evidence leads to my conclusion that *An Buhez* was indeed performed, although defining a time and place for the event requires further investigation.

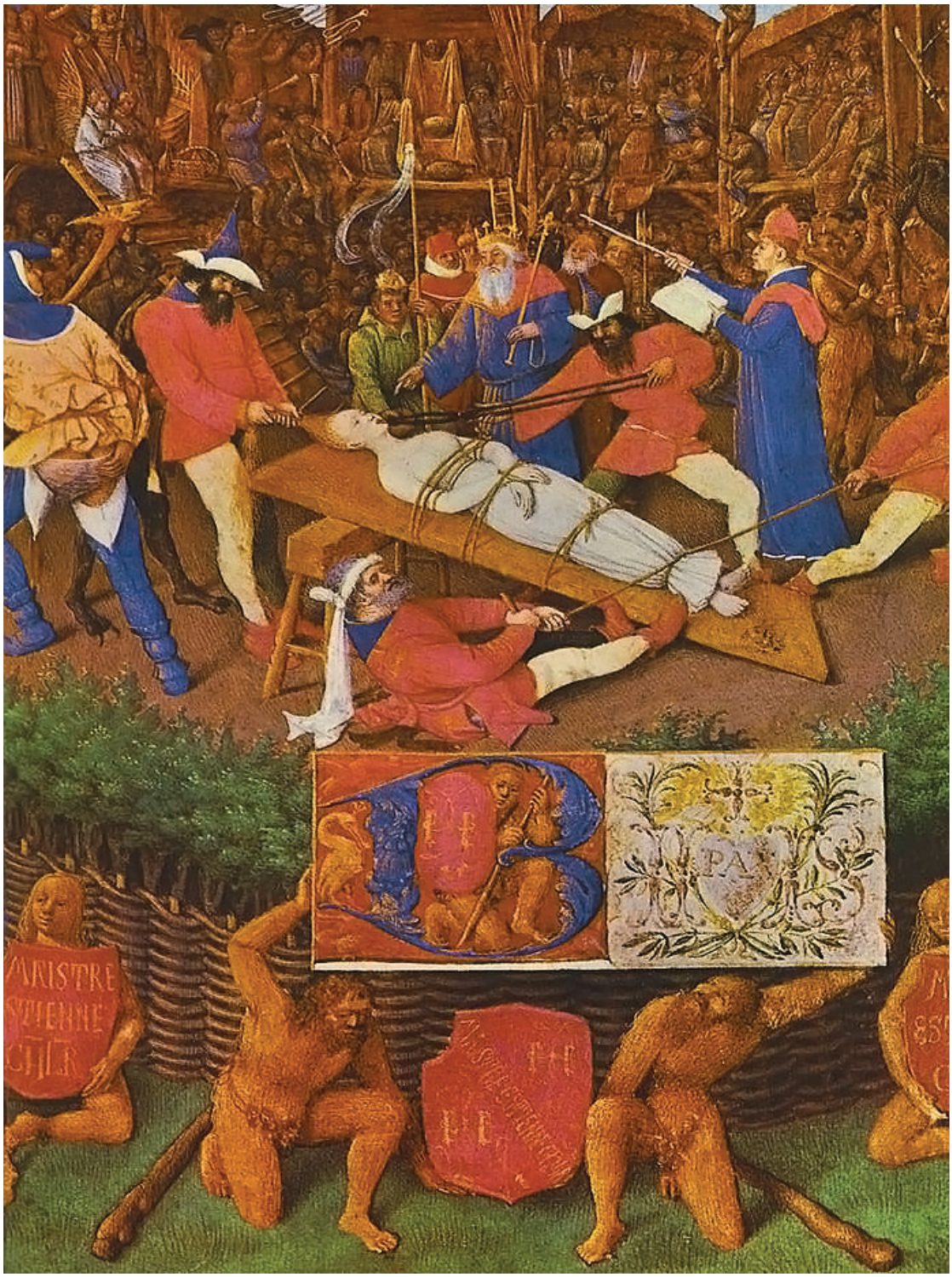

Figure 1: The Martyrdom of Saint Apollonia (Fouquet 1445)

Figure 2: Stage design for the Passion Play performed at Valenciennes in 1547 (Cailleau 1547)

Figure 3: historic map of Roman Empire during the first tetrarchy (Coppermine Photo Gallery 2008)

3. Rhyme Scheme

Middle Breton verse has a very specific rhyme scheme that involves both end rhyme as well as internal rhyme. In addition to this, the number of syllables in a verse plays an important role. As Paul Widmer puts it, "[the] intriguing system of [Middle Breton] versification has attracted much scholarly interest, and is therefore fairly well described" (Widmer 2016, 229).[19] In *L'ancien vers Breton* Emile Ernault lists the following general rules:

> 1° La *mesure* consiste dans le nombre fixe de syllabes que comporte chaque sorte de vers;
> 2° Une *césure* ou pause coupe, à certaines places déterminées, les vers les plus longues;
> 3° La *rime*, ou conformité de son, lie ensemble les dernières syllabes des vers. Il ne s'en distingue essentiellement que par cette autre règle:
> 4° A la rime *finale* qui lie la dernière syllabe d'un vers à celle d'un autre, se joint la rime *intérieure* ou interne, qui lie l'avant-dernière syllabe de chaque vers à sa propre césure. (Ernault 1912, 6)

The rhyme scheme of *An Buhez* follows those general rules for the most part. Each stanza usually consists of six verses, which are octosyllabic or decasyllabic. As Ernault points out in the introduction to his edition of *An Buhez*, this play shows much less variation with regard to verse length than for example *An Buhez santez Nonn* and *An Passion.* In some cases exclamations of one to four syllables are added to a stanza of six verses (stanza 26). These exclamations do not count towards the number of verses in a stanza, or towards the syllable count, or towards the rhyme scheme. While they can rhyme, it is not required (stanza 26 & 292 "Gloat"). If they rhyme, the exclamation simply repeats a previous rhyme. In other cases, exclamations appear as part of a verse and thus as part of the required number of syllables in that verse (292 "O", 31 "A"). However, there is one exception. In stanza 796 the exclamation "A" is part of the verse but appears not to count as a syllable (Ernault 1888, vi):

> *Belzebuth a comps.*
> [26] **Nep oun nac/**
> Hā bezet sclaer vn quarter bro
> Da gouuern ha me en cerno
> Cristen eno na credo tam
> Dre nep rout en em cafout muy

[19] Apart from Widmer's own article see for example Joseph Loth (Loth 1900, 203-235), Emile Ernault (Ernault 1900, 403-411; Ernault 1912), and Yves Le Berre (Le Berre 2012 81-109).

Rac me lacay plen pep heny
Em damany hac em liam.

Beelzebub speaks: / Do not falter / and let me clearly have one quarter of the land / to govern and I will enchain it / so that there a Christian will not dare at all / in any way to stay anymore / because I will place, indeed, everyone / in my dominion and in my fetters. //

Bezlebuth.
[31] **A** luciffer ma mestr querhaff
Meray em rout ne fell doutaff
Hep arretaff nen nachaff quet
Da pep heny dre ma squient
Pechiff dez nos gant prepos lent
An despet do dent ententet.

Beezlebub: / Oh Lucifer, my dearest master / I will cause, on my way, there is no need to doubt / without stopping, I do not deny it, / everyone through my wisdom / to sin day and night with slow discourse / whatever they want (lit. despite their teeth), hear! //

An eil mecherour.
[292] **O** preffet meurbet ez duet huy,
Petra ſo à hy na roy
Hep quet contredy dimpny gloat.

An Meſtr.
Gloat,
Ha huy et oar lerch da querchat
Rac me bizhuiquen louenhat,
Neraff dre e gloat na e madou,
Pa na caffẽn lech da techet
Digantaff ſcaff nen nachaff quet,
Em laz ſe affet aguetou.

The other worker: / Oh, you're in quite a hurry! / What's up? Will she not give / us (the) money without any disagreement? /

> The Master: / Money! / Go looking for (it) yourselves! / Because I will never rejoice / in his money or his goods. / If I had not found a place to hide / from him quickly – I do not deny (it) – / he would have just killed me! //

> [796] **A**/ ret eu meruell quent pell ha lefell bro
> Den a neb ſtir ouz pirill nem miro
> Me ſant an dro diff affo oz donet
> […]

> Ah, soon it is necessary to die and to leave the land. / Nobody, by no effort, will protect me from peril, / I feel the time coming for me quickly / […]. //

The usual metre of *An Buhez* is aabccb bbdeed ddfggf and so on. The internal rhyme is slightly more complicated. Again, Ernault's introduction to his edition of *An Buhez* proves very informative: in each verse, the penultimate syllable rhymes with one or more of the preceding word-final syllables of the same verse. If there is a caesura, which usually occurs after the fourth syllable in octo- and decasyllabic verses, the preceding word-final syllable should carry the internal rhyme. The end rhyme of the first and second verse of a stanza usually becomes the internal rhyme of the third verse, and, accordingly, the end rhyme of the fourth and fifth verse becomes the internal rhyme of the sixth (and last) verse of each stanza. Neither vowels nor consonants have to be exactly the same in order to provide the internal rhyme, but often divergences are simply due to variations of pronunciation. A verse may also have a secondary internal rhyme, but this is not obligatory. Both primary and secondary internal rhyme can be reduplicated, and such reduplication occurs more often in verses of greater length (Ernault 1888, vi-viii). In addition to this, Widmer has convincingly argued that there appears to be a tendency towards placing polysyllabic words in verse-final position. Because the stress of a polysyllabic word falls on the penultimate syllable, a monosyllabic word in verse-final position would mean that the internal rhyme is carried by an unstressed, word-final syllable. According to Widmer's data, "polysyllabic words, trisyllabic ones in particular, are at least to some degree numerically overrepresented in line-final position in Middle Breton verse" and thus "stressed syllables as opposed to unstressed ones are favoured in forming the main internal rhyme on the penultimate syllable of a line" (Widmer 2016, 234f).

[6] An guerches man ameux hanuet
Da Dioscorus den ruset
Rac affet a ycomedy
Ezoa hy merch leun a guerchdet
Eff he care pep heur meurbet
Er nen deuoa quet nemet hy.

[7] Mas songas en e fantasy
Ez galse bezaff dre affuy
Gant vn re e ty rauiet
Hac ez laquas ne dougias den
Tut a labour mecherouryen
Da ober certen ordrenet.

[8] Vn tour fournis de guis discret
En compas iolis diuiset
De miret rac ne lamset hy
A eneb e grat digataff
Eneb guis nac he rauissaff
Na heb he rentaff dezaff muy.

This maiden, who I have named, / to Dioscorus, cunning man, / indeed of Nicomedia / was his daughter full of virginity. / He loved her every hour very much / because he had nothing but her, // so that he conceived in his fanciful mind / that she could be through malice / stolen by one of his house / and he made, no one doubted it, / people of profession (and) workers / to do surely (as) ordered. // A complete tower in a learned manner / arranged in beautiful compartments / for guarding her out of fear that she might be stolen / from him against his will / in some fashion and be kidnapped (lit. her kidnapping) / and without giving her back to him anymore. //

The example above illustrates the general rules listed by Ernault, as well as Widmer's argument for a dominance of polysyllabic words in verse-final position. Each verse consists of eight syllables and contains a caesura, which does not necessarily occur after the fourth syllable, however. Thus, Ernault's assessment that "[l]es deux sortes de rimes obéissent à peu près aux mêmes règles; on est moins rigoureux sur la rime intérieure" (Ernault 1912, 6) holds true for *An Buhez*, as well. However, the rhyme scheme adhered to in *An Buhez* is rather strict. There

appears to be some room for variation with regard to the internal rhyme and the caesura, yet the structure of the end rhyme has been applied very consistently throughout the play. The Breton rhyme scheme can be very complex as in the first verse of stanza 8. There, the end rhyme conforms to the pattern by reproducing the end rhyme of the final verse of stanza 7, while the necessary internal rhyme is tripled (-is), and a secondary internal rhyme (-our) is introduced in addition to that – all within eight syllables.

As a whole, the example clearly shows how the rhymes "move" through the stanzas in a fixed pattern that demands a lot of skill and creativity on the part of the author. In order to fulfil the demands of the doubled rhyme scheme and the syllable count, the author must have had an excellent vocabulary. Ernault points out that "[t]oute expression bretonne qui est correcte en prose peut entrer de plein droit dans un vers breton. Les formes archaïques sont une ressource pour l'art de poète" (Ernault 1912, 5), which suggests a coupling of old and new forms with regard to the language in Middle Breton mystery plays. It is therefore likely that the language employed in Middle Breton mystery plays can neither be considered a reproduction of the language used by speakers of Middle Breton in their daily lives, nor as a form of art entirely removed from vernacular Middle Breton. Instead, it is probably a medley of the two. In contrast to this, the *fatistes* of French mystery plays tried to reproduce the spoken language as much as possible: "la forme métrique de base est l'octosyllabe à rimes plates; c'est la forme qui est la plus proche de la prose, du langage quotidien" (Runnalls 1998, 23).

The demands of the Middle Breton metrical system also promote the use of chevilles, or filler words and phrases. While this feature does not figure strongly in the example above, it becomes quite obvious when reading the whole play. A great number of expressions are only used in order to supply the necessary number of syllables, or the rhyme, or both. Some examples are words such as "affet" (indeed), "espres" (truly), "glan" (bright, holy, whole, entirely), "seder" (sure/ly), "quet" (any; emphatic particle), and phrases such as "en pep manyer" (in every manner, anyway), "pep rout" (every way), "heb (quet) sy" (without (any) doubt), "heb gou" (without lie, truly), "heb muy" (without more ado), but this list is by no means exhaustive. Sometimes, entire stanzas consist mainly of such chevilles. In the following example, the first four of the six verses could be shortened to half their length and still the stanza would provide the same information, but then the metre would be incorrect:

[502] Memeux gallout pep rout ne fell doutaff
Dreis pep heny me heb muy en muyhaff
Gouuern araff ha renaff quentaff pret
An bet man glan breman en pep manyer
Euel guir doe meſtr ha roe ha croer
Mere ſclaerder dan loar ha dan ſteret

> I have got absolute power, there is no need to doubt. / I am the greatest, above all, without any ado. / At all times I govern and rule / the whole world, here and now, in every respect, / as the true god, master and king and creator. / I give brightness to the moon and to the stars. //

Another striking feature of the Breton mystery play is that the rhyme of the final verse in a stanza is reproduced in the initial verse of the following stanza. This links stanzas, and in many cases speakers – a practice also employed in French theatrical culture and thus in French mystery plays:

> Each actor [...] was given his own role, i.e. a narrow strip of paper, with just that actor's lines written on, plus the vital cue words. Medieval plays were always written in rhyme, and usually the first line of one speech rhymed with the last of the preceding one; this was the so called mnemonic rhyme, which acted as a cue to the actors. The actors' roles were in effect scrolls, that were gradually unwound as the play proceeded. They were mainly used during rehearsals.
> (Runnalls 1998, 92)

It is unknown whether Breton actors used similar scrolls, but the rhyme scheme of the Medieval Breton plays would allow for a similar practice. "La rime du dernier vers d'une strophe est ordinairement reprise par le premier vers de la suivante, à moins que celle-ci ne commence une nouvelle scène" (Ernault 1888, vi). As there are no scenes in Medieval theatre, Ernault's use of "scène" has to be understood as referring to a change of setting or the beginning of a new episode of Saint Barbara's story unfolding on stage (2).

3.1. Inconsistencies

While the rhyme scheme of *An Buhez* appears to follow the pattern aabccb bbdeed very consistently at first sight, many inconsistencies can be found, i.e. aabccb ddeffe. In the following example, the first two stanzas follow the usual rhyme scheme, while the third stanza departs from it:

[Dioscorus]

[33] Autrouniez han holl froez anezy	a
So lem breman didan ma damany	a
Memeux ēnhy ān audiui muyhaff	b
Memeux gallout naret dout ha souten	c
Pan ouff hep sy a ty Maximien	c
Empalazr plen oar pep den ouz renaff	b
[34] Gouuerñ en splān vn queffrān didānhaff	b
An bet net crēn euel pēn amēnaff	b
Net succedaff araff da quentaff pae	d
Bout ēnby dic pacific bizhuy quen	e
Euel aer flour dam predecessouryen	e
Amēnaff plen certen euel den gae.	d
[35] memeux vn merch net ha derch so guerches	f
A dle bout sclaer ent seder ma aeres	f
Successoures em deces an nessaff	g
Doucc ha plesant excellant hac antier	h
Ha cazr ha mat hegarat a stat quer	h
Hy ent seder en ma esper querhaff.	g

> [Dioscorus:] / This realm and all its fruits / are now under my power / I have therein the greatest authority / I have the power, do not doubt, and support / because I am without doubt from the house of Maximian / complete emperor ruling over everybody. // I wish to govern brightly one part, under him (= Maximian), / of the pure world, indeed, as a leader. / Clearly, I succeed at the moment. / I want to be in it legitimate and peaceful forever / as a mild inheritor to my predecessors / completely surely as a happy man. // I have a pure and noble daughter, who is a maiden / who, of course, must be, surely, my heiress / successor in my death, the next (one) / soft and pleasant, excellent and complete / and beautiful and good, lovely, of dear character; / she, surely, is my dearest hope. //

Ernault provides a list of inconsistencies in the introduction to his edition of the play, i.e. a list of those stanzas whose first verse does not take up the rhyme of the last verse of the previous stanza (Ernault 1888, vi). However, I consider it more accurate to list both stanzas, because the inconsistencies actually occur BETWEEN two stanzas, and do not necessarily belong to either stanza. I found several further examples, but I am not sure why Ernault disregarded them.

Many are accompanied by stage directions and it is therefore possible that Ernault omitted them on purpose in order to highlight those without stage directions. Whatever the reason behind Ernault's choice, I attempt to list all inconsistencies in this chapter for the sake of completeness and take a closer look at the respective contexts. Most inconsistencies coincide with contextual changes of some kind. In order to give a concise overview of the results, I have listed all inconsistencies in a chart. The first column references the stanzas between which the inconsistency occurs. The second and third column mark whether the inconsistency was listed by Ernault, and whether it is accompanied by a stage direction. The fourth column provides some suggestions as to why the inconsistency may have occurred. Unless indicated otherwise in the comment section, all inconsistencies concur with a change of speaker.

stanza	Ernault	stage direction	comment
2/3	✓		same speaker, no apparent reason
4/5	✓		change of setting
34/35	✓		same speaker, change of subject
39/40	✓		change of place
41/42/43	✓		two inconsistencies; change of setting
48/49	✓	✓	change of place
51/52		✓	same speaker, change of place
52/53			change of place
68/69		✓	change of place
79/80		✓	change of setting
82/83		✓	change of place
87/88	✓		no apparent reason
103/104		(✓)	"aside"
108/109		✓	same speaker, end of "aside"
125/126		✓	change of setting
138/139		✓	change of place/setting
143/144		✓	same speaker, change of place
145/146			no apparent reason
(166/167)			difficult rhyme scheme; same speaker, change of place and of addressee
173/174	✓		same speaker, change of subject
195/196		✓	change of place/setting

198/199			same speaker, change of addressee and possibly change of place
203/204		✓	change of setting
224/225		✓	change of place
226/227	✓	✓	no reason apparent
230/231		✓	same speaker, change of place and of addressee
231/232	✓		same speaker, “aside”
232/233	✓		end of “aside”
234/235		✓	change of subject
238/239		✓	change of place
240/241			change of setting; beginning of day 2
243/244		✓	change of addressee and possibly change of place
264/265	✓		same speaker, change of subject
267/268	✓		same speaker, change of subject/place
268/269	✓		same speaker, change of place and of addressee
269/270	✓		same speaker, no apparent reason
271/272	✓		same speaker, possibly change of place
273/274	✓		same speaker, no apparent reason
276/277		✓	same speaker, change of subject (prayer)
278/279	✓		same speaker, possibly change of addressee
280/281		✓	change of setting
284/285		(✓)	same speaker, possibly change of place and/or addressee
303/304		(✓)	change of setting
367/368		✓	change of setting
370/371		✓	change of subject
405/406		✓	same speaker, change of setting
416/417		✓	same speaker, change of addressee and of place
417/418		✓	same speaker, change of addressee and of place
424/425	✓		no apparent reason
437/438	✓		no apparent reason
460/461			inconsistency in sixth verse due to syntax
468/469			change of subject and of place
469/470	✓		change of place

492/493		✓	change of setting, change of subject (prayer)
497/498			possibly change of place
500/501			change of place
503/504	✓		same speaker, change of subject
505/506	✓		same speaker, change of subject
533/534			change of setting; beginning of day 3
535/536			same speaker, change of addressee
553/554	✓		no apparent reason
555/556	✓		no apparent reason
569/570			possibly change of place
579/580			possibly change of place
585/586	✓		same speaker, change of addressee
587/588			possibly change of place
600/601			change of subject (prayer)
617/618	✓		possibly a pause for on-stage-action
622/623			change of subject (prayer)
624/625		✓	change of place
636/637		✓	possibly change of place
652/653		✓	no apparent reason
654/655	✓		same speaker, change of subject
660/661	✓		same speaker, change of subject
683/684			change of subject
686/687	✓		no apparent reason
688/689	✓		no apparent reason
690/691	✓		no apparent reason
703/704			inconsistency in sixth verse due to syntax
721/722			inconsistency in sixth verse due to syntax
726/727		✓	change of place
768/769	✓		no apparent reason
777/778	✓		no apparent reason
787/788			change of place
789/790			change of place
790/791			change of place
796/797			change of place

798/799			change of place
800/801	✓		same speaker, possibly change of place
811/812	✓		same speaker, possibly change of subject

Ernault suggests that the inconsistencies occur when a scene changes. As the use of the term "scene" is misleading in the case of medieval theatre, I prefer the term "setting", which I use to indicate the beginning of a new episode of Saint Barbara's story and which usually requires a change of place. My use of "change of place" can refer to two different actions on stage: either a character has spoken at one place and then moved to a different place, i.e. a character has changed his or her place but continues speaking; or the action moves from one place to the next and a different character begins to speak at the new place. As is discussed in 2, the stage was divided into several places and some characters are directly associated with certain places, such as Satan, who dwells in hell, or Jesus in paradise, and who do not usually move around the stage. When characters change their place on stage, this does not always indicate a new setting, but nevertheless such actions often coincide with an inconsistency. However, not all changes of place are marked by inconsistencies. Often, but not always, a stage direction provides the same or further information on a character's movement. In many cases, episodes in the play that involve a fair amount of movement, such as for example the commissioning of the tower (39-69), show a considerable number of inconsistencies.

While these changes of place and/or setting are a fairly straightforward reason for an inconsistency to occur, there are other less obvious reasons, too. I will now take a closer look at some of these less obvious inconsistencies. In stanzas 255-280 Barbara has a long monologue which begins with her assurance to the master worker that he does not need to fear her father's wrath upon fulfilling her request for a third window. She then goes to the fountain in order to find a drink. Although the speaker remains the same, there are eight inconsistencies here. Interestingly enough, there is no inconsistency until stanzas 264/265 despite Barbara's change of place (255/256) and repeated changes of addressee (255/256, 256/257, 258/259). When the subject of her monologue changes from her adoration of the cross she has made to a description of the beneficial character of the water, the first inconsistency occurs (264/265). The next one coincides with movement, i.e. a change of place between 267 and 268: "Monet a hanen a mennaff / Euit vetez da an hezaff / Dan tour flour haff oar guelhaff pret" ('I want to go / to the most tender tower first of all / in order to live there'). She must indeed have gone there, for she begins abusing and defying her father's idols in 269: "ydol a drouc ſcol dipolicc / Leun a ſcandal hac a malicc" ('Idol of bad influence, without virtue, / full of scandal and of malice'). Unless the idols have suddenly appeared next to the fountain, she has apparently moved to a place where

she encounters them. But there is no stage direction indicating any such movement. That the idols are in the tower is, in fact, not entirely clear from the Breton play, but seems likely with regard to the setting in the other texts on Barbara (11.3). It is impossible to tell whether there used to be a stage direction indicating Barbara's movement at this point in an earlier version of the play, but the inconsistency between 268 and 269 can serve as one of several hints as to what has happened on stage at this point. However, the inconsistencies are certainly not a foolproof way for identifying movement or missing stage directions. The next inconsistency occurs during Barbara's hateful speech directed at the idols. While she arguably changes her subject in 270 from abusing the idols (269) to lamenting their bad influence over people (270), this change is very slight. The next inconsistency between 271 and 272, however, may possibly mark another movement or lack of a stage direction. In 272 Barbara says: "Crachet ez viſaig heb flachaff / Araff dit ha da depitaff" ('I spit in your motionless face and I defy you!'). The use of the first person singular present (araff – I do) indicates that Barbara is doing this right at that point, and while *cinq journées* does have a stage direction to support this indication, *An Buhez* does not. Yet the text itself may well be regarded as a "didascalie narrative", as Hamblin calls them (Hamblin 2002, 94; cf. 2), a stage direction to be found within a character's lines. The next inconsistency between 273 and 274 does not have any apparent reason, for the speaker remains the same, a change of place would not fit the context, and there is no change of subject. In contrast to this, 276/277 clearly marks a change of subject and possibly of place, which is in this case supported by a stage direction: "Aman ez pet doe oar he doulin / en e cambr" ('Here she prays to God on her knees / in her chamber'). Barbara has moved from the place where she encountered the idols to her chamber, where she now begins a different kind of speech after her abuse of the idols and their followers, namely a prayer. The inconsistency appears to be a marker of the transition. 278/279 is again less obvious, but may possibly mark a change of addressee. While she has begun her prayer addressing God (277-278), she speaks directly to Jesus in 279 and 280.

This leads to another interesting observation. When Barbara begins to pray, this often – though not always – coincides with an inconsistency. Particularly during the episodes of torture, Barbara's prayers are a disruption of the action taking place around her. Stanzas 622 & 623 are an especially good example of such a case. The letters in brackets provide the hypothetical version of a consistent rhyme scheme[20]:

[20]The particulars of the rhyme scheme will be discussed below.

Agripant.
[622] Ozcza [sic!] tizmat heb debataff a
Mignon ha friſq houz diuiſcaff a
Crēn am ennaff heb tardaff tro. b

Glouton.
Duet en placc me hoz dilaczo b

Loupart.
Ha me preſour a ſecouro. b

Claudin.
Ha me dram le a ereo. b

Sante Barba.
[623] Doe triumphant excellant roe an tron c (b)
Ma lequet huy en preſeruacion c (b)
En pep faczon rac an con diſonet d (c)
[…]

> Agripant: / Now then, quickly, without debating, / I want to undress you completely and quickly / entirely without tarrying at all. /
> Glouton: / Come here, I will unbind you. /
> Loupart: / And I will diligently help. /
> Claudin: / And I will bind (her again), by my oath! //
> Barbara: / Excellent, triumphant god, king of heaven, / protect me / in every way from the dishonourable dog / […]. //

While the torturers undress her in order to lead her through the town naked, she begins to pray to God for help in order to prevent this particular shame. This sharp contrast between the two elements of the episode is underlined by the inconsistency. Furthermore, during her prayers, which are usually lengthy monologues, changes of addressee and/or subject often coincide with inconsistencies. One such example is 585/586. The beginning of her prayer to God in 584 is not marked by an inconsistency, yet the change of addressee, i.e. when she begins to talk directly to Jesus (586), is. However, the changes of subject and of addressee are least reliable, because there are several instances which do not coincide with inconsistencies.

There are two other striking sets of inconsistencies. In both cases, the character speaking is not alone in his/her place on stage, but nevertheless the contents of his/her text do not seem to be meant for the ears of the other characters sharing the place. In the first case, Dioscorus calls for Barbara: "Deux Barba gant ioa dirac ma facc" ('Come, Barbara, with joy before me!', 101),

and the schoolmaster apparently accompanies her, for Dioscorus then speaks directly to him, as indicated by a stage direction: "Dioscorus a lauar da mestr e merch sante Barbara" ('Dioscorus speaks to the master of his daughter Saint Barbara', 102/103). When Barbara begins to speak in stanza 104, it is possible that she has moved to a different place without a stage direction indicating the movement. As she speaks to the schoolmaster again in stanza 109, it is more likely, however, that Barbara remains in the same place that is occupied by Dioscorus and the schoolmaster. The contents of Barbara's text are highly controversial from Dioscorus' and the schoolamster's point of view because Barbara reveals her intuitive knowledge of a single God-creator. Yet neither Dioscorus nor the schoolmaster refer to it in any way. I therefore suggest that Barbara speaks those five stanzas in an aside, which is mainly characterised by its brevity and by the fact that the contents of the aside are heard by the audience but not by the other characters on stage (Muzelle 1986, 93). In addition to the contextual evidence, Barbara's speech is framed by two inconsistencies. The first occurs in stanza 104, the second in stanza 109, which underlines the idea that Barbara's five stanzas are in a way removed from the remaining action of the episode.

A similar situation takes place on stage when the two lords approach Dioscorus about Barbara's imprisonment in the tower. They are worried for her welfare and the survival of the dynasty. Dioscorus explains his reasons for keeping Barbara as safe as possible and agrees to ask Barbara whether she is inclined to marry at all. Upon her refusal, he becomes very angry and even threatens to kill his only daughter. When Dioscorus returns to the lords, however, he appears to have calmed down a little. He speaks two stanzas, the first of which illustrates Barbara's refusal to take a spouse (231). In the second stanza Discorus' anger seems to return, for he threatens to "make her suffer so / that she will get moldy with anguish and hunger" and to "leave her, surely, in it [the tower] to suffer punishment / in this world, in spite of her kind affection, / she will stay there, clearly, without dinner or supper!" ('me groay quen eno[uet] / Gant an goeſdet hac eoull boet maz lo […] le[s]o ſcaff ēnhaff da gouzaff poan / An fin deſpet de coudet en bet man / Heb leiff na coan eno glan ez mano', 232). As the lords confronted Dioscorus because they were worried for Barbara's well being and the resulting safety of the dynasty, it is unlikely that they would consider Dioscorus' ideas of punishment an adequate reaction. Again, this contextual evidence is supported by the inconsistencies in stanzas 232 and 233, which frame a part of the text that does not entirely fit its context. As in the previous example, I suggest that stanza 232 is spoken in an aside.

It is not surprising that there is no stage direction indicating an aside, because "*[s]oliloquy* and *aside* did not come into the language as technical terms until the eighteenth century" (Styan 1996, 152) and therefore have to be regarded as additions by modern editors (Styan 1996, 209).[21]

[21]I would like to thank Prof. Sonja Fielitz for our conversation regarding editorial practices of medieval and Early

Instead, the evidence for such instructions can be found within the lines spoken by the actors, which according to Styan "are already alive with implicit asides and other hidden instructions for voice and movement" (Styan 1996, 209). However, in the case of *An Buhez*, it seems that the evidence from the context is supported by a striking departure from the usual rhyme scheme in the form of the inconsistencies.

3.1.1. Changes of Setting and/or Episode

Despite the fact that the inconsistencies appear to point towards a change of some sort in the context of *An Buhez*, they can by no means serve as conclusive proof. On the one hand, there are several inconsistencies that do not appear to serve any function at all, and on the other hand there are many instances in which there is a change of place, or of subject, but no inconsistency. The inconsistencies can support textual evidence, but this is not a universal tool. The very first change of setting happens without an inconsistency, for example. After the devils have provided the framework for Saint Barbara's story (22-31), Dioscorus speaks and the actual action begins. As Dioscorus is most probably not in hell but in his palace, there is a change of place between Bezlebuth's last and Dioscorus' first verse. There, the information "Aman ez dezrou an ystoar" ('Here begins the (hi)story') is placed, which clearly indicates a new setting. However, the first verse of stanza 32 is consistent with the last verse of stanza 31, ending in -et.

The next change of setting takes place in stanza 80. Dioscorus has successfully ordered a tower to be built and is now sending a messenger to seek a schoolmaster for his daughter. This episode ends after stanza 125 when the schoolmaster leaves Barbara, which is again supported by an inconsistency. This is followed by a kind of intermediate episode involving Barbara and the hermit who suggests Origen as a teacher, to whom Barbara then sends a servant. The inconsistencies fit the action and occur after the intermediate episode in stanza 139 when the hermit has just left and Barbara calls for her servant to go to Origen on her behalf.

Unfortunately, the next episode/s is/are difficult to pin-point, because the delimitation is problematic. Unlike in the previous examples, the changes of episode and setting do not necessarily coincide. In stanzas 139-166 the servant is sent to Alexandria and speaks to Origen and Valentine there, then leaves with Valentine and goes back to Nicomedia. Thus, the servant changes place at least twice. There is, however, only one inconsistency between Origen's first stanza and the previous one (145/146). Upon returning to Nicomedia, the servant speaks to Barbara, who is likely in her chamber at that point (162, 166), and thus the servant enters her place. But there is no inconsistency to mark this second change of place, for the next inconsistency occurs only when Valentine enters Barbara's place in stanza 167. In my opinion,

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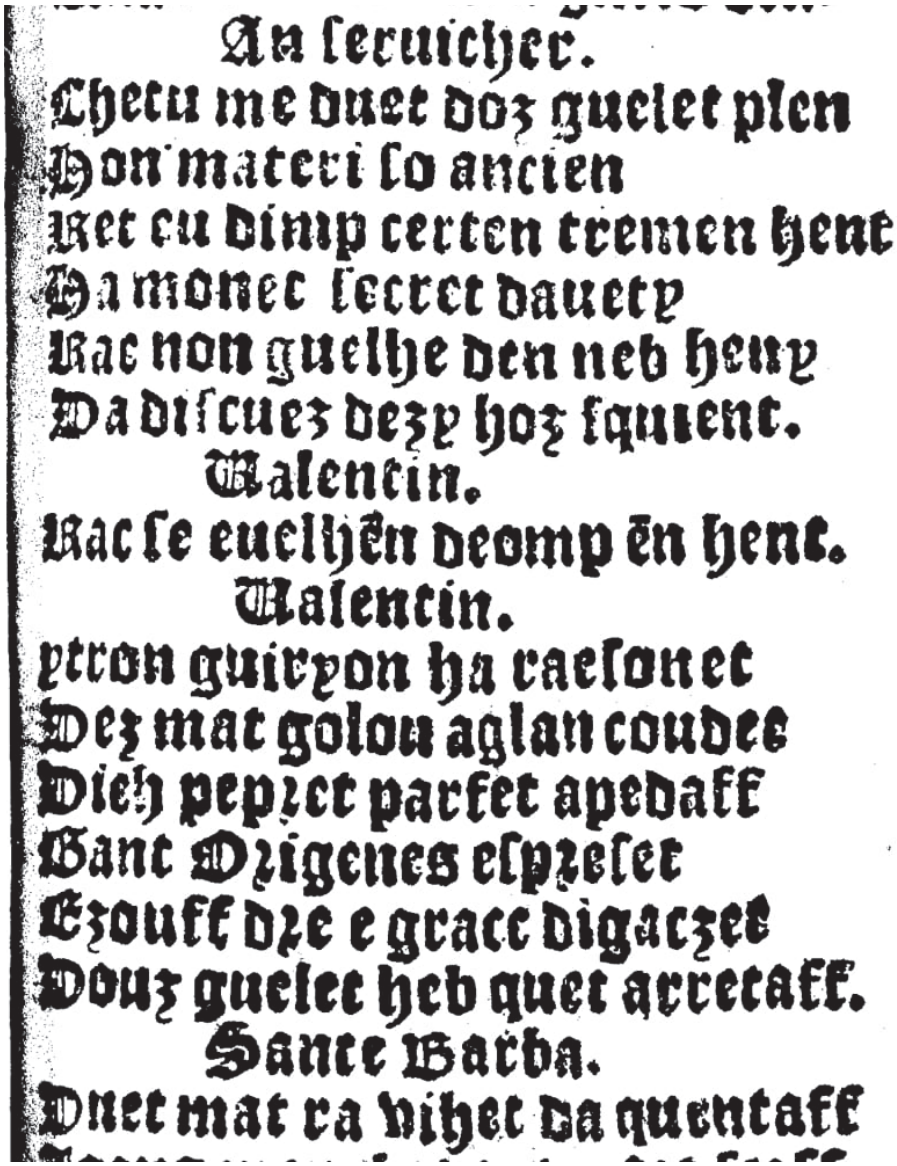
this marks the beginning of a new episode, for while the characters are already in Nicomedia, the action continues in Barbara's chambers. However, the rhyme scheme and delimitation of the stanzas is slightly problematic in stanzas 166 and 167, for they do not adhere to the usual pattern of six verses per stanza, nor to the usual rhyme scheme:


An ſeruicher.
Chetu me duet doz guelet plen
Hon materi ſo ancien
Ret eu dimp certen tremen hent
Ha monet ſecret dauety
Rac non guelhe den neb heny
Da diſcuez dezy hoz ſquient.
Valentin.
Rac ſe euelhẽn deomp ẽn hent.
Valentin.
ytron guiryon ha raeſonet
Dez mat golou aglan coudes
Dieh pepzet parfet apedaff
Sant Ozigenes eſpzeſet
Ezouff dze e grace digaczet
Douz guelet heb quet arretaff.
Sante Barba.
Dnet mat ra vihet da quentaff

The servant: / Lo, here I am to see you, indeed / our matter is known. / It is truly necessary for us to be on our way / and to go secretly to her / – because nobody at all may see us – / to introduce her to your wisdom. /

> Valentine: / Then let us be on our way! /
> Valentin: / Madam true and wise / a good, bright day wholeheartedly / I wish you, now and always. / By Origen, expressly,/ – due to his graciousness – I am sent / to see you, without pausing. /
> Saint Barbara: / First of all be welcome! /

As can be seen from the original, the numbering of the stanzas is a choice of the modern editor rather than the author or printer. Ernault has chosen to begin a new stanza with Valentine's first line. Valentine is introduced twice as a speaker. While this might be considered a simple mistake at first sight, there is a reason behind this doubling. Valentine's first sentence is addressed to the servant and it is clear from the contents of the play that both characters must be somewhere outside but in the vicinity of Barbara's chambers. Valentine's second speech, the full stanza of six verses, is then addressed to Barbara, which is not indicated by a stage direction between the stanzas, but by the character's lines ("didascalie narrative", Hamblin 2002, 94; s.a.). The lack of a stage direction also obscures the change of place that must have taken place between Valentine's two speeches, for he must have moved into Barbara's chambers in order to address her. I therefore suggest to reconsider Ernault's stanza count and have stanza 167 begin with Valentine's second speech. In this case, there is an inconsistency between stanzas 166 and 167 which marks Valentine's change of place and possibly also the change of episode (3.2):

Whether or not a new episode begins at this point, the problem of delimitation repeats itself at the end of the following set of stanzas. The entire action ensuing between stanzas 167 and 192 takes place in Barbara's chambers, but when Dioscorus disrupts the action by his entrance in stanza 186, or when the stage direction before stanza 193 clearly implies a change of place, neither event is marked by an inconsistency. Instead, an inconsistency occurs between stanzas 195 and 196, when Dioscorus answers the master worker's request and visits the building site, thus changing his place:

Dioscorus […]	
[192] Rac me mēn gant guir houz miret	a
Na vech dre tut creff deceuet	a
Dre ſe affet bezet ſeder	b
En ouz liquiff ne filliff tam	c
Enhaff da miret a het cam	c
Eguit tremen flam ān amſer.	b

An meſtr mecherour a quemēn Dio= ſcorus da guelet ac ef ſo groat mat fondamant e tour.

[193] Diſcuez breman glan an manyer	b
Dān autrou hep gou en dou guer	b
So ret ſeder hep differaff	d
A nendeu real hep maliczc	e
Ha cazr ha creff e edefficzc	e
Coant ha propiczc hep maliczaff.	d

An eil mecherour.

[194] Mat ve e donet aeredaff	d
De apetit de viſitaff	d
Hēnez en guelhaff quentaff pae	f

An meſtr mecherour.

Autrou real principal hep dalae	f
Hoz tour flour net ameux dezrouet gae	f
[…]	
[195] […] Coant ha iolis a deuis ſouffiſant	k
Cazr ha vaillant pariſſant en ſantaff	j

Diofcorus aya da guelet an tour

[196] Mecherour mat dam grat a pep ſtatur	l (j)
Ouz dalchaff plen ſouueren ha den fur	l (j)
[…]	

Dioscorus: / […] For I want to guard you truly / that you would not be deceived by strong people. / Therefore, truly, be assured!, / I will put you, I will not fail, / into it (the tower) for guarding, each and every step, / in order to spend time merrily. //

The master worker sends for Dio= / scorus to see if / the foundation of his tower is made well. / To show now indeed the status quo / to the lord without concealment in a couple of words / is necessary, surely, without deferring, / if it is not re(g)al, without fault, / and beautiful and strong, his construction, / pretty and favourable, without using trickery. //

The other worker: It would be good of him to come, I believe, / to his taste to visit it. / This is surely the best. /

> The master worker: Royal, powerful lord! Without delay / I have gladly begun your pretty tower, truly, / […] I find it nice and pretty and well-designed / beautiful and solid, of a nice appearance. //
> *Dioscorus goes to see the tower.* / I find you a good workman in every way to my taste, / fully supreme, and a wise man. / […] //

While it is true that Dioscorus' presence at the tower marks the beginning of a new episode, the change of setting was already initiated in stanza 193. This highlights the fact that the inconsistencies may serve as hints but not as exclusive proof with regard to determining limits of stanzas and/or episodes and movement of characters in *An Buhez*.

The action that takes place after the inconsistency in stanza 196 may well be described as a new episode in which Barbara is put into the tower by her father. This is a short episode (stanzas 196-203), which ends with another change of place and an inconsistency (203/204). The action then moves to the lords who are concerned because the king's only heir has been imprisoned instead of married, which initiates the final episode of day one. Again, it is not entirely clear from the text where exactly the characters are when they speak. But the movements that become obvious from the text and the stage directions are indeed marked by inconsistencies.

If the introduction is correct and the first day ends after Barbara has refused to get married, the second day should begin in stanza 241. While there is no stage direction between stanzas 240 and 241, there is an inconsistency in stanza 241. Furthermore, there is a change of subject at this point, as Dioscorus decides to go on an unspecified mission. It is not clear from his text whether he is at the building site of the tower or in his palace, but he apparently gives some instructions to the master worker before leaving (242f). The inconsistency between stanzas 243 and 244 might hint at the master worker having changed places in between, which would suggest that the two men were speaking in the palace. On the other hand, the master worker addresses his workers at the building site in stanza 244, and this is also where the consecutive action ensues. Thus, I consider it more likely that the king has visited the building site on the way to his "mission" and thus the inconsistency marks a change of addressee rather than a change of place.

The next change of setting again occurs without an inconsistency. Barbara visits the building site (248) and requests the third window, but when she leaves again and moves to the fountain, there is no inconsistency (255). On the contrary, there is an additional verse between stanza 254 and 255. This is very similar to stanzas 166 and 167, in which Valentine addressed one line to the servant and then spoke an entire stanza to Barbara. The same pattern occurs here, for Barbara's sentence "Nep oun an tra ſe non bezet" ('Let us have no fear from this', 255) is clearly an answer to the master worker's fear of the king's wrath upon finding out about his disobedience with regard to the number of the windows. The next six verses appear to be

addressed to no one in particular, but Barbara clearly moves away from the craftsmen: "Meya […] Dan feunten mat ſo diadreff" ('I go […] to the good fountain which is (hidden) back there', 255). What is also similar to the episode containing Valentine is the delimitation of the episode. As there is no inconsistency here, I suggest regarding stanzas 241 to 280 as one long episode and the additional single verse spoken by Barbara (255) as a link between the two parts of the action.

Dioscorus' return from his mission in stanza 281 is marked by a stage direction as well as by an inconsistency (280/281). This is the beginning of another intermediate episode in which he discovers the third window and how it came to be. When he confronts his daughter and thus the next episode begins, there is another inconsistency (303/304). This episode (304-367) is in fact striking due to its complete lack of inconsistencies. Although it may be considered an important episode by the audience, because Barbara reveals her faith and is able to flee from her father's ensuing wrath, it cannot be presumed whether the author shared this view. It is impossible to tell whether the author needed to make a massive effort to smooth the rhyme scheme in this episode, or whether this is the normal way of writing and the inconsistencies are truly there for a good reason and by the author's explicit choice. But it does show that the author is certainly capable of producing long sections without inconsistencies, which discourages the view that the inconsistencies occur at random places simply because the author could not think of a fitting rhyme. In fact, it seems that in difficult cases, for example due to syntactical reasons, the author chose to introduce an inconsistency in the last verse of a stanza but continued the pattern in the next stanza as if this inconsistency was not there, producing a rhyme scheme aabccd bbeffe instead of the usual aabccb bbdeed or aabccb ddeffe with an inconsistency (stanzas 460, 703, 721):

Agripant	
[460] Breman quen cruel ez guelhet	a
He pourmenaff heb tarda[f]f quet	a
Gant bizyer calet credet diff	b
Ha neruou tēn a egennet	c
Ez vezo he quil quen pilet	c
Na alhe quet he remedaff.	d (b)
An prouoſt.	
Bez vaillant ha ma ez contantiff.	b
Agripant.	
[461] Huy guelo gnou pan dezrouiff	b
Quen diguir en he martiriff	b

Her dra illiff ne filliff quet e
[…]

> Agripant: / Now you will see her very cruelly / being dealt with without any tarrying / with solid clubs, believe me!, / and hard bull-pizzles. / Her backside will be beaten so badly / that it would not be possible to heal her. /
> The provost: / Be brave and I will reward you. //
> Agripant: / You'll see for sure, when I will get going! / I will torment her most cruelly / as long as I can, I will not fail. / […] //

The rhyme scheme would have required the last verse of stanza 460 to end in -iff, and "remediff" would have been a valid form of the verb "remedaff". But the first person and future tense would simply not have fitted the context or syntax. Thus, the author apparently accepted the need to depart from the usual pattern, but nevertheless maintained the rhyme scheme in the following stanza. This in turn highlights the conspicuousness of an inconsistency in a first verse and thus lends support to the idea that those inconsistencies serve as markers or hints of changes in the action of *An Buhez*. They are more likely to be regarded as stylistic features rather than accidents or results of a lack of effort or creativity on the part of the author. However, it must be stressed again that they cannot serve as conclusive proof.

The next episode takes place on the mountainside and begins with an inconsistency (367/368). Barbara has escaped from her father and flees to the mountains, but a shepherd betrays her whereabouts to the king and he is able to catch her (368-405). When the action moves from the mountainside back to the town and the place of the provost, i.e. to a new setting, there is another inconsistency (405/406). The episode of Barbara's first day of torture begins. In this episode it is not entirely clear whether the provost has his own place and does not leave it, or whether he accompanies the torturers. This in turn makes it difficult to judge whether the inconsistencies in this episode coincide with changes of place. In any case, the next change of setting, when Barbara is moved into prison, again coincides with an inconsistency (492/493).

After Jesus has visited Barbara in prison and healed all her wounds, the action switches back to the provost without any stage direction indicating any passage of time or anything else apart from the fact that the provost sends for Barbara to be brought ('An provost a ra digacc sante Barba', 533/34). The Latin sources express clearly that Barbara has a night in the prison cell where she was visited by Jesus who healed all the wounds inflicted upon her during the first day of torture. Likewise, *cinq journées* hints that Barbara passed a night in prison, where she was then visited and healed by Jesus. Neither *An Buhez* nor *deux journées* indicate how much time passes nor at what time of day Barbara's imprisonment takes place. Thus, *deux journées* and *An Buhez* appear to be less restricted with regard to the staging arrangements at this point.

In the case of *An Buhez*, this lack of a reference to a night time imprisonment is particularly interesting. Ernault suggests that a third day of *An Buhez* begins with stanza 534, which is certainly likely with regard to the contents, as well as with regard to the amount of verses performed thus far. As I argued in 2, the second and third day of *An Buhez* may well have been performed during one day – the first day in the morning, the second in the afternoon with a break at midday. The inconsistency in stanza 534 together with the comparative evidence from the Latin versions and *cinq journées* lends support to the assumption that there was indeed a break in the play at this point and that this break did not necessarily involve the passing of a night.

On the third day of the play, there are far less changes of setting than inconsistencies. Almost the entire action of this last day – or of Barbara's life, so to speak – takes place in the torture chamber (533-650) and in the mountains (651-813). The last significant change of setting does not coincide with an inconsistency, however (650/651). This does not mean that there are fewer inconsistencies. Instead, the number of inconsistencies without an apparent reason increases.

3.2. The Half-Stanza Rhyme Scheme

For the most part, the rhyme scheme employed in *An Buhez* follows the pattern illustrated above, aabccb bbdeed, or aabccb ddeffe if an inconsistency occurs. However, not all characters converse in stanzas of six verses for the entirety of the play, sometimes triplets (aab), couplets (aa), or single verses (taking up the end rhyme of the previous verse) are used instead. In the triplets, the internal rhyme scheme remains unchanged; the end rhyme of the first two verses becomes the internal rhyme of the third verse. Furthermore, the author apparently aimed to produce dialogues whose total of verses is a multiple of six, although this does not seem to be a particularly strict rule. Therefore, the triplet, or half-stanza as Ernault calls it (Ernault 1888, vi), is most frequently employed as an alternative to the six-verse-stanza. While it would be possible to maintain the six-verse rhyme scheme in a dialogue consisting of triplets, this does not happen. Instead, a different rhyme scheme is employed, which can be rendered as aab bbc ccd and so on. The longest stretch of this rhyme scheme can be found during Barbara's torture and stretches from stanza 571 to 576. I quote a part of that conversation as an illustration of the half-stanza rhyme scheme:

Glouton
[571] Neb aoun e buhez noz bezet a
Penaux pennat pan eu ſtaguet a
Ez vezo credet auſet mat b

Agripant
Cza turpion a faczon mat b
Ret eu dimp trauell da guellat b
He lacat en em diuatet. c

Claudin.
[572] Gāt an flambeſou heb gou quet c
Grueōp he crochēn quē diſpēnet c
Ha na leſomp quet hon pediff d

Loupart.
Ho daſtum ma ho alumiff d
Ariff flour ha maz ſecouriff d
Ma requetiff ne gourteiff quet e

Glouton.
[573] Gruet diligancc hac auancet e
Peuar flambes ſo alumet e
Haſtet ne fell quet arretaff f

Agripant
Orſus ganty eſpediaff f
Ret eu diguir he martiraff f
Bet gouzaff an cruelhaff maru g

Glouton: / Do not have any fear for her life / whatever, once she is tied up / she will be well prepared, believe (it)! /
Agripant: / Well, fellows, / it is necessary for us to work in a perfect manner to castigate / and make her feel bad. //
Claudin: / With the torches, without any trickery, / let us make her skin so ruined / and let us not be asked! /
Loupart: / I will quickly gather them so as to light them / and to help you / I will not wait to be asked. //
Glouton: / Make haste and go on! / Five torches are lit / hurry, there is no need to stop. /

Agripant: / Now then, quickly finish her off! / It is necessary to torment her severely / until suffering the cruellest death. //

In both versions of the rhyme scheme the end rhyme of the last verse is usually taken up by the first verse of the next stanza, which makes them easy to combine. Furthermore, the half-stanza rhyme scheme seems to allow for more flexibility in general. It is possible, for example, to add single or double verses after or before a triplet, or between two triplets. These then simply repeat the preceding end-rhyme (stanza 640f). Combining triplets with couplets seems likewise possible (370):

Loupart.	
[640] Na vizet na fall na goallec	a
Ny hoz groay breman buanec	a
Nac eu mar huec ez prezeguet	b
Glouton.	
Dren doeou me ſo darnoet	b
Scuiz gāt poan ha hogos manet	b
Na ne allaff guet monet muy.	c
Agripant.	
Nonneux nemet tourmāt ganty	c
Claudin.	
[641] Allas poueſomp leſomp hy.	c
Loupart.	
Ne ellomp en neb rout outy	c
Glouton.	
A huy na guel he yſily	c
Ne ſantech deffoull na gouly	c
Nac ynt ſaluet net a detry	c
A pep caſty chetu hy glan.	d

Loupart: / Do not be either weak or careless / we will make you angry now / however sweet it might be that you talk. /
Glouton: / By the gods, I am in pieces / tired with pain and almost dead / and I cannot walk anymore. /
Agripant: / We do not have but trouble with her! //

Claudin: / Alas, let's stop, let's leave her. /
Loupart: / There is nothing we can do against her. /
Glouton: / Do you not see her limbs? / You wouldn't perceive a bruise nor a wound / that are not clearly healed well / from every punishment! Look at that! //

Gueguen.	
[370] Guell eu deompny friſq diuiſcaff	a
Da mellat ha da ebataff	a
Euit hon em tommaff a mat	b
Riuallen.	
Heman ſo taul ſech a brech mat	b
Aya tizmat hac a pat pell	c
Horell.	exclamation; rhymes in c
Gueguen.	
A te teur affet guelet guell	c
Heb fellell tam gant ma cāmell	c
Horell.	exclamation; rhymes in c

Gueguen: / It is better for us to disrobe boldly, / to play *Mell* and to have fun / in order to warm ourselves well. /
Riuallen: / This is a heavy blow of a good arm / which rushes and goes far! / Horell! /
Gueguen: / Have you ever seen better? / Flawless with my club! / Horell! //

It appears that triplets are more frequently spoken by characters of a lower social standing or when the characters' dialogue involves word-play, sometimes both. Thus, the torturers speak mostly in triplets, as do the shepherds. The workers at the building site speak in triplets only on occasion, e.g. in 73, 77 and 78. However, the half-stanza rhyme scheme is not reserved for those characters. Barbara and the Hermit share a stanza (138) in which they bid farewell to one another, each speaking one triplet. Similarly, Conscience and Beezlebub both employ the half-stanza rhyme scheme during their dialogue with Dioscorus at the end (748-750), and Discorus himself also makes use of it (744). However, these are isolated instances, whereas the shepherds and the torturers employ triplets more frequently.

Another interesting combination of the two rhyme schemes are stanzas 166 and 167. These have been discussed with regard to the inconsistency between the two stanzas, but they are of

further interest with regard to the possibilities of combining the two different rhyme schemes. Stanza 166 begins with a triplet or half-stanza, followed by a single verse and then a six-verse stanza, which is again followed by a single verse. Similar to stanzas 640/641 the previous rhyme is simply repeated by the single-verses, while the triplet employs the usual triplet or half-stanza pattern. Thus, the rhyme scheme can be rendered as aab b bbedde e. This complicates an editor's work of assigning numbers to the stanzas. As Ernault's numbers do not reflect the contents of the stanzas, I tentatively suggest numbers that deviate slightly from his edition (Ernault 1888, 40f):

An ſeruicher.	
[166] Rac ſe a breman gruet an claff	a
Ha meya iſcuit dauitaff	a
Quentaff maz gallaff neraff quen	b
Sante Barba.	
Quae affo mir nen guelo den.	b
An ſeruicher.	
Chetu me duet doz guelet plen	b
Hon materi ſo ancien	b
Ret eu dimp certen tremen hent	c
Ha monet ſecret dauety	d
Rac non guelhe den neb heny	d
Da diſcuez dezy hoz ſquient.	c
Valentin.	
Rac ſe euelhēn deomp ēn hent.	c
Valentin.	
[167] ytron guiryon ha reaſonet	e
Dez mat golou aglan coudet	e
Dich pepret parfet apedaff	f
Gant Origenes eſpreſet	g
Ezouff dre e gracc digaczet	
Douz guelet heb quet arretaff.	f
Sante Barba.	
[168] Duet mat ra vihet da quentaff	f
[…]	

> The servant: / Therefore, now play the invalid / and I go quickly to(wards) him / as soon as I can, I do nothing else. /
> Saint Barbara: / Go right away, be careful that nobody will see him! /
> The servant: / Lo, here I am to see you, indeed / our matter is known. / It is truly necessary for us to be on our way / and to go secretly to her / – because nobody at all may see us – / to introduce her to your wisdom. /
> Valentine: / Then let us be on our way! //
> Valentine: / Madam true and wise / a good, bright day wholeheartedly / I wish you, now and always. / By Origen, expressly, / – due to his graciousness – I am sent / to see you, without pausing. //
> Saint Barbara: / First of all be welcome! / [...] //

There are further examples in which Ernault assigns an additional verse to the following rather than the preceding stanza, even though the contents suggest otherwise: 161/162, 254/255, 303/304, and 377/378. In general, it appears that additional verses not only reproduce the end rhyme of the preceding stanza, but frequently also belong to it with regard to contents.

3.3. Octosyllables vs. Decasyllables

Another feature that appears to depend on the social standing of a character is the use of decasyllabic verse. Octosyllabic verses seem to be the usual form, for they are used most frequently; roughly three quarters of the play consist of stanzas of octosyllabic verses, while stanzas of decasyllabic verses make up the remaining quarter of *An Buhez*. There are also four stanzas of pentasyllabic verses, but these only occur in the very beginning and are spoken by the witness (An Test, 1-4). It is interesting to note that the octosyllabic verse is so dominant in *An Buhez*. Octosyllabic verses and pair rhymes were considered to be the ideal metre by the French *fatistes*, because it came closest to the vernacular language (Runnalls 1998, 23).

The list of the characters speaking in decasyllabic verses shows that this form of speech appears to be reserved for characters of a higher social standing and a dignified personality, or both. None of them speaks in decasyllabic verse exclusively, however. Dioscorus, the schoolmaster, the two lords, the provost, and Jesus employ decasyllabic verse rather frequently. Barbara, the angel, the messenger and the master worker use it regularly, but not as frequently as the schoolmaster or the provost, for example. Claudin, Agripant and the Servant each speak one or two stanzas in decasyllabic verse but do not usually do so. The characters with a less significant use of decasyllabic verse employ it mostly when answering one of the characters of the first category, who has addressed them using decasyllabic verse. The master worker, for example, uses decasyllabic verse when addressing the king, but octosyllabic verse when

speaking to his workers:

[The Master worker to his crew:]
[47] Rac touchant an paemantou
Ne caraf quet drez guelet gnou
Diouz hoz dellidou en louen
Bout rebellant ouz contantaff
Quent ſe pepret on hoz tretaff
Guelhaff maz gallaff neraf quē

Therefore, on the subject of payments / I do not like, as you obviously see / with regard to your meriting merrily, / to be the one who resists to pay / Rather, I always treat you / as best I can, I do nothing else. //

[The Master worker addresses the king:]
[53] Dez mat golou autrou a glan coudet
A pedaff plen dreis quement den ſo en bet
Dichuy pepret ſeul maz vihet ſeder
Pan cleuis flam dinam houz mandamant
E-duiz tizmat hep nep debat batant
Eſpediant diligant hac antier.

A good, bright day, Lord, wholeheartedly / I truly wish, more than any man in the world / you always, as long as you will live. / Because I truly, flawlessly heard your request / I have come quickly without any debate, immediately / quick, diligently and assiduously. //

The messenger and the servant appear to use decasyllabic verse for the same reason, that is because they frequently address characters of a higher social standing.

4. The First Page

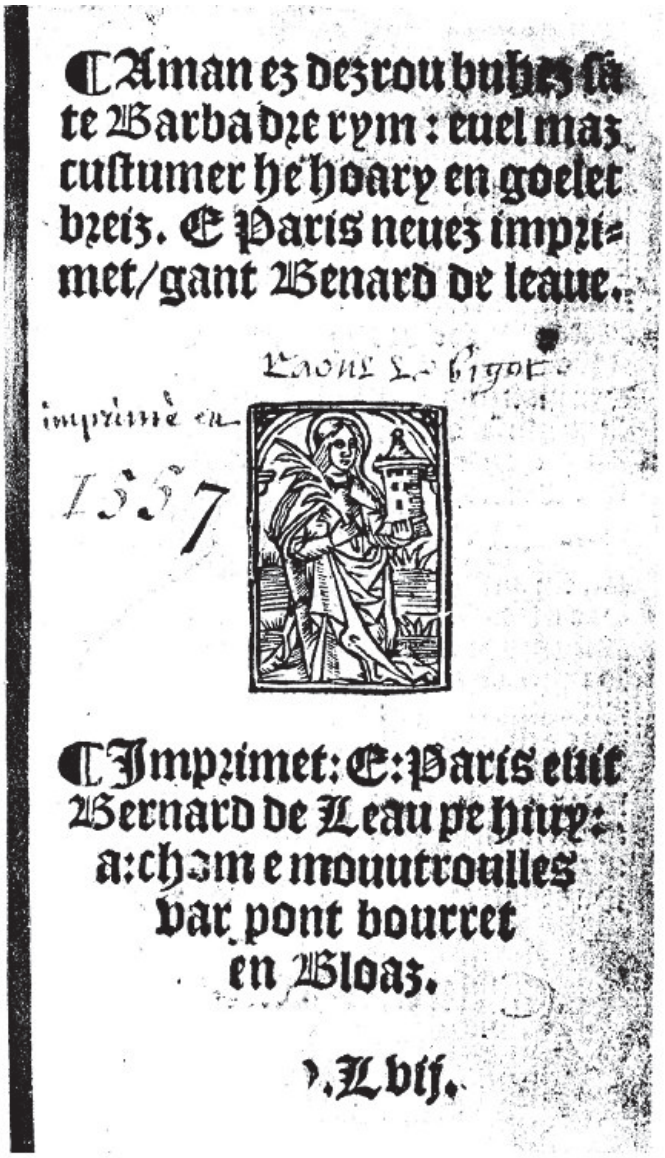


Figure 4: *An buhez sante Barba* 1557, 1

At first glance, the title page of *An Buhez* is not very special. The image depicts Saint Barbara with her tower. The text surrounding the image gives the names of those involved in the printing process. The reader is also informed that the life of Saint Barbara will be delivered "in rhyme-form like it is customarily done in a play in Brittany" ('dre rym, euel maz custumer

he hoary en Goelet Breiz'). A very similar phrase occurs at the beginning of the manuscript[22] of *An Buhez Santez Nonn*: "Aman ez desraou buez san[tes] nonn hac ez map deuy dre ry[m] euel ma eo hoarueset ez go[elet] breiz" (translated as "Ici commence la Vie de sainte Nonne et de son fils Dévi, en vers, telle qu'elle est advenue[footnote 1: Ernault préfère lire *hoariet* et traduit "comme on la joue"] en basse Bretagne" by Le Berre 1999, 115). This is interesting, for it suggests that the plays were actually performed. Unfortunately, there is no such steadfast proof for this like there is for the French *mystères*, because the highly useful list of play performances between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries gathered by Petit de Julleville (Julleville 1880) is restricted to France and does not extend to Brittany. Yet the textual evidence of *An Buhez* suggests that the play was indeed meant to be performed (2). The date given at the bottom of the title page is ambiguous. The actual printed date is imperfectly preserved (figure 4). Only the second part of the date (LII) is visible. Thus, the date might be read as MDLII, but also as MDXLII, for example. However, a handwritten note of unknown origin next to the image on the same page states that the book was "imprimé en 1557" (Guyonvarc'h 1987b, 219).

The sentence below the image is part of a controversial discussion because of the phrase "neuez imprimet", the meaning of which is not entirely clear. The English translation is similarly ambiguous. I quote Le Berre: "On peut en effet comprendre, comme en moyen-francais, soit «imprimé depuis peu», soit «imprimé à nouveau»" (Le Berre 2011, 8). The former suggests a first print-edition, while the latter implies the existence of a previous print version. The phrase also occurs on the title page of another Breton mystery play, *An Passion*[23], and on the title page of the Breton prose life of Saint Catherine (Ernault 1887a). Guyonvarc'h and Le Berre illustrate the views expressed by scholars of the subject and explain that the ambiguous phrase has been interpreted as proving the existence of older versions of the Breton prints (Guyonvarc'h 1987b, 214; Le Berre 2011, 8). Hersart de la Villemarqué was an outspoken advocate of this theory, which he expressed in the introduction of his edition of *An Passion* (Villemarqué 1866), but he has been heavily criticised for his views. Unfortunately, the number of prints in Middle-Breton that have come down to us is not very high. Walsby lists eight prints in Middle-Breton that were printed outside Britanny in the sixteenth century (Walsby 2011, 158) and points out that "[t]he only local imprints to be printed in Breton in the sixteenth century came off the press set up in the monastery of Cuburien" (Walsby 2011, 157). This includes, for example, the *Mirouer de la Mort* (1575). Three of the printed books have come down to us in more than one version: *Le Catholicon* (1499, between 1499 and 1520, and 1520; Lagadeuc 1975, x), *An Passion* (1530, Paris; 1609, St. Malo; 1622, Morlaix; Courouau 2008, § 21), and *An*

[22]Note that Guyonvarc'h is of the opinion that the manuscript "dont la belle écriture, régulière, reproduit sans conteste un original imprimé plus ancien" (Guyonvarc'h 1987b, 212).

[23]Three editions have come down to us, the oldest of which is dated 1530. It has been edited by de la Villemarqé (Villemarqué 1866) and by le Berre (Le Berre 2011).

Buhez (1557, Paris; 1608, St. Malo, 1647, Morlaix; Scherschel 2014, 7f). Of the six reprints, only the 1608-version of *An Buhez* makes use of the phrase "neuez imprimet". If Villemarqué was correct in his assumption that the phrase indicates the existence of a previous Breton edition, I would expect to find more of the existing reprints to be marked with it. So far, Le Berre is correct in pointing out that "l'ambiguïté de la formule *a neuez imprimet* ne pourra être levée" (Le Berre 2011, 8).

Prints of French mystery-plays are often accompanied by a very similar phrase, "nouvellement imprimee", which led Runnalls to a similar conclusion as to the existence of an earlier edition:

> De plus, on constate que tous les textes de mystères publiés après 1550 sont des réimpressions d'anciennes éditions. Nous le savons parce-que, ou bien une édition antérieure a été conservée (n^{os} 12c-12z, 18j, 21f-h, 25c, 32b), ou bien la seule édition que nous connaissions est qualifiée dans le colophon ou à la page de titre de "nouvellement imprimee" (n^{os} 7 [Le mystère de Griselidis, 1547-66], 29 [Le mystère de saint Martin, 1568-72]), ou bien l'existence d'une édition antérieure est connue, même si aucun exemplaire n'a été conservée (n^{o} 27).
> (Runnalls 1999, 38)

A closer look at the *répertoire* on which Runnalls bases his research reveals that the phrase occurs in most editions printed by "La Veuve Trepperel et Jean Janot" during the years 1512-1519 and in editions of *mystères* after that time, even in those of which no previous print-version has come down to us (Runnalls 1999, 105-171). As Runnalls illustrates, the Trepperel family and their relatives formed a dynasty of printers that operated over generations and dominated the Parisian print-market for mystery plays, having published more than three quarters of the Parisian mystery plays (Runnalls 1999, 32f; cf. 69-79). By the time "La Veuve Trepperel" was operating the business, many mystery plays had already been published at least once by her predecessors, of which she would of course have been aware and thus included the phrase "nouvellement imprimé". This dominance of the Trepperel family and their associates continued until the middle of the century, after which the number of printed mystery plays decreased notably (Runnalls 1999, 36). However, the phrase "nouvellement imprimé" appears to have been used universally. It is conceivable that the very active "Veuve Trepperel" set up a convention by marking her work as "nouvellement imprimé". This convention may have spread so that other printers simply began to mark their products in the same way, even without having seen a previous print-version. In this case the phrase could be regarded as a common feature of the printing business of mystery plays after 1519, particularly in Paris. The two prints of Middle-Breton plays, *An Buhez* (1557) and *An Passion* (1530), which were both printed in Paris, tie in

with this suggestion. For while there are no previous known editions of Breton versions of the plays, both titles were published in French by members of the Trepperel family. I consider it very likely that the Breton phrase "neuez imprimet" is therefore a rendition or translation of the French phrase "nouvellement imprimé", which may possibly be regarded as a convention rather than an actuality at that point. It does, therefore, imply a previous print-edition, but this does not necessarily have to be a Breton version. Incidentally, the second and third edition of the *Catholicon*, which were also printed in Paris, use the phrase "correctus et reuisus" on their respective first pages (Lagadeuc 1975, x). This is a phrase that often appears in reprints of the *mystères* as well (e.g. *deux journées* by Simon Calvarin, which is "nouvellement reveue et mise en son entier et corrigee tant au sens que a la rithme" Runnalls 1999, 157). Together with the general similarity of first pages – there is usually 1) a picture, 2) the name of a printer, a bookseller, or both, 3) a place where this person can be found and 4) a couple of words on the contents of the book – this strengthens the impression of certain conventions having been established by the sixteenth century with regard to the layout and the employed phrases.

While the evidence of printed *mystères* in Breton is nowhere near as manifold as of those printed in French, some interesting connections between the two available prints (*An Buhez* and *An Passion*) of Middle-Breton plays can be found. Both give the same place of origin (Paris), both are "newly printed", and both supply the name of a known bookseller and the address of the respective bookshop:

> *An Buhez*:
> E Paris neuez imprimet gant Benard de Leaue.
> Imprimet e Paris euit Bernard de Leau pehiuy [sic] a chom e mouutroulles var pont bourret en Bloaz [M.D.]Lvii.
> "In Paris newly printed by Be[r]nard de Leau. / Printed in Paris for Bernard de Leau who stayed in Morlaix on Bridge Bourret in [the] year 1557."
> *An Passion*:
> E Paris a neuez imprimet En bloaz mil pemp cant ha tregont.
> E Paris ho guerzeur
> e ty Eozen quilliuere:equichen an pont Bihan en assaing an .+. du en ru hanvet la Bucherie.
> "Nouvellement imprimé à Paris l'an mil cinq cents et trente. / En vente à Paris / chez Yves Quillivéré, près du petit pont, à l'enseigne de la + noire, rue de la Bûcherie."
> (Le Berre 2011, 63)

The Breton plays have not been sold by the same bookseller, and it is not clear from the names

on the title pages exactly who printed the respective plays. In fact, in the case of *An Buhez*, it is not entirely clear what is meant by "gant Bernard de Leau". "Gant" can be translated as "with", "by" or "through", which implies a certain agency on the part of Bernard de Leau in the production of the book. However, the second line states that the book was printed "euit Bernard de Leaue", which means "for Bernard de Leau", and which in turn implies that he wanted to stock it at his shop on Bridge Bourret. Bernard de Leau was known as a bookseller and the location of his bookshop mentioned on the title page of *An Buhez* also appears on the title page of the Breton Life of St. Catherine: "Aman ez dezraou buhez an itron sanctes Cathell […] en Brezonec neuez Imprimet, e Cuburien, evit Bernard de Leau, peheny a chõ e Montrolles, voar pontz Bouret: en bloaz M.D.LXXVI." (Ernault 1887a, 76). According to Le Guennec's article on Bernard de Leau, he did not only own a shop on Bridge Bourret in Morlaix, but also one in Paris, where he had been apprenticed as a "libraire", a bookseller (Le Guennec 1927, 12). The role of a *libraire* is described thus by Booton:

> In this age of transient Breton presses, *libraires* played an important role in the book market. As the middlemen of the book trade, *libraires* contracted with craftsmen, arranged for printed editions, marketed titles at regional fairs, and sold volumes to local buyers. In many respects, their function encompassed publisher and bookseller.
>
> […]
>
> The *libraire* remains a shadowy figure in the historical record, appearing occasionally though cryptically in tax rolls and financial registers. […] But because of their activity, the publisher-bookseller was probably wealthier than the craftsmen in the trade.
>
> (Booton 2010, 118-120)

If a *libraire* did not own a printing press himself, the publisher-bookseller would have to look for a printer capable of printing the desired text. Not every printer was capable of printing anything, the very luxurious editions usually came off the more prestigious presses. *An Buhez*, however, has been published in-octavo without much ornamentation. This was one of the standard formats of the time (Runnalls 1999, 39-44). Whether or not De Leau owned a press is difficult to determine, for while the terminology "gant Bernard de Leau" may point that way, it may also refer to his involvement as an editor, which would have been part of his job as a *libraire*. According to Le Guennec, the *Histoire de Morlaix*, which Joseph Daumesnil wrote in the 18th century and which was published in 1879 by Adolphe Allier, refers to an "imprimeur qu[e l'Histoire de Morlaix] ne nomme point, mais qu'elle dit établi en 1557 sur le Pont de Bourret" and who is credited with "l'édition de deux mystères en langue bretonne, la *Vie de*

Sainte-Ursule et la *Vie de Saint-Guénolé*" (Le Guennec 1927, 11). Unfortunately, neither of the two *mystères* has come down to us, at least not in a print version.[24] While the first part that mentions a printer on Bridge Bourret in 1557 undoubtedly refers to Bernard de Leau, it is most likely based on the title page of *An Buhez*, for it provides exactly the same information. Thus, it does not shed more light upon the question whether de Leau was or was not an *imprimeur* as well as a *libraire*. Whatever his precise job description, Bernard de Leau was a successful merchant and bookseller. He had considerable property to bestow on his descendants, as well as a servant who worked in his shop (Le Guennec 1927, 20f; Walsby 2011, 148), but it is not clear whether he was " wealthier than the craftsmen in the trade" (Booton 2010, 120). Walsby considers him the likeliest partner and vendor of the books which came off the "press in the Franciscan monastery of Cuburien, a few miles to the north of Morlaix", because of his geographical proximity on the one hand and because of his good connections on the other (Walsby 2011, 147). The monastery's printing press had been in use at least between 1575 and 1585 and two of its prints in Middle Breton have come down to us. One is the *Mirouer de la Mort* (1575), the other is the Life of Saint Catherine (1576) referred to above (Le Menn 2010, 324).

While de Leau was probably not born in Brittany, since "[la famille de Leau] n'apparut dans les annales de [Morlaix] que vers le milieu du XVI^{e} siècle" and because of "son ignorance de la législation particulière de [la Bretagne]" (Le Guennec 1927, 11 & 20), he certainly had familial ties there. Bernard de Leau was married twice, first to "Plézoue Robert, dame du Petit-Kervouran en Lanmeur qui lui donna plusierus enfants", and who died in 1561, and then to "Amice de Quélen, veuve de Guillaume Rochcongar" with whom he had another son. On march 18th 1579 he also became "le parrain d'Anne de Louarn, fille de son confrère Jean Louarn, libraire" (Le Guennec 1927, 18). Another connection is mentioned by Annie Parent: "Yves Quillivéré, né au pays de Léon, devient libraire juré à Paris; avec son beau-fils, Bernard de Leau, marchand libraire à Morlaix, il forme une «société»" (Parent 1974, 147). This last connection is particularly interesting, because it links the two prints of Breton mystery plays, for *An Passion* was sold at Quillivéré's bookshop in Paris. According to Le Berre, Quillivéré is a familiar figure in the printing business: "Il avait imprimé en 1516 le Bréviaire de Léon et en 1526 le Missel de Léon, tous deux en latin. C'est encore lui qui avait composé en 1521 la troisième et dernière

[24] *An Buhez Sant Gwenole* has survived in a manuscript version which according to its first editor Dom Le Pelletier is based on a previous version: "Aiant deux copies de la Vie de St Gwenolé, j'ai suivi la plus ancienne qui est de l'année 1580 […] l'autre ecrite en 1608, par un Prêtre de Cornwaille" (Le Pelletier 1716, 1353). It seems that Le Guennec interpreted this sentence as a reference to a print version: "imprimé à Morlaix vers 1580, comme semble le dire dom [sic!] Le Pelletier" (Le Guennec 1927, 16). Unfortunately, Le Pelletier's comment hints at a manuscript version rather than a print and he does not mention Morlaix. In any case, the manuscript copy of Le Pelletier is the earliest version of *An Buhez Sant Gwenole* available. The play consists of several episodes associated with Saint Gwenole and his parents. It has been edited by Emile Ernault (Ernault 1932-1933) and by Paul Widmer (Widmer 2011).

édition du *Catholicon*, dictionnaire breton-latin-français. Son activité semble donc avoir été très liée à la Bretagne" (Le Berre 2011, 5f).

De Leau was evidently familiar with other important booksellers from Paris. Among his co-editors of a missal commissioned in 1543 from the Parisian printer Didier Maheu were Jacques Kerver and Oudin Petit (Le Guennec 1927, 12). Kerver and Petit are two very powerful Parisian bookseller families, whose considerable influence stretched as far as Rennes (Walsby 2011, 72). De Leau's obvious connections to other booksellers and printers and their families support Walsby's views that networking was an essential part of booktrade. Most books were printed in Paris and Lyon, the major printing centres of France, and thence distributed to smaller towns including Rennes, Nantes, and even Morlaix. This practice was made even more profitable by "[t]he low costs involved with exporting the books" (Walsby 2011, 71-73). Similarly, family ties as exemplified by Runnalls in his chapter on Jean Janot and his connections (Runnalls 1999, 69-79) seem to have played a certain role in the printing business of Brittany.

Finally, there is the question of who the intended audience of books in Breton was. Guyonvarch, who regards the Breton texts as translations or at least adaptations of French material, states that the purpose behind these translations/adaptations is not "pour diffuser une bienfaisant culture, c'est uniquement par souci d'apostolat. Si les ouailles avaient bien su le français on ne serait certainement jamais donné la peine de traduire" (Guyonvarc'h 1987b, 213). He thus argues that the Breton people were ignorant of the French language and needed Breton translations in order to understand the teachings of the Church. According to Michael Jones, "Middle Breton survived essentially as a spoken rather than a written language until the late fifteenth century" (Jones 2003) when the *Catholicon* (s.a.) was first published. The trilingual dictionary supports Jones' argument that in the Breton-speaking part of Brittany, "the majority of clerics needed to be verbally trilingual even if they did not write in Breton" (Jones 2003). While Latin was the language favoured by the clergy, French was acceptable for official documents, as well. The ability to speak Breton, however, was necessary to be able to speak to the people. Based on studies conducted by Alan Croix (Croix 1995, 173-186), Walsby argues that "the Church sought increasingly to integrate popular beliefs into the cult of the saints in order to draw the local population towards a more orthodox set of beliefs" (Walsby 2011, 157). He then suggests that the Church may have had an interest in having particular saints' lives printed. Indeed, the print versions of Breton saints' lives that have come down to us are not those of local Breton saints, but those of the popular European saints Barbara and Catherine, and of Jesus himself. Nevertheless, the question who, apart from the clerical class, might have read or even bought a copy of the Breton prints requires further investigation.

5. The Devils

> Tous les mystères contiennent des *diableries*, des scènes où les diables – au moins deux et d'habitude six ou sept, sous la direction de Lucifer et de Satan – se rencontrent pour ourdir un complot contre Jésus ou les saints ou pour fulminer contre les personnages divins ou chrétiens ou pour se disputer entre eux.
> (Runnalls 1998, 27)

While the devil and/or his deputies are absent from the prose legends of saint Barbara, all three plays contain a *diablerie* as described by Runnalls.[25] However, their aims and their significance for the course of events on stage differ. In *cinq journées*, the devils occupy a considerable part of the play and often appear as an intermediary action of an episode, commenting on past and future events. Thus, they provide an entertaining interlude on the one hand, but also a summary of the important points of the play on the other. When they appear for the first time, they divide the episode of Barbara's education by the two schoolmaster (or doctores) in this way. Lucifer presents himself as the ringleader and orders the others (Sathan, Astarot(h), Leviathan, Berith, Belial, Belzebuth) to his side:

> LUCIFER *primo*
> Harau, toute la deablerie!
> Venéz avant, Deables parvers!
> (655f)
>
> […]
>
> Venéz toust davant voustre roy,
> Traistres Serpentins despitoire[s].
> (692f)

As I discussed in (2), Lucifer is often restricted to hell and does not move around himself, which is why he summons the other devils to him, when he wants to talk to them. In *cinq journées*, he makes a direct reference to this:

> Ou es tu, Sathan le failly?
> Deables seduictz ! Deables d'enfer!
> Si je n'estoye ycy en fer
> Enchaigné et emprisonné,

[25] For an extensive and detailed study on the devils and their roles in mystery plays see Dupras 2006.

Le mal jour vous seroit donné!
(5849-5853)

He is the one who makes plans, while the other devils mostly act on his orders. During their first conversation on stage, he asks his deputies to account for their deeds: "Et toy, Astarot, fier et let, / Dy moy que tu as fait en somme" (754f). Lucifer is worried that Barbara will convert to Christianity on her own because her clever mind is being stimulated by her education at that point:

Car par dedans Nycomedye
Est ung roy dit Dÿoscorus,
Aussi puissant que fut Porrus,
Qui est ung vaillant ydollatre.
Més il a, puis troys jours ou quatre,
Baillé sa fille a deux docteurs
Auctentiques, bons disputeurs;
[…]
Par la scïence naturelle
Comme par [la] philozophie,
S'ellë aprent et c'y affie,
Elle pourroit bien tantost venir
A la congnoissance et tenir
Qu'il est ung Dieu.
(804-843)

Thus, he sends his deputies to prevent Barbara's conversion. They comply: "En Egipte[26] nous devallons / Incontinent et sans arrest" (880f). When his plan is flaunted and Barbara discovers God due to her intuitive knowledge, he makes a new plan to prevent Barbara's baptism:

A! deables pervers et seduiz,
De noustre perte il ne vous chault.
Elle est convertye, autant vault
Sinon qu'elle n'est pas baptisee.
Donc, par manierë advisee,
Aller en l'arc et en la corde
Et garder qu'elle ne descorde
De la loy de payennerie!
(1498-1505)

[26]Note that in *cinq journées* the location of the play appears to be consistent, cf. 2.4.1.

The devils continue to act and react in this way throughout the play. They approach the people surrounding Barbara and instigate them to carry out the evil plans they contrive. The building of the tower, for example, is their idea in *cinq journées*:

> LUCIFER
> […]
> Conseille a son pere ce jour,
> Qu'i luy face faire une tour
> Ou elle sera solitaire,
> Affin qu'aucun ne la repaire
> Ne aucun crestïen qui l'enorte,
> Qui l'amonnestë ou supporte
> […].
> (2282-2287)

This, of course, also serves as a way to advance the action of the play. In fact, the plot would not evolve without the actions of the devils; they are an integral part of the play beyond their function as a typical feature of the genre. In the end, they do not achieve their goal to keep Barbara away from Christianity, of course, but at least collect Dioscorus' soul for themselves. In their last appearance on stage, after the deaths of Barbara and Dioscorus, they complain that Barbara and her fellow saints steal away the souls of sinners from the devils' grasp:

> Oncques saincts ne sainctes ne firent
> A tous les deables tant de mal
> Que fait Barbe, ce vieil poitral!
> El destruit noustre previleige.
> (23271-23274)

In *deux journées*, the first appearance of a devil is when Satan impersonates an idol and encourages Marcien (L'empereur) to persecute the Christians, thus providing the historical background for Barbara's legend: "S'il y a nul crestïen qui gronde, / Metz les a mort, je le commande. / Et a grant persecution" (262-264). The *diablerie* as such (Sathan, Leviathan, Astaroth, Crochart, Belïal, Lucifer) appears only at a considerably later point, namely after Barbara has had the windows of the tower changed to three and has been baptised. Then they make plans to destroy Barbara and have her tortured for becoming a Christian. As in *cinq journées*, Lucifer presents himself as the ringleader, and the other devils act as his deputies whom he sends into the human world to do their infernal business:

Lucifer
Haro! dyables d'enfer comus,
Que dyable estes vous devenus?
De nostre fait chascun s'eslongne;
Point ne pensez de ma besongne.
Dïoscorus, le faulx traitour,
Qui a fait faire une grant tour,
Sa fille si est chrestïenne
Et ne tient plus la loy payenne,
Dont c'est pour nous tresgrant dommage.
Or sa, venez tout mon bernage;
Faictes tantest qu'elle soit destruicte,
Ou el nous fera, com je cuyde,
Ung dommaigë irreparable.
(791-803)

[…]

Lucifer
Allez tost! que fievre quartaine
Vous puisse trestous relïer!
Tous ensemble
Amen, vous tout le premïer!
(852-854)

The devils' function is similar to that of *cinq journées*. They, too, speak to the characters around Barbara in order to dissuade her from Christianity, but their interference is considerably less frequent. Yet, during the episode of the prostitute ("la folle femme") who visits Barbara in her prison cell, Sat(h)an comes directly into contact with Barbara, for he had possessed the prostitue in order to influence Barbara through her. Instead, Barbara saves the prostitue by exorcising Sat(h)an, beats him (2710/1 & 2738/9), and converts the prostitute. At the end of the play, however, the devils feel generously compensated and instead of being angry with Barbara as the devils in *cinq journées*, Lucifer professes himself happy. He and the devils are presented with more than only Dioscorus' soul, because in *deux journées* the emperor and his torturers also die and go to hell for their crimes against Barbara:

Lucifer
Haro! dyables, venez tantost,
Du grant enfer trestout nostre ost.
Venez ouÿre grans nouvelles
Qui pour nous sont bonnes et belles.
Car le vieil roy Dioscorus
Est tout plat mort (il ne vit plus)
Et Marcïen l'imperateur
Sont mors tous plas de forte rage.
(3562-3570)

In *An Buhez*, the devils are even less present on stage. Instead of appearing time and again throughout the play, as they do in the French versions and particularly in *cinq journées*, the devils appear only twice throughout the performance. Their first appearance takes place at the very beginning. As in the French plays, Lucifer begins and calls the others to him:

Lucifer a dezrou.
[22] Aliancc hoz em auancet
Duet dirazoff nam ancoffhet
Hoz em queulusquet dan pret man
En vn opinion da monet
Da temptaff glan holl pobl an bet
Hep fellell quet het ha ledan.

Lucifer begins: / Allies, advance! / Come before me, do not forget me / Move yourselves this minute / to go with one intention / to tempt surely all the people of the world / without failing, far and wide. //

Like in the other plays, he is not very friendly towards his deputies, which underlines his superiority. The phrase "nam ancoffhet" ('do not forget me') is reminiscent of *deux journées* "Point ne pensez de ma besongne" (794). In both *An Buhez* and *deux journées*, the deputy devils appear as willing subjects of Lucifer's rule. In *An Buhez*, they even seem to vy for his praise:

Bezlebuth a comps.
[26] Nep oun nac
Hā bezet sclaer vn quarter bro
Da gouuern ha me en cerno
Cristen eno na credo tam

Dre nep rout en em cafout muy
Rac me lacay plen pep heny
Em damany hac em liam.

Astaroth
[27] Cza cza
Me aray tempest hac estlam
Emquarter brohuy enguelo flam
Na ne seciff tam vn camet
Me vezo scuemp oz ho temptaff
En ho mechancc da offanezaff
Doe da quentaff heptardaff pret

Berit.
[28] Bo bo.
Me aray maruaill debraillet
Fez Iesu crist he ministret
En*n* andret ma em commeter
Na bras na bihan ne mano
Dreizo enep lech na pecho
Er me goar an dro de ober.

Beezlebub speaks: / Do not falter / and let me clearly have one quarter of the land / to govern and I will enchain it / so that there a Christian will not dare at all / in any way to stay anymore / because I will place, indeed, everyone / in my dominion and in my fetters. //
Astaroth: / There, there / I will make/cause storm and terror / in my quarter of land, you will truly see it, / I will not yield any one step / I will be avid at their temptation / to offend in their nastiness / God at the very first, without losing time. //
Berit: / Ho ho. / I will make horribly tainted / the faith in Jesus and his preachers. / In the place to which I am deputed / neither great nor small will stay / through them in a place who will not sin / because I know the trick. //

Such eagerness on the part of the deputy devils contrasts with the situation in *cinq journées*, where the other devils follow Lucifer's orders with bad grace and resentment. This appears to be due to the fact that they do not merely tempt humans to be sinful, but are themselves

highly prone to such sins as arrogance and sloth. The devils in *deux journées* and *An Buhez* are presented as hard-working and industrious figures, albeit for a bad cause. But the depiction of the devils in *cinq journées* furthers their comic function, for it has surely been highly amusing to watch a chained Lucifer try to goad his fellows to get a move on with their business of temptation and sin. With regard to the contents, the episode in *An Buhez* differs widely from that in the other two plays. Barbara or her father are not mentioned yet. Instead, Lucifer wishes to take action against the impending dominance of the Christians:

> [25] Tut Iesu so oz concluaff
> Gant depit hon disheritaff
> Hac hon diposidaff affo
> Hoguen mar queret cleuet rez
> Labourat en mat nos ha dez
> En diuez ny a gonezo
>
> The people of Jesus are deciding / with resentment to disinherit us / and to dispossess us soon. / But if you wish, listen well, / work well night and day / (and) in the end we will win. //

This aspect of trying to prevent the domination of Christian ideas among humans is of course present in the other two plays, as well. But the way in which the devils try to counteract differs. While all of them generally want to tempt people to sin, this is not put on stage in *An Buhez* – the devils do not interact with any of the characters up until the very end. In *deux journées*, and much more so in *cinq journées*, the devils speak to characters surrounding Barbara in order to achieve their goal. Because of this direct interference with Barbara's life, Élyse Dupras argues that Barbara's real enemy is not her father or Marcien but the devil himself (Dupras 2006, 387). While her argument focuses on *deux journées*, it is also (if not even more) true for *cinq journées*. However, in *An Buhez* the situation is very different. Due to the lack of interference on the part of the *diablerie* throughout the play, Barbara's enemy is, in fact, her father. Only at the very end does Beezlebub interact directly with Dioscorus in order to convince him to kill his daughter. As will be discussed in section 13.2, Beezlebub acts as a component of a morality episode in which Dioscorus is presented with a choice, which contrasts with the devils' secret whispers of *deux journées* and *cinq journées*. In this morality episode, Beezlebub is technically not really depicted as a part of the *diablerie* but acts as an evil allegorical character instead. Thus, there is quite some variation in conduct and presentation with regard to the respective *diableries* in the three plays.

An integral part of Lucifer's plan in *An Buhez* is the division of the world and he asks his

deputies to "choose right away / each a country where you will go / to rule them" ('choaset / Pep acontre ha mazehet / Do gouuernn', 24). That the devils divide the world thus amongst themselves is unique to *An Buhez*. But in fact, only one part of the world is mentioned in the play. Lucifer accords Asia to Beezlebub and thus singles him out. This, of course, is why Beezlebub is concerned with Barbara and her father in the end, because they live in his domain (2.4.1). Furthermore, the *diablerie* in *An Buhez* is smaller than in the French plays. It consists only of Lucifer and three other devils, Beezlebub (Belzebuth/Bezlebuth), Astaroth, and Berit. The latter two do not speak more than one stanza each and are thus very minor characters. Beezlebub is more important. He speaks two stanzas at the beginning and then appears again at the end. In between those appearances of Beezlebub, there is no further action directly associated with the devils in *An Buhez* and they do not enter the stage. In a way, the *diablerie* frames the play, for the devils first appear after the introduction and the testimony of the witness, before the plot begins. Their next appearance is longer. Satan and Beezlebub enter the stage shortly before the end of the play to make sure of Barbara's death and to take Dioscorus' soul to hell. This is the only episode in which a devil (Beezlebub) comes directly into contact with another character (Dioscorus) of the play. After Beezlebub informs Dioscorus that he will now take his soul to hell, there is only a kind of informal epilogue that ends the play. Claudin and another of the torturers have apparently watched the king's demise and are shocked at his death. They flee the scenery and Valentine appears in order to bury Barbara and reminisce about her virtues and his hope of heaven. In a way, the structure is an inverted parallel to the beginning. The plot ends with the devils. Claudin and his companion function as witnesses, and Valentine provides the conclusion of the play.

The second appearance of the devils is interesting for another reason. While it was Lucifer who called the other devils to himself in the beginning, this office is suddenly filled by Satan instead. He acts in the same way and also calls the others to him in order to comment on the current situation:

Sathan a comps.
[727] Cza mazouchuy ma aliancc
Deneſſet cleuet ma ſetancc
Ny ſo dre mechancc offancet
Collet eu pep faczon hon guir
Dimp en eſpres gouden deſir
On beze hir ouz e miret.

Satan says: / Well, where are you my allies? / Approach in order to hear my judgement. / We are offended due to misfortune / our right is lost in every way /

to us, truly, after the desire / we have had long at protecting it. //

The summons is answered by Beezlebub only. In the same way that Beezlebub had asked Lucifer to give him a quarter of the world in which to tempt the people, he now asks him to grant him the power to go to Dioscorus:

[729] Ro diff an gallout heb doutaff
Da monet apret dauetaff
Ha meray dezaff [...]

Give me the power, without doubt, / to go to him, soon, / and I will work on him [...]. //

Satan then instructs Beezlebub what to do with regard to Dioscorus:

[730] Allas ma car chede ary
Laca ēnhaff heb tardaff muy
Creffhaff mahilly drouguyaez.
[...]

Alas my friend, here's what you will do: / Put in him, without more tarrying, / the strongest animosity that you will be able to (produce). / [...] //

Thus, with regard to their function, Satan and Lucifer appear identical. It is striking nevertheless that the author should have changed the name without apparent reason. One possible reason would be that another source inspired the change, but in both French plays, at least, the ringleader is and remains Lucifer. However, in *deux journées*, Satan is the one who speaks to the emperor, first at the beginning when he impersonates an idol and inspires the persecution of Christians in general (261-268), and later when he impersonates an angel and suggests that Marcien puts a prostitute into Barbara's prison cell in order to tempt the virgin into the ways of the flesh (2414-2426). In *cinq journées*, the devils mostly appear as a team. The one talking to Dioscorus in the end is mostly Leviathan, who does not even appear in *An Buhez*. With regard to the content of the conversation between Satan and Beezlebub in *An Buhez* there is no correspondence to be found in the French plays. In *cinq journées*, the last encounter between one of the devils and Dioscorus takes place earlier, when Leviathan instigates the king to try out one last torture method on his daughter in order to finally kill her (18357-18404).

Thus, what Runnalls says about the function of a *diablerie* is entirely true in the French plays, but only partly so in *An Buhez*. According to Runnals, the devils are the saints' and Christ's adversaries (Runnalls 1998, 27), and this is certainly true for all three plays. That their provocative and often funny language and acting style are designed to make the audience laugh, however, is not true for *An Buhez*. For that to be the case, the devils need to appear more often, like they do in *cinq journées*. In *An Buhez*, Beezlebub is cunning and sly, and he employs threats to make Dioscorus proceed with the murder of his daughter. The devils as a group are threatening and dangerous. Instead of being funny, even inadvertently, the devils employ images of suffering and captivity. However, in contrast to the *diablerie* of *cinq journées*, the devils in *An Buhez* are not necessarily integral to the advancement of the plot. While the devils in *cinq journées* are far from being a superfluous addition and serve as a driving force behind the action of the play instead (cf. Runnalls 1998, 27), the devils in *An Buhez* serve to set the stage in the beginning and then help to bring about the climax of the play. Yet neither appearance is strictly necessary. It seems that the devils in *An Buhez* are there in order to complete the picture of the mystery play, for the *diablerie* is firmly rooted in the theatrical world of the Middle Ages and therefore does not appear in the prose legends.

6. The Tower

In depictions, Saint Barbara is often accompanied by a tower with three windows, a chalice, the Host, a sword and/or a lightning bolt. These attributes are already attested in the fourteenth century and increase in popularity during the fifteenth century (Wimmer 1980, 1433). The tower is the least ambiguous attribute, as the others present more common objects with regard to their association with saints. In many versions of Barbara's story the tower is the object around which the conflict of faith between Barbara and her father ensues. It plays, however, a particularly important role in the theatrical productions, for it is "sans contredit l'élément clef de la fiction dramatique du Mystère et il ne serait pas admissible que Dyoscorus ne puisse indiquer concrètement les fenêtres en question" (Longtin 2003, 12). Before that, however, it is a prison and a hideout respectively. All five texts that have been compared for this study make use of the tower in some manner.

What is common to all five texts is Discorus' idea to lock Barbara away in a tower. The motif of a girl being locked away in a tower will be familiar to most people from modern times at least from the fairy tale of Rapunzel. There are more examples of this motif in even older literature such as the legend of Danaë (Wirth 1892), or the apocryphal story of Joseph and Aseneth (Philonenko 1968). Both share more than the fact that a girl is to be locked away in a tower with the legend of Barbara. As Wolf describes, the legend of Barbara has been accused to be "no more than a variant of the legend of Christina and the legend of Joseph and Assenath, Potiphar's daughter" (Wolf 2000, 3). While an investigation of the commonalities would undoubtedly be interesting, the current study focuses on the comparison of *An Buhez* to such texts that may have had a more direct influence on the Breton play. I will therefore not discuss the matter of the general ancestry of Barbara's legend here.

In *An Buhez*, the idea of building a tower as a way to keep Barbara safe from the rest of the world, particularly from men, is introduced by Dioscorus at the very beginning. The story of the play begins in stanza 32 with Dioscorus introducing himself. Only three stanzas later, he already explains his idea of building a tower, which he intends to be a place to keep his very beautiful daughter safe:

> [35] Memeux vn merch net ha derch so guerches
> A dle bout sclaer ent seder ma aeres
> Successoures em deces an nessaff
> Doucc ha plesant excellant hac antier
> Ha cazr ha mat hegarat a stat quer
> Hy ent seder en ma esper querhaff.

[36] Dre se seder ober a prederaff
Un tour fournis dam guis an iolishaff
Hac an creffhaff mar gallaff bezaff quet
De miret net ent secret credet plen
En lech distro eno ne guelo den
Chetu dien ameux plen ordrenet.

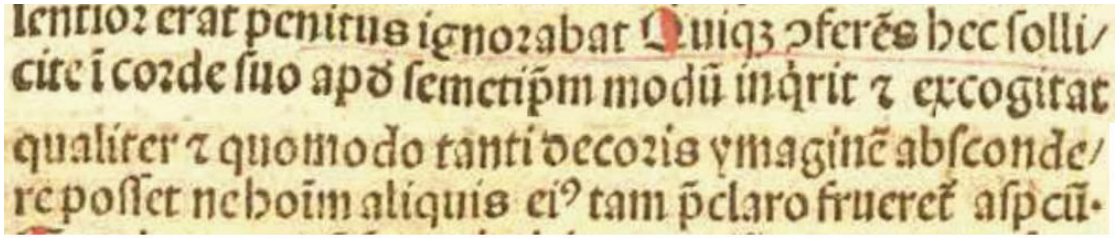
[37] He dimiziff credet diff neriff quet
Nemet certen da muyhaff den so en bet
Rac se nepret da monet de metou
Ne lesiffquet den en bet naret sy
Da nessat crēn dre nep tēn bet ēnhy
Da comps outy membry rac me biou.

I have a pure and noble daughter, who is a maiden, / which, of course, must be, surely, my heiress, / successor in my death, the next (one), soft and pleasant, excellent and complete / and beautiful and good, lovely, of dear character; / she, surely, is my dearest hope. // Because of this, surely, I intend to have a tower built, / arranged to my taste, the most beautiful / and the strongest, if I can, (I want it) to be / in order to guard her entirely secretly, believe (it) fully, / in a deserted place; there, no man will see her. / Voilà, clearly I have plainly ruled. // Believe me, I will not marry her / except to the greatest man that is in the world / therefore I will never let anybody / go near her, make no doubt / nor approach her at all, by any means / nor speak with her, methinks, for I am her master. //

The *Legenda Aurea* also mentions the tower at a very early stage, namely in the second sentence. The description of Barbara's beauty is directly connected to that, as well:

> […] Dioscorus, cui erat filia speciosissima nomine Barbara. Ipsa autem quia erat corpore pulcherrima, eam pater plurimum diligebat; quapropter reclusit eam in turri altissima, quam eidem aedificare fecerat, ne ab aliquo homine videretur. (Graesse 1965, 898)

In the other versions, the first mentioning of the tower appears at a considerably later stage. In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, Barbara is educated by Origen's servant before Dioscorus has the tower built for her. As in the other texts, it is Barbara's exceptional beauty that makes Dioscorus decide that she needs to be safeguarded:


lentioz erat penitus ignozabat Quiqz ꝓferẽs hec ſolli/
cite i coꝛde ſuo apd ſemetipm modũ inꝺrit ⁊ excogitat
qualiter ⁊ quomodo tanti decoꝛis ymaginẽ abſconde/
re poſſet ne hoim aliquis ei⁹ tam ꝑclaro frueret aſpcũ·

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 17f)

It is interesting to note that the king does not, in fact, speak of a tower yet. The means by which he wants to protect his daughter from the outside world is only mentioned slightly later, when the craftsmen are being instructed (see below). In *cinq journées*, the tower is mentioned for the first time by Satan, who suggests the idea of building a tower for his daughter to Dioscorus during his sleep:

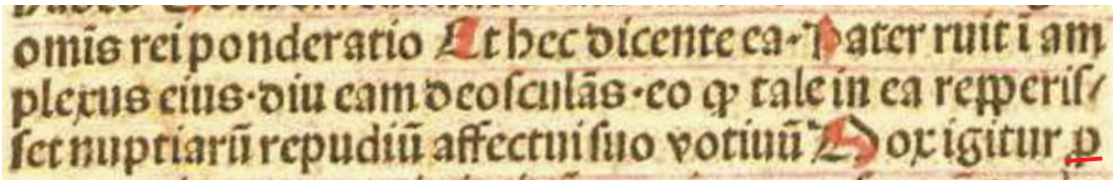
> Une haulte tour sumptüeuse,
> Ferme, fortë et vertüeuse
> Par oupvriers qui soient en ce maistres,
> Et qu'i n'y ait que deux fenestres[.]
> (2390-2393)

Dioscorus in turn only introduces the idea to his courtiers 1500 lines later, after all have sacrificed to the pagan gods together. He also spends many words on praising his daughter's beauty and virtue and then claims that a tower would be useful in order to protect her:

> Ennuyt j'ay veu en mon palays
> Barbe, ma fille, pourmenéz,
> Ambuléz, aller, retourner
> Et soy desduyre a son desir,
> Mais j'ay prins si parfaict plaisir
> En sa belle formosité
> La quelle est sans difformité.
> […]
> En aprés, si j'alloyë loings
> En aulcune legacïon
> Ou en peregrinacïon,
> Mectre je la veulx en seureté
> Qu'a son corps ne soit point heurté
> Et qu'elle n'ait de maulvais conseil.

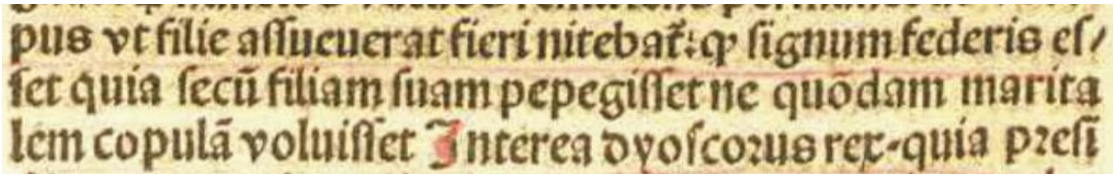
[…]
Je ne vueil que nul estrangier
A elle vienne flageoller.
[…]
J'ay ennuyt moy mesmes advisé.
Et par mon seul san divisé
De luy faire faire une tour
Bien clouse de mur tout entour,
Haultë et de belle carreure,
De pïerre qui tousjours dure,
Et qui soit de mur fort espesse.
(3850-3917)

The five texts appear to be very similar, but they differ significantly with regard to the amount of words employed to describe the situation. All five texts first point out Barbara's great beauty, which evokes great protectiveness in Dioscorus. What is interesting is that John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, the *Legenda Aurea*, and the Breton version at least allow for – if not imply – a reading of an incestuous relationship between Dioscorus and his daughter. In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, the king professes himself very grateful that Barbara does not wish to marry and flings his arms around Barbara's neck and kisses her:


omis rei ponderatio At hec dicente ea· pater ruit i am
plexus eius·diu eam deosculãs·eo q̃ tale in ea reperis/
set nuptiarũ repudiũ affectui suo votiuũ Ex igitur p

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 19)

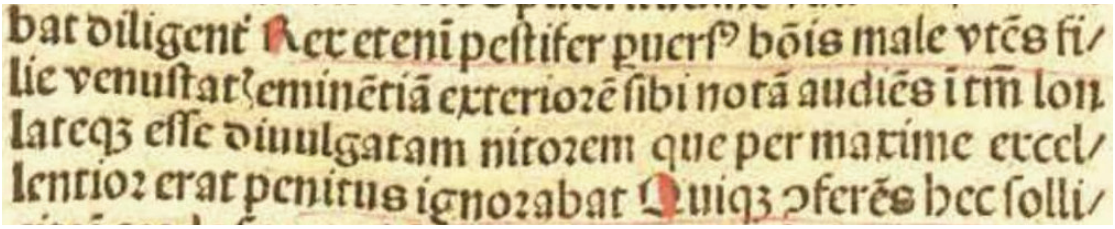
Then the king orders some new features for the tower, and adds that the tower is to be a sign because he intends to preserve his daughter for himself for she will never want to marry:


pus vt filie assueuerat fieri nitebat: q̃ signum federis es/
set quia secũ filiam suam pepegisset ne quõdam marita
lem copulã voluisset Interea dyoscorus rex· quia p̃esi

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 19)

While there is of course some room for interpretation,

Dioscorus' obsessive attitude towards his daughter is obvious. Furthermore, the king's bad character is explicitly underlined by calling him pernicious and perverse/depraved and depicting him as using good things for bad purposes, when he wishes to protect his daughter's exterior beauty while failing to perceive her internal beauty entirely:



(Wakkerzeel 1495, 19)

The *Legenda Aurea*, too, offers considerable grounds for an interpretation of an incestuous father-daughter relationship by making it explicit that it is precisely because of her physical form that Dioscorus loves his daughter most ("Ipsa autem quia erat corpore pulcherrima, eam pater plurimum diligebat") and that it is this feature that makes him lock her up ("quapropter reclusit eam in turri altissima", Graesse 1965, 898) in order to keep her away from the rest of the world, particularly from other men. While the Breton play does not employ such ambiguous – or maybe explicit – wording, Dioscorus still expresses a wish to keep his daughter in a deserted and secret place away from men. He feels this to be his right because he perceives himself as her "master" (37). Dioscorus also states his unwillingness to marry his daughter to any but the greatest man that exists in the world. The latter part may well be an allusion to the plot of the legend, because marrying the greatest man in the world is precisely what Barbara intends to do. She wants to become a bride of Christ, who is undoubtedly "the greatest man that is in the world" ('Nemet certen da muyhaff den so en bet', 37). Unfortunately, Jesus Christ does not appear to qualify in Dioscorus' eyes. Apart from that the stanza is probably intended to underline Dioscorus' great care for his daughter. Yet the statement seems contrast with his earlier description of Barbara as his one and only heir. If his inheritance was so important to him, he would likely be eager to make a fitting match for his daughter, and sooner rather than later. Building a tower and waiting for the greatest man in the world to happen by undoubtedly would have been very time-consuming and unlikely to yield satisfactory results. Therefore, Dioscorus' wish to keep his daughter separated from the world takes on a selfish tinge. Moreover, his way of expressing his protectiveness seems to go beyond the ordinary. He appears maniacal in his wish to guard his daughter against the dangers of the world. Dioscorus' attempt to protect Barbara from the advances of other men actually highlights her sexuality all the more, adding unattainability to the list of her desirable qualities. The idea of an incestuous relationship is strengthened further by the complete absence of Barbara's mother (and of any other

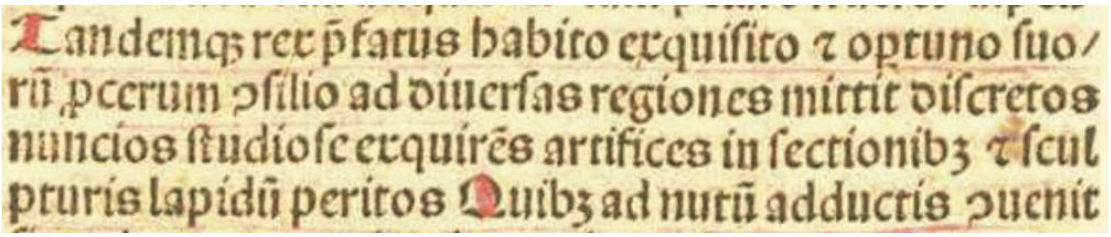
protagonists for that matter) from the play and the legend at this stage. In both *An Buhez* and the *Legenda Aurea* (apart from the introduction and the *diablerie* in *An Buhez*) we have so far encountered only one character, namely a powerful ruler who intends to lock his daughter up in a secluded tower for the explicit reason of keeping her away from other men. However, this is certainly only one way of interpreting the beginning. It is quite possible to regard Dioscorus simply as an overprotective father and king, and it is even likely that this is what was intended by the respective authors. The idea of an incestuous relationship is not particularly striking in *cinq journées*. Even though Dioscorus wants to have a tower built for Barbara, in which he intends her to live secluded from the world, this is not the first impression we get of him. During the scenes of educating Barbara and offering sacrifice to the pagan gods, which precede the episode of the tower in *cinq journées*, Dioscorus has already been shown as a doting and indulgent parent that cares greatly for the safety of his daughter. In addition to that, the absence of Barbara's mother is explained at the very beginning, for Dioscorus has been recently widowed. While taking *cinq journées* into account considerably lessens the effect created by the beginnings of the *Legenda Aurea*, John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, and the Breton version with regard to the incestual relationship between father and daughter, it cannot obliterate it altogether.

Deux journées handles the entire scene differently. Rather than emphasising Dioscorus' unwillingness to marry his daughter, the scene is placed directly after his attempt to convince his daughter to marry in order to preserve the dynasty. Even though this is by no means implied in the play, it is possible to interpret Barbara's refusal to marry as the reason for Dioscorus to begin building the tower. After Barbara's refusal, there is no stage direction or pause or any other indication of a change of setting within the play. Instead, Dioscorus sends his messenger out to look for capable masons. He does not, however, mention a tower or explain his intent or motivation at this stage. Only when the masons arrive Dioscorus tells them what he wants them to build, namely a big, high and nicely decorated tower: "Il vous faut fairë une tour: / Grande, haute, de bel atour" (505f). There is no mentioning of Barbara at all, not of her beauty, her state of virginity or even whether the tower is intended for her in any way at all. The stage direction following Dioscorus' instructions for the masons tells the reader – but not the audience – that the masons then make the tower and windows until Barbara comes to them ("Tunc faciant turrim et fenestras quo adusque Barbara veniat ad ipsos", 533/534). Again, this does not indicate a connection between Barbara and the tower apart from the fact that she will later dispute the wisdom of building only two windows. And while Dioscorus expresses his intention to put his daughter into a cage in the following lines ("Mais je mettray tout mon pouvoir / A la tenir et mettre en caige", 539f), he does not lock her up. Rather, he employs three maidens as her companions and protection for the duration of his absence (he and his wife go

on a trip to worship their gods).

In all five texts, Dioscorus employs builders in order to build something for him; a tower in *An Buhez* and *deux journées*, a bathhouse in the *Legenda Aurea*, and both, a tower and a bathhouse, in *cinq journées* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*. While in the *Legenda Aurea* it is simply stated that he employs craftsmen, Dioscorus sends a messenger (or messengers in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*) to find and fetch suitable builders in the other texts.

John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*:


Tandemq; rex p̄fatus habito exquisito ꝛ optuno suo/
rū p̄cerum ꝯsilio ad diuersas regiones mittit discretos
nuncios studiose exquirēs artifices in sectionibꝫ ꝛ scul
pturis lapidū peritos Quibꝫ ad nutū adductis ꝯuenit

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 18)

Legenda Aurea:

[…] instituit multitudinem artificium, qui facerent lavacrum, constituit quomodo fieri debuit, tribuens singulis mercedem in integrum […].
(899)

cinq journées:

Va moy querir ung bon maczon
Ou deux ou troys, si tu les trouves,
Voire s'ilz sont maistres d'esprouves,
Quar J'ay a ffaire une besongne
Ou il convient que l'on besongne
De jour en jour sans delayer.
Je les feray si bien payer
Qu'il seront contens, si leur dy.
(3948-3957)

deux journées:

Va moy tantost, et sans delay,
Tous les massons de ce pais querre
Qui sont demourans en ma terre.

Dy leur a tous que, sans demeure,
Viennent a moy tout a ceste heure
(Tous les meilleurs et plus subtilz)
Et qu'ilz aportent leurs oustiz.
(460-468)

An Buhez:
[39] Ma messager quae seder bez certen
Da clasq diff flour presour mecherouryen
Aray diff plen en termen ordrenet
Un tour fournis dam guis maz deuisaff
Iolis dispar hep mar dren lauaraff
Acomplissaff amēnaff quentaff pret.

[…]

[41] Quat piz tizmat sinchat hep nep atfer
Do que[r]chat glan aman en pep manyer
Affet seder dre guer deliberet
Euit trauell clasq pell an re guelhaff
Memeux archant presant do contantaff
Gae ho paeaff amēnaff quentaff pret.

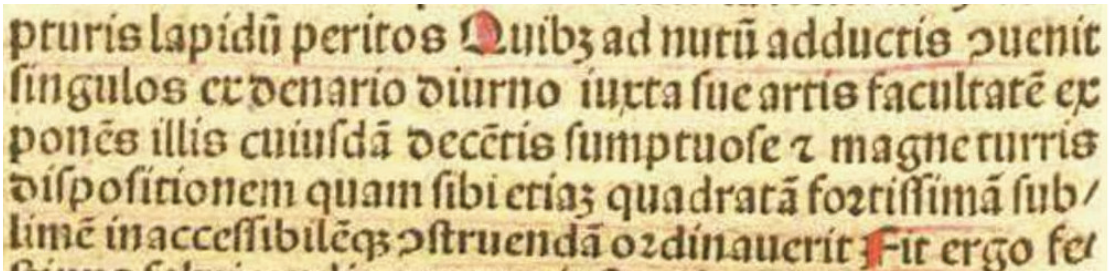
My messenger, go surely, be true, / to find for me quite quickly workers / who shall finish in the allotted time / a complete tower to my taste how I choose / exceedingly beautiful. Without doubt as I say / I want to accomplish (it) first of all. // […] // Go quite quickly, promptly, without delay / to fetch them all here in whatever manner / indeed surely, due to a deliberate word. / Despite distress, look for the very best! / I have cash (in order) to satisfy them; / I merrily want to pay them, first and foremost. //

The three plays are nearly identical with regard to their contents here – *deux journées* and *cinq journées* even use the same beginning. Even though it is a common phrase to use in such a situation, it is worth mentioning that they all employ the same construction of "go to find for me", that is French "va moy querir (*cinq journées*) / querre (*deux journées*)" and Breton "quae da clasq diff". Even John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* has a similar construction, sending the messengers "exquirens artifices", to find/fetch/choose craftsmen. All plays have Dioscorus

place emphasis on the shortness of time in some way. In *cinq journées* he is modest in this regard and asks the craftsmen to work day by day without delay in order to finish the building (3954f), while in *deux journées* he wants the workers to come right away (466). In *An Buhez* Dioscorus wants both; he wants his messenger to find the workers quickly (who are then to return to him with all due haste) and then the workers are supposed to finish the building within a certain period of time, that is "quentaff pret" ('first of all, right away, at first', 39).

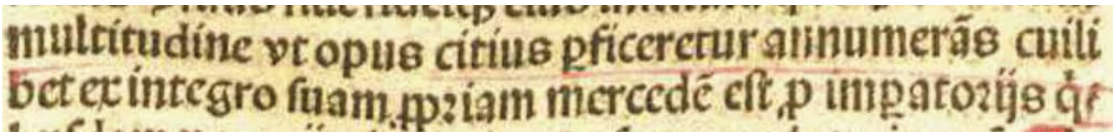
Dioscorus also emphasises the craftsmen's capabilities, wanting good masons that are experienced masters in *cinq journées* (3948ff), the best and finest in *deux journées*/ (467), instructing his messenger to look for the very best in *An Buhez* (41), and wanting workers that are at least skilled in the techniques of cutting and sculpting stones in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* (18). That the craftsmen would bring their tools would have been customary at the time, but only the French plays have Dioscorus ask the craftsmen to bring their tools expressly (cf. Longtin 2003, 5). In *An Buhez* it becomes clear during the building process that the workers have tools. The Latin versions do not place great importance on the workers' tools. While the *Legenda Aurea* does not mention the workers' tools at all, the tools are being sharpened in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*: acuũrur inſtrumẽta (Wakkerzeel 1495, 18).

All texts include Dioscorus' willingness and ability to pay the craftsmen. In the *Legenda Aurea* the information about the payment is given in the same sentence that explains Dioscorus' intent to employ the craftsmen: "tribuens singulis mercedem in integrum" (899). Apart from the fact that there are wages, nothing further is said about this. It is clear from the context, however, that the craftsmen are already present and that they likely even laid their eyes on said wages before beginning to build. In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, Dioscorus offers a daily amount (a denarius) for each craftsmen, which seems to be an acceptable sum.


pturis lapidũ peritos Quibꝫ ad nutũ adductis ꝯuenit
ſingulos cꝛdenario diurno iuxta ſue artis facultatẽ ex
ponẽs illis cuiuſdã decẽtis ſumptuoſe ꝛ magne turris
diſpoſitionem quam ſibi etiaꝫ quadratã foꝛtiſſimã ſub/
limẽ inacceſſibilẽqꝫ ꝯſtruendã oꝛdinauerit Fit ergo fe/

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 18)

The information is given right after the messengers were sent to fetch the craftsmen, but it is clear from the context that the craftsmen have already come to see the king when they are offered their wages. Later, shortly before Dioscorus leaves on a military excursion, he pays each craftsmen his respective wage:


multitudine vt opus citius pficeretur annumerãs cuili
bet ex integro suam ppriam mercedẽ est p impatorijs q

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 12)

In *cinq journées*, Dioscorus mentions payment to his messenger before he sends him away to find the craftsmen, but he does not discuss it again with them later. In *deux journées*, he promises payment directly to the craftsmen, but he attaches a condition. If he is satisfied with the masons' work, that is if the tower is perfect, he will pay them to their liking ("Et quant la tour sera parfaicte, / Je vous payray a voz plaisirs", 518f). *An Buhez* mentions payment more than once. Like in *cinq journées*, Dioscorus sends his messenger to find workers together with the information that he is willing and able to pay them. With regard to the payment, *An Buhez* provides more information than *cinq journées*. Dioscorus states, for example, that there is cash. The workers would thus not have to work for a theoretical payment based on some future enterprise, but for actual money. However, it becomes clear later in the play that they will receive their wages only upon successful completion of the tower. Another reason for Dioscorus to mention that there is cash would likely have been to make the building project more attractive to the craftsmen. Dioscorus successfully advertises his building project in all versions of the legend. In the plays, Dioscorus explains to the craftsmen what he has in mind with regard to the building he wants to employ them for after they have arrived at his place. In *deux journées* and in *An Buhez* Dioscorus mentions payment (again), this time speaking directly to the craftsmen. The wording in *An Buhez* is similar to *deux journées* above:

> [55] […]
> Moz contanto pep tro huy en guelo net
> Hep faut en bet mar queret ma crediff
> Un tour fournis flam dam guis deuiſet
> […]
>
> […] / I will satisfy you, always, you will clearly see it, / without any fault at all, if you are willing to obey me. / You will arrange a complete, magnificent tower, designed according to my taste / […]. //

In *An Buhez* and *cinq journées* the craftsmen appear on stage and talk among themselves before the messenger reaches them. They are a merry lot and plan to invest their recent wages into food and drink in *An Buhez*, while exchanging witty remarks about the meagreness of their payment and lack of commissions for grand buildings in *cinq journées*. In all three plays

the craftsmen greet the arrival of the messenger with curiosity and wish to know what kind of work the king has for them. In none of the plays the messenger tells them that they are to build a tower. The craftsmen will only learn that when talking to the king directly, which is also the case in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* (s.a.).

cinq journées:
LANCEVANT:
Cza ! Gandeloche et Murgalant,
Il vous fault venir avec moy
Parler a noustre puissant roy
Et aportéz tous voz oustilz.
MURGAULT
Que veult ilz?
LANCEVANT
Des ouvriers subtilz, / Pour faire nouvel ediffice.
(4010-4015)

deux journées:
Le messaigier du roy:
Gallans, entendés ma raison:
Il vous fault faire une maison
A nostre roy Dïoscorus.
Venez a luy sans tarder plus,
Car pour certain, il le vous mande.
(479-483)

An Buhez:
An messager:
[49] Meſtr mecanic ſcientic apliquet.
Ret eu dich don hep fingion monet
Rac en effet gourchemēnet net voe
Ez reſech lem hep quen quem a breman
Tut a mecher guenech ſclaer an kaer man
Da prezec glan pur buhan ouz an roe.

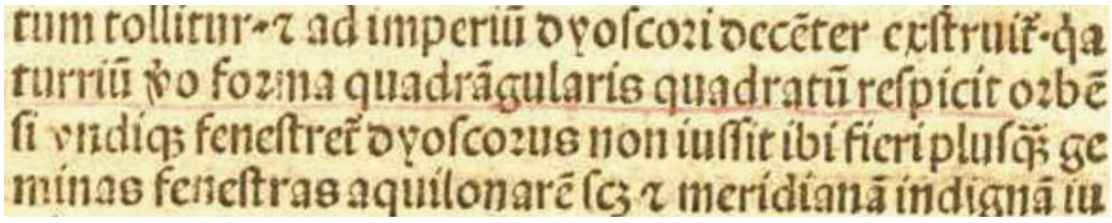
[…]

[51] Me mēn membry dihuy notiffiaff
Ez vēn ober vn mecher an querhaff
Nan propiczaff nan cazraff neraff mar
Auezo plen dre nep termen en bet
Na quen gentil en nep ſtil compilet
Dezy nepret ne voe quet guelet par.

> The messenger: Master artisan, skilled and industrious! / You need, really without deceit, to go / – because indeed it was clearly ordered / that you would lead without further ado now / workmen clearly with you into the city – indeed to very quickly discourse with the king. // […] // I want, methinks, to notify you / he wants to accomplish a most precious work / and the most favourable and the most beautiful, I do not doubt, / which will indeed exist at any time in the world, / and so noble in any fashion designed, / never ever has anyone seen its equal. //

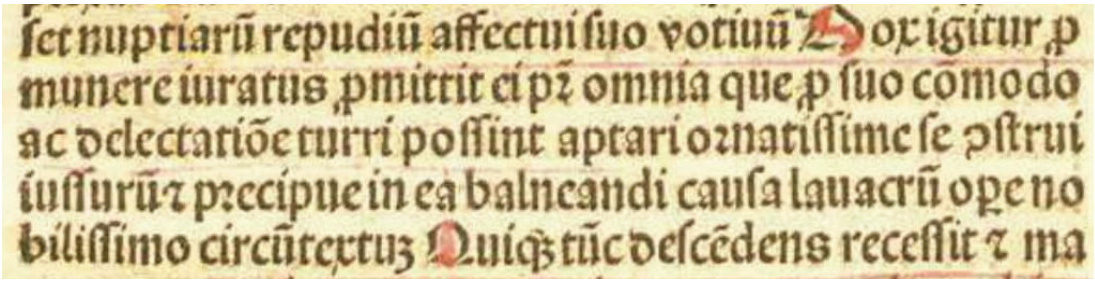
The wording is similar in all three plays. However, *An Buhez* places considerable emphasis on the fact that the king ordered the workers to him. Still, the French plays are explicit enough and it would obviously be considered bad manners for the masons to refuse the king's wishes.

Thus, all agree immediately to see the king. We do not learn whether the craftsmen are eager to attend the king in either the *Legenda Aurea* or in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, nor what kind of small talk is involved upon their arrival. But the king certainly introduces them to their task, namely to make a bathroom ("facerent lavacrum") and how to make it ("constituit quomodo fieri debuit") in the *Legenda Aurea* (899) and a great tower which is quadrangular, and the strongest, and of inaccessible height in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* (18, s.a.). In addition to that, Dioscorus wants the tower to have but two northward windows in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*:


tum tollitur·⁊ ad imperiū dyoſcori decēter cxſtruit·da
turriū ꝑo forma quadrāgularis quadratū reſpicit orbē
ſi vndiq; feneſtreſ dyoſcorus non iuſſit ibi fieri pluſq; ge
minas feneſtras aquilonarē ſcz ⁊ meridianā indignā iu

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 18)

Barbara is moved into the tower very soon after this, but the king receives offers for her hand in marriage nevertheless. She refuses them due to a vow of chastity she has made and Dioscorus orders the craftsmen to add a bathing facility (11) to the tower in order to preserve his daughter's privacy:


ſet nuptiarū repudiū affectui ſuo votiuū Oꝛ igitur p
munere iuratus ꝑmittit ei ꝑ̄ omnia que ꝑ ſuo cōmodo
ac delectatiōe turri poſſint aptari oꝛnatiſſime ſe ꝑſtrui
iuſſurū ⁊ ꝑcipue in ea balneandi cauſa lauacrū ope no
biliſſimo circūtextuz Quicꝫ tūc deſcēdens receſſit ⁊ ma

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 19)

The king's instructions are very similar, although much more verbose of course, in *cinq journées*. He has very specific ideas which he dictates to the craftsmen during their initial meeting:

> Mon voulloir est qu'en ceste terre
> Vous me faictes une tour haulte
> Ou il n'y ait quelque deffaulte,
> Qui soit du tout en tout complette.
> Et, sans que plus je le repette,
> Je vueil qu'il y ait deux fenestres
> Et non plus – entendéz vous, Maistres ? –
> L'une devers Septemtrïon
> Et l'autre vers la regïon
> Qui est appelle[ë] Mydi.
> Ne soit nul de vous estourdi
> De trespasséz aulcunement
> Mon trés exprés commandement,
> Quar je ne vueil point qu'on en face
> Vers Orient, car, de prime face,
> Le solleil donneroit lumiere
> Au matin parmy la verriere,
> Qui empescheroit le doulx somme
> De ma fille, que je vous nomme,
> Qui la dedens se dormiroit;
> Aussi pas ne repouseroit
> Au point du jour souëfvement.
> Le soulail coustumierement,
> Quand devers Orïent reconce,
> Eschauffe trop, c'est ma responce

Et la cause pour quoy je veulx
Que fenestres n'y ait que deulx.
Faictes une tour de duree,
Qu'elle soit tresbien compousee.
Qu'i ait cent pieds entre les cares
Et m'y plantés de bonnes barres
Par dedans, de fer de Calabre,
Pour tenir la pierre de marbre
De quoy vous la compouseréz.
(4041-4074)

The king seems to indicate a certain piece of land where the tower is supposed to be built ("en ceste terre", 4041). He wants the tower to be high and without a flaw, perfect, durable and very well designed. It is to have two windows and no more, one facing Septemtrion, i.e. north, and the other facing Mydi, i.e. south. He warns the craftsmen against disobeying his orders and explicitly forbids them to build windows facing east or west, because the former would allow the morning sun to wake his sleeping daughter and the latter would bring too much heat in the evening. Moreover, Dioscorus wishes certain proportions to be fulfilled and expensive stones to be used. Not only Dioscorus, but also his courtiers make remarks as to certain features of the tower. It is to be made of good cement, with turrets and crenels ("faicte de très bon cyment, / A tourelle et a creneaulx", 4085f), be impenetrable, mighty and strong ("Imprenable, puissante et forte.", 4096) and have but one single door ("N'y faictez aussi q'une porte", 4097). As expressed by the courtier Laomedon, the tower is supposed to be a royal safeguard ("Le roy veult qu'elle soit moult plaisant, / Quar dedans sera repousant / Le precïeux tresor royal" 4090-4092), which is in fact a golden cage to all intents and purposes. In much the same way as in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, Dioscorus returns to the building site at a later stage with an additional request. In 4792ff Dioscorus asks after the progress of the building and he also tells the craftsmen to add a bathing facility (11) to the tower because his daughter cannot visit a public bath due to her vow of chastity:

Quar elle a voué a tousjours
Aux dieux chasteté flourie,
Dont mon amë est resjoÿe.
Je vueil que dedans ceste tour
Riche, puissant, de bel atour,
Vous luy faciéz une sisterne
De fin marbre d'assés grant cerne,

Appelleë ung lavouer
Ou aultrement ung baignouer.
Quand elle aura affectïon
A prendre recrëacïon,
El se baignera la dedans
A son privé, sans queles gens,
A son aisë, a ses despors.
(4802-4815)

In contrast to *cinq journées*, *deux journées* is very concise with regard to the description of the tower:

Gallans, sachez pour quel raison
Je vous mande ceste saison.
Il vous fault fairë une tour:
Grande, haulte, de bel atour.
Qu'elle me soit tresbien muree,
Bien massonnee et bien paree.
Je vous diray, sans plus d'eslongne,
Trestut le fait de ma besongne.
Beaux seigneurs, ainsi je devise:
Qu'elle me sera icy assise.
Icy aura une fenestre,
Affin du jour apparoistre.
Vous ferés une arbalestriere
De ceste costé pour estre clere,
Qu'elle me soit haulte et bien faicte.
(503-517)

The tower should be great, high and prettily decorated but also well bricked and masoned. The king seems to show the craftsmen a site where the tower is to be built ("Qu'elle me sera icy assise", 512) and instructs them to make one window facing east as well as another opening, which he calls an "arbalestriere". This describes an opening in the wall that forms part of a building's defensive mechanism and thus is not actually a window at all. The king does not emphasise that there are to be but two windows as he does in *cinq journées*. He simply states that if the tower will be perfect, he will pay the craftsmen ("Et quant la tour sera parfaicte, / Je vous payray a voz plaisirs", 518f).

In *An Buhez*, Dioscorus introduces the craftsmen to his plans once they have arrived: "[…] / You will arrange a complete, magnificent tower, designed according to my taste / – if it pleases you! since you have all come – / and it is necessary that you will build it for me" ('Un tour fournis flam dam guis deuiſet / Mar plig guenoch entroch pā edouch duet / A ordrenhet ha ret en gruehet diff', 55). Dioscorus does not specify what the tower is to look like at this point. The master worker seems to have some ideas with regard to the design and shows himself to be interested in the building project. Upon his arrival, he immediately asks about "the material and the layout / the position, the place, the space and the fashion" ('An materi hac an diuiſion / An lech an placc an ſpacc hac an faczon', 54). In contrast to the French plays on the one hand and to the king's statement above on the other, it is the master worker rather than the king who gives the details of the appearance of the tower and thus suggests the king's "taste":

> [57] Meray hoz tour cazr ha flour ha fournis
> En termen breff bras ha creff doz deuis
> Gent heb fentis ma ampris ſo en guiſſe
> Hep fellell tro me labouro douz grat
> Hat aray ſclaer pep queuer mecher mat
> Heruez e ſtat en houz grat da pat re.
>
> I will make your beautiful and smooth and complete tower / in a short time, great and strong, to your liking / beautiful without feint. My plan is thus: / Without any failure I will work to your will / and I will clearly make a good work in every respect / according to your will with regard to its character and (I will make it) to last long. //

While Dioscorus does not yet seem to have all too specific ideas with regard to the design of the tower, he presents himself as a good owner in the following stanzas. This will be discussed in more detail in section 6.1.1.

Unsurprisingly, *cinq journées* is the wordiest version, while *deux journées* has Dioscorus mostly stripped of civilities and lengthy speeches in order to get to the point immediately. Despite the fact that the description of the tower is provided by different characters in the respective plays (Dioscorus in the two French plays and the master worker in the Breton play), the contents of these descriptions are very similar. In *cinq journées*, the tower is to be "haulte", without any "deffaulte", "du tout en tout complette" (4042-4044) and possibly "Riche, puissant, de bel atour"[27] (4806). In *deux journées*, it is to be "Grande, haulte, de bel atour", "tresbien muree", "bien massonnee" and "bien paree" (506-508). *An Buhez* mirrors both plays and

[27] It is not entirely clear whether this line refers to the tower or the bath, but I suppose the former.

describes it as "magnificent" ('flam'), "beautiful" ('cazr, gent'), "smooth" ('flour'), "complete" ('fournis'), "great" ('bras'), "strong" ('creff'), "designed according to Dioscorus' taste" ('dam guis deuiset, doz deuis') and made "to last long" ('da pat re', 55, 57). The French word for tower, "tour", is borrowed into the Breton version as well. It frequently rhymes internally with "flour" ('smooth') and "fournis" ('complete'). Even though the two French plays differ considerably, there is one detail that is strikingly similar. During the respective main scenes involving the tower and its description there is an almost identical couplet that might suggest a relation between the two plays. The rhyme is between "tour" and "atour" (embellishment):

cinq journées:
Je vous faiz cy faire une tour
Forte, haulte et de [be]l atour
(4106f)

deux journées:
Il vous fault fairë une tour:
Grande, haulte, de bel atour.
(505f)

The couplet appears to have been used in *An Buhez*, too, but it was adapted:

Dioscorus:
[55] […]
Un tour fournis flam dam guis deuiſet
Mar plig guenoch entroch pā edouch duet
A ordrenhet ha ret en gruehet diff.

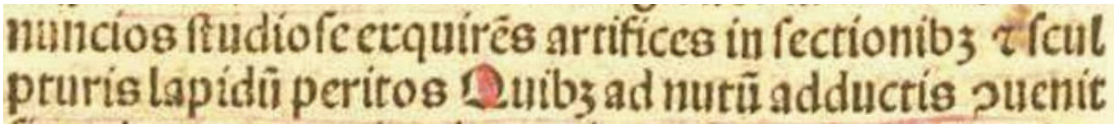
Dioscorus: / […] / You will arrange a complete, magnificent tower, designed according to my taste / – if it pleases you! since you have all come – / and it is necessary that you will organise it for me. //

In the Breton version, the original couplet was extended by an additional verse that serves the single purpose of satisfying the Breton rhyme scheme. Disregarding this verse leaves us with basically the same content as in the French couplets. A rhyme similar to the French version is employed (Breton: tour fournis, French: tour – atour), but as an internal rhyme rather than an end rhyme. It is used in addition to the required internal rhyme between the penultimate syllable of the verse and the syllable before the caesura of the verse. It is thus not required by the rhyme scheme but is an additional feature, which serves to further the already complex Breton

rhyme scheme. Although the French couplets are very similar, the Breton version appears to be slightly closer to *cinq journées*. While *deux journées* has Dioscorus state that "Il vous fault fairë une tour" (505), *cinq journées* uses "Je vous faiz cy faire une tour" (4106), thus putting Dioscorus and his wishes a bit more into focus. *An Buhez* does the same by using "designed according to my taste" ('dam guis deuiset') and "you will organise it for me" ('ret en gruehet diff').

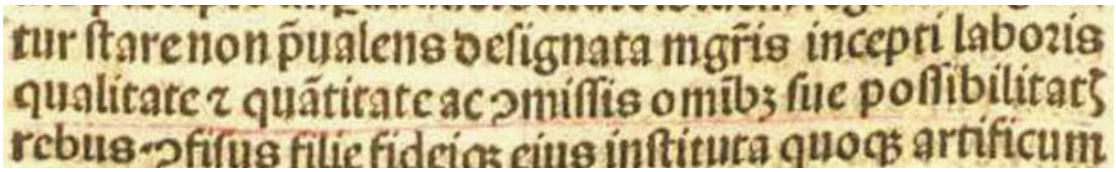
6.1. The Craftsmen and the Building Process

The *Legenda Aurea* neither offers any character traits of the craftsmen, nor does it give details of the building process. While such details are touched upon in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, the legend's focus is clearly not on the work process or the people who perform it. Stonecutters and -sculptors are mentioned during the description in the beginning when the king sends messengers to find craftsmen.



(Wakkerzeel 1495, 18)

Towards the end of the episode, when Dioscorus is ordered to attend the emperor and thus has to leave the building site, he leaves masters in charge.



(Wakkerzeel 1495, 19)

In the plays, the building of the tower and the craftsmen's appearances form an integral part of the action on stage. Nevertheless, they are treated with different degrees of detail. *An Buhez* has the largest number of characters involved in building the tower. There is one master (an mestr), who is initially accompanied by three workers (an quentaff mecherour, an eil mecherour, an trede mecherour). The group is later joined by two additional building assistants (an quentaff darbareur, an eil darbareur). The French plays each have but two masons[28]. In *cinq journées* they are named Gandeloche "premier maczon/primus lathomus" (3492/3493 & 3977/3978) and

[28] In *deux journées*, lines 672-677 are spoken by "Le .iii. masson", but there are only two masons listed among the "personnaiges" of the play. Furthermore, in the later edition on the right hand side (Longtin edits two versions next to each other), the same text is spoken by "Le .ii. masson" (Longtin 1996, 66).

Murgault/Murgalant[29] "secund maczon/secundus lathomus" (3500/3501 & 3978/3979). They seem to be young, as they are addressed as "jeunes Gallans" (4792), and inexperienced, as the tower is their first project ("Ce sera noustre premier euvre" (4914)). Nevertheless they appear to be very motivated to create beautiful buildings, as Murgault remarks wistfully that beautiful and strong castles are no longer being built: "On ne fait plus nulz telz chasteaulx / Si fermes, si fors ne si beaulx / Comme on soulloit faire jadis" (3993-3995). In *deux journées* the characters are simply called "le premier masson" and "le second masson". They have hardly any text, but it becomes clear that they will not refuse a direct request of their king, not least because of the financial benefit involved:

> Le premier masson
> Sire, depuis qu'il le commande,
> De luy obeir, c'est bien raison.
> […]
> Le second masson
> Faicte luy sera promptement,
> Mais qu'ill baillë or et argent;
> Oncque ne veit plus diligent
> Que je suis quant je voy monnoye.
> Quant je la tiens j'ay si grant joye.
> Le roy en a une grant somme.
> (484-495)

What all three plays have in common is the disposition to hear the king's request, which is combined with a preoccupation with earning money. While the workers in *An Buhez* are introduced discussing merrily how to spend their wages and praising their master for being a reliable paymaster as well (42-48), the two masons in *cinq journées* begin by describing how the masons from Flanders to Burgundy are suffering from the same problem, namely not making enough money ("Tant en Flandre comme en Bourgogne, / les massons ne gaignent plus rien", 3982f). According to Longtin, the entrance of the masons serves a double purpose. It is surely designed to make the spectators laugh, but it also provides a link with the everyday worries of the people attending the performance (Longtin 2003, 7). In both *An Buhez* and *cinq journées* the king's messenger arrives during the craftsmen's conversation. The messenger's

[29] Both variations of the name occur throughout the play, but there is no indication that they are different characters. When a character speaks for the first time, he/she is usually introduced either by the note "Primo" next to their name, or by a description of their function, e.g. "primus lathomus". Neither occurs when Murgalant appears for the first time. According to Longtin 2003 (17), a line spoken by Barbara resolves the problem: "Aller querir ses deux massons" (10640).

interruption is particularly nicely integrated into the context in *cinq journées.* Murgault has just posed a general question as to where the masons might find well-paid work, when Lancevant, the messenger, enters to offer that very opportunity:

MURGAULT:
[…]
Que trouveré de la besongne
Pour y employer ma charongne
Et gaigner comme ung bon gallant?
LANCEVANT
Cza! Gandeloche et Murgalant,
Il vous fault venir avec moy
Parler a noustre puissant roy
Et aportéz tous voz oustilz.
(4007-4013)

An Buhez does not include such a potentially humorous transition. There, the workers have just finished praising their master as reliable, when the king's messenger arrives:

An mecherouryen.
[42] Demp ſeder da ober cher mat
Rac dre hōn queux en ōn neux gloat
Hac ezeu hōn ſtat ebataff
[…]

[43] Ha huyray diffrae pa ho paeaff
Er memeux hoant creffda eua
Rac ſe demp ſcaff hep tardaff quet
Dilacc ſaczun da duuniff
Un ſouben dren pebr a dibriff
Hac ez euiff pan guiliff pret
[…]

An eil mecherour.
[44] Raeſon en guer a leueret
Ny aray diffrae pan paet
Hennez ſo dleet da quentaff

Pa on eux labouret competant
En on ſeruig ha diligant
Ezeu ſeant hon contantaff.

An trede mecherour.
[45] Hau hau
Ret on be glat hep debataff
Rac bizuiquen ne louenhaff
Quen na- uezaff nē nachaff quet
Paeet net ha coutantet plen
Goude ma labour hā ſourpren
Rac hon termen ſo tremenet.

An meſtr.
[46] […]
Ha rac ſe ezouff duet ſeder
Guenech aman e pep manyer
Euit reiff dich ſclaer dinerou.

[47] Rac touchant an paemantou
Ne caraf quet drez guelet gnou
Diouz hoz dellidou en louen
Bout rebellant ouz contantaff
Quent ſe pepret on hoz tretaff
Guelhaff maz gallaff neraf quē

An eil mecherour.
[48] Guir a leueret a ſet ple
Houz quen iolis ne guilis den
Da derchell certen termen mat
[…]

Aman ez arriff meſſager Dioſcorus
da comps ouz vn meſtr mecherour.

The workers: / Let us go, surely, to make merry / because for our pains we have

money / and now our occupation is to enjoy ourselves. / […] // And you will hurry because I pay you / for I have a strong wish to drink. / Therefore, let us go quickly without delay / soon entirely to lunch. / I will eat a peppersoup / and I drink when I see that it is time. / […] //
The other worker: / Reasonable is the word that you speak / we will do (it) quickly when you pay / this is necessary first of all / because we have worked reasonably / in our working hours and diligently; / it is seemly to satisfy us. //
The third worker: / We would necessarily have money without dispute / because I am never content/happy / before I am not – I don't deny it – / really paid and satisfied completely / after my work and the pain / because our contract is fulfilled. //
The master: / […] / And therefore I have surely come / with you here in every way / in order to give you, clearly, money. // Therefore, on the subject of payments / I do not like, as you obviously see / with regard to your meriting merrily, / to be the one who resists to pay / Rather, I always treat you / as best I can, I do nothing else. //
The other worker: / True, you speak fully true / I never saw anyone so good as you / to keep, surely, a date well. / […] //
Now arrives the messenger of Dioscorus / in order to speak to a master worker.

The workers appear to have just finished a project. Their comments present them as reasonably hard workers who feel that they have now earned it to "make merry" and enjoy themselves (42). Coupled with their plans for lunch and "a strong wish to drink" (43), a certain light-heartedness within the scene is created. Still the question of a reliable income is addressed immediately and at some length, too. The master in particular emphasises his reliability. The topics differ slightly in *cinq journées*. While the workers in *An Buhez* are concerned with spending their latest wages and praising their master for his reliability, the masons in *cinq journées* complain about the general situation of masons and how difficult it is to find well-paid work on interesting buildings. However, the combination of a light tone with a certain worry as to the earning of money is employed in both *An Buhez* and *cinq journées*:

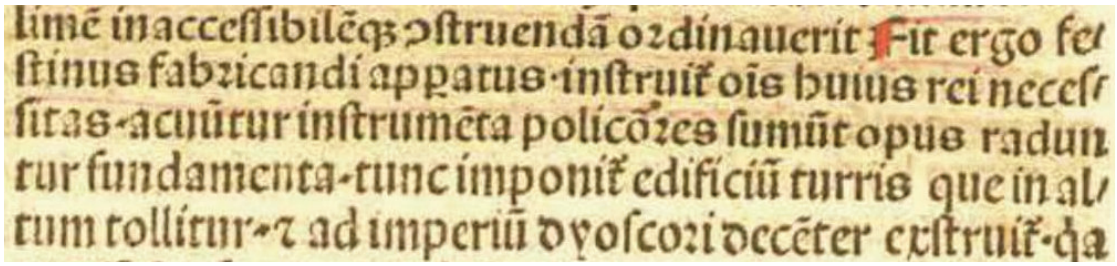
GANDELOCHE (primus lathomus.)
Comment se porte la besongne
Des massons?
MURGAULT (secundus lathomus.)
S'il ne font plus riens

En droit vous, sans quelque vergongne,
Comment se porte la besongne?
GANDELOCHE
Tant en Flandres comme en Bourgongne,
Les massons ne gaignent plus rien.
MURGAULT
Je respondré: « Quiconque en grongne »
S'aucun me demande: «Sa, vien,
Comment se porte la besongne
Des massons ? Ne font il plus rien?»
GANDELOCHE
Quant est de moy, je croy et tien
Que nos maistiers et industrie
Resembleront ung ny de pye.
MURGAULT
Pour quoy?
GANDELOCHE
Il est mis au plus hault.
MURGAULT
Je ne sçay pas bien que ce vault.
(3978-3992)

The light tone is created by a combination of different stylistic features. The masons have a conversation in which the same words and phrases are combined and recombined in order to create a rhythm and puns. The form is analogous to a popular verse-form of Medieval and Renaissance France, the "rondeau". It has its origins in dancing and singing and thus introduces a recognisable rhythm and a certain movement into the scene (Longtin 2003, 7; Dominguez-Vignaud 1996, 61; cf. Gleason 1954, 96). The pun at the end about the high quality and standard of the masons' work serves to underline this impression. This, then, is counterbalanced by the contents of the masons' text, which is slightly darker, for they continually complain about their problems of not finding worthwhile work that offers a good income.

With regard to the actual construction of the tower, there is again no significant information given in either the *Legenda Aurea*, or in *deux journées*. The latter provides some very basic information and places that in a stage direction without any spoken reference to the action by any of the actors involved: "Tunc faciant turrim et fenestras quo adusque Barbara veniat ad ipsos (533/534)". No tools, materials or work processes are mentioned in either of the two versions. John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* provides a few more details, for example the information

that the craftsmen begin their work in some haste, that the stonemasons sharpen their tools before taking up their work, that a foundation is laid, and that a tower is raised:



(Wakkerzeel 1495, 18)

Certain elements of the setting, that is tools, stone workers, laying a foundation and the raising of the tower, are clearly discernible in the plays. They are, however, much more elaborate than John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*. In *cinq journées*, stage directions indicate the building of the tower and the presence of certain building-related props (stones, materials, and limestone) on stage: "Dicant operando; et in ludo habeant lapides et materiam et calcem et semper operantur" (4118/4119). The building appears to take some time because the fool has enough time to act during the masons' work, again made clear by a stage direction: "Operantur semper et stultus loquitur" (4875/4876). In addition to this, the masons refer to tools, e.g. "relet" (precise meaning is unclear), "truelle" ('trowel', 4783), marteau ('hammer', 4894), and materials, e.g. "cyment" ('cement', 4784), "pierres" ('stones', 4785), "mortier" ('mortar', 4786), as well as work processes, e.g. "decoustre sa semelle" ('detach this foundation plate', 4788), "Trouvons le fons de la tourelle / Pour y assoir le fondement" ('find the base for the tower in order to lay the foundation there', 4790f), "noustre pierre est taillee" ('our stone is cut', 4795), "Tout est fait par geometrie" ('everything has been made according to geometry', 4892). They also complain about the hardship of the work: "Le doz me deult et la vesie, / J'ay ja les rains tous travailléz", (4119f), but nevertheless continue to banter and pun, thus maintaining the light tone associated with them earlier:

GANDELOCHE
Je n'ay plus couraige qui plaise:
Ces pierres sont de dure roche
Et moult plus dures que une souche.
Je n'ay mais ouvraige qui plaist.
Veéz que d'esclaz!
MURGAULT
Ho! ho! qu'on se taist!

Et qu'esse a dire, Gandeloche?
Esse voustre martel qui loche
Dedans le manche?
GANDELOCHE
Je me poise:
Je n'ay mes ouvraige qui plaise,
Ces pierres sont de dure roche.
J'ay tant de mal en ma caboche
Du solleil que c'est grant destresse!
Hay! hay! hy! fy!
MURGAULT
De hors, jeunesse!
Quel roussigneul en chambre a dammes!
Hay! hay! hay! quel villain infammes!
Qu'il vient de maulx aprés enfance!
(4137-5152)

The impression of the masons being humourous characters is strengthened further when Dioscorus comes to the building site and offers them money for a drink ("dix francs pour boire", 4846). Then, they spend an equal amount of lines on their plans for filling their bellies with food and drink as they have earlier spent on describing their work.

In *An Buhez*, the construction of the tower begins with the master and Dioscorus discussing what kinds of material will be needed and how to make sure that the building process will not come to a standstill:

An meſtr mecherour.
[58] An quent[a]ff pret ezeu ret credet ſe
Caffout daffar me a goar an doare
Rac hōn dale en ſe ne falhe quet
Ha mein ha coat a pep hat en ſtat man
So ret detri on be ny rac muy poan
Guitebunan pe effemp glan manet.

Dioſcorus.
[59] Hoz holl daffar naret mar preparet
A pep danffuez yuez diaſezet
Breff aqueffet noz em doutet quet tam

Ha glas ha ſech oar an lec na nechet
Gant cals a mis dre ampris deuiſet
Ameux affet daſtumet ahet cam.

The master: / First of all it is necessary, believe it!, / to find material, I know the way / because our schedule in this may not fail. / Stones and wood of every kind, at this point / are very necessary, that we would have (them) before further effort / or all of us might be truly stuck. //
Dioscorus: / All your materials prepared, do not doubt, / also compounds of all materials / shortly you will find, do not doubt one bit, / green and dry (wood), on the (construction-)site, do not be distressed, / with a lot of effort because of the careful plan / I have indeed developed bit by bit. //

Both characters are here presented as competent with regard to their respective roles. The master clearly states the requirements of a building project, while Dioscorus seems to have anticipated the master's needs and immediately presents him with answers to his requests. They proceed to inspect the building site together. The discussion continues in the same vein with Dioscorus as a well prepared and well informed owner and the master as a competent manager. In order for the project to be successful, the master makes a last request of Dioscorus:

An meſtr mecherour.
[63] […]
Hoguen heb chom dre ezom quent cōmancc
Hon bezet creff heb bezaff breff cheuancc
Caffout financc pep chancc hon auanczhe.

Dioſcorus
[64] Dalet archant paramant enn antre
Cza commancet moz pet labouret cre
[…]

The master: / […] / But in order not to get stuck because of hardship before beginning / we needs must have, in order not to be short (of money), wealth. / Obtaining money would be in every way advantageous. //
Dioscorus: / Take the money in advance for the beginning. / Well! Begin, I ask you, work hard! / […] //

Afterwards, the master summons his workers to present them with the necessary incentive:

An meſtr.
[66] Ma tut deneſſet ha gruet cher
Chetu archant contant antier
Leiz an gibicer dinerou
Roet douz paeaff nēn nachaff quet
Rac ſe hep fellell trauellet
Contantet vihet heb quet gou.

The master: My people, come near and be happy! / Voilà, perfect cash money. / The purse full of denarii / handed over to pay you, I do not deny it. / Work therefore, without failing! / You will be satisfied without any deceit. //

While this is a detail and may well be a coincidence and/or owing to the rhyme scheme, it is interesting to note the use of "dinerou", which is reminiscent of the Latin "denarius" mentioned in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* as a payment agreed upon by the workers (18, s.a.). After this distribution of cash, the master and the workers suggest different places to lay the foundation, begin to bring stones and finally start building the tower. As in *cinq journées*, there is a stage direction that indicates on the one hand that the action now moves to the building site, and on the other hand that there are materials for building a tower on stage: "Aman dioſcorus aya da diſcuez / dan meſtr mecherour an lech / han dāffuez da ober an tour" ('Here Disocorus goes to show / the master worker the place / and the material to build the tower', 60/61). In addition to this, the characters refer to tools, e.g. in stanza 67: "binhuyou" ('tools'), "scuezr" ('square'), "reulen" ('measuring rod'), "linennou" ('plumb lines, cords'), "morzolou" ('mallets, hammers'), "quiſellou" ('chisels'), "loaou plat" ('trowels'), "patrōmou" ('models'), and also to materials, e.g. "mein ha coat a pep hat" ('stones and wood of every kind', 58), "fram" ('frame, framework', 60), "raz" ('lime', 74), and building processes, e.g. "Euit guelet a caffet […] an fondamant" ('in order to see whether one might find […] the foundation', 70), "Dizou guet mein oar houz queniou̯ […] dre faeczon maczonet" ('bring stones on yours necks […] mason according to the rules', 74). Again, as in *cinq journées*, the workers refer to the hardship of the work while the light tone employed earlier is maintained:

An quentaff darbareur.
[75] Me crogo en vn men quen does,
Ma en douguy franc euit an goes
Pan dlehẽn gant an poes froeſaff,
Nac int mar põnher da merat
Me dougo hep gou bechyou mat,

Pan dlehẽn dan ſtat tizmat pladaff.

An eil darbareur.
[76] Houp hau hau,
Heman an ſclaer en põnheraff
Ret eu diſme piz diſcuizaff,
Neb rout outaff ne allaff quet,
Hoguen arre me e[ss]aeo
Oar poes ma chouc amen dougo,
Oar vn dro pa emeux gourtoet.

An eil mecherour.
[77] Leſt hoz ſaffar ha darbaret,
Neret en certen tra en bet,
En effet nemet quaquetal.

An quentaff darbareur.
Pe gounezet huy ouz crial,
Nac ober tourmant na ſcandal,
Pan dlehech farezal eualhẽn.

The first assistant builder: / I will hang on a stone so hard / that I will carry it freely despite pain / even if I would break down with the weight. / However heavy they may be to handle / I will carry good loads, without deceit, / even if I would be flattened immediately, right away. //
The second assistant builder: / Heave-ho! / This one is clearly the heaviest. / It is necessary for me to work hard / I stand no chance against it! / But I will try again / on my neck; and I will carry it / at once, because I have dawdled. //
The second worker: / Stop your noise and help the masons / surely you do not do anything in the world / indeed, except you cackle. /
The first assistant builder: / What do you gain from crying / and from making riot and noise / if you think you need to mess around in such a way. //

As becomes clear from the above descriptions of *An Buhez* and *cinq journées*, the building process in the two plays is designed very similarly. In both plays the building process takes place while being commented upon and explained by the craftsmen. It is them that create the humouristic tone of the scene. There is one detail that merits a closer look. The conversation

quoted above takes place shortly before the action of *An Buhez* moves on to a different topic. The first assistant builder asks the others why they find it necessary to mess about ("farezal", 77) like this. While the workers' preceding remarks are undoubtedly humorous, their text alone does not necessarily indicate humour. "Farezal" might be translated as "cracking jokes" as well, but again the preceding text does not provide an example. However, there is a joke in *cinq journées* shortly before the end of the first day, entailing a change of topic. Like the workers in *An Buhez*, who are complaining about the heaviness of the stones they need to carry, Gandeloche is complaining about the hardness of the stones he needs to cut. Murgault mocks him with a pun about his hammer having gone soft on the inside of his shaft, which is of course a bawdy joke:

GANDELOCHE
Je n'ay plus couraige qui plaise:
Ces pierres sont de dure roche
Et moult plus dures que une souche.
Je n'ay mais ouvraige qui plaist.
Veéz que d'esclaz!
MURGAULT
Ho! ho! qu'on se taist!
Et qu'esse a dire, Gandeloche?
Esse voustre martel qui loche
Dedans le manche?
GANDELOCHE
Je me poise:
Je n'ay mes ouvraige qui plaise,
Ces pierres sont de dure roche.
J'ay tant de mal en ma caboche
Du solleil que c'est grant destresse!
Hay! hay! hy! fy!
(4137-4148)

Moreover, Gandeloche ends his complaint with "Veéz que d'esclaz!" (4141), which could be translated as "Look here, what noise". This idea of noise appears in *An Buhez* as well when the first assistant builder asks in stanza 77: "What do you gain from crying / and from making riot and noise" ('Pe gounezet huy ouz crial, / Nac ober tourmant na fcandal'). While *An Buhez* is not a direct translation of *cinq journées* in this case, it one of many strikingly similar details

pointing towards a close relationship between the two texts.

Taking a closer look at the topics discussed by the craftsmen also shows considerable similarity. Both sets of craftsmen are continuously worried about their income and glad to have found such a large project, for example. In addition to this, both plays include a situation in which the craftsmen go for a drink. Although the timing is different, the action is very similar. Moreover, the situation in *An Buhez* is slightly strange; if it were a translation, however, it would make much more sense.

Dioscorus [to his messenger]
[41] […]
Memeux archant presant do contantaff
Gae ho paeaff amēnaff quentaff pret:

An mecherouryen.
[42] Demp ſeder da ober cher mat
Rac dre hōn queux en ōn neux gloat
Hac ezeu hōn ſtat ebataff
Meroy dich oar an guin financc
Hep bezaff breff na deceuancc
Am cheuancc en hoz auanciff.

[43] Ha huyray diffrae pa ho paeaff
Er memeux hoant creffda eua
Rac ſe demp ſcaff hep tardaff quet
Dilacc ſaczun da duuniff
Un ſouben dren pebr a dibriff
Hac ez euiff pan guiliff pret

An eil mecherour.
[44] Raeſon en guer a leueret
Ny aray diffrae pan paet
[…]

Dioscorus [to his messenger]: / […] / I have cash (in order) to satisfy them / I merrily want to pay them, first and foremost. //
The workers: / Let us go, surely, to make merry / because for our pains we have money / and our occupation is to enjoy ourselves. / I will give you money on top of

> the wine / of my wealth I will advance you (money). // And you will hurry because I pay you / for I have a strong wish to drink. / Therefore, let us go quickly without delay / soon entirely to lunch. / I will eat a peppersoup / and I drink when I see that it is time. //
> The other worker: / Reasonable is the word that you speak / we will do (it) quickly when you pay / […]. //

As has been discussed above, this is where the workers appear for the first time in *An Buhez*. Within the play it seems that the workers have received payment for their recent work and are now making plans to spend their wages. Dioscorus' instructions to his messenger ending with his plans to pay his future workers well may simply serve as a good point of transition from one action to the next. However, there is an intriguingly similar scene in *cinq journées*:

> DYOSCORUS
> […]
> Tenéz, voy cy dix francs pour boire,
> C'est le vin pour les compaignons!
>
> *Pausa. Recedat Dyoscorus ad palacium suum.*
>
> GANDELOCHE
> Puis que deniers nous empongnons,
> Nous yrons prendre le pïot.
> MURGAULT
> De meilleur cueur besongnerons,
> Puis que deniers nous empongnons.
> GANDELOCHE
> Fy de pain, d'aulx, aussi d'ongnons!
> Du meilleur buvons a plain pot!
> Puis que deniers nous empongnons,
> Nous yrons prendre le pïot.
> MURGAULT
> Qui vieult estre de noustre escot,
> Vienne quand et nous desjeunéz.
> Je ne pouroyë plus jeunéz.
> Il nous fault garnir noz boyaulx.
> Aprés noz maulx et noz travaulx,

Il nous fault empongnéz la pie.
(4846-4861)

Here, Dioscorus gives his masons drinking money. After having received the money, the masons immediately begin to make plans what to do with it. In addition to drinking, they also plan to eat well with it, for they profess themselves glad to have something other than bread, water and onions. They do no longer wish to fast and plan to "garnish their guts" after their hardship and work (4859f). According to Le Berre, the masons, who have been paid in advance "décident de faire ripaille avant de se mettre au travail (alors que les «Bretons» débattent gravement l'organisation du chantier)" (Le Berre 2012, 157). What Le Berre fails to perceive is that the masons have at that time already been working on the tower for a while and thus are neither paid in advance and instead receive a kind of tip, nor do they need to discuss the layout of the building site, for their work has begun long since. Moreover, the introductory scene of the Breton workers in fact mirrors the French play quite closely with regard to contents as well as to the expressions employed. For example, the beginning of *An Buhez* "Demp ſeder da ober cher mat / Rac dre hōn queux en ōn neux gloat / Hac ezeu hōn ſtat ebataff" mirrors the idea of *cinq journées* "De meilleur cueur besongnerons / Puis que deniers nous empongnons." The expressions "ober cher mat" and "de meilleur cueur" can both carry the meaning of "merry-making". The French word "besogner" means "to need something" as well as "to work, to act, to accomplish a task" (cf. *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500)* 2012). The Breton word "stat" is even more ambiguous and in this case is used to describe the situation of the workers. While they usually have an occupation that requires them "to accomplish a task, to work" (cf. Hemon 1979), they now have the opportunity and feel the need to spend money and enjoy themselves. The aspect of having money for their pains ('Rac dre hōn queux en ōn neux gloat') is not expressed in precisely the same way in *cinq journées*, but both parts are present in separate sentences. The novelty of having some money to spend is the central point of the masons' whole conversation and is underlined by the frequent repetition of the sentence "Puis que deniers nous empongnons". While they do not state exactly that they have money for their pains, Murgault says that it is now necessary for them to "garnish their guts" – using the money they have just received – after their troubles and their work ("Il nous fault garnir noz boyaulx. / Aprés noz maulx et noz travaulx", 4859f). What is most striking about the Breton text, however, is the lack of clarity with regard to the speaker of the first part of the workers' conversation (42ff). The line indicating the speaker reads "An mecherouryen" ('the workers') in the plural. Therefore it is unclear which of the workers is speaking the text or whether they all spoke at once, or whether each actor spoke one or two lines in turn. As the next speaker is denoted "an eil mecherour" ('the other/second worker', 44), and as this is the workers' first

appearance on stage, it would be reasonable to assume that the text of stanzas 42-43 – or part of it at least – is meant to be spoken by the first worker ('an quentaff mecherour'). This raises the question why the first worker, directly after having stated that they will now have money for their pains, is offering to give them money on top of the wine and to advance them money from his own wealth (verses 4-6, 42). If all workers have indeed just been paid, it would be unnecessary, as they would all have some money. Furthermore, wine has not been mentioned at all so far. The speaker could be buying the others drinks, but in this case the verb "avanczaff" would be a strange choice, as it carries a distinct connotation of expecting something back or in return, possibly from a different source. It is also interesting to note that there is an inconsistency of the rhyme scheme in stanza 42: "auanciff" ought to be "auancaff". The main internal rhyme of the verse is correct, however, which suggests that the triplet does indeed belong together. The end rhymes of stanzas 41 and 43 suggest that the proper rhyme should indeed have been -aff. While it is always possible that such inconsistencies are due to a mistake by the typesetter, this explanation is unlikely in this case. Firstly because "i" and "a" are not among the letters that are very frequently mixed up (like "u" and "n" for example), and secondly because such inconsistencies are frequent and very likely deliberate deviations from the rhyme scheme. They are often employed to highlight a certain aspect of the text or the performance, such as a change of speaker (3). In this case, the inconsistency indicates that the author explicitly wanted to use the first person singular present indicative ("avanciff") rather than find a workaround that would fit the rhyme scheme but possibly not convey the agent in the same way. This makes the question as to who is actually saying those lines all the more interesting. I suggest that only the first three lines of stanza 42 are spoken by the first worker, although a future form in the second line, i.e. "we will have money for our pains" would have been preferable in order to clarify the situation. However, this would have been more difficult to fit into the Breton rhyme scheme. Lines 4-6 suggest that the workers have only been promised wages, but have not received them yet. Still, it makes no sense for the first worker to promise the others wine on top of their wages and advance them money from his own funds. Such a distribution of wages and bonuses can be expected from the master, however, and in a later part of the conversation the master does indeed tell the workers that he will give them money ("Ha rac ſe ezouff duet ſeder / Guenech aman e pep manyer / Euit reiff dich ſclaer dinerou // – And therefore I have surely come / with you here in every way / in order to give you, clearly, money", 46). Thus, lines 4-6 of stanza 42 may well have been spoken by the master rather than by one of the workers. If this was indeed the case, then stanza 43 should probably be attributed to the master, as well, for it continues in much the same way: "you will hurry because I pay you" ('huyray diffrae pa ho paeaff', 43). Theoretically, the second half of stanza 42 and stanza 43 could also be attributed to Dioscorus, for he is the one that will pay the workers eventually.

If this were the case, he would be telling them that he gives them money on top of wine, or possibly for wine, that he will neither offer them short wages nor be deceptive, that he will give them money in advance, and that he will pay them in order to make them work faster, to make them build his tower more quickly. This is, however, problematic, because Dioscorus has not met the workers yet – the master approaches him in his palace about ten stanzas later. Moreover, the first three lines of stanza 42 would have to be spoken by one of the workers (or possibly the master) after all, as they would make no sense at all coming from Dioscorus. Thus, the action has clearly left the king's palace for the moment. Nevertheless, it is intriguing to note that there is some room for interpretation with regard to the speaker at this point. The comparison with *cinq journées* has made it clear that the gist of the craftsmen's conversation is the same in both plays. They emphasise their wish for a drink, discuss options for food and consider such a reward proper due to their previous efforts. The only thing that is noticeably different in *cinq journées* is that Dioscorus gives the masons drinking money, an action that is not portrayed in *An Buhez*. Hence, it is at least worth considering whether the three lines about wine being offered on top of the wages and money to be advanced from someone's own wealth might reflect precisely that drinking money from *cinq journées*.

Even though the craftsmen in *An Buhez* are called "mecherour" (worker) rather than "lathomus" (mason), the tasks they perform in both plays are that of a mason. They work with the stones needed for the tower. In *An Buhez* the master asks the workers to carry stones and lime upon their backs ("Dizou guet mein oar houz queniou̯"), to mason, to make use of the yardstick and to bring everything in line ("dre faeczon maczonet, / Diouz an reulẽn ha linnennet", 74). They obey "despite pain" ("euit an goes", 75) and as the third worker has professed in stanza 68, there is no man wiser than him with regard to making a decent wall if the materials are true ("Na da ober vn moguer plen / Mar be an matery dien / Ne caffech vn den ma quen fur"). In *cinq journées* the masons seem to cut the stones but nevertheless hurt their backs due to the hard work. When Gandeloche complains that his back hurts ("Le doz me deult", 4125), Murgault recommends to kneel down ("Beau Frere, or vous agenoulléz, / Vous en besongneréz plus aise!", 4127f), which in combination with Murgalant's earlier command "Sus! Sus! tailléz!" ('Come on cut', 4124) and Gandeloche's later comment "noustre pierre est taillee" ('our stone is cut', 4795) makes clear that they are at that point cutting stones. They are probably trimming the stones rather than cutting them from the rock, firstly because it is more likely that the former can be done while kneeling and secondly because this would be easier to act out on a stage (except if that stage was located in a quarry). Both teams of craftsmen are looking for a place to lay the tower's foundation. In *cinq journées* this new aspect is introduced by Gandeloche when he cuts the foundation plate:

GANDELOCHE
Plus qu'a descoustre sa semelle!
MURGAULT
Sa, des pierres!
GANDELOCHE
Sa, du mortier!
MURGAULT
Sa, mon relet et ma truelle!
Trouvons le fons de la tourelle
Pour y assoir le fondement.
(4787-4791)

An Buhez employs the same notion of finding the foundation, but the situation is more similar to a contest. This underlines the impression of the process of laying the foundation to be regarded as guesswork rather than science:

An eil mecherour.
[70] Cleuet huy ma opinion
Heruez ma eſtimation
Me caffe raeſon conſonant
Ez torret aman buhan flam
Euit guelet a caffet tam
Rac non be blaman fondamant.

An trede mecherour.
[71] Ha me preder dān atferant
Effe vn termen auenant
Dam entendamant ſeblantet
Ez claſcuemp aman dre manyer
An fondamant coant hac antier
Drezeu em eſper prederet.

An Mestr.
[72] Ha ha,
Ret ve ez ve prim eſtimet,
Hac aman gentil compilet,

> Muſuret ha diuiſet mat,
> […]
>
> The second worker: / Hear my opinion! / According to my assessment / I would find good reason / that one would dig here at once / in order to see whether one might find somehow, / so that we can not be blamed, the foundation. //
> The third worker: / And I think on the contrary / it would be a good thing / to my understanding, it would seem / that we search here, anyway, / the pretty and complete foundation / so it is thought in my mind. //
> The master: / Ha ha,/ it would be necessary that it would be quickly estimated / and arranged here carefully / measured and divided well! / […] //

Of course, the team in both plays successfully lays a foundation in the end and builds a tower.

6.1.1. Correspondence to Reality

Despite manifold similarities, particularly between *An Buhez* and *cinq journées*, there is something unique and thus most striking about the tower scene in *An Buhez* in comparison to the other texts. While the Latin versions do not offer much detail with regard to the craftsmen or the building process, the two French plays respectively depict two masons building the tower. As Longtin points out, *cinq journées* is the only play to provide the craftsmen with names. Moreover, he explains that the craftsmen's purpose is not merely to make the audience laugh. They provide an opportunity for the audience to relate to the characters within the play and offer "en quelques répliques un condensé de vie propre à capter l'attention du public" (Longtin 2003, 4-5). He bases this analysis on the topics the craftsmen discuss and links it to their introduction which takes place even before they are sought out by the king's messenger. Apart from the names all this is the same in *An Buhez*. In a way, the Breton play heightens this impression of authenticity by introducing a crew of first three and then five workers which is led by a master. This comes even closer to a situation taken from real life, for any major building operation was usually supervised by a master-builder (Binding 2014, 29).

In contrast to *cinq journées* and *An Buhez*, *deux journées* does not give many details with regard to the building of the tower. It has also been demonstrated that *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* show the greatest level of overlap with regard to both contents and style. The exception is the bathhouse, which appears only in the Latin versions and in *cinq journées*, but even in this case the structure in *An Buhez* and *cinq journées* remains similar. Even though *An Buhez* is significantly shorter than *cinq journées*, almost every action and subject pertaining to the craftsmen appears in both plays. Therefore, the amount of space dedicated to the tower episode

in *An Buhez* clearly exceeds that of the other plays. It takes up about five percent of the entire action of the Breton play, while in *deux journées* it is only about two percent and in *cinq journées* only one and a half percent. It appears that the tower scene was considered to be of some importance to the author, the actors, and/or the audience of the play.

The staging of a play in medieval France involved an entire town. According to Runnalls, "the large-scale plays were mounted by a town, or rather by its local administrators"(Runnalls 1998, 67) and "almost all the workers and artisans of a town could be called upon to provide goods and/or service for the spectacle" (Runnalls 1998, 73). Building the theatre and stage fell to "the artisans and the working classes" of the respective town. Due to the fact that there were hardly any professional actors at all during the Middle Ages, "[a] play was acted mostly by the middle classes" and "the main roles in mystery plays were often taken by priests or other types of churchmen; it was obviously appropriate that such men should play the roles of Christ, or God the Father, or the Apostles, or a saint" (Runnalls 1998, 75; see also 2). It is only logical to assume that other roles would also have been taken by such people whose business was closest to the one portrayed on stage. There is no reason to assume that staging a play was handled differently in Brittany. It is therefore likely that the episode in which the building of the tower begins is mirroring the involvement of the town's builders in the staging of the play. Firstly, they may well have contributed by building the stage and stage equipment needed for the play. Secondly, it is certainly possible as well as quite plausible that they would have been the ones to take the roles of the craftsmen within the play. They would have their costumes, which were customarily provided by the actors themselves (Runnalls 1998, 76), ready made and could even use their own tools as props. It becomes clear from the text that certain tools must indeed have been on stage:

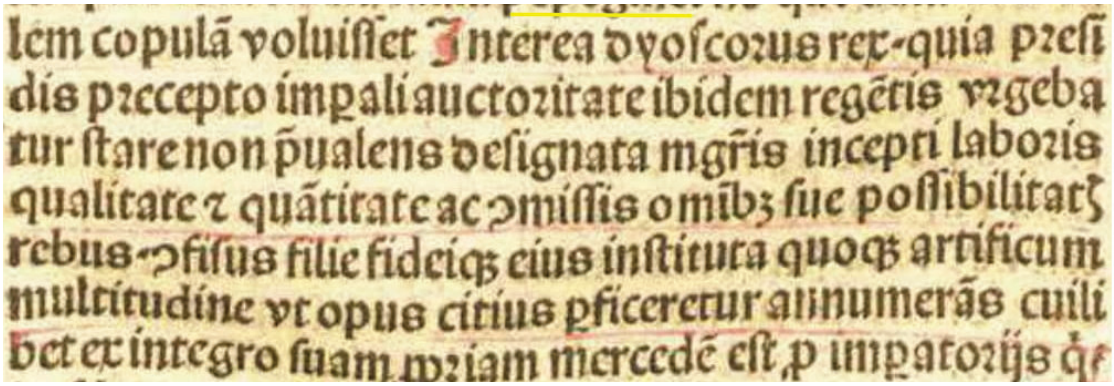
> An quentaff mecherour.
> [67] Memeux nendeux ſy binhuyou
> Scuezr ha reulēn ha linennou
> Ha morzolou ha loaou plat
> Ha hoaz emeux guell quiſellou
> Mar bez ezom ha patrōmou
> Pan eux dinerou dezrou mat.
>
> The first worker: / I have, there is no doubt, tools, / a square and a measuring rod and cords / and mallets and trowels / and I also have better chisels / – if needs be – and models / because there are bonuses. //

As Runnalls points out, it was at times difficult to distinguish between actors and audience,

because in medieval theatre they were the same. Actors would get discounts on the entrance fee, which made acting all the more attractive. They would then sit in their allotted seats and watch the play until it became time for them to appear on stage in their turn (Runnalls 1998, 81). Bearing this in mind, stanza 68 does not only sound like the description of one of the workers within the play, but may well be an advertisement for the actor's qualities outside the play:

> An trede mecherour.
> [68] Eguit ober vn mecher mat
> Pan vez an daffar hegarat
> En pep ſtat dam grat ha natur
> Na da ober vn moguer plen
> Mar be an matery dien
> Ne caffech vn den ma quen fur.
>
> The third worker: / For making a good work / when the materials are agreeable / in any case to my will and nature (the way I like them) / and to make a decent wall / if the material would be true / you could not find a man as wise as I am. //

In addition to this, the very presence of the master is intriguing. He appears in neither of the French plays. While masters are indeed mentioned in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* towards the end of the episode of the tower building, the description of the craftsmen's tasks and work is much less detailed. However, the Latin legend provides some information on the masters' function. They are the ones Dioscorus relies upon in order to make sure that the work is done properly and according to his orders while he is with the emperor:


lem copulã voluiſſet Interea dyoſcorus rex-quia preſi
dis precepto impali auctoritate ibidem regẽtis vgeba
tur ſtare non ualens deſignata mgris incepti laboris
qualitate ⁊ quãtitate ac ꝯmiſſis omib; ſue poſſibilitat;
rebus-ꝯfiſus filie fideiq; eius inſtitura quoq; artificum
multitudine vt opus citius pficeretur ainumerãs cuili
bet ex integro ſuam mziam mercedẽ eſt ꝑ impatoꝛiꝰ q

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 19)

In *An Buhez*, the master is a very important character with a much more extensively distin-

guished area of expertise. He makes suggestions as to the design of the tower, is involved in all building processes by motivating his workers or helping with more complicated tasks like laying the foundation, he distributes the wages and acts as the link between the workers and the king. In other words, he does all the work associated with a medieval "magister operis", a work master, as Binding describes them in some detail (Binding 1993, 51-70, 236-267). The Breton term used to describe the character is "An mestr mecherour" ('the master worker'), but "An meſtr ān euffr" ('the master of the oeuvre/work'), which correlates broadly with the Latin "magister operis", occurs as well. Moreover, the strong emphasis on the master's reliability might be interpreted as a form of advertisement. The master in the Breton play has a lot of text and would most probably have been required to be literate. This may well have been true for a medieval work master, for he was required to sign and then to fulfil written contracts (Binding 1993, 238f). The other workers and assistant builders do not have so much text. The second and third worker each have five stanzas, the first worker only three. The first and second assistant builders each speak two stanzas of text. Even if they were not literate, it would have been possible to learn such a small amount of text by heart while a literate person read it out loud.

At the end of the episode, the workers sing a stanza of the play together:

> *Aman e can an mecherouryen.*
> [79] Euelhẽn en gonit gloat hac ebataff,
> Euelhẽn eu gonit gloat,
> Mar da moues dan marchat
> Ha caffout compaignun mat,
> Hac he reo da euaff,
> Euelhẽn eụ gonit gloat hac ebataff.
>
> *Here the workers sing now.* / Like this is gaining riches and amusing oneself, / like this is gaining riches. / When a woman goes to the market / and finds a good companion / who will lead her to drink / like this is gaining riches and amusing oneself. //

The metre changes from the play's customary stanza comprised of eight or ten syllables to a stanza whose first and last verse comprise eleven syllables each, and the ones in between comprise seven syllables. Hervé le Bihan argues that this is an archaic metre which is known from other Celtic languages.[30] Joseph Loth explains that verses consisting of seven syllables are "rare dans les textes, mais non dans la poésie populaire" (Jubainville and Loth 1902, 180).

[30] To the best of my knowledge his work is still in progress. I would like to thank M. le Bihan for his helpful correspondence on the subject.

As Mary-Ann Constantine points out, "there are few records of the [singing of Breton ballads] before the first decades of the nineteenth century", but the song of the masons may well be among "the earliest candidates" (Constantine 1996, 53). It is therefore possible that the song of the masons was indeed a Breton song and the audience may have known it and possibly even sung along. In fact, it is conceivable that the craftsmen who worked on the stage and props sang the song during their working hours and thus introduced it into the play. This, in turn, would strengthen the impression of an authentic working team playing the role of the workers in *An Buhez*. As has been mentioned above, the masons' introductory lines in *cinq journées* take the form of a French "rondeau", which was a popular metre and has its origins in dancing and singing. As Longtin points out, there are several "rondeaux" in *cinq journées* and they "ponctue l'action du Mystère, introduisant un rythme, un mouvement" (Longtin 2005, 6-7). The simple "rondeau" comprises eight verses with the rhyme scheme ABaAabAB, in which the capital letters represent the refrains, i.e. verses that are (almost) identical, and the lower case letters signify simple rhymes (Gleason 1954, 96). The common rhyme scheme in *An Buhez* would be aabccb plus internal rhymes a and c in the third and sixth verse respectively. In the case of the masons' song in *An Buhez* the rhyme scheme does not follow the usual pattern, yielding abbbaa or ABbbaA, to be more precise. Only the first and the last verse, which are identical, have an internal rhyme as well. They consist of eleven syllables each, which is longer than the four middle verses and also longer than the usual eight or ten syllable verse of *An Buhez*. If we were to introduce a break after the seventh syllable in the first and last verse, we would get the following stanza:

> Euelhẽn en gonit gloat
> hac ebataff,
> Euelhẽn eu gonit gloat,
> Mar da moues dan marchat
> Ha caffout compaignun mat,
> Hac he reo da euaff,
> Euelhẽn eụ gonit gloat
> hac ebataff.

This stanza then consists of eight verses with the rhyme scheme ABAaabAB and does not show any internal rhyme. Apart from a twist in the second couplet, the rhyme scheme would thus be identical with that of the simple "rondeau". I therefore suggest that, if the song was not an authentic Breton song introduced by the workers, the author of *An Buhez* may consciously have chosen or even created a song that is similar to a French "rondeau", while at the same

time sticking to the rigid Breton metre as well as possible.

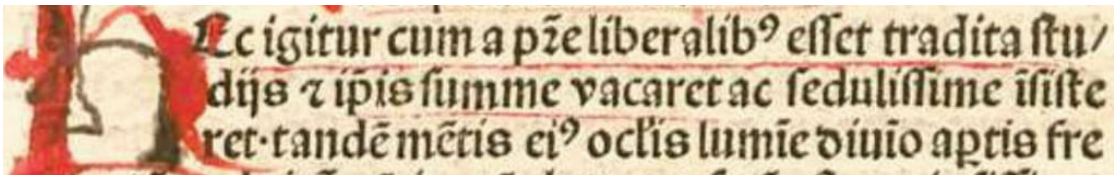
Such potential authenticity extends beyond the characteristics of the roles/actors. It is also true for work processes described in *An Buhez* and accordingly, in *cinq journées*. As has been discussed above, Dioscorus tells the master of his plan to have a tower built. The master then makes suggestions for the design of the tower and they both go visiting the building site together, where Dioscorus has already assembled materials he expected to be required for the building. According to Binding, the material was usually provided by the employer (Binding 1993, 152), which is in this case Dioscorus. The way in which Dioscorus and the master discuss the work process, particularly with regard to the financial aspect and the materials that are already present, suggests a contract for work and labour as opposed to an indefinite contract with payment on a daily or annual basis (Binding 1993, 154). This serves to strengthen the impression of a "real" master mason on stage, especially as neither *cinq journées* nor *deux journées* is nearly as detailed with regard to such organisational matters. However, there is also one section in *cinq journées* which mirrors a practice of paying labourers on a medieval building site. As discussed above, Dioscorus gives the masons "drinking money" (4846). Such a "Trinkgeld" was paid to any labourer on the site "bei erfolgreichem Abschluss von Bauabschnitten […] oder bei besonders anstrengender Arbeit" (Binding 2014, 75).

This is slightly different in terms of the actual work performed on stage. As has been shown, both *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* have the craftsmen comment on their work while constructing the tower. In *cinq journées* the masons are evidently cutting stones, while in *An Buhez* the workers appear to be carrying the stones to the building site. Both tasks are clearly associated with stonemasons, as Binding illustrates in his chapter on masons (Binding 1993, 285-311). However, while the masons in *cinq journées* are evidently kneeling during their work, the images Binding includes in his study depict masons sitting on stools. The carrying of stones appears to be an accurate assessment of a mason's task, for "[h]äufig sind die Steinmetzen mit dem Versetzen der Quader beschäftigt" (Binding 1993, 288). Both *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* have the craftsmen refer to their tools and again, although they refer to different tools, all are associated with the work of a stonemason. The masons in *cinq journées* mention their mallets, trowels, mortar and cement, while the workers in *An Buhez* refer to a trowel, square, measuring rod or ruler, (plumb) line or cord, mallet, chisels, lime and also to models (s.a.). Like the laying of a foundation, the making of models is usually a task for the master or for his assistant. Most of the tools in *An Buhez* appear to belong to the first worker and he is also the one mentioning the models. It is possible that he was not merely the first worker to speak but in fact a slightly superior worker. However, the list of tools may simply be the result of satisfying the requirements of the Breton rhyme scheme. Laying the foundation is also depicted in a similar way in *An Buhez* and *cinq journées*. The craftsmen look for a place to lay their foundation and in

An Buhez the process becomes a kind of competition, ended by a good-humoured comment by the master. While Binding does not describe the laying of a foundation as guesswork, he makes it plain that it was a complicated task performed, if possible, by an expert (Binding 1993, 339-354). On the whole, *An Buhez* surpasses *cinq journées* with regard to the authenticity of the building process. While *cinq journées* is in general more complex and much longer than *An Buhez*, the author of the Breton play appears to have put considerable effort into staging a realistic building project. Taken together with the fact that the tower episode is also noticeably longer than in the other plays, the involvement of a real group of builders, possibly of the town's guild, seems likely.

7. Barbara's Education and Conversion

In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, *cinq journées*, and *An Buhez* Dioscorus wishes his daughter to be educated. Any kind of education instigated by Dioscorus is entirely absent from both *deux journées* and the *Legenda Aurea*. The second chapter of John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* starts with the simple statement that Barbara is going to be educated:



(Wakkerzeel 1495, 7)

Thanks to this awakening of her intellect and her intuitive knowledge, she soon begins to doubt the legitimacy of the pagan gods. The rest of the second chapter of John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* focuses on her arguments against worshipping these gods. Although there is no instigator in the *Legenda Aurea*, Barbara's intellect is at one point connected to a classical education on the one hand, and to her lack of a formal Christian education on the other: "Tandem tradita studiis liberalibus alta transscendebat, sed defuit ei notitia veri Dei" (Graesse 1965, 898). In *deux journées*, the process of Barbara's awakening intellect and her subsequent conversion to Christianity appears to have taken place before the beginning of the play. When Barbara appears for the first time, she obediently agrees to come and see her parents, like in the other two plays (s.b.). Then the episode about the marriage proposal follows, which takes place at a considerably later point in all other versions, namely after Barbara's conversion (9). During her second appearance in *deux journées*, Barbara already speaks of only one God when she bids farewell to her parents: "Dieu le vous vueillë ennuit rendre" (564). When Barbara bids farewell to her father in *cinq journées*, her manner is similar ("A Dieu, cher Pere, j'ay desir / Que Dieu si vous face choisir / Tousjours bonne voye et adresse", 8025-8027), but she has at that point already converted to Christianity. In both plays, the remark passes unnoticed by her pagan relatives, who presumable suppose she is referring to one of the pagan gods. Shortly after her parents have left her, Barbara prays in her chambers in *deux journées*, and she clearly addresses the Christian God:

> Vray Dieu qui as sur tout puissance,
> Donne moy de Toy remembrance.
> Vray Pere qui formas la terre,
> Envers Toy tel vertu acquerre

Que je puisse avoir congnoïssance
De ton sainct nom, par evidence,
[…].
(629-634)

As in the *Legenda Aurea*, she is apparently still lacking a deeper understanding of the Christian doctrine, the "notitia veri Dei" (s.a.), which she will receive from the hermit soon afterwards (7.1). But her initial conversion that takes place due to her inherent wisdom and intuitive knowledge appears to precede the action of *deux journées* rather than being a part of it.

In both *cinq journées* and *An Buhez*, the simple information of John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* on Barbara's formal education has been elaborated and adapted to suit a stage. In *An Buhez*, "Dioscorus sends (someone) out to search for a tutor / to instruct his daughter (at home)" ('Dioſcorus à quacc da claſq vn meſtr à / ſcol da diſquiff e merch', 79-80). This happens directly after the workers have begun to build the tower. When the king's servant returns to him with a suitable schoolmaster ('mestr a scol'), he presents his plan to Barbara. She is very positive about the idea to be educated:

[90] Ma tat mat quer antier gruet aquerhet
Rac deſiraff araffnen nachaff quet
Bezaff affet diciplinet ſeder
En pep ſquient euident autentic
Philoſophy ha muy hac an Phiſic
En holl pratic me mēn em aplicquer.

My dear, good father, do entirely what you would like!, / because I want, I do not deny it, / to be indeed educated, surely, / in every authentic, obvious science, / in philosophy and more, also in physics. / I want to be introduced to all practices! //

These are, incidentally, also the very first words Barbara speaks in the play. She is thus depicted as an obedient child interested in studying. In *cinq journées*, Dioscorus is advised to have Barbara educated by one of his courtiers. The scene takes place at the very beginning, just after Dioscorus has introduced himself and part of his court. He decides to ask her opinion about her education and receives a very positive answer, as well:

BARBARA
Trés cher Sire, voustre parler
M'est tresgrant joyë et plaisir

J'ay aprendre moult grand desir,
Mais que j'ayë qui bien me monstre.
(413-416)

Although these are not Barbara's first words in *cinq journées*, she has not appeared much earlier. Apart from exchanging some courtesies, Barbara has hardly spoken before this. The impression of her is very similar to that in *An Buhez*. After Barbara has agreed to the plan, Dioscorus sends Lancevent, his messenger, to fetch two *doctores* whom Florimond (Dioscorus' first soldier) had recommended earlier, namely Maistre Amphoras and Maistre Alphons.

Upon being summoned to the king, the schoolmaster and the *doctores*, respectively, immediately go/es to attend him. In *cinq journées*, Dioscorus explains to the *doctores* that he wishes his daughter to be educated in the seven liberal arts and also in "la loy des dieux" (536f). As it turns out later, these gods are those of the ancient Roman Pantheon in both plays. In *An Buhez*, Dioscorus wishes for "a good scholar, to my taste in every regard / a wise man, noble and of moderation, / of good character. […] the wisest" ('Vn cloarec mat dã grat à pep ſtatur / Den ſquientus gracius à muſur, / Aſtat natur […] an furhaff', 80), but it is Barbara who first specifies the subjects of her education in stanza 90 (s.a.). Dioscorus then adds his own ideas about the contents of her studies:

[91] Cza mazouchuy heb neb ſy magiſter
Diſquit dezy ſigniffi ān lizer
En berr amſer autier na differet
Maz gallo gent heb neb fent entent plen
Philoſophy/Aſtrology dien
Da cōps pguen ouz braſhaff den ſo en bet

There! Since you are, without any doubt, a master / teach to her the sense of writing / in a little while, complete! Do not delay, / so that she will be perfectly able – without feint – to understand fully / philosophy, astrology, surely, to speak pertinently to the greatest man that is in the world. //

In addition to that, the schoolmaster claims that she will be able to converse flawlessly in Latin after his lessons (92). In both plays, the king wishes the tutor/s to attend Barbara at home rather than send her away to a university. This appears to be different in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, where the place of education is not specified by Dioscorus (s.a.).

Even though the scene is much longer and more detailed in *cinq journées*, the gist of the episodeis very similar in both plays. We witness Barbara being introduced to the knowledge

her tutor/s possess/es. She then requests to study in private for a while in *cinq journées*, while the schoolmaster advises her to do so in *An Buhez*. During this private study, both plays indicate that she reads texts on the pagan gods. Afterwards, her doubts about the pagan gods surface and she confronts her tutor/s with her newly found thoughts and ideas:

cinq journées:
BARBARA
Maistres, j'apersoy trop grant blasme,
Quar voz dictz sont contradictoires
Et cestes scïences notoires.
Je suys en grant suspicïon
Qu'il y ait opposicïon
De verité en ce que dictes.
[…]
Dictez moy, pour vous advertir,
Qui furent ces dieux, je vous prie.
[…]
Or me dictes, furent ilz gens
Au monde comme nous vivans?
(1110-1153)

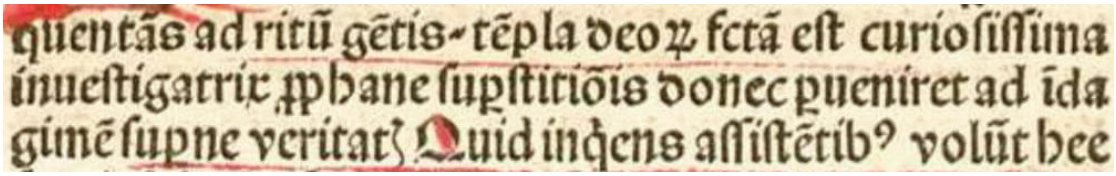
An Buhez:
Sante barba a lauar de meſtr.
[109] Meſtr magiſter a manyer mat
Compſet diff plen dam louenhat
Oll ān holl ſtat na trellatet
Imagiou ān ydolou man
Peban indy compſet huy glan
Me ſo dre reman ſouzanet.

[…]

[112] Compſet huy pe a nation
Piu viont y heb finction
Diff ān oll faczon ſarmonet
[…]

> *Saint Barbara speaks to her master*: / Master Tutor of good manner / speak to me plainly to satisfy me / do not lose your head over the whole affair! / The images of the idols here, / where are they from, speak plainly! / I am confused by them. // […] // Tell (me), of what birth, / who they used to be, without lie! / […] //

This is very similar in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, where no specific tutor is mentioned, and yet the connection between her education and her enlightenment is clearly indicated. But instead of studying in private and then confronting the tutor/s about her new ideas, she speaks to the people in the temple:



(Wakkerzeel 1495, 7)

This is indeed the same as in the *Legenda Aurea*, where she visits the temple with her parents one day and begins to question the pagan religion due to her intrinsic wisdom:

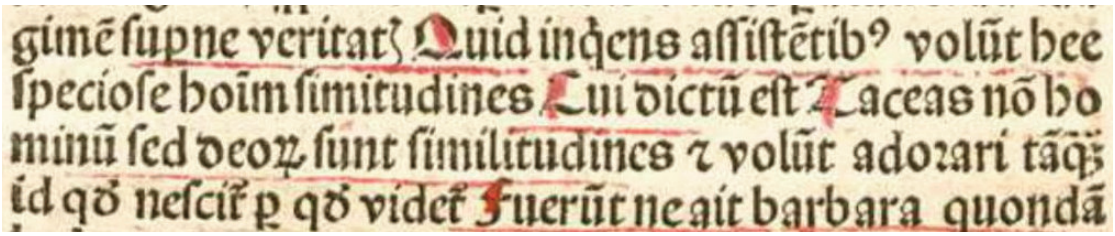
> Erat autem beata Barbara ingeniosa et a tenera netate vanas cogitationes relinquens coepit divina cogitare. Cum enim semel templum intraret, videns simulacra parentibus suis ait: quid sibi volunt hae similitudines hominum? Respondent parentes: taceas, non hominum, sed Deorum sunt […].
> (Graesse 1965, 898)

The two Latin versions are very much alike in this case. They also continue in a similar way, since Barbara then asks whether the gods used to be humans once. Upon receiving a positive answer, she asks whether they are also subject to the common human weaknesses, like dying. When this question is also answered in the affirmative, she ponders this information for a while and reaches the conclusion that gods who were born and have to die cannot really be gods, but that there has to be one creator instead, who is exempt from the human weakness of death. She argues that this creator must have made all humans, but also the world they inhabit:

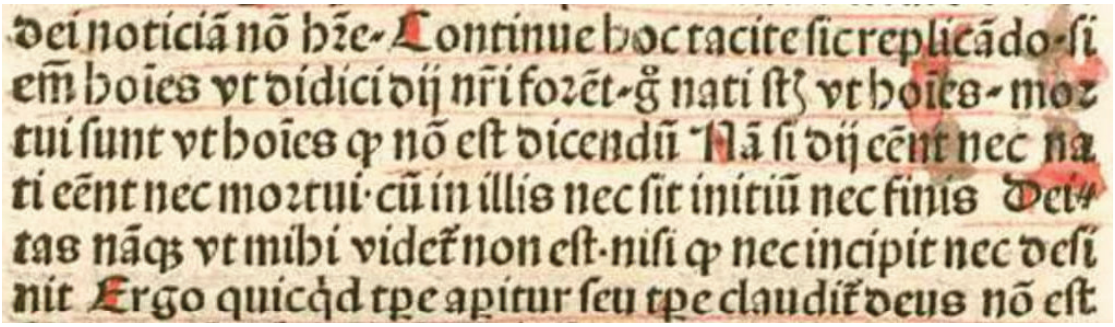
> *Legenda Aurea*:
> Barbara dixit: fuerunt quondam homines, quos nunc colimus? Respondent: ita. Ex hoc beata Barbara die noctuque replicabat tacita dicens: si homines fuerunt Dii nostri, ergo nati sunt ut homines, mortui sunt ut homines; si Dii essent, nec nati fuissent nec mortui, quia deitas, ut mihi videtur, nec coepit nec desinit esse.

> […]
> Sed quia nec terra a se est nec coelum a se nec aër a se nec aqua a se, ex quibus quatuor elementis constat homo, sed creaturae sunt, necesse est his esse creatorem. (Graesse 1965, 898)

In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, the argument is much longer and includes other considerations, but Barbara asks the same questions and draws the same conclusions:



(Wakkerzeel 1495, 7)



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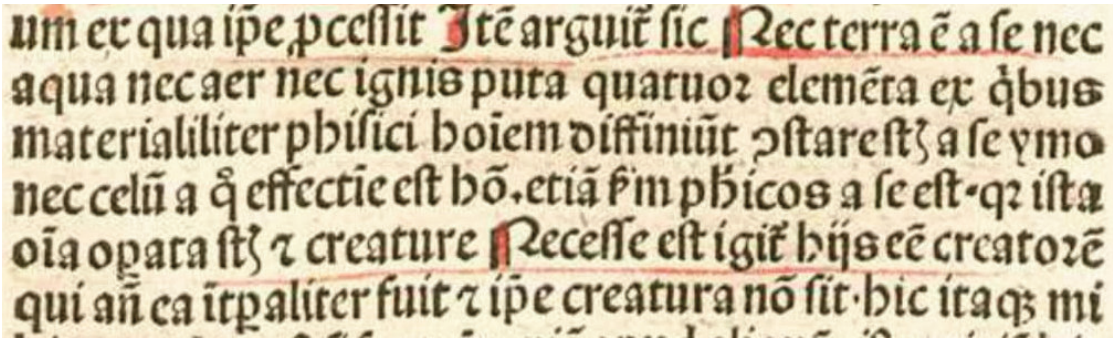


(Wakkerzeel 1495, 8)

Barbara's realisation that the pagan gods are not legitimate gods is the key for her conversion, of course. Thus, it figures strongly in both *cinq journées* and *An Buhez*:

cinq journées:

MAISTRE ALPHONS

Ouÿ, et beuvans et mangeans,
Dormant et souffrant chault et froit,
Fain et soif ; chascun d'eulx souffroit
Toutes fragilles passïons.

BARBARA

Avant que plus oultre passons,
Furent ilz en femmes conceupz
Et engendréz d'homme?

MAISTRE AMPHORAS

Touz sceuz
Sont ces cas, car ouÿ, ma Dame.

BARBARA

Ilz sont dont faiz de corps et d'ame
Et furent chascun néz de mere.

MAISTRE ALPHONS

Ouÿ, la chose est toute clere
Qu'ilz furent tous telz comme nous,
Excepté qu'ilz furent tretouz
Deïffïer : chascun divin
Fut fait, comme dit le latin.
[…]

BARBARA

Mourirent ilz?

MAISTRE ALPHONS

Touz les humains
Meurent, c'est la regle notoire.
[…]

BABARA

[…]
Puis donc que le monde estoit fait
Avant eulx [les dieux], qui l'avoit parfaict
Et figuré en sa figure?
Il faut que soit ung dieu qui dure
Sans fin et sans commencement,

Le quel soit eternellement
Ou hault ciel regnant et vivant.
(1110-1215)

An Buhez:
An meſtr.
[113] Tut autentic […]
Dirac pep drem lem voe an remā
Hac a buhez mat en ſtat man
Dren goar glan pep vnan an bro

[114] Me comps dich oll a Apollo
A Venus ſaczun ha Iuno
Mercurio Petro ſo ſcaff
Pallas aſſur ha Saturnus
Iupiter Habel ha Venus
Doeou galloudus da vſaff

Sante Barba.
[115] Impoſſibl eu adeſeuaff
Heruez quement a ententaff
Ez galhēt y ſcaff bezaff quet
Doeou creff na beu na ſeuen
No deueux gallout na ſoutē
A maru yēn ezint tremenet

An meſtr.
[116] Suppoſet effent ententet
An maru yen ſo plē ordrenet
Dān holl re ganet en bet mā
[…]

[117] […]
Unan an crim ligitimet
Dindan an ſter na preſeruet
Nendeux quet gouezet ſeder

Sante Barba.
[118] […]
Honnez ſo ſeder mecher bras
Bezaff ordrenet credet plen
An maru da daſtum tut humen
Na piu voe plen en ordrenas

[119] Ret ezeux vn doe a croeas
An heaul/an loar/han douar bras
Hac a ordrenas an draſe
Dre vn pecheut groaet en bet man
Maru diſaczun da pep vnan
Na bras na bihan na manſe

The master: / The holy beings […] / those were real to everyone / and of a good life in this situation / as everyone of the world knows very well. // I tell you all about Apollo / and everything about Venus and Juno, / Mercury, Petro – it is easy – / Pallas, surely, and Saturn, / Jupiter and Bel and Venus / mighty gods to invoke. //
Saint Barbara: / It is impossible, I think, / according to all that I understand / that they could really be / mighty gods, neither living nor strong, / they have neither ability nor help / of a cold death; they have perished. //
The master: / Supposing that they exist, listen! / The cold death is plainly ordered / to all those born into this world: / […] // […] / None who is exempt from the crime / nor preserved (from it) – know for sure! – / does exist under the stars. //
Saint Barbara: / […] / This is surely a great work / to have ordered – believe it plainly! – / Death to reap the human race! / And who was it then that ordered it? // It is necessary that there is one God who created / the sun, the moon and the great earth / and who ordered this obligation / due to one sin committed in this world, / (namely) a cruel death to everyone / so that neither great nor small would escape. //

In *cinq journées*, Barbara considers it a necessity that a true god has to exist beyond human life. In *An Buhez*, Barbara expresses a similar thought in a slightly different way. According to her consideration, death had to have been imposed upon humans by someone. For this someone to be a true god, she feels that he must be exempt from this entirely earthly flaw. While the gist

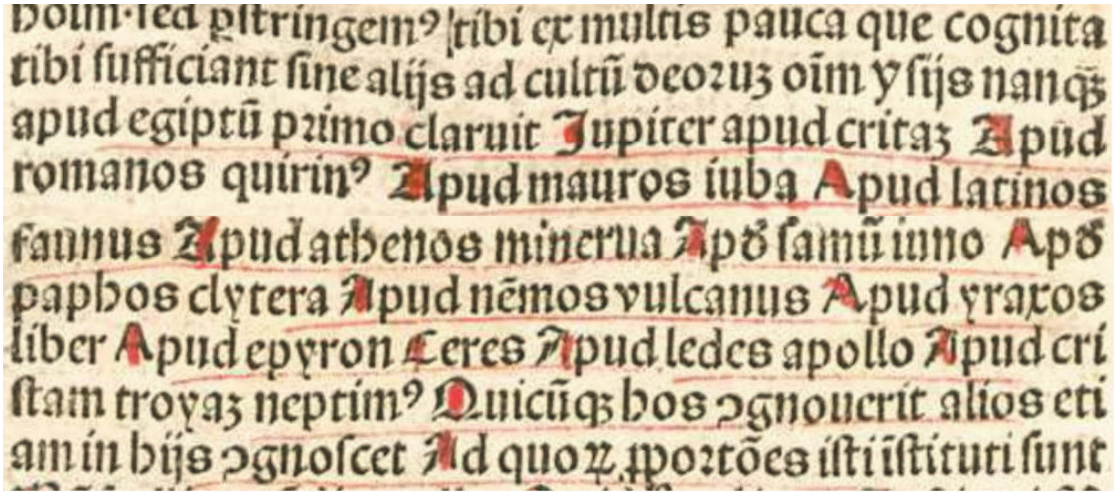
of the argument is similar in both plays and also in he Latin versions, much more emphasis is placed upon the exemption from death in *An Buhez*.

The most striking difference between *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* is the structure that is used in *cinq journées*. Barbara's arguments clearly consist of three parts. The first one has been illustrated above, the second line of argumentation deals with Barbara's concern about the pagan gods' deeds in the legends. She is told these legends by the *doctores* (987-1073) and they are again referred to during the beginning of their argument:

> BARBARA
> Si chascun est sanctiffïé,
> Qui fut qui les sanctiffïa?
> Qui est cil qui ediffïa
> Le dieu que vous nomméz Pheton?
> MAISTRE ALPHONS
> Apollo, son pere.
> BARBARA
> Or monton.
> Qui ediffïa Apollo?
> MAISTRE AMPHORAS
> Ce fut Jupiter.
> BARBARA
> Je le lo.
> Il nous fault plus avant monter.
> Qui ediffïa Jupiter,
> Juno, Pluto et Neptunus?
> MAISTRE ALPHONS
> Qui ce fut? Ce fut Saturnus
> Qui estoit pere d'eulx ensemble.
> BARBARA
> Et qui Saturnus?
> MAISTRE AMPHORAS
> Il me semble
> Qu'i se deïffïa luy mesme.
> (1226-1239)

In *An Buhez*, only a short reference is made to the names of the pagan gods in stanza 114 (s.a.) but a longer explanation is clearly implied. This is handled in a similar way in John of

Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, where the names of several pagan deities and characters are listed as part of the discussion between Barbara and the people in the temple, but these names are not elaborated upon:



(Wakkerzeel 1495, 7f)

In *cinq journées*, the lives of the pagan gods are considered sinful by Barbara and lead her to imagine a greater god, free from such flaws, of "totalle perfection" (1662), whom she would worship readily (1609-1667). In *An Buhez*, Barbara begins her argument by wondering about the customs of the people around her and their reverence for what she perceives as powerless and imperfect images. Then she denounces the pagan gods as false idols:

Sante Barba.
[104] Me ſo ſoezet oar ān bet man
Pan em ſongiaff a muyhaff poan
An dra man am groa ſouzanet
Ouz guelet en pep ploe doeou
Manyer errol a ydolou
Dre fantaſiou dezrouet.

[105] Meda quentaff ne credaff quet
Imagiou bouzar imparfet
O deffhe galloet en bet man
Na doen plet en bet do fetou
Na do templ na do exemplou

Nendint nemet gou ha ſouzan.

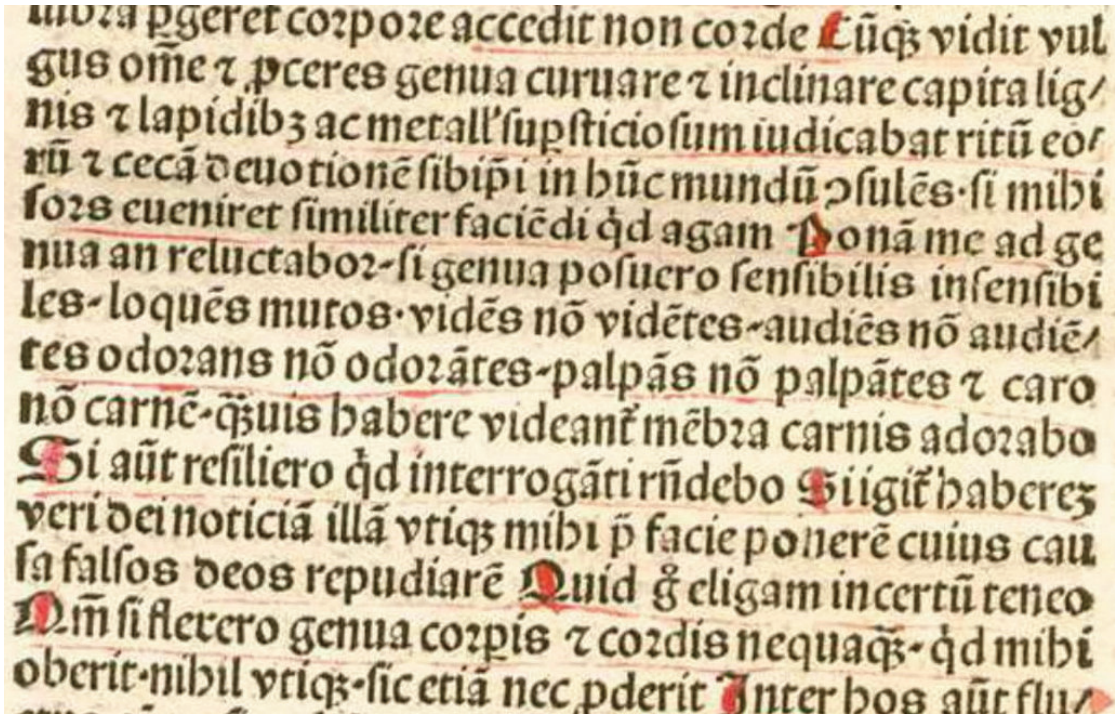
[…]

[107] […]
Imagiou ān ydolou man
Neōn pedre fet en bet man
Ez grueont glan na pe en manyer.

[108] Fablou hac errorou gouyer
En ho caffaff an quentaff guer
A drouc eſper ez prederet
Ne caffaff quet en ho ferou
Dre neb apoe effent doeou
A drouc euffurou ez dezrouet.

Saint Barbara: / I am amazed about this world / when I think by myself. With the greatest pain / this thing troubles me: / to see gods in every community, / the kind of erroneous misbelief, and idols / created by fantasy. // Firstly, I do not believe / that numb, imperfect images / would have power in this world. / and I do not pay attention at all to their deeds, / nor to their temple or to their paradigm; / they are but lie and deceit. // […] // […] / The images of these idols, / I do not know by which deed in this world / they act divinely, nor in which manner. // Fables and mendacious errors, / I find them in the first place. / Out of a false hope, you imagine things. / I do not find in their deeds / by any means that they would be gods. / Out of false evidence, you start telling things. //

This is very interesting, because with regard to the structure, *An Buhez* resembles John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* very closely. There, too, Barbara first expresses discontent at seeing people of different status worshipping the idols made of wood, stone and metal, i.e. "to see gods in every community" ('Ouz guelet en pep ploe doeou', 104). She then criticises the pagan gods' lack of liveliness and says that she will no longer truly worship gods whom she perceives as false, and only pretend to do so instead:



(Wakkerzeel 1495, 10)

The *Legenda Aurea* employs similar wording, but is much shorter. The part about the pagan gods' lack of liveliness is missing, for example. Nevertheless, the idea that Barbara does no longer wish to worship the pagan gods who are made from wood and stone is clearly present:

> […] vanos autem Deos occulte sprevit, et cum vidit Diis, scilicet lignis et lapidibus, flectere genua sensibilia insensibilibus mutis, animo valde correxit.
> (Graesse 1965, 898)

It is also interesting to note that without knowing the Latin versions and Barbara's attitude towards the pagan gods, it seems rather incongruous for Barbara to express those thoughts and feelings at this point in *An Buhez*. While her plan to disregard the pagan gods results from her line of argumentation in favour of a single creator in the Latin versions, the statement precedes her arguments in *An Buhez*. In *cinq journées*, it is not necessary to include such a statement at all, for the author chose to include an entire pagan ceremony in the play, during which Barbara can display her scepticism (7.1). Nevertheless, Barbara makes a similar point about the pagan gods' lack of power in *cinq journées*. While the structure of *cinq journées* is different from that of *An Buhez*, the wording is quite similar (cf. 105f):

cinq journées:
BARBARA
Commes me dictez vous ceulx cy
Estre dieux? C'est bien chousse inutille.
Comment? C'est euvre discutille.
Simulacres sont et ydolles.
Sont bien voz crëances si folles
Croire qu'ilz sont dieux de la gent,
Qui ne sont fors or et argent?
Ce sont de voz mains les ouvraiges,
Statues sourdez et voz ymaiges.
(1724-1732)

The third line of argumentation in *cinq journées* is the idea of a single creator. As I demonstrated above, Barbara's main argument in favour of a single entity in the Latin versions is the fact that the elements, of which humans consist, must have been created by someone, too (s.a.). Similar to this, in the plays Barbara regards it as a necessity that one entity has planned and created the world and everything in and around it, and that this entity now governs it. While the idea is certainly present in *An Buhez*, it is expressed in far fewer words than in *cinq journées*:

cinq journées:
La terre en esté verdoyer.
Fruictz produire, multiplïer
Et en celui temps employer,
Les arbres de feuilles vestir
Et en yver les desvestir.
La mer donne plusieurs poisson
Dont on usë, et en saison.
Le solleil vers Occident tourne
Et puis vers le matin retourne
D'Occident jusques en Orient
a…ient
Les planettes, la firmam*en*t
Reluyssent et aulcunem*en*t
De jour ne de nuyt ne trespassent
Leurs mettes ne leur ordre passent.

Je conclue donc evidanment
Estre ung Dieu qui tant saigement
Ces choses mondaines gouverne;
Causalité est le grant cerne,
Conclüant qu'Il est causeur
De toutes choses et crëeur.
(1906-1925)

An Buhez:
Sante Barba.
[106] Ret eu ſaczun ezeux vnan
Aguere ān bet het ha ledan
An douar/an tan/ha pep planet
An heaul/an loar/han aer certen
Glau/ hac auel/ ha buguel den
Tomder/ yenyen /ordrenet

Saint Barbara: / It is entirely necessary that there is a single one / who made the world far and wide / the earth, the fire and every planet / the sun, the moon and the air, surely, / rain and wind and mankind / heat (and) cold, well-planned. //

Barbara repeats this argument when confronting her teacher, as we already saw above (stanza 119f). Both *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* express the view that this one god does not only have the power to create but also the power to undo as he pleases: "Et, quand il Luy plaist, Il nous cree / Et de sa grace nous decree" (1928f) and "he himself is the leader / who makes to his will and who destroys" (120). I did not discover such a sentiment in any of the other versions.

Apart from being longer, *cinq journées* places more emphasis on structure. There, Barbara makes clear that her argumentation consists of three parts and she presents one after the other. Splitting her argumentation into three parts is clearly deliberate and serves to underline Barbara's emerging Christianity. In *An Buhez*, Barbara at first speaks to herself and then she and the schoolmaster exchange their views on several different topics. While all three main arguments of *cinq journées* are present in *An Buhez*, the emphasis placed upon them is different. In *An Buhez*, Barbara takes longest to explain why a true god must have placed the obligation of death upon humankind while being exempt from it himself. She also spends considerable time vilifying the idols and the pagan gods. What God actually created is presented in just one stanza. Still, like in *cinq journées*, the idea of a single creator/god is expressed three times, and each time it is connected to one of the three main arguments from *cinq journées*. It is, however,

not laid out as a threefold line of argumentation and therefore less striking. Barbara begins with describing the necessity that there is one creator of everything:

> It is entirely necessary that there is a single one / who made the world far and wide (106).

Then she explains God's superiority due to his position as a creator:

> It is necessary that there is one god who created / the sun, the moon and the great earth / and who ordered this obligation [death] (119).

At last, she draws attention to a perfect god who contrasts strongly with the powerless idols:

> One alone truly made the world / and must be honoured with glory / like a perfect, powerful God (124).

Such a clear differentiation into three parts is not employed in the Latin versions, either, but as in *An Buhez* most of the contents of Barbara's arguments are present, if less elaborate. However, each text appears to place a slightly different emphasis on the respective points.

In all versions, the answers and counter arguments that Barbara receives from her tutor/s are unsatisfactory and unconvincing to her. The people in the temple, the schoolmaster and the *doctores* try to make her see their reason in the respective versions, but she refuses that. In the plays, Barbara's newly discovered ideas ultimately lead to an estrangement between her and her tutor/s and the end of her education. The schoolmaster in *An Buhez* is very angry with Barbara when he leaves her:

> An meſtr.
> [125] An bet a error rigorus
> So en hoz couraig ha fachus
> Da vout confus ouz abuſer
> Bout reuſeudic heretiques
> Amennet heb nep goap apres
> Rac ſe moz les en hoz eſper.
>
> *Aman he meſtr he les hehunā hac aya*
> *buanec digāty: […]*
>
> The master: / A world of severe error / is in your mind and wretchedly / you are mislead to be confused. / To be unlucky, a heretic, / is what you fervently wish,

without any joke; / I leave you to your fantasy. //
Here her master leaves her to herself and goes, irritated, / away from her [...]. /

The *doctores* in *cinq journées* are disappointed rather than angry and their greatest concern is the king's reaction if he should find out about his daughters ideas. Upon taking their leave from her and her father, they promise to keep silent about her conversion and advise her to do the same for her own good. Dioscorus even presses some wages upon them and the *doctores* depart (2045-2165).

7.1. The Hermit

The same stage direction that dismisses the schoolmaster from the action of the play introduces the hermit in *An Buhez*: "Aman he meſtr he les hehunā hac aya / buanec digāty: ha neuſe equeff vn er- / mit pirchirin" ('Here her master leaves her to herself and goes, irritated, away from her and then she finds a pilgrimaging hermit', 125/126). The term "hermit" implies a person living in a remote place in religious contemplation. According to the *Dictionnaire Étymologique du Breton Moyen* (Ernault 1888, 284) and the *Dictionnaire Historique du Breton* (Hemon 1979, t. I, 755), the Breton term "ermit" carries that same meaning. However, the hermit in *An Buhez* does not mention a remote monastery or any other sort of hermitage. He is a "pilgrimaging hermit" (ermit pirchirin), but his stage name is "An Ermit". This hermit has set out from Alexandria and wants to visit the tomb of Jesus Christ (126). He plans to visit Barbara on his way and ask alms from her, "because she is a girl truly inspired / in the grace of the king of the world" ('Er hy ſo merch guir inſpiret / En gracc roen bet men cret ſeder', 129). How he knows about Barbara's intuitive knowledge of the Christian God is not explained. She has converted to Christianity only very recently (s.a). It is likely, however, that the comment is directed at the audience rather than designed to serve the contents and chronology of the narration. When Barbara and the hermit-pilgrim meet, she asks him whether he has not heard of a religion centring on a single god and creator. He affirms this and tells her about Origen, who teaches the Christian beliefs in Alexandria. After advising Barbara to seek out Origen as a teacher, the hermit-pilgrim wants to leave again. Barbara presses alms upon him and then directly sends a messenger to Origen to ask him for help.

The contrast between the character's name and the action surrounding him is striking, but only to a reader of the play. The character does not refer to himself as a hermit, and describes his travels and his goal instead. Thus, the audience would likely not have been confronted with this contrast at all and simply understood him to be a pilgrim. Still, the name is an interesting detail that merits closer investigation. While there is no mention of a hermit in either of the Latin versions or in *cinq journées*, there is a character named "Sainct Hermite" and an episode

involving him in *deux journées* (730-799). This hermit lives in the mountains where Barbara specifically seeks him out in order to be baptised by him:

> Aller m'en vueil parmy la terre
> Pour cest saint sacrement [baptism] acquerre
> Tout droit iray au sainct hermite
> Qui en celle montaigne habite
> Sans faire cy plus longue espace.
> (722-726)

It is likely that the hermit's mountains are indeed rather remote, as he has managed to live there as a Christian during a time of persecution of Christians (*deux journées*, 263-266). How Barbara knows of him is not explained. When she arrives, she greets him and tells him immediately that she wishes to be baptised by him. As in *An Buhez*, Barbara speaks of alms with which she seems to provide the hermit, possibly as a payment for her baptism:

> Sire preudoms. Dieu vous parface
> Les biens qu'avez emprins a faire.
> Ou nom de Luy et de sa mere.
> Je vous requiers treshumblement:
> Baptisez moy presentement
> […]
> Car j'en ay au cueur grant envie
> Et pour baptesme avoir ensemble
> Aulmosne ferez, se me semble;
> Par ce, vous en requiers et prie.
> (727-740)

The hermit then introduces her to the basic principles of the trinitarian belief and the original sin and then baptises her. After a short exchange of some pleasantries, the two part again. Apart from both roles being named "hermit" and both receiving alms from Barbara, the two figures do not have much in common. They seem to serve entirely different purposes. While the hermit in *deux journées* has the central task of baptising Barbara, the pilgrimaging hermit in *An Buhez* merely serves to strengthen her intuition about God and recommends a magnificent teacher to her. Nevertheless, the name and the alms remain striking commonalities of this episode in *An Buhez* and *deux journées*.

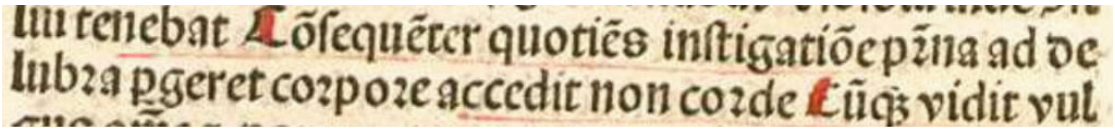
While *cinq journées* may not have a hermit, it does have a pilgrim, a character who is named "Josquin, *peregrinus cristianus*". He set out from Alexandria and travelled to Jerusalem. On

his way back he sees Dioscorus and his people at a sacrificial pagan ceremony and becomes curious. During that ceremony, Barbara tries very hard to avoid offering any sacrifice to the pagan gods. She notices that the pilgrim is doing the same and starts a conversation with him. Initially, Josquin is very careful about what he reveals, but when Barbara assures him that she will not betray him, he explains his voyage to her:

> J'ay veu les saincts lieux
> Ou Dïeu fist faiz merveilleux
> Quand Il fist reparacïon
> D'humaine generacïon,
> Quand des enffers Il nous franchit
> […].
> (3100-3104)

Barbara is fascinated and wants to learn as much as she can from him, but he advises her to speak to Origen, whom he calls a teacher of the faith in Alexandria. Josquin considers him better at explaining the complex matters of Christianity.

The scenes in *An Buhez* and *cinq journées* are very similar. Both pilgrims are on their way between Alexandria and Jerusalem. Josquin speaks of the many places he has visited in and around Jerusalem, thus he must be on his way back to Alexandria. The pilgrimaging hermit in *An Buhez* is evidently on his way to Jerusalem, because upon setting out he expresses a desire to visit Barbara on his way in order to ask alms from her. The situations in which Barbara and the pilgrim meet are different, however. In *An Buhez* she seems to be merely standing or walking about, probably in the vicinity of the royal dwelling, while in *cinq journées* they meet at a pagan ceremony, recognising each other as outsiders. Thus, there is a more immediate element of danger in *cinq journées*, which is strengthened by Barbara's warnings: "Tays toy! / Parle tout bas qu'on ne te escoute" (3127f) and "Ne fay a homme mencïon / de ce que tu m'as sermonné / Ne que je t'aye araisonné." (3174-3176). The pagan ceremony in *cinq journées* is reminiscent of John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*. There, Barbara has to accompany her father to a pagan temple, too. Similarly to *cinq journées*, she refuses the pagan rituals and attends the temple in a purely physical rather than a spiritual way:



(Wakkerzeel 1495, 10)

As has been discussed above, this is also the case in the *Legenda Aurea.* In both Latin versions, a rumor of a famous Christian teacher named Origen reaches Barbara shortly after her abdicationof the pagan gods. This rumor has obviously been converted into a character in *cinq journées* and *An Buhez*, namely the pilgrim who tells Barbara of Origen. In both versions, Barbara salutes the (hermit-)pilgrim and asks him where he is coming from. The lines are quite similar:

cinq journées:
BARBARA
Dictez moy present verité
Et n'ayer paour, vous n'avéz garde!
Contre tout homme je vous garde.
Dont venéz vous ? De quel voïaige?
[…]
Or me compter cy, noustre Maistre,
De mainte ville et maint clocher!
Dy moy le vroy, je te requier,
Dont viens tu?
(3087-3099)

An Buhez:
Aman an ermit a queff fante / barba hac he falut.
[130] Dez mat dich ytron deboner.

Sante barba.
Em requet ha na tardet
ha dichuy glan en pep manyer
Leueret diff plen ma den quer
Pe en carter ouz douguer huy
Pe a contre ez dibaleet
Moz pet ent seder leueret

Here the hermit meets Saint Barbara and greets her: / A good day to you, good Lady. /
Saint Barbara: / And to you, indeed in every way. / Speak to me plainly, my dear man / to which land it carries you, / from which region you come? / I beg you surely, speak / in answer to my question and tarry no more. //

While the wording may not be exactly te same, the gist of Barbara's question undoubtedly is. The lines "Or me compter cy, noustre Maistre" (3096) and "Leueret diff plen ma den quer" ('Speak to me plainly, my dear man', 130) are nearly identical with regard to contents and structure. Both versions then employ two local references (*ville*, *clocher* in *cinq journées* and *carter*, *contre* in *An Buhez*) that serve the purpose of depicting the pilgrim as a widely travelled person, which contrasts with Barbara's situation as a virgin living in near isolation. The setting in the Breton play, however, is slightly different. While in *cinq journées* Barbara only asks where the pilgrim comes from, in *An Buhez* it is also relevant where the pilgrim is going. In contrast to the French version, he is not yet on his return journey and the point has not yet been addressed. The end of the passage is almost identical again, except that in Breton we do have the further instruction not to tarry, which is one of the common filling constructions employed to complete the complex Breton rhyme scheme and metre.

There is another example of a close textual resemblance between *cinq journées* and *An Buhez*:

> *cinq journées*:
> JOSQUIN
> Je suys de cesar tout confus.
> J'ay dedans le cueur frëeur ample
> Quand je voy ces gens a leur temple
> Aller tretouz ydollatréz.
> (3043-3046)

> *An Buhez*:
> Sante Barba
> [104] Me ſo ſoezet oar ān bet man
> Pan em ſongiaff a muyhaff poan
> An dra man am groa ſouzanet
> Ouz guelet en pep ploe doeou
> Manyer errol a ydolou
> Dre fantaſiou dezrouet.

> Saint Barbara: / I am amazed about this world / when I think by myself. With the greatest pain / this thing troubles me: / to see gods in every community, / the kind of erroneous misbelief, and idols / created by fantasy. //

This example is particularly interesting because the stanza belongs to a different passage of *An Buhez*, which has been discussed above as part of Barbara's formal education. Structurally, the

passage is very similar to John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* (7). As *cinq journées* usually resembles John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* very strongly, it is surprising that it is Josquin who expresses such reluctance rather than Barbara as it is the case in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and also in *An Buhez*. Thus, it is very striking that the speaker and the timing are the same in *An Buhez* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, when the contents of *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* display such obvious similarity. The wording in the plays is remarkably alike: "Je suys de cesar tout confus" mirrors the Breton "Me so soezet ān bet man" ('I am amazed about this world') to the point. Both sentences initiate the respective speaker's text. The feeling expressed by Josquin "le cueur frëeur ample" corresponds to Barbara's "a muyhaff poan / An dra man am groa souzanet" ('with the greatest pain this thing troubles me'). Both characters then "see" what troubles/frightens them ("Quand je voy" and "Ouz guelet"). Although they are disconcerted by different issues – Josquin is frightened by the people worshipping idols at their temple and Barbara is troubled by idols and erroneous misbeliefs in every community – the concept is the same. Both express negative feeling at the idea that the people around them are worshipping anything else than the Christian God. At the end of the pagan ceremony in *cinq journées*, Barbara indeed utters a similar sentiment herself, but it is not as similar to *An Buhez* as the previous example:

> BARBARA
> Vray Dieu ou mon cue*ur* est submis,
> Je suis en grant perplecité
> Et en telle ambiguïté
> Que je ne soy que faire doye.
> Ce peuple est en mauldicte voye,
> Qui est en ce point ydollatre.
> (3742-3747)

The similarity between *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* with regard to the wording contrasts with the similarity between John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *An Buhez* with regard to the structure, but both similarities are noteworthy. Furthermore, the role of the hermit-pilgrim is equally difficult to assess. In all three versions he tells Barbara some basic facts about the Christian faith, but the contents differ. While the hermit in *deux journées* is Barbara's chief educator in Christian doctrine such as the basic principles of the trinity and the original sin (751-775), the pilgrim in *cinq journées* talks to her mostly of the places he has just visited and then explains that he would rather not teach her much because it would be preferable for her to be introduced to the Christian faith properly and fundamentally (3135-3139). In *An Buhez* Barbara asks the pilgrimaging hermit directly whether he has heard "talk of one God who created / the great sky and who formed mankind" ('Comps a vn doe nep a croeas / An eff bras hac a furmas den',

131). The pilgrim confirms this and then tells her about Origen. Both *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* describe Origen as a famous teacher of the Christian faith based in Alexandria, while in *deux journées* there is no mention of Origen at all; this is not necessary, since Barbara receives baptism directly from the hermit. Thus, the function of the pilgrim and the pilgrimaging hermit is quite similar in *cinq journées* and *An Buhez*. In both plays the respective character serves to strengthen Barbara's intuitive knowledge of Christianity and to introduce her to Origen. Nevertheless, the name "hermit" and the reception of the alms does not appear in *cinq journées*, but is exclusive to *deux journées* and *An Buhez*. In the case of *An Buhez*, the situation is further complicated by the geographical aspect of the hermit-pilgrim's visit to Nicomedia, because his travel route contrasts with Nicomedia's location within Asia, which is established during the first appearance of the devils (2.4.1, 5).

8. The Baptism of Saint Barbara

The baptism of Saint Barbara takes place in all three plays and in both Latin versions of the legend. This fact demonstrates that the baptism is an integral part of the legend. Similar to the tower and the related conflict over the number of windows, it serves to connect Barbara to Christianity. But despite the fact that Barbara is being baptised in all texts, the manner and circumstances of her baptism differ in significant ways.

Kirsten Wolf, who has edited an Old-Norse/Icelandic version of Barbara's legend and compared it to the Latin tradition, attributes a substantial significance to the manner of Barbara's baptism:

> The various Latin versions differ from each other in a number of details. Generally, they may be divided into two main categories, the primary difference between the two being the manner in which Saint Barbara's baptism takes place. In one [...] Saint Barbara baptizes herself in "piscina aquae" [...]; the other [...] tells that Saint Barbara corresponded with Origen of Alexandria [...] and was baptized by Origen's messenger.
> (Wolf 2000, 16f)

The Old-Norse/Icelandic life of Saint Barbara belongs to the second category, which is probably why Wolf did not look further into this. There is, however, a third possibility in the Latin tradition, which is represented, for example, by Wakkerzeel's version (cf. Gaiffier 1959, 28). There, Barbara is baptised by John the Baptist, although it is difficult to judge whether he is really supposed to appear in the flesh, or whether it is a vision of him that conducts the office. Particularly if the latter is the case, this may well be closely related to the tradition of Barbara baptising herself in a "piscina aquae", for this is precisely where Barbara is during the appearance of John the Baptist (11). Nevertheless, it is not Barbara herself who administers the sacrament and I therefore suggest that all three plays, the *Legenda Aurea* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* (as well as the Old-Norse/Icelandic version) belong to a category in which a second party baptises Barbara.

In the case of *deux journées*, this is where the similarity to the other versions ends, for Barbara is baptised by a hermit in the mountains, whom she approaches for that very purpose:

> Aller m'en vueil parmy la terre
> Pour cest sainct sacrement acquerre.
> Tout droit iray au sainct hermite
> Qui en celle montaigne habite

Sans faire cy plus longue espace.
(722-726)

After introducing her quickly to the basic principles of the Christian faith, he baptises her ("Il la baptise", 774/5). No pool or fountain of any sort is mentioned and apart from Barbara's intuitive knowledge of the Christian faith, there is nothing and nobody to explain anything about the Christian faith to her before she meets the hermit. Origen and his servant are entirely absent from *deux journées* (Longtin 1996, 16).

This matter is treated differently in the other four texts. There, Barbara also has an intuitive knowledge of God. In addition to this, however, she comes into contact with at least one representative of the Christian faith before being baptised. In both *An Buhez* and *cinq journées*, she meets a (hermit-)pilgrim, who recommends Origen of Alexandria to her. This figure is very likely an on-stage personification of a rumor which serves to inform Barbara of Origen's existence in the Latin legends. In any case, Barbara has an encounter with something or someone associated with the Christian faith before she seeks education and baptism, which differs from *deux journées*. In *deux journées*, the administrator of the sacrament is also her first person of contact with the Christian faith.

In all versions, Barbara sends someone to Origen in order to ask him for instructions in the faith. In the two Latin legends and in *cinq journées* she sends him a letter in which she reveals her conversion, but the messenger is not privy to this, at least not at first. In *cinq journées*, this is exploited in a comical way, because the figure of Lancevant has appeared several times before. He is presented as a foolish drunkard, who never leaves on an errand without his bottle. Barbara suggests to him that she suffers from an illness which only a healer from Alexandria can cure and gives him a letter to pass on to Origen, which he does, and then leaves Origen to find more drink, none the wiser with regard to whom he has just been speaking to. In *cinq journées*, Origen has the letter read aloud during the absence of the messenger from Nicomedia, Lancevant (5110-5714). Differently, in *An Buhez* Barbara entrusts her secret to the servant whom she sends to ask Origen for instructive literature in the faith. There is no letter involved. Instead, Barbara impresses the need to be secretive upon the servant and assures him of her trust:

Sante Barba de ſeruicher.
[139] Ret ezehet na tardet muy,
En effet en vng queffridy,
Da Alexandry euidouff,
Bede vn Criſten ordrenet,
Da comps outaff gant guelhaff preț,

En ſecret hac ouz bezet couff.

[…]

[141] Allas ma car huy à goar parſet,
Ema ma fizyancc auancet,
Enoch pepret […]

Saint Barbe to her servant: / It is necessary that you will go, do not delay!, / indeed on a mission / to Alexandria for me / to a righteous Christian / to speak to him with utmost hurry. / And keep (it) in mind, secretly! // […] // Alas, my friend, you know very well / that my absolute confidence is / in you, […]. //

This is interesting because in *cinq journées* Barbara has a servant, Galathe(a) *damisella* (338/9), a lady's maid. She appears to be close to her, although she does not become her confidante. This becomes clear when Barbara tells her to leave before Ysacar begins his instructions, but her manner of speaking expresses concern for her servant's well being as the reason to send her away, rather than mistrust:

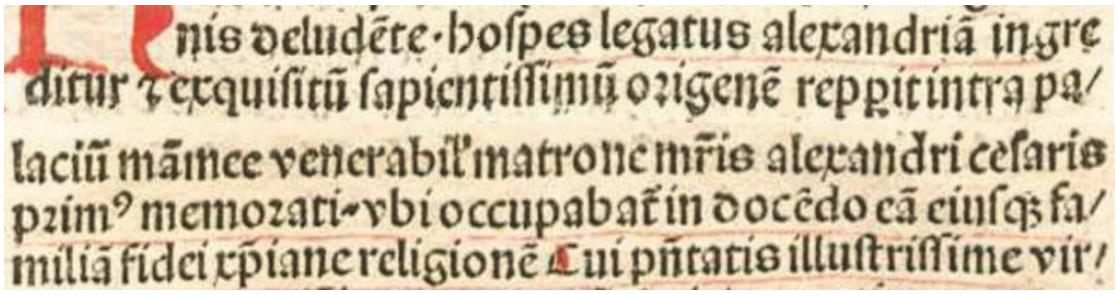
Galathee, descendéz a bas,
Je le vous commande et conseil,
Quar je veil parler en conseil
A ce bon medicin a part.
(6184-6187)

The servant in *An Buhez* is clearly a man, firstly because he is able to move freely from Nicomedia to Alexandria – an action for which Barbara needs to have her female servant fetch a male messenger in *cinq journées*– and secondly because Origen tells Valentine to "Go now, loyal chaplain / with this good man" ('Quae preſant chapelan antier, / Gant heman', 151). Nevertheless, the servant is clearly loyal to Barbara, for she trusts him with her secret conversion. It is possible that the servant's implicit care for Barbara – without a certain amount of care for his mistress, the servant would very likely not knowingly fulfil such a dangerous assignment – is modelled on the figure of Galathea in *cinq journées*. However, the servant's loyalty may also have been inspired by the Latin versions, of which John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* appears to be closest to *An Buhez* in terms of content.In both the *Legenda Aurea* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, the servant is not depicted as being particularly close to Barbara, yet he is not sent away when Origen reveals his religion. In fact, in both Latin versions the messenger surprises Origen while he is teaching and thus must become aware of the addressee's religion:

Legenda Aurea:

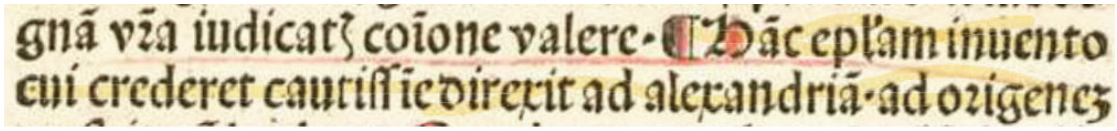
> nuntius Alexandriam ingreditur, Origenem reperit in palatio Mammaeae matris Caesaris Alexadriae, ubi occupator in docendo christianam religionem [...].
> (Graesse 1965, 899)

John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*:



(Wakkerzeel 1495, 12f)

Nevertheless, the messenger always takes Valentine to Barbara without any criticism. However, John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* provides additional information about the messenger and explains that Barbara has looked for someone she trusts ("cui crederet") in order to send him to Origen with her letter:

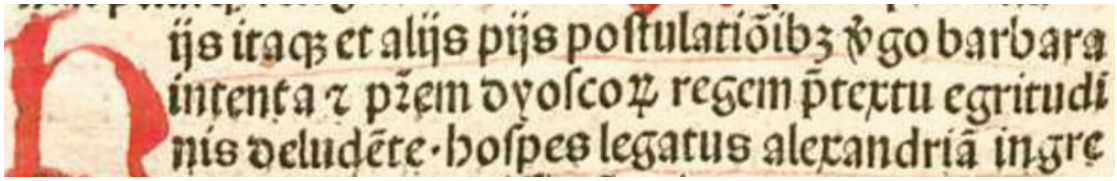


(Wakkerzeel 1495, 12)

And while there is no letter in *An Buhez*, which makes the messenger's trustworthiness all the more important, this aspect of the messenger's character is expressed only in *An Buhez* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, but not in the other two versions.

Upon the arrival of the messenger in Alexandria, Origen's reaction to Barbara's request is very similar in all versions. He is delighted to receive news of such a high ranking convert and responds immediately by sending Barbara a teacher. In the *Legenda Aurea*, in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, and in *An Buhez* this teacher is Valentine, but in *cinq journées* he is called Ysacar, *presbyter cristianus* (5543/4). In all versions a certain amount of secrecy is required in order for him to be able to visit Barbara in her abode and the servant/messenger always approaches Barbara first in order to announce the Christian envoy's arrival, thus portraying contemporary decorum. Furthermore, all versions employ an alleged illness from which Barbara is supposed to suffer and which can be "cured" by Origen's envoy. The point at which

this "illness" is introduced varies, however. In *cinq journées*, this illness is invented by Barbara herself as a means to justify her sending someone to Alexandria in the first place. The motif is then taken up by Origen, who instructs Ysacar to pose as a physician ("Faignant que soyéz medicin", 5803), and remains until the end of the episode when it is used to explain Ysacar's presence and function to Dioscorus. While this is not quite as elaborately pronounced as in *cinq journées*, John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* also mentions Barbara's deliberate feigning of an illness in order to be able to send someone to Origen:

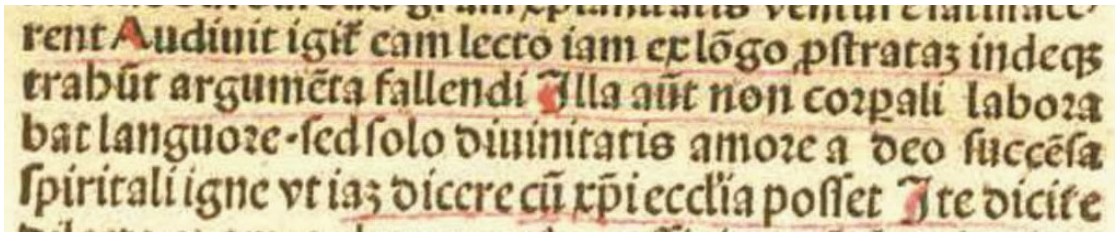


(Wakkerzeel 1495, 12)

The *Legenda Aurea* does not introduce the motif until it is needed to explain Valentine's presence in Barbara's rooms. *An Buhez* presents itself as an amalgamation, for while Barbara does not need to invent the illness at the very beginning because she entrusts the servant with her secret, she does invent it when Valentine has arrived in order to be able to withdraw from company:

> [165] Ha me aray glan an manyer
> A bezaff claff an quentaff guer
> Dre manyer euit differaff
> Diouz ma tut a drouc ſtudy
> [...]
>
> And I will affect / to be sick, as soon as possible, / in order to retreat / from my people of bad thought, / [...]. //

While the illness is mentioned before the arrival of Valentine in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, the information is repeated then, for when Valentine and Barbara's messenger reach Nicomedia, they hear that she is lying in bed, which they use as a means to reach Barbara without Dioscorus' knowledge. Barbara's illness is not physical but spiritual in nature; this information is provided at a later time by the other versions of the legend:

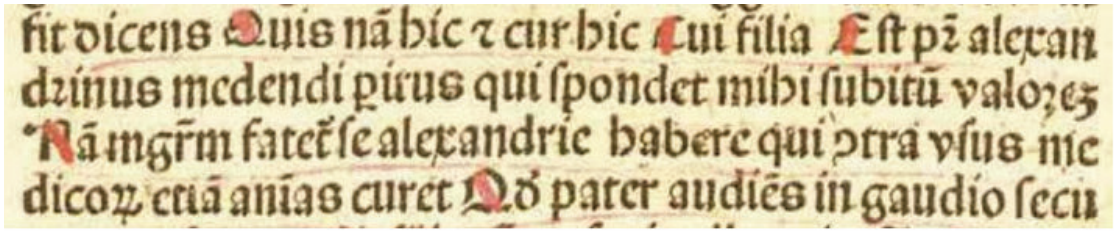

rent Audiuit igit eam lecto iam ex lõgo pstratã indeq;
trabũt argumẽta fallendi Illa aũt non corpali labora
bat languore-sed solo diuinitatis amore a deo succẽsa
spiritali igne vt iaz dicere cũ xpi eccl'ia posset Jte dicite

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 16)

Despite all caution, Dioscorus discovers eventually that there is a strange man in his daughter's chamber. In all versions the king's reaction is – understandably – an angry demand as to the identity of the stranger. Barbara tells him that he is a healer, but what exactly he is supposed to be able to heal differs. The Latin versions are similar on that point; Origen's envoy is supposed to be a healer from Alexandria who is able to heal souls, although such skill is not considered customary:

> *Legenda Aurea*:
> Alexandrinus medendi arte peritus, qui spondet magistrum se habere Alexandriae, qui contra usus medicorum etiam animas curat.
> (Graesse 1965, 899)

John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*:


fit dicens Quis nã hic ꝛ cur hic Cui filia Est pr̃ alexan
drinus medendi pitus qui spondet mihi subitũ valoꝛez
Nã mgr̃m fatet se alexandrie habere qui ꝓtra vsus me
dicoꝝ etiã anias curet Ad̃ pater audiẽs in gaudio secu

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 16)

In *An Buhez*, the wording of Barbara's explanation is artistically ambiguous and still very much to the point:

> Sante Barba.
> [187] […]
> Hoguen hep sy me so dihaet
> Rac se ez gris don edonet
> Euit ma guelet credethēn.

[188] Houz bout drouc contant pan ſantſēn
Neraſēn quet lem equemēn
Hoguen a crēn ne gouzyēn quet
Dren pez maz diſcuez bout mezec
Me en queff piz den gouizyec
Hac ez deuz hoantec em requet.

[189] Groat eu net ſeder ma ſperet
Yach heb vn blecc dre vn reczet
Ameux receuet em credēn
Rac nendeux cleffuet en bet man
Naue frealſet curet glan
Gant heman didan poan an pēn

Saint Barbe: / […] / But without doubt I am unwell / therefore I made him come, forsooth, / in order to see me, believe this! // If I had sensed your being malcontent / I would not have summoned him, certainly! / But certainly I did not know it. / Due to the fact that he seems to be a surgeon / I find him quite an adequate man, / and he came eagerly at my request. // My spirit is made pure, for sure, / healthy, without a wound, by a formula / which I have received in my belief / because there is no illness in this world / that has not been alleviated, completely cured / by this one under pain of "head". //

It is interesting to note that Barbara plays not only the invalid, but also the obedient child. In fact, she lies to her father's face, for she was well aware of the fact that her father would not allow a Christian to visit her, which is proven by her earlier secrecy (cf. Schnabel 2016). In *cinq journées*, Barbara is merely lying about being ill. She claims to be suffering from a faint heart and debility, and explains that she has kept to her bed ("Pere, j'ay le cueur ung peu fade, / Je suys ung pou debilitee. / Depuys deux jours me suys couchee, 6525-6527). Barbara also tries to calm her irritated father by explaining who the strange man in her chambers is:

Pere, ne vous courocéz point,
Reffrenéz voustre oppinïon.
Je l'ay fait en intencïon
De toust recouvréz ma santé.
C'est ung mire experimenté,
Ung medicin fisicïen

Et ung saige cirurgïen
Qui ma maladië gouverne.
(6547-6554)

Both *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* assign Origen's envoy with a more specific occupational title than the Latin versions and call him "Ung medicin fisicïen / et ung saige cirurgïen" (*cinq journées*) and a "mezec" ('surgeon', *An Buhez*), respectively. Nevertheless, the relation between *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* is not as obvious here as in other episodes (6, 11). Ysacar, in contrast to the other versions, where his equivalent Valentine remains silent and in the case of *An Buhez* even leaves the stage upon Dioscorus' arrival, plays along with the ruse and begins to express his opinion about Barbara's disturbed humors (6569-6622).

In addition to this it is noteworthy that Origen's envoy has to enter the royal dwelling rather than Barbara's tower in *An Buhez*. Dioscorus is then depicted as making use of this unexpected visit which lacks the king's approval as a justification to bring his daughter into the tower. While this is not made explicit by the text, it is implicit due to the timing. After Barbara has explained Valentine's purpose to her father, he reveals his intentions to imprison his daughter in a tower:

Sante Barba.
[…]
[189] Groat eu net ſeder ma ſperet
Yach heb vn blecc dre vn reczet
Ameux receuet em credēn
Rac nendeux cleffuet en bet man
Naue frealſet curet glan
Gant heman didan poan an pēn

Dioſcorus.
[190] Moz reo breman ahanēn
Dan lech maz vihet miret tēn
Oar poan an pēn me diffenno
Nac ay neb termen den en bet
Euit neb quentel doz guelet
Ha ſe miret na fellet tro.

Saint Barbara: / […] // My spirit is made pure, for sure, / healthy, without a wound, by a formula / which I have received in my belief / because there is no

> illness in this world / that has not been alleviated, completely cured / by this one under pain of "head". //
> Dioscorus: / I will take you now from here / to the place where you will be protected firmly. / On pain of death I will prohibit / that no man in the world will ever go, / at any time, to see you / and do not fail to remember this. //

This would also explain why Valentine leaves the place on stage where Barbara is, because this ensures a smooth transition of Dioscorus and Barbara from the royal dwelling to the tower. The idea may have been taken from John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, where the tower is built after the episode involving Valentine, too. However, the two events are not brought together as in the Breton play. Instead, a new chapter is begun after Valentine's visit, in which Dioscorus sees his daughter go for a walk and decides that her great beauty needs to be guarded. Then he has the idea of having a tower built for this purpose. In *cinq journées* and the *Legenda Aurea*, Barbara has already been moved into the tower when Origen's envoy comes to visit her. This demonstrates once again the creativity and freedom with which the author of *An Buhez* has reworked and rearranged the subject matter.[31]

The four versions that include Origen's envoy, while very similar at first sight, show considerable differences with regard to the details. The most striking difference between the four versions is the change of name from Valentine to Ysacar in *cinq journées*, particularly because *cinq journées* does not usually differ significantly from John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*. In this case, the French play has deviated from John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* in two ways, first by renaming Origen's envoy, and second by placing Barbara in the tower before she is visited by that envoy. The close relation of *cinq journées* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* is nevertheless clear due to the similar way in which both versions establish Barbara's pretended illness. *An Buhez*, on the other hand, contains details that only appear in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, but not in *cinq journées* or the *Legenda Aurea*. Both John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *An Buhez*, for example, establish that the messenger is trustworthy. In addition to this, there is a subtle similarity between "Hac ez deuz hoantec em requet" ('and he came eagerly at my request', 188) and Barbara's description of Valentine promising her exigent worth, "qui spondet mihi subitum valorem" (16). In both versions, a quick and adequate response on the part of Valentine is implied, which is absent from *cinq journées* and the *Legenda Aurea*. Furthermore, Barbara is still in her rooms in the royal dwelling when she is visited by Valentine in *An Buhez* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, but has already been moved into the tower in *cinq journées*

[31] Note the wordplay in those two stanzas: Barbara, who is well aware of the danger Valentine is in while in her father's palace, refers to him being under a death sentence ("didan poan an pēn", 189), but disguises that information as a description of his skills to cure people suffering from pains in the head, which is the literal translation of "poan an pēn". Dioscorus then takes this phrase up and employs it in its meaning of a death sentence "Oar poan an pēn me diffenno" ("On pain of death I will prohibit", 190).

and the *Legenda Aurea*. While the similarities between John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *An Buhez* are numerous, most of these are usually shared by *cinq journées* as well. In this case there appears to be a direct connection between John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *An Buhez*, which is very important to note because it suggests that the author of the Breton play was familiar with Wakkerzeele's work or a branch of transmission that evolved from it, and did not only rework *cinq journées*.

And yet the author of *An Buhez* chose to deviate from the branch of transmission represented by John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* (and *cinq journées*) at a crucial point. Instead of having John the Baptist administer the sacrament of baptism to Barbara, it is Valentine who performs this office. In addition to this, Barbara is not in or near the pool when she is baptised in *An Buhez* and the *Legenda Aurea*, which again contrasts with John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *cinq journées* (11). Thus, *An Buhez* is clearly aligned with the *Legenda Aurea*, which demonstrates yet again how freely motifs have been combined in this work of art. For while *An Buhez* is much closer to John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *cinq journées* during the lead-up to Barbara's baptism, the event itself then corresponds to the *Legenda Aurea*.

9. Marrying Barbara

> One of the primary ways in which the saint's devotion to and faith in God are demonstrated is through acts of renunciation that at once distance the saint from human society and perform the function of gifts to God.
> (Campbell 2008, 27f)

This clearly holds true for Barbara's refusal of marriage. As an only child and heir it would be her role to ensure the survival of the dynasty of her father. When the two lords in *An Buhez* learn of Barbara's new accommodation in the tower, they are at first outraged about her being taken into custody without any misconduct on her part. But it is precisely the question of the succession that the second lord addresses first when they approach Dioscorus in *An Buhez*:

> An eil autrou.
> [215] Dich heb neb mar clouar ny lauaro,
> Bezet certen louen an termen ſo,
> An re ouz bro ſo pep tro commouet
> Douz requetiff ha douz pidiff yuez,
> Gant cals à hoant ardant ha carancez,
> Effe preuez aneuez demezet.
>
> [216] Barba hoz merch ſo pep derch en guercdet,
> Ret eu hep ſi claſq dezy vn priet,
> Pa nouz eux quet aer en bet nemet hy,
> Rac ſe ſellet hac auiſet ſeder
> Piu aue ſeant ſouffiſant hac antier,
> Maz prezequer ober an materi.

> The other lord: / We will tell to you nicely without any doubt / be certain!, gladly what the matter is. / The inhabitants of your land have altogether started out / to request and also to ask you / with a very ardent desire and affection / that she would soon be advantageously married, // Barbara, your daughter, who is apparently in a state of virginity. / It is necessary without doubt to find her a spouse / because you have no heir at all except her / therefore look and consider surely / who would be decent enough and proper / so that one can argue for making the deal. //

Dioscorus then promises the lords to speak to his daughter about her thoughts on the matter. When he speaks to her in her rooms in the tower, however, she does not share the lords' view

on the matter and refuses the request to marry brusquely in two stanzas. She thus acts precisely as a saint's behaviour is described by Campbell, for her renunciation distances her from her human society in order to bring her closer to God. However, Dioscorus' reaction to this refusal appears rather harsh:

Dioſcorus aya da comps ouz e merch.
[225] Ma merch clouar huec hegar à caraff,
Nam reffus quet em requet à netra,
Ma ſintiff groa dreis pep tra nara quen,
Te eu hep ſy ma ſtudy hep muy quet,
Ma aer querhaff quentaff oar guelhaff pret,
Ma holl ſẹcret ma condet men cret plen.

[226] Rac ſe ſeder compſet vn guer certen,
Diff heb neb gou diouz houz guenou louen,
Beu ha ſeuen dien heb vileny,
A huy neb eur dre neb feur oz deur quet,
Dre caṛantes bout yuez demezet,
Ha quemeret vn priet heb quet ſy.

Sant e Barba à reſpont de tat.
[227] Ma tat mat net pardonet diff,
Na poaniet quet dam requetiff,
Eṛ me dimiziff neriff quet,
Da den en bet bezet ſeder
Oar an bet man en neb manier,
Chetu da eſper diſclaeriet.

Dioſcorus.
[228] Petra ſo dide hoaruezet,
Na ſentez à vout demezet,
Ha quemeret vn priet mat,
Autrounez à pris puiſſant,
Cazr ha iolis ha ſouffiſant
So ſeuramant ouz da hoantat.

Sante Barba.

[229] Dre neb pedẽn ne rohẽn grat,
Rac nendeu ma cas na ma ſtat
Diouz ma poellat prietat den,
Pardonet diff her neriff quet,
Dre ſe oar pep tro me ho pet
Em leſſet ha na compſet quen.

Dioſçorus.
[230] Me aray dit dre depit yen,
Ez mirui ſtant gant fin anquen
Men toe dit certen am guenou,
Aman quen diguir mez miro,
Den à neb ſort nez conforto
Oar nep tro ha te guelo gnou.

Dioscorus goes to speak to his daughter: / My soft, sweet, lovely daughter, whom I love, / do not refuse me, in any way, with regard to my request! / Obey me more than anything, do nothing else! / You are, without doubt, my concern, without much ado, / my dearest, first heir, of utmost importance, / all my happiness, my heart, I believe it fully.
Therefore, surely, speak a clear word / to me, without deceit, from your lips eagerly / lively and strong, clearly without vileness: / do you not, (by) any chance, for any price, wish / also to be married, out of love, / and to take a spouse without any doubt? //
Saint Barbara answers her father: / My good father, truly, forgive me! / Do not make an effort to ask me, / because I will not marry / no man – be sure! – / on this world in any way. / Voilà, your request explained. //
Dioscorus: / What has happened to you? / Do you not obey to be married / and to take a good spouse? / Lords of powerful esteem, / beautiful and pretty and capable, / are surely desiring you. //
Saint Barbara: / I would not give in because of any plea / for it is not my wish nor my way of life / according to my conviction, to marry a man. / Pardon me because I will not do it! / Therefore, finally, I ask you / that you leave me and speak no more. //
Dioscorus: / Due to cold contempt for you I will cause / that you will die wretchedly

with extreme agony! / I swear it to you from my lips! / Here I will guard you so harshly / so that no man of any kind will comfort you / in any way and you will see, for sure. //

When looked at from the angle of Dioscorus the king, this episode does not seem particularly strange, because the king is presented as possessing a commanding but volatile personality throughout the play. Whenever he commands, the other characters obey. The king is socially superior to almost all characters of *An Buhez* and he is therefore used to his orders being followed. The following examples will illustrate this position of the king throughout the play:

An meſtr mecherour.
[53] Dez mat golou autrou a glan coudet
A pedaff plen dreis quement den ſo en bet
Dichuy pepret ſeul maz vihet ſeder
Pan cleuis flam dinam houz mandamant
E-duiz tizmat hep nep debat batant
Eſpediant diligant hac antier.

The master worker: / A good, bright day, Lord, wholeheartedly / I truly wish, more than any man in the world / you always, as long as you will live. / Because I truly, flawlessly heard your request / I have come quickly without any debate, immediately / quick, dilligent and assiduously. //

An meſtr [a ſcol].
[84] Pan gourchemēn meya crēn bet ēnhaff
Da guelet rez hep mez pe fell dezaff
An pret quentaff tardaff ne mennaff quet
Ha ioaus bras ouff pep pas dren draſe
En e ſeruig me am em empliche
Dreiſt an holl re pan guelhe effe pret

The [school]master: / Since he orders (it), I go indeed to him / to see really without shame what he lacks / at all. I do not want to be negligible! / and I am greatly joyous (about) every step of this affair / in his service I would like to employ myself / rather than in anyone else's, if he would see fit. //

Sante barba a reſpond de tat.
[90] Ma tat mat quer antier gruet aquerhet

Rac deſiraff araffnen nachaff quet
Bezaff affet diciplinet ſeder
[…]

Saint Barbara replies to her father: / My dear, good father, do entirely what you would like!, / because I want, I do not deny it, / to be, indeed, educated surely / […]. //

An Meſtr.
[292] Gloat,
Ha huy et oar lerch da querchat
Rac me bizhuiquen louenhat,
Neraff dre e gloat na e madou,
Pa na caffẽn lech da techet
Digantaff ſcaff nen nachaff quet,
Em laz ſe affet aguetou.

The Master: / Money! / Go looking for (it) yourselves! / Because I will never rejoice / in his money or his goods. / If I had not found a place to hide / from him quickly – I do not deny (it) – / he would have just killed me! //

Gueguen.
[374] Ne falhe quet lauaret gou
Eff a trouche crēn hon pēnou
An autrou euel da dou quy
[…]

Gueguen: / It would not do to tell a lie: / he would surely cut our heads for us, / the lord, like (he would) for two dogs. / […] //

An prouoſt.
[410] Merey gardis doz guis he puniſſaff
[…]

The provost: / I will have her punished harshly to your liking / […]. //

Characters depicting peasants such as Gueguen, the shepherd who will betray Barbara to her father when she tries to hide in the mountains, reveal the king's power of command over life

and death of his subjects. From the earlier comments by the master worker and the schoolmaster it becomes clear that they consider being employed by the king prestigious and are happy to accept his offer/follow his orders. The master worker's obedience, however, does not extend to having himself killed for not following the king's orders. Instead, he runs away from the enraged king and goes into hiding, without claiming his or his employees' wages. The king on the other hand seems to consider himself well within his rights to threaten the master worker for not following his orders precisely. The provost and Barbara herself are slightly different. While they are undoubtedly of a higher social standing than the masters and peasants, they are still clearly in the habit of obeying the king. In the case of Barbara, her obedience is tested when her father's expectations collide with her own desire, i.e. on the question of her marriage, and at that point she abandons her obedient manner and thus provokes the ruler.

Nevertheless, it seems a bit extreme that Dioscorus threatens his only heir and daughter with death simply because she refuses a request he makes of her. His behaviour is rendered even stranger when compared to the previous parts of *An Buhez* and Dioscorus' behaviour with regard to Barbara on the one hand and the other versions of the legend considered in this study on the other. When the king appears on stage for the first time in *An Buhez*, he begins by telling the audience about his beloved daughter. He has already devised a plan to keep her hidden away from the world and would-be-rapists or -ravishers. But he also clearly states that he does not wish to marry her to anyone:

> Dioſcorus.
> […]
> [35] Memeux vn merch net ha derch so guerches
> A dle bout sclaer ent seder ma aeres
> Successoures em deces an nessaff
> Doucc ha plesant excellant hac antier
> Ha cazr ha mat hegarat a stat quer
> Hy ent seder en ma esper querhaff.
>
> [36] Dre se seder ober a prederaff
> Un tour fournis dam guis an iolishaff
> Hac an creffhaff mar gallaff bezaff quet
> De miret net ent secret credet plen
> En lech distro eno ne guelo den
> Chetu dien ameux plen ordrenet.
>
> [37] He dimiziff credet diff neriff quet

Nemet certen da muyhaff den so en bet
Rac se nepret da monet de metou
Ne lesiffquet den en bet naret sy
Da nessat crēn dre nep tēn bet ēnhy
Da comps outy membry rac me biou.

Dioscorus: / […] // I have a pure and noble daughter, who is a maiden / which, of course, must be, surely, my heiress / soft and pleasant, excellent and complete / and beautiful and good, lovely, of dear character; / she, surely, is my dearest hope. // Because of this, surely, I intend to have built / a tower arranged to my taste, the most beautiful / and the strongest, if I can, (I want it) to be / in order to guard her entirely secretly, believe (it) fully / in a deserted place; there, she will not see a man / no man will see her. / Voilà, clearly I have plainly ruled. // Believe me, I will not marry her / except to the greatest man that is in the world / therefore I will never let anybody / go near her, make no doubt / nor approach her at all, by any means / nor speak with her, methinks, for I am her master. //

The irony of Dioscorus' statement not to marry his daughter to any but the greatest man in the world is very likely intended, for it is precisely the greatest of men, Jesus Christ, of whom Barbara becomes a bride. Nevertheless, it serves also to illustrate Dioscorus' true desire to keep his daughter to himself and hide her from the rest of the world. This appears to include hiding her from her duty as an heiress, which would involve getting married to an influential man and bearing him sons. This view is confirmed by the attitude of the lords, of course. In order to do so, however, she would have to be introduced to some men, but her father continuously demonstrates that this is not what he has in mind for his daughter:

Dioſcorus.
[190] Moz reo breman ahanēn
Dan lech maz vihet miret tēn
Oar poan an pēn me diffenno
Nac ay neb termen den en bet
Euit neb quentel doz guelet
Ha ſe miret na fellet tro.

[…]

[199] Barba ma merch net hederc haguerch glā

Deneſſet lem dirac ma drem breman
Huy eu noman dreis pep vnan ganet
Ma holl eſper ſingulier ha querhaff
Ham holl buhez nos dez ſeul maz vezaff
A re caraff muyhaff nen nachaff quet.

[200] Rac ſe ſeder emeux ſclaer prederet
Ober fournis flam dam guis diuiſet
Un tour flour net doz miret hep quet ſy
Enhaff affet ſecret ez vihet plen
Perguen eno na no guelo neb den
Bezet certen bizhuiquen nep heny.

[…]

[203] Memeux deſſeu her da beuiff
Ouz drouc ha pirill ouz miriff
Guelhaff maz guilliff neriff quen
Rac ſe tizmat ſinchat batant
Et ēnhaff eſpres em preſant
Bezeṭ diligant ouz antren.

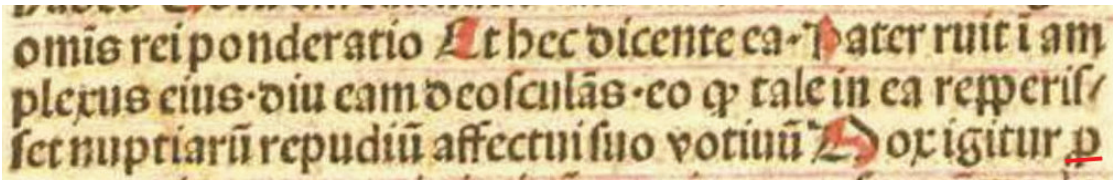
Dioscorus: / I will take you now from here / to the place where you will be protected firmly. / On pain of death I will prohibit / that no man in the world will ever go, / at any time, to see you / and do not fail to remember this. // […] // Barbe, my daughter, her aspect pure and a true virgin! / Come close to me, now. / You are, here, more than anyone alive, / all my hope, unique and most dear / and all my life, night (and) day so long as I shall exist / I love those the most, I do not deny it. // Therefore, surely, I have clearly thought / to make – fully splendid, to my taste arranged – / a generous tower truly to guard you, without any doubt: / in it, indeed, you will secretly live, completely / pure, there, and never will any man see you / – be sure! – ever, nobody. // […] // I have a notion: as long as I will live / I will protect you from evil and peril / as best as I will be able to, I will do nothing else! / Therefore quickly, evermore immediately / go into it, truly, in my presence. / Be swift at entering! //

Apart from recurrently repeating that no man is supposed to lay eyes on his daughter, Dio-

scorus also affirms his love for her, directly as well as indirectly. Even on a medieval stage where repetition serves to transport a message, the way in which Dioscorus expresses his feelings for his daughter seems obsessive rather than truly loving. This is perhaps part of the reason why he switches from loving father to homicidal patriarch so quickly when Barbara refuses his wish for the first time. Up to that point she has always complied, even when he asked her to move into the tower. While she states that it feels like imprisonment to her (201), she does not refuse to enter, because moving into the tower is not contrary to her own wishes – she can contemplate God wherever she is. Getting married, however, would flaunt her plan to preserve her virginity as a bride of Christ and thus she cannot accept the request. Barbara's refusal in stana 229 is very short and appears to be rather brusque (cf. Schnabel 2016). Nevertheless, a death threat seems very extreme in this case, particularly because Barbara's reaction is very much in alignment with Dioscorus' previous wish that no man should ever see her, let alone take her from him. Killing her also appears to be very much opposed to his wish to protect her from evil and peril (203). Thus, Dioscorus' reaction to Barbara's refusal to marry in *An Buhez* is highly surprising.

In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *cinq journées*, this reaction is very different and fits the overall situation much better. Instead of threatening her, Dioscorus flings his arms around Barbara's neck and kisses her:

John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*:



(Wakkerzeel 1495, 19)

cinq journées:
BARBARA
Cher Pere, en brief, je vous record
Responce a mon cueur concordant.
[…]
Voustre requeste n'est honneste,
Quar j'ay de volenté louee
Au hault Dieu chasteté vouee,
Pour ce que mon humanité

Est tendant a fragillité
De sa pouvre condicïon:
Elle tent a sa corrupcïon,
A punaysie et a ordure.
Ma responce point ne vous dure,
Pere, quar, combien que je doye
Vous obeÿz en toute voye
Par la loy que Nature dite,
Aussi, selon la loy escripte
Toutesfois en ceste matere,
Je contredy pourtant, cher Pere.
Pour cestuy cas ne vous desplaise.
DYOSCORUS
Desplaire? Dea! j'en suys bien aise!
Par ceste responce moult seure
M'esjouÿsséz oultre mesure.
Je suys de ce letiffïé!
Aiéz voustre propox lïé
A gardéz donc virginité
Et a fuÿr charnalité
Comme la d[ë]esse Dÿanne,
Qui n'est polluë ne prophane,
Mais pour sa belle netteté
Est dëesse de chasteté.
(4622-4684)

The onset of John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *cinq journées* is very similar to *An Buhez*. Dioscorus has expressed his love and the wish to protect his daughter several times. When the lords approach him, he agrees to pass their request on to her reluctantly. The main difference is that Barbara has craftily led Dioscorus to believe that her vow of chastity is inspired by the pagan gods rather than by the Christian God and has in this way given Dioscorus a good reason for her refusal. She has not done so in *An Buhez*. In this regard, *An Buhez* is closer to the *Legenda Aurea*, in which Barbara also does not give any reason for her refusal of marriage, which is very curt, too. However, in the *Legenda Aurea* Dioscorus does not threaten to kill her, either. He simply walks away from her:

> [...] ipse vero ad eam accedens in turrim persuadebat eam dicens: filia mea,

quidam de potentibus commemorati sunt de te; cum ira dixit: ne cogas me hoc agere, pater. At ipse secessit ab ea descendensque instituit multitudinem artificium [...].
(Graesse 1965, 899)

In *deux journées*, Barbara also refuses to marry. The onset is very different from John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, *cinq journées* and *An Buhez*. Parental love is not given as a reason for locking her away. Instead, Dioscorus reveals his plans to marry his daughter in his very first speech:

Icy commence le maistre Saincte Barbe vierge; et Dïoscorus parle a la royne.
Dïoscorus
[...]
Elle est belle, prudente et sage.
Nous n'avon enfant, si n'est elle,
Augmenter la fault haultement.
Elle est gente de corps et belle,
Marïer la fault grandement.
Marïce soit, c'est mon desir,
Dame sera de ma maison.
(286-292)

No wish to prevent Barbara from marrying is expressed, here. In fact, when two lords, like in the other plays, call on the royal couple, the king and queen are quite happy about this: "Nous sommes bien entalentez, / Ma femme et moy, par voz devis, / De marïer et augmenter / Nostre fille par voz advis" (315-318). The two lords then suggest to ask Barbara's opinion on the matter, which is what the king does, promptly:

Le roy
[...]
Je suis en ung grant pensement
D'ung seigneur qui vous a requise :
Moult riche, de tresbonne guise.
Plusieurs en sont a moy venus,
Lesquelz je n'ays pas soustenus.
Il me semble qu'il est ja temps,
[...]
Par voz amis et vostre mere;
Nous en sommë en grant malaise.

Barbe
Mon cher seigneur, ne vous desplaise,
Car saehés bien que pour richesse,
Ne pour honneur ne pour haultesse,
possessïon ne pour rente,
Ne pour homme qui s'en demante,
Ne pour vostre terre lenir,
Ne voz seigneuries maintenir;
Je ne vueil copulacïon
D'homme ne habitaeïon
Que je vive moys ne sepmaine;
Pource, n'en prenés ja la peine,
Car ainsi useray ma vie.
Le roy
Barbare, ma fille et m'amye,
Vous ferés a mon ordonnanee
Et grant honneur et grant puissance
Vous en viendres aprés ma mort.
(395-418)

Upon her refusal, Barbara's parents attempt to convince her of the wisdom of their plan, but she is not moved. Barbara is rebuked for her attitude by her father, and even more so by her mother. However, neither of her parents threatens to kill her. Instead, the king sends his servant to fetch masons to begin building the tower immediately (462f), a course of events which is very similar to the *Legenda Aurea* (s.a.).

In both Latin versions and in both French plays, Dioscorus' (and the queen's) reaction fits the respective situation. While the king is pleased in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *cinq journées*, because Barbara complies with his incipient wish to not ever give her away, his (and the queen's) reaction/s in the *Legenda Aurea* and *deux journées* is/are mild to non-existent. Admittedly, this leaves room for interpretation, but the king's violent reaction in *An Buhez* is nevertheless surprising because the onset resembles *cinq journées* (and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*) very strongly, and thus a similar reaction would be expected. It is possible that Dioscorus' reaction was altered by the author of *An Buhez* in order to underline the king's character. As the villain in the play, he is depicted as a volatile and short-tempered person. In contrast to the Dioscorus of *cinq journées*, who is often directly influenced by the evil devils, the Dioscorus in *An Buhez* usually acts of his own accord, until the very end, when Beezlebub takes a hand in order to ensure that the king will truly commit the murder of his daughter

(13.2).

However, it is also possible that the author was aware of a tradition in which the king does indeed react strongly to his daughter's refusal of marriage. There is a French poem in which the king threatens to kill his daughter after she has refused to marry, but there Barbara reveals her conversion at this point and declares herself a bride of Jesus Christ. This is the reason for the king to threaten her with death (Denomy 1939, 172):

> Quant ton pere te voulsist marier
> Toy qui aloye tout droit sans devyer
> N'entendis point de mortel mary prandre
> Ains Dieu. "Pere, autre n'auray espoux
> Que Jhesucrist, c'est le Seigneur de tous,
> Mon doulz saulveur auquel n'a que reprandre."
>
> Si tost que ton pere t'oÿt nommer
> Le nom Jhesus commença a fumer;
> Moult fut trouble car les Chrestiens desdeigne.
> Comme cruel forcenne de despit,
> Te voult tuer de s'espee sans respit,
> Mais tu fouys lors en une montaigne.
> (25-36)

As becomes clear from the excerpt, the poem has more in common with the Breton play than the fact that Barbara's father wants to kill her when she refuses marriage. The rhyme scheme is similar, too, and Denomy describes it thus:

> The poem is written in decasyllabic verse arranged in stanzas six lines in length. The rime is aabccb. With very few exceptions, the line is divided into two staves of four and six syllables. The caesura is generally sharply defined.
> (Denomy 1939, 171)

However, the poem being French, there is no internal rhyme. The end rhyme of one stanza is not taken up by the next stanza, either. With regard to the contents, there are also significant differences between the poem and the Breton play. Barbara is baptised by the Holy Spirit, rather than by Valentine (or by John the Baptist), and Origen and/or his messenger are entirely absent from the story as it is told by the poem (17-24). With regard to terminology, on the other hand, there are some further similarities to be found, but these are not exclusively used in *An Buhez* and the poem. The poem calls the shepherd(s) "bergier(s)" (38) rather than "pasteur/pastour"

(*deux journées*, 1020/1021ff), which is closer to the term "berger" used in *An Buhez* (375/6). However, *cinq journées* uses both terms, "pastor" (11520/11521) and "bergiers" (12539). This is similar when looking at the figure of the provost. In *An Buhez* and the poem, the provost who oversees Barbara's torture does not have a name, while he is called "Marcïen/Marcïan" in the French plays. Again, *cinq journées* uses both the name Marcïan and the description as provost to refer to the character (13918), while in *deux journées* he is called "Marcïen empereur" (1292/1293) and not "provost" at all. Despite the similarities, the poem is an unlikely ancestor of the Breton play. According to Denomy, it was written in Autun at the end of the fifteenth century (Denomy 1939, 171), which is quite some way from Brittany and even from Paris. Nevertheless, the poem serves to illustrate the diversity that characterises the legend of Barbara in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

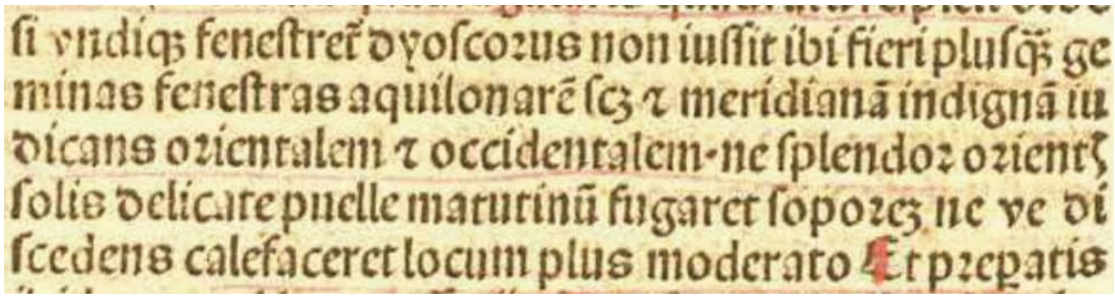
10. The Windows

The number of windows in Barbara's tower is one of the key points of her legend. Dioscorus orders the craftsmen to build two windows. When he subsequently leaves on a political errand, Barbara approaches the craftsmen and asks them to make three windows instead. These are, of course, supposed to signify the trinity and her own conversion to Christianity. When Dioscorus returns and discovers the addition, he is furious and demands an explanation. He consequently hears about his daughter's conversion and threatens to kill her for it. Thus, the third window marks a turning point in the action of the legend and the play.

10.1. The Two Windows

In all three plays the fact that Dioscorus' tastes and wishes are to be satisfied is noticeably emphasised. One of these wishes is the number of windows (or openings in the case of *deux journées*) the tower, respectively the bathhouse (*Legenda Aurea*), are supposed to have. Even though there is hardly any consistency with regard to the windows, it is still interesting and enlightening to take a closer look at the respective episodes.

In the *Legenda Aurea* the two windows are introduced shortly after Dioscorus has left. Barbara descends and looks at the work that has been accomplished so far and sees only two windows facing north: "descendensque famula Dei videri opus, quod factum est, vidit contra septentrionem duas solummodo fenestras" (Graesse 1965, 899f). In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, Dioscorus gives the orders for the design of the tower during his first interview with the craftsmen. These orders include the number of windows the tower is supposed to have. He wants it to have only two northward windows, because he considers southward windows unworthy ("indignam"), and does not want the rising sun from the east to disturb his daughter's sleep in the mornings, nor the setting sun from the west to heat her rooms too much:


si vndiq; fenestre dyoscorus non iussit ibi fieri plusq; ge
minas fenestras aquilonarē sc; ꝛ meridianā indignā iu
dicans orientalem ꝛ occidentalem·ne splendor orientꝭ
solis delicate puelle matutinū fugaret sopor; ne ve di
scedens calefaceret locum plus moderato Et prepatis

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 18)

The reasons Dioscorus gives against the building of east- and westward windows are the same in *cinq journées*. However, the unworthiness of southward windows is not reflected in *cinq*

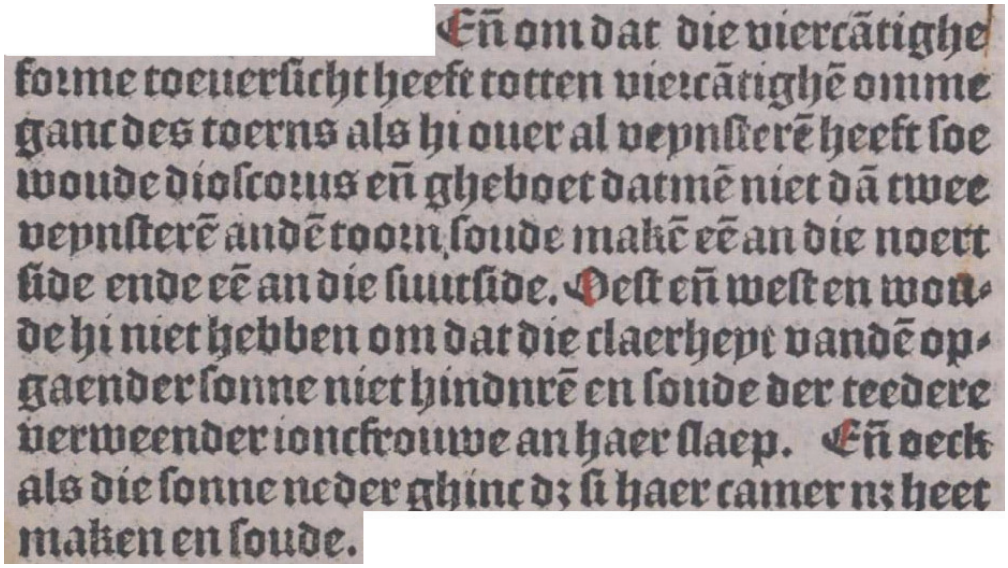
journées. There, the tower is to have one northward and one southward window:[32]

> Je vueil qu'il y ait deux fenestres
> Et non plus – entendéz vous, Maistres ? –
> L'une devers Septemtrïon
> Et l'autre vers la regïon
> Qui est appelle[ë] Mydi.
> (4046-4050)

As I indicate above, the second opening in *deux journées* is not even a window, but an arbalestriere. While the window is apparently meant to face the rising sun, i.e. east, it is not entirely clear from the text which direction the other opening should face; this must have been made apparent by the actor on stage:

> Icy aura une fenestre,
> Affin du jour apparoistre.

[32]Considering the closeness between *cinq journées* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* with regard to contents as well as to their respective date of composition (Kim 1998, 375-377), it is plausible that John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* may have been used as a source text for *cinq journées*. However, it is entirely unclear which – if indeed any – of the considerable number of versions in various languages the *fatiste* of *cinq journées* might have used. Unfortunately, I could not consult a French translation of John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, but a translation into Dutch is available on-line. While I have not compared the versions in much detail, it is noticeable that the Dutch version is usually very close to the Latin version of John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, with some small but often rather striking exceptions. One of these exceptions is the placement of the two windows, which is the same in *cinq journées* and in the Dutch version, i.e. one northward and one southward window:


Eñ om dat die viercãtighe
forme toeuerlicht heeft totten viercãtighẽ omme
ganc des toerns als hi ouer al vepnsterẽ heeft soe
woude dioscorus eñ gheboet datmẽ niet dã twee
vepnsterẽ andẽ toorn soude makẽ eẽ an die noert
side ende eẽ an die suutside. Oest eñ west en wou-
de hi niet hebben om dat die claerheyt vandẽ op-
gaender sonne niet hindrẽ en soude der teedere
verweender ionchrouwe an haer slaep. Eñ oeck
als die sonne neder ghinc dz si haer camer nz heet
maken en soude.

(Wakkerzeel 1497, 30).

Vous ferés une arbalestriere
De ceste costé pour estre clere,
Qu'elle me soit haulte et bien faicte.
(513-517)

John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and the two French plays include the windows in their initial description of the tower. In the *Legenda Aurea* time must have passed between Dioscorus employing the workers and Barbara descending and seeing the windows for the first time. Nevertheless, the second part directly follows the first – in fact, it is only one sentence that describes bot actions. In *An Buhez* it is slightly different. The windows are only addressed at a much later stage. Before leaving on a state errand (see below), the king visits the building site and commands the workers to work hard and finish the tower as quickly as possible. Then he mentions the windows:

[242] […]
Ha gruet diff hep quē dou preneſt
Diouz ſeptemtrion ent oneſt
Da arhueſt dre feſt apreſtet.

[…] / and for my sake, make only two windows / nicely aligned to look / away from the north, honestly! //

Both the *Legenda Aurea* and *An Buhez* are not entirely clear regarding the actual direction of the windows, as "diouz" like "contra" could be translated either "facing" or "away from". In *An Buhez*, however, there is some further clarification of the direction. On the one hand, the master explains to his workers where they should build the windows. On the other hand, Dioscorus himself comments very precisely on the alignment of the windows in the tower:

[245] […]
An meſtr mecherour.
Diff a crēn ez gourchemennas
En e guis hac ez diuiſas
O ber hep noas ne fallas quet
Dou preneſt oneſt en creis dez

[…]

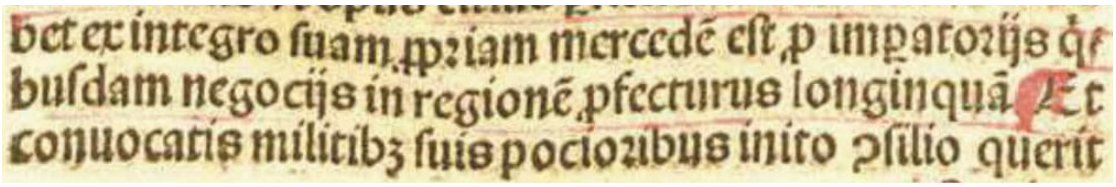
Dioſcorus.
[…]
[305] Dou didan hac vnan dan knech
[…] pan rech plen
Ober try freneſt en creis dez
[…]

[…] / The master worker: / [Dioscorus] instructed me, explicitly, / with regard to his taste and he arranged / to make without argument – so he did – / two comely southward windows. // […] //
Dioscorus: / […] / Two below and a single one at the top! / […] when you did / have three windows made in the south, just so / […]. //

Dioscorus' instructions in *An Buhez* are very similar to the description of the windows in the *Legenda Aurea* – both mention two windows facing in the same direction and use the term "septen[m]trion". Even the terms used to indicate the direction – "diouz" (*An Buhez*, 242) and "contra" (*Legenda Aurea*, 900) – are ambivalent to about the same degree. However, the additional description of the windows as "en creis dez" ('southward', 305) points towards the Breton play's relation to *cinq journées*, which is the only other play that explicitly mentions south as a direction. In addition to this, the structure of *An Buhez* and *cinq journées* is similar. In the *Legenda Aurea* and in *deux journées* the two building – the bathhouse and tower respectively – are commissioned and the next action involving the building is a visit from Barbara. In both *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* Dioscorus returns to the building site before the completion of the building and makes a further request of the craftsmen. While at this point Dioscorus explains about the two windows in *An Buhez*, in *cinq journées* he has already done so at the beginning and instead instructs the craftsmen to include a bathing facility in the tower. The structure, however, is similar and moreover a bathhouse would be pointless in *An Buhez* due to the presence of a fountain close to the tower. The connection between the bathhouse and the fountain is discussed in 11.

10.2. The Third Window

After having commissioned the building and specified the number of windows, the king leaves in all five versions. The reason for his absence or his destination are, however, not provided likewise. In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, the reason for his absence is quite clear. The legend provides the information that the king leaves with his best knights on a military excursion on the command of the emperor:



(Wakkerzeel 1495, 19)

This is similar in the *Legenda Aurea*, which employs the same words as John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, but shortens the information considerably: "[…] profectusque est in regionem longinquam […]" (899). The information about Discorus' absence is provided in a subordinate clause between Dioscorus' distribution of wages to the craftsmen and Barbara's inspection of the building site, and there is no hint of any military matter. With regard to the plot structure, the information is provided in the same place in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*. In *cinq journées*, the king's absence is explained and his military excursion is made into an entire episode of its own which takes place during the second half of the second day. It is a long episode that carries some dramatic significance, because the king leaves in order to participate in a strike against all Christians of Alexandria. Thus, Dioscorus (unknowingly) attacks Barbara's mentors (and loses). His troops are part of an army gathered by Dyogenes in the name of emperor Maximien. He sends a messenger to Dioscorus in order to ask for his support and Dioscorus agrees to accompany him in this endeavour:

DYOGENÉS, *superior in Egipto sub Maximiano.*
Seigneurs, faictes tretouz silence
Et entendéz tous mon propoux!
Vous estez tous des vraiz supposts
De Maximïen l'empereur.
Soubz luy avéz eu maint honneur,
Juré luy avéz loyaulté
Et moy aussi la fëaulté.
Je suys vicaire espicïal
Pour tout l'estat imperïal,
Gouverneur par discrecïon.
[…]
Puys deux jours d'une grefve offence
Qui par maulvaise inadvertance
Est venuë contre l'empire.
Nouvelles ne puis ouÿr dire,
Dont mon ame soit plus naffree,

Quar la cité d'Alexandrie,
Comme desloyalle et perverse,
Est a la loy Jesus converse
Et lesse la loy de Venus,
De Juno et de Neptunus
Et de noz dieux qui sont si bons.
(7440-7467)

[…]

BRACONNET [messenger of DYOGENES]
[…]
Mais [DYOGENES] a afaire de vous
Pour aulcune rebellïon,
Pour certaine dissencïon
Que ceulx d'Alexandrië ont
Contre l'empereur, car ilz sont
A la foy Jesus convertiz.
Dÿogenés est advertiz
Du cas, si a deliberé
Sans qu'il soit jamais differé
Qu'i les subjuguera par force.
De tout son pouoir il s'efforce
D'assembléz gens de tous coustéz.
Pourtant, cher Sire redoubtéz,
Vous mande que vous ordonner
De tous poins et vous en venéz
Vers luy o tout voustre estandart
Dedans quinze jours au plus tard
Et amenéz tretous voz gens.
DYOSCORUS
De ce ne serons negligens,
Quar le cas est bien parcïal
Tant pour l'onneur imperïal
Que pour la haygne que je tien
Contre tout homme crestïen.

Jë yray de tresbon couraige.
(7778-7805)

During the preparations for his absence, Discorus also approaches the masons and instructs them once more to build the tower and the bathhouse according to his specifications. As in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and the *Legenda Aurea*, Dioscorus also gives the masons some money:

DYOSCORUS
Gandeloche, le cas est tel,
Je ne sçay quand je reviendray.
Pour la cause, je vous diray,
Si contenter, car il me haite,
De celle oupvraige qui est faicte
Et de celle qui est a ffaire,
Et garder bien pour quelque affaire
Que vous ayéz affaire aillieurs
Pour bourgeoys, princes ou seigneurs.
Vous ne partéz d'icy jamais
Tant que l'ouvraige ait tous ses més
Et qu'elle soit du tout construicte.
[…]
Garder, pour eviter comptens,
Pour quelconque commandement,
Que vous ne faciéz aultrement
Ne la tour ne celle pousterne
Que mon cueur vous dit et discerne.
Tradat pecuniam.
Tenéz, voyla mille flourins.
(7982-8013)

An Buhez does not provide any background information on the reason for the king's absence. Dioscorus merely states his plans to leave, and instead of giving a reason, he asks the workers once again to follow his orders concerning the design and not to leave before the work is finished:

Dioscorus
[241] Memeux da monet heb quet fy

Gant effet en vn queffridy
Monet ēnhy a ſtudiaff
Rac ſe oar pep tro me ho pet
Oar ma tour flour ez labourhet
Tēn ha qualet pan ouz pedaff.

[242] Dich a crēn ez gourchemennaff
En pep guis hac ez diuiſaff
E achiuaff heb tardaff quet
Ha gruet diff hep quē dou preneſt
Diouz ſeptemtrion ent oneſt
Da arhueſt dre feſt apreſtet.

[243] Ha pan duyff ne filliff quet
Moz groay ſuramant contantet
Heb faut en bet na lequet ſy
Dichuy lem memem gourchemēn
Her meya breman ahanēn
Coll arahēn mar tarthēn muy

> Dioscorus: / Without any doubt I really have to go / on a mission: / I plan to concern myself with it. / Therefore, more than anything else, I beg you, / about my tender tower, that you will work / hard and persistently, because I ask you to. // I command you explicitly / and I order you unmistakably / to finish it without any tarrying / and for my sake, make only two windows / nicely aligned to look / away from the north, honestly! // And when I will come back, I will not fail, / I will surely remunerate you / without any fault, do not doubt! / I recommend myself quickly to you / because I set forth now. / I would suffer damages if I would tarry any more. //

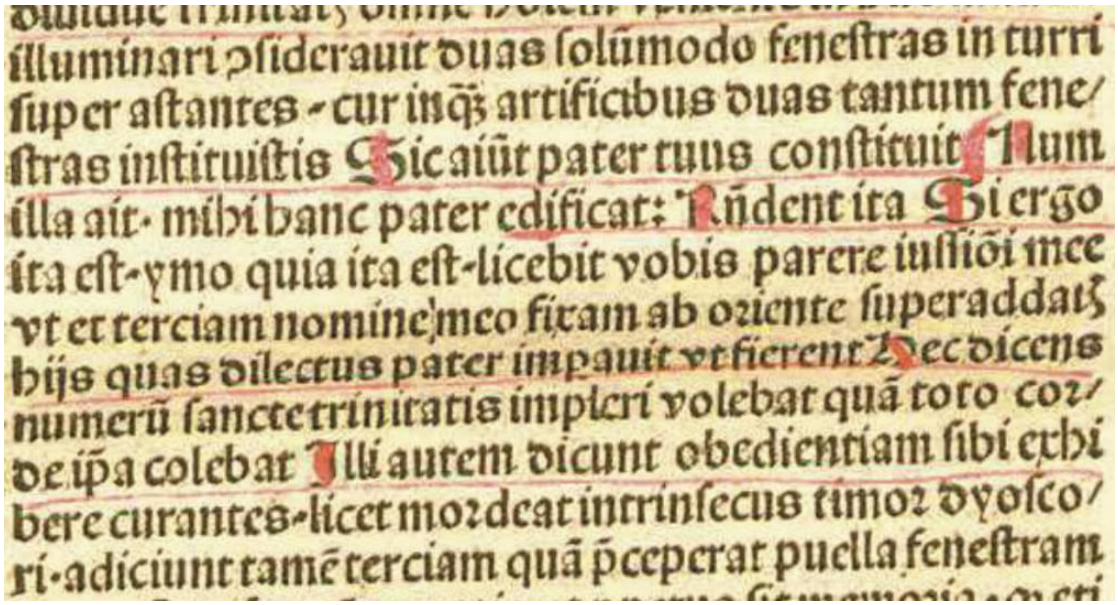
The "mission" ('queffridy') is not specified any further, as it is the case in the *Legenda Aurea*. That Dioscorus asks the workers not to leave before their work is complete is strikingly reminiscent of *cinq journées*, however, where the king makes the same request of the masons before leaving. But in contrast to the other three versions, the king does not pay the craftsmen at this point in *An Buhez*. He merely promises that he will do so upon his return. Nevertheless, the topic is at least touched upon, thus creating a structural link to the other versions. In *deux journées*, the king (and queen) are likewise absent from the building site for a while, but pay-

ment is not mentioned. There is an explanation for the absence of the royal couple, and it is linked to emperor Marcien, too. But instead of going on a military excursion, they leave in order to visit a pagan temple together with the emperor:

> Le roy
> Or ça, damë, il est saison
> Que nous parton de ceste ville.
> Il fault avoir Barbe, ma fille.
> Sa voulenté ne puis sçavoir,
> Ne qu'elle garde en son courage,
> Mais je mettray tout mon povoir
> A la tenir et mettre en caige.
> D'elle nous convient congé prendre,
> Si yron noz dieux adorer.
> (534-542)

Thus, while the respective versions offer different or no information on the reason of the king's (and queen's) absence, the fact that all versions specifically include a part of the action that takes place without the king's direct supervision is quite telling. The king must be gone for a while, so that Barbara can counteract his explicit orders. This disobedience of the king's wishes is, in turn, imperative for the legend to reach its climax. Without the third window, Barbara's conversion would not necessarily have been discovered by the king and thus her martyrdom would not have been possible. During the king's absence, Barbara seizes her chance and asks the workers to add a third window to the tower.

In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, she approaches the craftsmen after having had a vision of Jesus as a child. Thus filled with the knowledge of the trinity, she sees that there are only two windows in the tower and decides to have a third window added so that the number corresponds to the trinity. She does not illuminate the craftsmen on this point, but merely points out that her father is building the tower for her, after all, and implies that she therefore should have a say in the design. The craftsmen judge this a valid point, apparently, and add a third window to the tower despite their intrinsic fear of the king:


illuminari ꝓsiderauit duas solūmodo fenestras in turri
super astantes - cur inq̄ artificibus duas tantum fene/
stras instituistis Hic aiūt pater tuus constituit Illum
illa ait· mihi banc pater edificat: Rñdent ita Hi ergo
ita est-ymo quia ita est-licebit vobis parere iussiōi mee
vt et terciam nomine meo fiam ab oriente superaddat
bijs quas dilectus pater impauit vt fierent Hec dicens
numerū sancte triniratis impleri volebat quā toto cor/
de ipa colebat Illi autem dicunt obedientiam sibi exhi
bere curantes-licet mordeat intrinsecus timor dyosco/
ri·adiciunt tamē terciam quā p̄ceperat puella fenestram

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 19)

In the *Legenda Aurea*, the information is shorter and the context is different. Barbara has just refused to get married and her father has left the area. When Barbara approaches the building site, she sees only two windows "contra septentrionem" and asks the craftsmen why they have made only two windows. When they answer that it was upon the king's command, Barbara instructs them to make a third window for her. The craftsmen express themselves fearful that the king will be indignant with them, but Barbara reassures them that she will deal with her father on that matter and so the workers make a third window:

> […] vidit contra septentrionem duas solummodo fenestras, dixit artificibus: quare duas fenestras instituistis? Dicunt ei: pater tuus disposuit. Quibus illa: facite et mihi aliam fenestram. Qui dixerunt: timemus, domina, ne indignetur pater tuus contra nos. Dicit iis famula Dei: facite mihi fenestram, ego de hoc acquiescere faciam patrem meum. Ipsi vero fecerunt aliam fenestram.
> (Graesse 1965, 900)

Similar to John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, Barbara is visited by Christ in *cinq journées*, and after that she actively perceives the number of windows for the first time:

> BARBARA
> […]
> *Hic appariat Jesus sanguine lentus.*
> Qu'est cecy benedicité?

Véz cy grant admiracïon!
Qu'esse cy Saincte Trinité?
J'ay de mon Dieu compassïon.
Véz cy comme en la Passïon
Il fut les hommes rachetant.
Je Te voy icy tout senglant,
Dont plouréz doy amerement.
(10523-10560)

[…]

BARBARA
Qu'esse je suys apercevant?
Qu'en ceste tour, sans plus, n'y a
Que deux fenestres! Comment dea!
Elle n'est point du tout parfaicte
Si la troysiesme n'y est faicte
Pour la Trinité figuréz!
[…]
Puis que j'ay le temps convenant,
Je la feray vers Orïent,
[…]
Je feray faire la troysiesme
Avant que mon pere revienne.
Il n'y a riens qui m'en retienne.
(10609-10637)

Accordingly, she commands the masons to come to her and asks them to add a third window to the tower. The reason she provides is that she would like to be able to see the sun rise in the mornings and that the tower would be brighter. She does not tell the masons her real reason for wanting a third window, which is similar to John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*.

BARBARA
Vous avéz fait que vaillans hommes
De venir a mon mandement.
Je vous diré appertemant
Pour quelle fin. Vous voier bien

Sur tout ouvraige terrïen
Que véz cy le suppellatif,
Plus plaisant et delicatif,
Myeulx fondé et ediffié,
Si ne fust qu'avéz oublié
A faire une tierce fenestre:
Ce fust ung paradis terrestre
Et une doulce nouriture
S'encore y eust une ouverture
De la part ou le soulleil lieve.
[…]
Si je voy le soulleil lever,
Je seray le jour plus joyeuse
Et ceste tour plus lumineuse,
Dont elle sera myeulx prisee.
(10665-10688)

While the masons express themselves fearful with regard to the king's opinion on the matter, Barbara assures them that she will arrange matters with her father. In contrast to John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, she makes a point of her influence over her father rather than her right to have a say in the design, but she succeeds with her request and the craftsmen agree to make the third window:

GANDELOCHE
Ma chere Dame, mais qu'il plaise
Au roy a son retournement,
Nous le feron joyeusement!
Aultrement nous n'ousserïons:
Son mal talant encourïons
Et sa griefve indignacïon.
Pourtant, sans sa monicïon,
Nous n'ouserïons l'entreprendre
Sans premier au roy congié prendre.
[…]
BARBARA
Comment ouséz vous contredire
A ma voulenté raisonnable?

Si le fait estoit dommaiggeable
Pour vous, ou chousse diffamee,
Ne suy ge point asséz amee
De mon pere pour apaisser
Son ire et cesser le noiser?
J'ay asséz puissance envers luy!
[…]
GANDELOCHE
Dame excellante, vous voulléz
Qu'on obeisse a voustre requeste,
Mais elle n'est trop honneste,
Ce me semble ne bien licite.
BARBARA
Faictez la, sans plus de resdite!
Je feray bien aprés la paix
En ce lieu que je vous recite.
Faictez la, sans plus de redite!
MURGALANT
Le replicquer n'y est licite.
Je le voy bien.
GANDELOCHE
C'est pour touz maytz.
BARBARA
Sçavéz quoy? N'en parléz jamais!
Chascun de vous en sera quicte.
Faictez la, sans plus de redite!
Je feray bien aprés la paix.
MURGALANT
La charge prendréz et le fais
Dessus vous.
BARBARA
Ce feré mon voir.
GANDELOCHE
Si le roy ce vieult esmouvoir
Contre nous, vous nous soustendréz?
BARBARA

C'est tout certain.
MURGAULT
Tantoust vous verréz
La fenestre sur piedz ouverte.
(10693-10749)

In *deux journées*, the conversation is similar, but shorter. The context differs from any of the other versions in so far as Barbara is not left alone when her parents are absent, but under the supervision of three virgins ('pucelles'). These do not appear in any of the other versions. Barbara steals away from her wardens while they are playing at cards and approaches the masons. She asks them what the two windows might signify and they can give her no other answer but that the king has commanded it so. She then asks them to add a third window and they agree pretty quickly under the condition that she will take all the blame in case the king should not be agreeable:

Elle va au masson.
Seigneurs, par amour, je vous prye
Que me dictes que signifie
Ses deux fenestres que vous faictes
Si petites et si estroittes,
Car a la faire a grant Mesme.
Le .i. masson
Dame nous ne le sçavon mye.
Vostre pere nous commanda
Et quant il partit, nous manda.
Que deux fenestres y feisson.
Nous n'y sçavons autre taison,
Mais il dist qu'elles fussent estroictes.
Barbe
Seigneurs, paramour, or en faictes
Une cy qui soit de tel guise
Et soit vers oïent assise.
Faicte sera a ma requeste
Et qu'elle me soint en l'heure preste;
Je vous en pry trescherement.
Le .iii. masson
<Damoiselle>, certainement.

Or, ne vous vueille pas desplaire,
Car plus n'en commanda a faire,
Mais s'il vous plaist le blasme prendre,
Nous en exaulcer et deffendre,
Bien le feron comme je pense.
  Barbe
Et je le vous prometz a fiance
Que bien vous en desblasmeray
Et tout le fais en porteray,
Se blasme y a, noyse ne hayne.
A Dieu, faicte bien ma besogne,
Par amour, je vous en supplye.
  Les massons *ensemble*
A dieu, dame, n'en doubtez mye,
Si bien la feron sans mesprendre
Que nul n'y sçaura que reprendre
De ce, ne soyez point en doubte.
(654/5-687)

In *An Buhez*, Dioscorus has just commanded the master to make only two windows in stanza 242 and then left the stage. The master worker has just conveyed the king's parting orders to his crew, when Barbara approaches them. Thus, there have only been six stanzas between the king's command to make exactly two windows and Barbara's request to add a third:

  Sante Barba
[248] Perac na rechuy manifeſt
Quichen equichen tri freneſt
A viſe medeſt oneſtoch
Me queff houz ſtat arabadou
Guelet nozeux groaet heb quet gou
Nemet dou a pan dezrouſoch.

[249] En tra man a pell ez fellſoch
An quentaff mis na diuiſſoch.
Credet entroch ez grueſoch gou
En vn tour quen flour labouret
Ezeu bihanez gouzuezet

Na ell bout guelet nemet dou

An meſtr mecherour.
[250] Hoz tat eu heb faut hon autrou
A archas dimp plen e guenou
Nemet dou hon oa dezrouet
Naraſemp ny muy ent dien
Na ne crethemp ny bizhuiquen
Ober quen pan eụ ordrenet.

Saint Barbara: / Why should you not simply make, / three windows next to each other? / which would, I confirm, be more agreeable? / I find your approach is a stupidity / seeing that you have made, obviously, / only two since you began. // In this matter you failed by far / that you did not arrange it from the first plan on. / Believe me that you made a mistake! / In a tower built so tenderly / it is a pity, know (it)!, / that no more than two can be seen. //
The master worker: / It is, without fault, your father, our lord, / who instructed us with his own words / that we should truly not make more / than the two we have begun. / And we would never dare / to do otherwise because it is ordered. //

The fact that hardly any text has been spoken between the king's command to make two windows and Barbara's request for the third is quite striking. The craftsmen cannot have made much progress, because they have just received the king's orders. Nevertheless, both Barbara and the master speak of the two windows that have been begun. This carries some implications with regard to the stage design of the tower. Either the windows can be added to the structure very easily, possibly even only in parts, which would be indicative for a prop made of painted cloth that can be attached to the construction depicting the tower. This could have been rolled up in the beginning and be unfolded (partly) according to the respective orders given by the king and Barbara. Or there are no windows at all (yet), and the characters' speeches serve to illustrate something that is not actually visible. In both cases, the two windows are not entirely present before Barbara approaches the craftsmen. This contrasts with *cinq journées*, where the masons apparently need to open up an existing wall in order to add a third window to an apparently already complete tower. Their conversation directly follows Barbara's request:

GANDELOCHE
Elle vous sera descouverte
Et si le ferons de careure.

MURGAULT
E Dieux, que ceste pierre est dure!
Par foy el est bien cimentee.
Elle est ycy bien fort entee!
Long temps y a qu'el ne locha.
GANDELOCHE
Frappe de la, et moy decza,
Si sera plustoust esbranlee.
On ne cymenta myeulx piecza!
Frappe de la, et moy decza!
(10750-10759)

The situation in *deux journées* is even more interesting in this case. There, a stage direction makes it explicit that the masons build the tower and wait for Barbara to approach them. But the stage direction differs between the earlier (published between 1511 and 1517) and the later version (published between 1552 and 1585, Longtin 1996, 11). While in the earlier edition the Latin stage direction indicates that the masons build the tower and the (two) windows and then wait for Barbara ("Tunc faciant turrim et fenestras quo / adusque Barbaram veniat ad ipsos", 533/4), the French stage direction in the later edition states that they build the tower to the point of the windows and then wait for Barbara ("Ilz font la tour jusques aux fenestres / attendant que Barbe vienne parler a eux", 538/9). The earlier version would thus correspond to *cinq journées*, where the masons have already built the windows and then add a third to the structure of the tower. The later version corresponds to *An Buhez*, where the masons also have only begun constructing the windows and are able to include a third in the evolving design. The masons' answer to Barbara's request in *deux journées* fits either context easily, for it does not offer any further information on this point (s.a.). Furthermore, in *An Buhez* Barbara does not give the craftsmen a compliment on the work they have accomplished so far. Instead, she is rather rude and points out to them that she considers their design faulty, which contrasts with both *cinq journées* and *deux journées*, although in *cinq journées* she admittedly becomes considerably less polite when she tries to force the masons' obedience ("Comment ouséz vous contredire / A ma voulenté raisonnable?", 10709f; "Sçavéz quoy? N'en parléz jamais! / Chascun de vous en sera quicte", 10740f). The shortness with which Barbara speaks to the craftsmen in the *Legenda Aurea* could be interpreted as rude, but there is no other text in which Barbara uses words like "stupidity" or "failure" to describe the work or the craftsmen at this point. The structure and contents of the conversation that ensues between Barbara and the master worker in *An Buhez* is similar to *cinq journées*, however:

Sante Barba.
[251] Nep oun ouz buhez noz bezet
Lequet try hac eſpediet
Ouziff ſentet na tardet muy
Ha me a pep blam ouz lammo
Diouz pep den hac hoz ſouteno
Moz goaranto ne vezo ſy.

An meſtr mecherour.
[252] Tamallet vēp mar groahēp try
Ha pardonet diff neriff muy
Rac dimp ny ez notiffias
Dre guiryon cruel euel hēn
En dan poan an tan hac an pēn
An draſe crēn on diffennas.

Sante Barba.
[253] Me houz miro nouz bezo noas
Dre nep vnan euit an cas
En dan poan bras me hoz aſſur
Ha ſuramant me contanto
Ma tat nep ſtat noz debato
An dra ſe pep tro me ſo ſur.

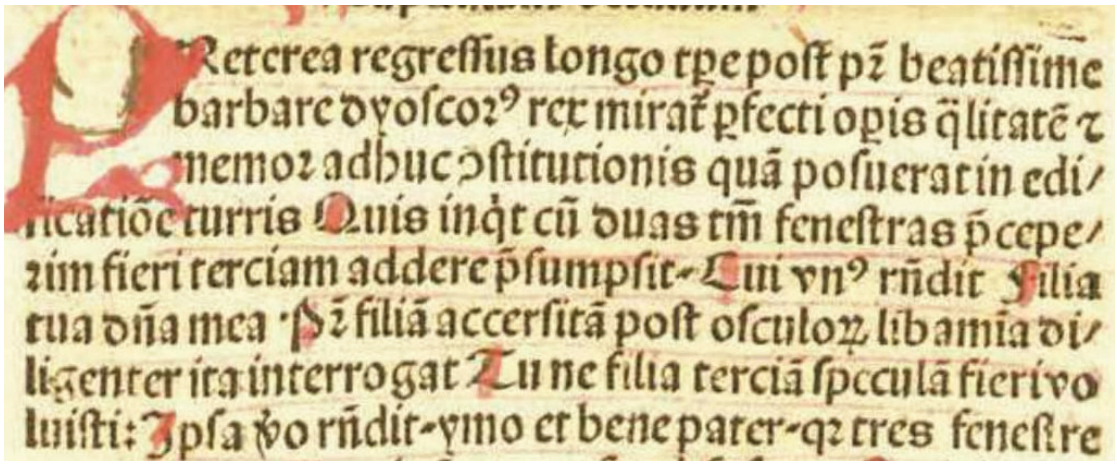
An meſtr.
[254] Pan eu pep ſtat hoz pligiadur
Ny aray try bezet ſigur
Dre muſur pan hōn aſſuret
Hoguen yuez mar on bez blam
Debat na tempeſt nac eſtlam
Ez rencquet dinam ma lamet.

Sante Barba.
[255] Nep oun an tra ſe non bezet.
[…]

> Saint Barbara: / Do not have any fear for your life! / Make it three and hurry! / Obey me, do not tarry anymore!, / and I will take every blame off of you, / from everyone, and I will support you, / I will protect you, there will be no doubt! //
> The master worker: / We would be blamed if we made three! / And forgive me, I will make no more / for he notified us / with such blatant terms / under pain of fire and of death. / He prohibited this strictly. //
> Saint Barbara: / I will protect you so that you will have no quarrel / with anyone because of this affair, / under threat of punishment. I assure you! / And I will surely deal with / my father, so that he will not quarrel with you in any way. / I am entirely sure of this. //
> The master: / If it is really your desire / we will make three, be certain!, / according to the requirement, since you assure us. / But even if we should have blame, / quarrel, or storm or distress, / you must unconditionally bail me out. //
> Saint Barbara: / Let us have no fear from this. / [...] //

Barbara more or less bullies the craftsmen into following her commands and they express themselves much more reluctant on account of their fear from her father than in either of the Latin versions. The particular point of being afraid of the king is entirely absent from *deux journées*, which is why the conversation is significantly shorter. However, the question why there are only two windows is not asked in *cinq journées*, and thus the answer that it was designed upon the king's command is equally lacking. This is different in *An Buhez*, where Barbara begins the conversation with the master worker, as she likewise does in all other versions, by asking that question. Then again, *An Buhez* does not have Barbara insist on her position of power as the king's daughter, as she does in *cinq journées* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, and there is also no context of a vision or visitation of Christ.

Eventually, king Dioscorus returns to the tower. In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, there is not much information provided as to why the king returns. We only know from his departure that he went on a military excursion. He merely comes back and immediately visits his tower. There he discovers the third window, and while he is slightly angry at what he first perceives as the craftsmen's disobedience, he is quite willing to accept their word that they acted upon his daughter's command. He then speaks to his daughter.



(Wakkerzeel 1495, 19)

The *Legenda Aurea* is similarly short on the subject but provides the additional information that the king was on a "peregrinatio":

> Finitoque opere reversus est pater ejus de peregrinatione et contemplatus tres fenestras dixit artificibus: quare tres fenestras instituistis? Dicunt ei: filia tua sic nobis praecepit. Ipse vero ait filiae: tu imperasti tres fenestras fieri? At illa: etiam[.]
> (Graesse 1965, 900)

While the classical meaning of "peregrinatio" was simply "journey, voyage", the word acquired the additional meaning of "pilgrimage" in the Middle Ages (*Pons Online Wörterbuch* 2018, "peregrinatio"). This later meaning interestingly corresponds to the reason for the king and queen's absence in *deux journées*, where they go on a trip to worship their pagan gods, i.e. on a pilgrimage. In *deux journées*, the return of the king and queen takes place at the very end of the first day. They speak shortly about the need to return home and then approach the tower:

> Dïoscorus
> Il fault penser de retourner;
> Plus n'a du temps de sejourner.
> Allons nous en, je vous en prie.
> La royne
> Monseigneur, je vous octroye,
> Allons nous en quant vous plaira.
> Dïoscorus
> Present vueil veoir qu'e1le sera

La tour que j'avoys devisee,
Pour sçavoir s'el est achevee.
Allons nous en quant vous plaira.
[…….. a
……oye]
Il dit aux massons:
[…].
(855-863/4)

In *An Buhez*, the king also returns from his voyage and wants to look at the work that has been conducted in his absence right away. The contents of his speech mirror those of *deux journées* quite closely.

Diofcorus a deu e veig
[281] Monet dan kaer a prederaff
Ha pret eu monet a credaff
Guelet araff ez tardaff re
Pell ſo na viouff lem em ty
Ha ne menna arretaff muy
Rac bout ēnhy ma ſtudy ve

An meſſager.
[282] Mar daleet ententet ſe
Neōn enouar pe hoarffhe
Rac lies re a bale teu
Na mar be neb ampris diſpar
Groaet gant den eſtren me en goar
Effe dich glachar re dareu.

Diofcor9 a deu e q̃ffridy:hac aya de tour
[283] Meya da guelet rac pret eu
Ma tour labouret anen deu
Achiuet beu dren deſeuaff
Euel ma emoa plen ordrenet
Pe eṇ faczon quent ma monet
Ez vihe groaet heb arretaff.

Aman pan fell ouz an tour
ha guelet groaet try freneſt
ez lauar dan mecherour.

Dioscorus returns from his voyage. / I intend to go home / and it is time to go, I believe, / I see that I tarry too much. / It has yet been a while since I was in my house / and I do not want to linger anymore / because being there would be my intention. //
The messenger: / If you delay, listen to this! / I don't know at all what might happen / because many people rove about / and if a dubious thing was / planned by someone strange – I know it – / it would all too likely cause you grief. //
Disocorus returns from his mission and goes to his tower. / I go to see – because it is time – / whether my tower is not built, / accomplished precisely like I thought it up, / like it was plainly ordered / before I left, in which manner / it should be made without pause. //
Here, when he looks at the tower / and sees that three windows were built, / he speaks to the worker. /

Structurally, these three stanzas are quite strange because the king appears to return home twice on the one hand, and on the other because the messenger's warning appears very incongruous. While I was not able to find an explanation for the latter peculiarity, the former is likely due to the theatrical setting. The king, who has been entirely absent from the stage, probably re-enters the stage and speaks stanza 281 somewhere in between the places depicted on stage (2), where he is approached by the messenger. Then the king moves towards the place of the palace, and continues speaking there (283). After that, Dioscorus moves on to the tower. This mirrors the situation in *cinq journées*. There, the king returns from the military excursion against Alexandria together with Florimond. He speaks more than once of his desire to come home, which serves to illustrate that his way home is very long and that he has to travel for some time. When he and Florimond get close to Nicomedia, they rejoice:

FLORIMOND
Resjouÿsséz vous, Monseigneur,
Je voy noustre cité cy prés:
Tantoust aurons passé les prés
Et foullee belle et verte.
Véz la porte toute ouverte:
Il est temps que nous y entron.

DYOSCORUS
Loué soit le dieu Baratron
Et Apolin, le puissant mire!
Long temps y a que je desire
De retournéz en ma cité.
J'ay eu maintte neccessité
Puys le temps que nous en partismes.
(11499-11510)

Their return is followed by an intermediary episode in which the shepherds are introduced (12), and in which the devils plan to make Dioscorus aware of the third window. As the third day of the play has just begun, the *dibalerie* thus serves as a means to sum up the previous action of the play. Dioscorus then announces his plans to visit Barbara and the tower:

DYOSCORUS
J'ay voulloir d'aller visiter
Barbe, ma fille de vallue.
Je ne l'ay point ancore veue
De puis que je suis retourné.
J'ay asséz ycy sejourné;
Venéz avec moy Florimond!
FLORIMOND
Sire, puis que m'avéz semond.
Je y voys donc cheminer davant.

Pausa. Vadant et cum pervenerint ad turrim aspiciat
Dyoscorus tertiam fenestram turris percutitur zonatim
ture et dicat admirando.

Thus, the contents of *deux journées* and *An Buhez* present themselves slightly more similar. Instead of wishing to visit his daughter as in *cinq journées*, Dioscorus wants to see his tower and the progress of the work. That he does not wish to lose any more time and regrets his long absence is expressed in all three versions.

The action continues to be similar with regard to structure and contents. The king's reaction is more elaborate in the plays than in the legends, which is most likely due to the difference of genre. However, it is noteworthy that the king immediately becomes enraged in all theatrical versions upon discovering the third window and threatens the masons:

cinq journées:
DYOSCORUS
Que suys je cy apercevant?
Ha, Jupiter, je suis desceu!
En la tour, vers soulail levant,
Que suys je cy apercevant?
[…] mais je voy
Troys fenestres tout au plus hault
De la tour. Ne soy que ce vault
Ne qui fist faire la troissieme.
Je le tien a ung tresgrant crime;
Je ne sçay qui fut si hardi
Si presumptueux estourdi
Que sans mon congé et assens
A fait dont ne suys contens:
Faire une tierce fenestre.
[…]
Pourtant, mes haulx Dieux, si je puis
Sçavoir qui ce a fait, en brief,
Il en poura perdre le chef.
(11813-11851)

deux journées:
Il dit aux massons:
Seigneurs, Mahommet vous doint joye.
Avez vous fait mon commandement?
Le .i. masson
Mon chier seigneur, ouÿ vrayment,
Vous estes com vaillant et saige.
Regardez bien tout nostre ouvraige
S'el est comment la devisastes.
Dïoscorus
Dictes pourquoy vous ordonnastes
Icy ceste tierce fenestre?
Icy endroit ne doit point estre!
Par tous mes dieux vous le dirés,

Ou point d'icy ne partirés
Que je ne vous face destruire.
(864-875)

In general, this is the same in *An Buhez*. However, the king appears to dislike the disobedience of his workers more than the fact that a third window has been built. Only after the master worker has explained about Barbara's role in the matter does the king become truly angry. He abuses the master with strong language and then threatens punishment for both, Barbara and the builders. Dioscorus' speech is very interesting because a true build-up of emotions is detectable. While at first he merely wonders at the change, he then realises that there has been some disobedience on the part of the workers. This is what enrages him, and this initial spark of fury is nourished by the master's attitude. His denial to accept any fault in the matter makes the king all the more angry. In the end, the master just about manages to escape the furious king and when his workers ask him for their wages, he has to deny them:

An Buhez:
Aman pan ſell ouz an tour
ha guelet groaet try freneſt
ez lauar dan mecherour.
[284] Vahont a vhel ez guelaff
Try freneſt ſeul maz arhueſta
Hac emem ſoezaff quentaff pret
Oar an mecherour labouret
Perac ez aez prob da ober
Na pez en deueux ſclaer prederet

[285] Deux flam aman cōps diff glā an manyer
Pe en requet ezeux te groaet ſeder
Em tour flour quer antier na differ quet
Plen try freneſt da arhueſt en creis dez
Comps an raeſon diſon han guiryonez
Heb digarez diſcuez piu eu bezet.

[286] Memoa dit crēn ha tēn gourchemennet
Dre gueryou ſpes eſpres na graſes quet
Preneſt en bet dre neb fet nemet dou
[…]

An mecherour.
[287] Houz merch heb faut entētet baut autrou
A archas plen diff per guen e guenou
Ouz ān ou amoa gnou dezrouet
Ez groaſēn net en effet an trede
Maz reſpontis gant auis en guiſſe,
Rac blam dram le à ſe nem deurie quet.

[288] Hac emezy, gruet try eſpediet,
Moz diblammo pep tro noz bezo quet
Carez en bet: quent ſe net credet diff,
Pan duy ma tat gant cher mat ebatus,
E queffridy net de ty gracius
Heb dout doutus haetus oz eſcuſiff.

[289] Neuſe tizmat neb ſtat ne trellatiff
Eziz ma hent heb neb ſent ha ſentiff
Pardonet diff neriff ne filliff muy,
Dre neb ſtudy ouzichuy bizhuiquen,
Na faut en bet credet en requet den,
Neriff dich plen perguen dre neb heny.

Dioſcorus.
[290] Diot, ſotin, babouin, maſtin quy,
Mez puniſſo vn tro ne vezo ſy,
Ha te ha hy deffry moz caſtizo
Ne ellez tam bout diblam ſuramant
Sintiff outy ān doas te variant
Bilen, mechant, truant, ten amanto.

An meſtr mecherour.
[291] Nariff quet rac me à redo,
Guell ve diff appell leſell bro
Crouc ram dougo mar ho gourteiff,
Ahanēn crēn emem tenniff

Pan ouch en houz pres ouz leſiff,
Pardonet diff ne tardiff muy.

An eil mecherour.
[292] O preffet meurbet ez duet huy,
Petra ſo à hy na roy
Hep quet contredy dimpny gloat.

An Meſtr.
Gloat,
Ha huy et oar lerch da querchat
Rac me bizhuiquen louenhat,
Neraff dre e gloat na e madou,
Pa na caffẽn lech da techet
Digantaff ſcaff nen nachaff quet,
Em laz ſe affet aguetou.

Here, when he looks at the tower / and sees that three windows were built, / he speaks to the worker. / There, up high, I see / three windows when I take a closer look / and first of all I am amazed / about the overseer of the worker. / Whyever did he do that? / And what did he think at all? // Come here now and tell me, truly, about the circumstances: / on whose request have you built, surely, / in my tender tower, so dear to me – do not delay! – / three windows to be seen in the south? / Tell the reason and the truth calmly! / Disclose without excuse who it was! // I have commanded you in no uncertain terms / using plain, explicit words, that you should not build / any window, by no means, except two. / […] //
The worker: / Listen, good lord! Your daughter, indeed, / expressly commanded me with her own words / in addition to the two I had visibly begun / that I should clearly make, indeed, the third, / to which I replied deliberately in the way (you commanded) / because, upon my word!, I would not have wanted the blame for this. // Make three!, so she says, hurry! / I will take your blame, for sure! You will not suffer / any reproach: rather, believe me clearly, / when my father will return in a good, joyous mood, / his mission fulfilled, to his sweet home, / I will be glad to excuse you without the slightest doubt. // Then, quickly – I will not transgress in any way – / I went ahead without any feint and obeyed. / Pardon me!, I will not – I will not fail – / for any purpose, act against you, ever, / and I will not commit

against you, believe (it)!, in answer to anyone's request / any fault at all, indeed, on no grounds. //
Dioscorus: / Fool, sot, baboon, fiend of a dog! / I will punish you now, there will be no doubt! / Both, you and her, definitely, I will chastise you! / You cannot claim to be blameless, surely, / obeying her, were you not iniquitous?! / Villain, miserable wretch, you will pay for that! //
The master worker: / I will not because I will run away! / It would be better by far for me to leave the land. / May I go to the gallows if I attend you! / I will retreat from here, indeed, / because you are in your hurry I will leave you. / Pardon me! I will tarry no more. //
The other worker: / Oh, you're in quite a hurry! / What's up? Will she not give / us (the) money without any disagreement? /
The master: / Money! / Go looking for (it) yourselves! / Because I will never rejoice / in his money or his goods. / If I had not found a place to hide / from him quickly – I do not deny (it) – / he would have just killed me! //

The conversation creates a very dynamic impression. There must have been some movement on stage, for the master worker apparently moves away fast, as is indicated by the other worker's words upon the master's return. With regard to the contents, the conversation is similar in all three plays. Dioscorus approaches the craftsmen and they explain that Barbara has made them add the third window. In *deux journées*, both masons are present but only the second mason makes the excuse in one short paragraph and Dioscorus immediately transfers his anger to his daughter:

Le .ii.masson
Or entendés, mon treschier sire,
La verité vous en diray,
Ne ja ne vous en mentiray,
Par faveur ne par aultre stille.
Barbe vint a nous, vostre fille,
Qui la nous commanda a faire
Et si nous dist que vers son pere
Moult fort nous en excuseroit
Et que la peine en porteroit
Vous avez toute la maniere.
Dïoscorus
Moult luy sera la folie chiere,

Par Venus, se dis verité.
La garce plaine de vilité!
Messaigier, va la tost querir.
De malle mort puisse mourir!
(876-890)

This is similar in *cinq journées*, where both masons approach the king but only Murgalant explains about the circumstances of the third window. However, with regard to the dynamics and the details, *cinq journées* resembles *An Buhez* widely. The king's answer to Murgalant's explanation, for example, is more similar to *An Buhez*. Dioscorus is still angry at the masons despite their explanation and abuses them, too:

DYOSCORUS
Ha, Villain paillart mal parant,
Je vous en feray mal sentir!
Com ousastez vous consentir
De ce faire faulx consentans,
Puis que vous estiéz sentans
Que ja ne m'y consentiraye!
(11977-11982)

But in contrast to *An Buhez*, it takes a third party to redirect his anger:

PALAMIDES, *secundus miles Dyoscori*
Monseigneur, il dit justement
Sans prendre aultre correctïon:
Vous feréz inquisicïon
Pour savoir mon si se que dist
Est veritable. Ou s'il mesdit,
Vous le pouréz alors pugnir.
(12007-12012)

Dioscorus then sends for Barbara and during this moment of distraction, the masons make their exit:

MURGAULT
Il nous a blasmé
Et vituperé laidement.

J'ay eu paours au commencement
D'avoir ung coup de son espee.
GANDELOCHE
Mais d'avoir la teste coupee,
S'eust esté du pis du pennier.
Ailleurs m'envoys esbaloyer:
Plus je ne veil demouréz cy,
Que je puisse.
MURGAULT *(finit)*
Ne moy aussi,
Je m'en revoys a ma maison.
Et se j'eusse la raison
Pour quoy nous mandoit par exprés
Il ne m'eust huy veu de si prés
Ne pour puissance qu'il eust eue.
GANDELOCHE *(finit)*
Ho, nous avons fait une veue
Sur le lieu: il nous doibt suffire.
(12033-12048)

Thus, in both *An Buhez* and *cinq journées* the masons perceive themselves to be under a serious threat from the king and Barbara has not at all fulfilled her promise to see that they are not blamed for the deed. And in both *An Buhez* and *cinq journées* the craftsmen take up the topic they were discussing when they first entered the stage. In *cinq journées*, they were speaking about the lack of profitable and prestigious work and their desire to build beautiful buildings, while in *An Buhez* they were discussing their wages and praising the master for his reliability (s.a.). Now, Murgalant and Gandeloche will have to content themselves with having at least partly been able to fulfil their original desire. Unfortunately for them, they did not profit financially from the work, which is made clear by Gandeloche's final sentence. In *An Buhez*, the master returns to the workers and explains the situation to them, again showing a close relation to reality, for it is the master of the work that deals with the owner (the king) and then relates the information to his crew (6). But when the other workers ask the master for the money on which they had been counting, he has to deny them their wages, as he was not paid by the king. Like the masons in *cinq journées*, he expresses himself grateful that he has not suffered worse at the hands of the king. His workers are understandably outraged at this sudden and unexpected unreliability, but there is not much any of them can do:

An eil mecherour.
[293] A re fin eu ho Latinou,
Allas me entent houz fentou
Me pet drouc darñnou dezrou mat,
Rac ſuramant huy on contanto,
Gruet affo ma on bezo gloat.
[…]

[295] Na pe dre follaez eu dezaff,
Nara diffrae ha hõn paeaff
Drouc creff eu dezaff tardaff quet,
[…]

[298] Pez digarez ſo hoaruezet
Pe dre ſy ezompny priuet
Non contante quet affet preſt
[…]

An meſtr.
[299] Palamour plen da vn preneſt
Pan voe laequaet try manifeſt
A faeczon oneſt en creis dez
[…]
Dren diſemper a quemeras.

[301] Terriff ma pēn crēn a mennas
Pa naue tut guir a miras
Hac en arretas an draſe
Neuſe mar cruel en guelis
Dioar an lech ez didechis
Hac ez achapis en guiſſe.

The other worker: / Hah! Your talk is all too subtle! / I wish that ugly things, for gratification, / may descend upon your neck! / Because you will surely pay us! / Go on!, so that we will have money! / […] // And due to which folly of [the king] / does he not make haste and pay us? / And his failure is outrageous! / […] // What

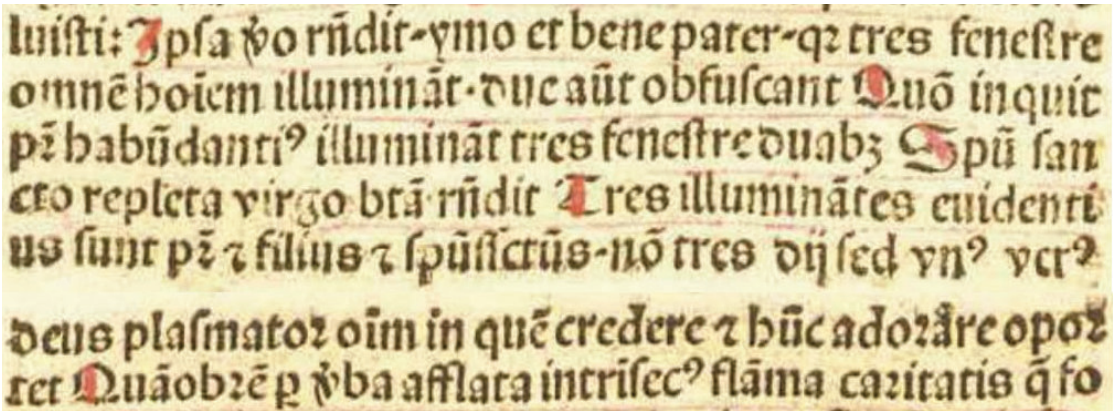
> kind of problem has occurred? / On what grounds are we deprived (of money), / and (on what grounds) did he not meet our claim, readily enough? […] //
> The master: / Just because of a window, / because three were made, / perfectly visible, in the south. / […] / Due to the distress that he had, // he wanted to cave my head in, surely, / if righteous people had not been there who protected me / and prevented him from doing it. / Then I saw him so enraged / that I fled from there / and I escaped thus. //

What is particularly interesting about the master's statement is stanza 301. He says that the king wanted to kill him but that there were righteous people that prevented him. There is no indication of any people being present in *An Buhez* during the conversation between the king and the master, let alone of anyone getting involved in the fight. While it is indeed likely that the king did not travel alone but was accompanied by an entourage, these characters do not speak. They may nevertheless have interfered at some point without this being indicated by a stage direction. It is, however, very striking that the situation described by the master of *An Buhez* fits the action of *cinq journées* to a point. Because in the French play, the king is indeed very angry at the masons and only the intervention of one of his soldiers changes his mind and allows the masons to escape punishment. This further strengthens the impression of similarity between *cinq journées* and *An Buhez*.

Eventually, Dioscorus speaks to his daughter in all versions and asks her for an explanation of the third window. In the *Legenda Aurea*, Barbara says that three windows illuminate humanity. In answer to Dioscorus' question for clarification she explains that the number three represents the father, the son and the holy ghost, thus invoking the trinity as a reason for the third window:

> […] benefici, nam tres fenestrae illuminant totum hominem, et assumens eam pater ejus descendens in natatorio et dixit ei: quomodo abundantius illuminant tres fenestrae duabus? Illa respondit: tres sunt mundum illuminantes et stellarum cursum regulantes, pater scilicet, filius et spiritus sanctus, et hi tres sunt in essentia. (Graesse 1965, 900)

This is very similar in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, where Barbara gives the same answer in a slightly more extensive form:


luiſti: Ipſa vo rñdit-ymo et bene pater-qz tres feneſtre
omnē hoiem illuminãt·duc aũt obfuſcant Quõ inquit
pz habũdantiã illuminãt tres feneſtre duabz Spũ ſan
cto repleta virgo btã rñdit Tres illuminãtes euidenti
us ſunt pz z filius z ſpũſctũs-nõ tres dñi ſed vnꝰ vcr
deus plaſmatoz oim in quẽ credere z hũc adorãre opoz
ret Quãobzẽ p vba afflata intriſecꝰ flãma caritatis q̃ fo

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 24f)

The two French plays omit the part that three windows let in more light than two. Instead, Barbara explains about the trinity right away:

cinq journées:
DYOSCORUS
[…]
Tu as fait faire la troysiesme
>Fenestre< pour quelque fin? Dis me,
Ou je te te trancheray la teste!
BARBARA
Mon trés cher Pere, je proteste
Que je ne l'ay point fait pour mal!
Cest labeur est espicïal,
Car il est tout figuratif
D'un mistere suppellatif
En quoy je pence nuyt et jour.
Troys fenestres en une tour
Nous figurent la Trinité
Qui est seulle divinité.
Il est ung Dieu en troys personnes,
Toutes divines, toutes bonnes.
(12119-12132)

deux journées:
Dïoscorus
[…]

Dy moy pourquoy a tu fait faire
Ceste fenestre sans mon sceu?
Barbe
Ja plus il ne vous sera teu,
Mon trescher seigneur, par ma loy.
[……oy]
Par diverse signifiance
De la catholique crëance:
Les deux que vous avez fait faire
Signifient le Filz et le Pere
Et la tierce, le Sainet Esperitz
Qui conforte tous bons esperitz.
Ensemble sont en trinité.
En une essencïalité;
Trois personnes, comme il me semble.
Les trois sont une chose ensemble.
(948-961)

This is different in *An Buhez*. There, Barbara claims that three windows let in more light than two and explains about the trinity afterwards:

Dioſcor[us] a cōps ouz e merch.
[304] Orcza
Leueret eſpres demeſell
Pez ouzoa huy hēm doz ēmell
An tourell na pez aſellech
Mazrech ober plen try freneſt
[…]

Sante Barba
[306] Muy ara try aſclaerien
Euit nara dou en louen
[…]

Dioſcorus.
[307] Les diff da riot haz ſotis
Lauar ent flam pe dre ampris

Voe dit nep guis ho deuiſaff.

Sante Barba
Memēn dich iſcuit recitaff
Try freneſt en re oneſtaff
Da ſclaer hat muyhaff neraff ſy

Dioſcorus.
[308] Comps diff breff pez a ſigniffy
Na pe en tra ez ſclaerha muy
Lauar da ſtudi manifeſt

Sante Barba
Oar vn dro moz reſponto preſt
Rac tri perſon ſo en tron oneſt
En vn teſt en vn maieſte
A vn coudet a vn edit
Un ſter vn eſper vn merit
Un apetit vn deite

Dioſcorus
[309] Pebez quaquet a compſet te
[…]

Sante Barba
Men lauar hac en goar parfet
En gallout dium an dreindet
Ez eu vnyet heb quet ſy
An tat han map nendeu goapquet
Didan vn ſter han glan ſperet
A vn effect hep contredy.

Dioscorus speaks to his daughter. / Well well! / Speak truely, damsel: / what did you have to involve yourself for / with the tower and what were you thinking / as to have three windows made, just so? / […] //
Saint Barbara: / Three make more clarity / than do two, obviously. / […] //

> Dioscorus: / Spare me your malicious talk and your follies! / Tell me truly for what reason / you had the idea to arrange them!?! /
> Saint Barbara: / I am going to tell you right away: / Three windows are best suited / to enlighten most, I have no doubt. //
> Dioscorus: / Tell me in short what it means / and in what way it enlightens more! / Make your thoughts comprehensible! /
> Saint Barbara: / At once, I will answer you quickly: / Because three persons are in the beautiful heaven / in one witness, in one majesty / of one heart, of one power, / one import, one hope, one grace, / one will, one deity. //
> […]
> Dioscorus: / What quacking do you speak? / […] /
> Saint Barbara: / I say it and I know it for sure: / In the divine power of the trinity / are united, without any doubt, / the father and the son – it is no joke, / of one nature – and the holy spirit, / of one force without contradiction. //

After Barbara's revelation of her belief in the trinity, both the *Legenda Aurea* and *deux journées* have Dioscorus attempt to attack Barbara with his sword rather directly. In contrast, John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* include further explanations about different ecclesiastical topics on Barbara's part. In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, Barbara unfolds her belief that one of the three persons of the trinity has become human and that he has taken her as his bride. She reveals to her father that she has devoted her virginity to him. The king then actually loses consciousness, probably from the shock, and realises that his daughter has converted to a different religion. Only then does he attempt to kill her. Both *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* include a rather lengthy monologue of Barbara's at this point, but of different content. In *cinq journées*, Barbara adds another reference to the meaning of the three windows connecting them to three "notables estatz". Then, she speaks about the meaning of the directions of the windows:

> La tierce fenestre feis faire
> Pour sçavoir qu'en ce monde bas
> Y a troys notables estatz,
> Clergé, labeur et gentillesse,
> Qui figurent par leur noblesse
> Ceste trinité de vaillance.
> Labour, en qui reluist puissance
> Et force, denote le Pere.
> Et par similitude clere

Clergé, en qui gist sapïence,
Monstre le Filz de saige essence.
Le Sainct Esprit est denoté
Par noblesse en qui est bonté,
Doulceur, clemence et courtaisie
Et urbanité moult cherie.
[…]
La fenestre en Orïent mise
Dieu le pere nous signiffie,
[…]
Cestuy Dieu le Filz je figure
Par la fenestre et oupverture
Qui est assise vers Mydy.
[…]
La fenestre en Septemtrïon
Nous fait significacïon
Du Sainct Esprit qui proceder
Veult des autres sans preceder
[…]
En ma tour je n'ay point descript
Occident, la cause est telle:
Deïté n'est occidentelle
Ny desfaillent, point n'y reconse.
(12238-12290)

In *An Buhez*, Barbara apparently attempts to convert her father and expounds the Christian basics and beginnings drawing on apocryphal as well as biblical material. Instead of a monologue as in *cinq journées*, there is a fairly long conversation between Dioscorus and Barbara (314-358), in which the king poses critical questions. Barbara does not manage to convince her father, of course, and at the end of the discussion, the king attempts to murder his daughter as in all other versions.

The discussion between Barbara and Discorus appears to be unique to *An Buhez*, since there is no similar passage in the other versions at this point. However, the passage is somewhat reminiscent of that in which Ysacar educates Barbara on the finer points of Christianity in *cinq journées*. There, Ysacar expatiates on Christian doctrine and Barbara interrupts him with questions from time to time. But not all topics discussed by Barbara and Dioscorus feature in Ysacar's teachings, and Barbara's questions are much less critical than those of Dioscorus,

of course. Unfortunately, the contents of the respective conversations are of such a universal nature with regard to Christian doctrine that it is very difficult to pinpoint any connections. Yet, only *An Buhez* and *cinq journées* depict such an educational conversation with regard to Christian doctrine at all. Furthermore, there is another parallel between the two conversations, which could again be coincidental due to the universal Christian statements of faith it conveys. It is nevertheless a striking detail. Both, (Origen through) Ysacar in *cinq journées* and Barbara in *An Buhez* illustrate the unity of God at some length, and I did not encounter this in the other three versions:

cinq journées:
Ce ne sont pas troys pourtant,
Mais ung, troys personnes portant.
Ilz ont une mesme substance,
Une essance, une concordance
D'une mesme operacïon,
D'une alïance et unïon,
Et d'une mesme eternité,
D'une eternelle qualité,
Et d'une esgalle equalité,
D'un valloir, d'une immensité,
D'une nature indivisible,
Et d'un estre incomprehensible.
(6312-6323)

An Buhez:
[308] [...]
Rac tri perſon ſo en tron oneſt
En vn teſt en vn maieſte
A vn coudet a vn edit
Un ſter vn eſper vn merit
Un apetit vn deite

[...]

[310] Leal egal hep contraly
Un ſaczun cōmun hac vny

Un matery vn aliancc
Unan vn van a vn manyer
Un opinion deboner
Un guer vn cher heb differancc.

[311] A vn ſpes hac a vn eſſancc
Un moean hac vn conuenancc
Un ſapiancc vn liancc net
Un mat vn ſtat a vn natur
Un grat vn poellat vn ſtatur
Un muſur pur vn cur furmet.

> […] / Because three persons are in the beautiful heaven / in one witness, in one majesty / of one heart, of one power, / one import, one hope, one grace, / one will, one deity. // […] // Entirely equal, without dispute / one solid group and unified / one matter, one single entity, / together of one kind, / one good deliberation / one word, one countenance, without difference. // Of one nature, of one essence / one form and one reason / one wisdom, one true union / one asset, one condition, of one being / one understanding, one disposition, one attitude, / one true measure, one certain providence. //

Thus, *An Buhez* and *cinq journées* demonstrate a certain similarity with regard to structure and contents, but there are also some obvious differences. For example, *An Buhez* is simply longer and uses more phrases to describe God's unity. Nevertheless, the mere fact that this particular way to describe God has been employed only in *An Buhez* and *cinq journées*, adds weight to the argument in favour of a relationship between the two texts.

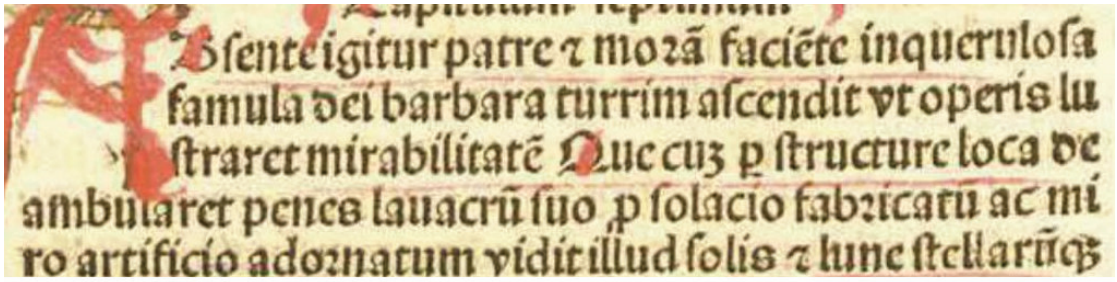
In all versions, the conflict over the number of windows marks the turning point in the legend of Barbara. The estrangement between father and daughter is complete and thus the foundation for Barbara's martyrdom is laid. Barbara attempts to flee from her father, but she does not succeed. This will be discussed in 12. In the next chapter, I will revisit Dioscorus' absence from the stage and discuss the events that take place between Barbara's request for the third window and Dioscorus' discovery of the addition. The deviation from the chronological order of events was necessary for a coherent discussion of the windows and their significance.

11. The Fountain

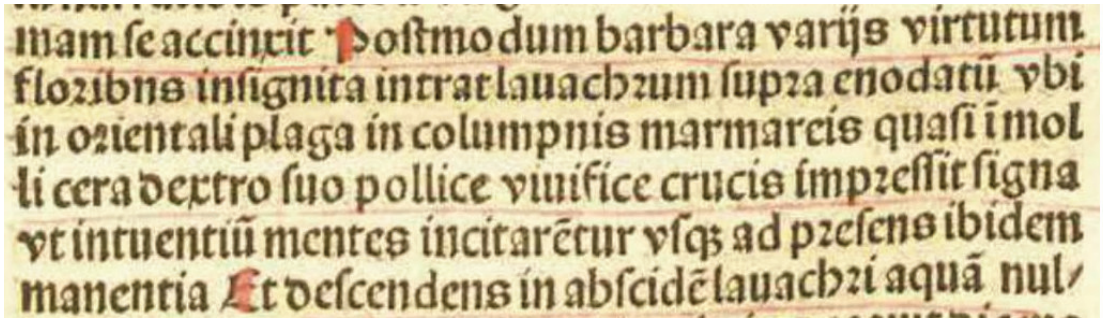
Of the five versions of Barbara's legend that are being compared in this study, the motif of the fountain is unique to *An Buhez*. However, in the *Legenda Aurea*, John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *cinq journées*, Dioscorus has a bathhouse built for his daughter's use. Moreover, the term used to refer to the bathing facility varies. Interestingly enough, Barbara visits the fountain/bathhouse in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, *An Buhez* and *cinq journées* directly after ordering the craftsmen to build a third window. In the *Legenda Aurea* she descends from her tower and visits the bathhouse in order to make the request for the third window, as the windows in the Latin legend are to be built into the bathhouse rather than the tower itself. In contrast to this, *deux journées* mentions neither a fountain nor a bathhouse but the structure of the action is still similar. In both French plays Barbara leaves the place of the tower in order to be baptised after having made the request for the third window.

11.1. The Cross in the Stone

One event occurs in all five versions of the legend and is always taking place after Barbara leaves the craftsmen. After having requested the third window (i.e. during the absence of Dioscorus), Barbara draws a cross into solid rock with nothing but her finger (and some water from the fountain in the case of *An Buhez*). In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, Barbara ascends her tower, looks at the work in progress, requests the third window and then enters her bathhouse and draws a cross into a marble column facing east:


Bſente igitur patre ꝛ moꝛã faciẽte inquerulosa
famula dei barbara turrim aſcendit vt operis lu
ſtraret mirabilitatẽ Quecuꝫ p ſtructure loca de
ambularet penes lauacrũ ſuo p ſolacio fabricatũ ac mi
ro artificio adornatum vidit illud ſolis ꝛ lune ſtellarũq;

[…]


mam se accinxit ¶ Postmodum barbara varijs virtutum
flozibus insignita intrat lauachrum supra enodatū vbi
in oziental plaga in columpnis marmareis quasi i mol
li cera dextro suo pollice vinifice crucis impressit signa
vt intuentiū mentes incitarētur vsq; ad presens ibidem
manentia ¶ Et descendens in abscidē lauachri aquā nul/

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 20-21)

In the *Legenda Aurea*, Barbara goes to see the building site, presumably to the bathhouse her father has ordered to be made, and then goes for a walk while the craftsmen fulfil her request and make a third window. Facing east, she draws a cross into a block of marble with her finger:

> [...] descendesque famula Dei videri opus, quod factum est, [...] Ipsi vero fecerunt aliam fenestram. Perambulans vero Barbara in natatorio contra orientem instituit in marmoribus ejus digito pretiosam crucem[.]
> (Graesse 1965, 900)

With regard to the transit area, the French *cinq journées* is very similar to the Latin versions. Barbara goes for a walk and mentions the direction "east" in this context. Moreover, she expresses her wish to look at the work in progress.[33] During that walk, Barbara draws a cross with her finger on a column that appears to be part of her tower or its immediate surroundings:

> *cinq journées*:
> Je vueil ung petit ambuler
> En mon manoir vers Orïent,

[33]Usually, *cinq journées* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* present themselves as very similar versions of the legend with regard to structure and mirror one another closely. In this instance, however, the structure of *cinq journées* is slightly different. In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* the general building site houses both the tower and the bathhouse and it appears to be the same in *cinq journées*. When Barbara expresses her wish to take a walk and look at the "ouvraige expedient / Qui est des aultres l'outrepasse" (10794f) in *cinq journées*, she is not setting out to look at both the tower and the bathhouse, however, she has just been to the tower and talked to the masons there and has thus already seen the "ouvraige expedient". While she may arguably walk around the famous tower and take another good look from a different perspective, it is also possible that the *fatiste* modelled his lines on the beginning of chapter seven of John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* as quoted above. There, the problem does not exist because Barbara is just setting out from her place of residence in the palace rather than from the site of the tower. When Barbara leaves her place of residence in order to visit the building site in general in *cinq journées* she says: "Je veil descendre ignelement / La bas, car jay en ma pencee / De voirs l'ouvraige commencee, / Pour scavoir s'el est acomplie;"(10036-10039). It is interesting to note that those lines resemble the *Legenda Aurea* rather strongly, in which only one building is to be built. There, too, Barbara descends in order to look at the work accomplished so far (s.a.).

Pour voir l'ouvraige expedient
Qui est des aultres l'oultrepasse.
[…]
Faciat signum crucis cum pulce et appareat in columpna.
(10792-10804)

Whether the word "pulce" in the Latin stage direction of *cinq journées* is a Latinised version of the French word "pouce" or a strange declension of the Latin word "pollex", it most likely means "thumb". Barbara is astonished at her own powers and exclaims: "Vroy Dieu, mon doy y est escript / Ainsi que s'eust esté en boe!" (10806f). This exclamation makes it clear that she has used nothing but her finger to imprint a cross into stone as if it were mud. She then prays to the newly created cross and praises God, using the word "merveille" (10810), which underlines the fact that she has just performed her first miracle.

In *deux journées* Barbara "returns to her place" ('Elle retourne en son lieu', 687/8) after having made the request for the third window of the masons. "Her place" is not specified more precisely. There, she prays to God for a sign and is then inspired to bow and imprint the sign of a cross into a stone of marble, out of which then rises a cross ("Tunc inclinet se et faciat impressionem crucis in lapide mormoreo et ex illo lapide surgat crux", 708/9). As in *cinq journées* Barbara praises God and underlines the miraculous event with her speech: "Mon doy a entré sans nul peine / En la pierre dure et saine" (714f). Although she does not use the term "merveille" as in *cinq journées*, Barbara still calls the event a "demonstrance" (717) of God's powers. In both *cinq journées* and *deux journées* Barbara expresses her adoration for the cross and interprets it as a clear sign of God's existence and his favour. She then begs for the opportunity to be baptised. God grants her desire in both plays, albeit in very different ways (8). The impression of structural similarity between the two French plays is, however, significantly allayed by the absence of any kind of water from the episode in *deux journées*.

Structurally, *An Buhez* differs slightly from the other plays. While Barbara draws the cross directly after leaving the craftsmen in the French plays as well as in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and the *Legenda Aurea*, in *An Buhez* she first wants to find something to drink and approaches "the good fountain which is (hidden) back there" ('[an] feunten mat ſo diadreff', 255). In contrast to the other texts, the drawing of the cross is not Barbara's first miracle. Before she draws the cross, she revives the fountain and she then uses the water from the revived fountain to draw a cross into a stone:

Aman ſante Barba ara gāt he bes gli
byet en feunten vn croas en men/pe=

heny ſo hoaz ēnhaff: hac ez lauar.

[263] Feunten ſo leun mat ha natur
Equichen an tour a dour pur
Guenez en mur me figuro
Un croas bras glan en creis an men
En heueleb euit pep den
Ez chommo bizhuiquen eno.

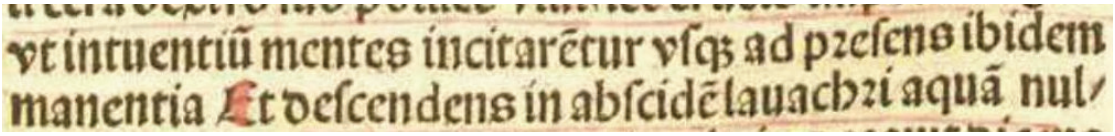
[264] Dezy hep abaff me affo
Ha neb pep quentel he guelo
Ne hazeulo goa vezo eff
Pan finuezo ne caffo ſplān
Queuer hanter na trederān
Na queffrān na nep rān ān neff.

Here Saint Barbara makes with her finger / – moistened in the fountain – a cross in a stone / which is still on it and she says: / The fountain is well and properly full / of pure water next to the tower / I will draw with you [the water] onto the wall / a great, holy cross in the middle of a stone / in such a way that / it will stay there forever for everyone. // I will kiss it without shyness / and whoever will see it at any point in time / and will not adore it – woe betide him! / When he will die he will surely not find / the measure of a half nor of a third / nor of a part nor any morsel of heaven. //

Rather than emphasising Barbara's own saintly powers, *An Buhez* chooses to underline the powers of the water from the fountain. In the context of the Breton play this makes sense, since the water has already been established as a form of divine benevolence (see below). As well as in the French plays, Barbara expresses adoration for the cross after drawing it, but this adoration is very short in *An Buhez*. Four lines of text are spent on the creation of the cross and then no more than one line is spent on Barbara adoring the cross: "I will kiss you without shyness" ('Dezy hep abaff me affo', 264). However, this line closely mirrors the penultimate line of the adoration of the cross in *cinq journées*: "Je te baise en compassion / De Jesus, le Filz de Marie." (10850f). The idea of kissing the cross does not occur in any of the other texts.

The next five lines of *An Buhez* outline the dire consequences of seeing the cross without proper devotion. Barbara's surprise and wonder at her own hands creating such a marvel are absent from *An Buhez*. The focus is shifted to the fact that the cross will remain in the stone

for everyone to see and it is clearly employed as a permanent reproach to non-Christians. This malign feature of the cross is not present in any of the other texts compared in this study. The *Legenda Aurea* gives no further information with regard to the cross; it only describes Barbara drawing it into the stone. John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* is the only other source that describes the cross as a lasting sign. The way in which the cross affects its surroundings and the people who see it differs significantly from *An Buhez*, however. Instead of reproaching non-Christians, the cross serves as an inspiration to those of an aware mind:


vt intuentiū mentes incitarētur vsq; ad presens ibidem
manentia Et descendens in abscidē lauachri aquā nul/

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 21)

The respective effects of the cross do not technically oppose one another, but the tone employed to describe these effects certainly does. Neither of the French plays provides the cross with an effect on future onlo0kers. *Deux journées* employs the cross as a sign from God and a focal point for Barbara's contemplation:

> De t'amour me monstre aucun signe
> Parquoy puisse ta loy tenir
> Et vraye crestienne devenir.
> (690-692)

Cinq journées adds a protective aspect of the cross and then depicts Barbara worshipping it as a sign of divine benevolence and an image for Jesus Christ:

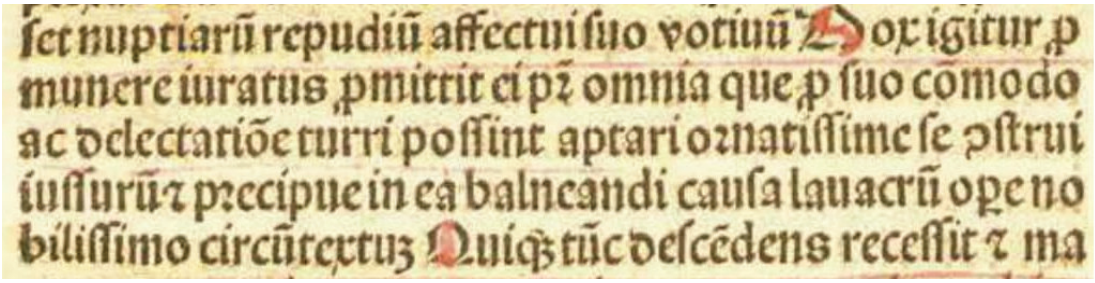
> Que l'ennemy ne me succombe!
> […]
> Croix precïeuse et veneree
> Du sang divin par charité,
> Tu seras de moy decoree
> En tresdoulce benignité,
> Pour l'onneur de la deïté
> Que tu soustins sans fictïon
> Quand en toy par fraternité
> Fut faicte la redempcïon.
> Je te baise en compassïon

De Jesus, le Filz de Marie.
(10799-10851)

The location of the cross differs in the texts (the respective terminology employed will be discussed in more detail below). In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* the cross is located in the bathhouse, which Barbara has just entered and where she will perform her next miracle. In the *Legenda Aurea* Barbara is moving but has already entered a specific place, namely the natatorium, when she draws the cross. In *An Buhez* Barbara is clearly outside her tower where she had just requested the third window. The fountain is next to the tower ("Equichen an tour", 263) and likely out of doors. The cross is drawn "onto the wall [...] in the middle of a stone" ('Guenez en mur [...] en creis an men', 263), which must be close enough for Barbara to reach with a finger moistened water of the fountain. Therefore, the wall on which she draws the cross could be the tower's wall, or it could be another wall that forms part of the fountain's immediate surroundings. This is very similar in *cinq journées*. When Barbara takes a walk "en [sa] manoir" (190793), she draws the cross into a column. However, what building the column is part of remains unclear. It must be somewhere between the tower, where Barbara has just requested the third window, and the bathhouse, where the action continues. *Deux journées* stands slightly apart from the other texts, for the cross is neither close to any kind of water nor in direct proximity to the tower. But, similar to *cinq journées*, Barbara "retourne en son lieu" (687/8) after requesting the third window and before drawing the cross. Since Barbara has not been moved into the tower by Dioscorus yet, "her place" is likely in her father's residence.

11.2. Fountain – Bathhouse – Swimming Pool

As indicated above, there is no body of water present in *deux journées*, whereas in the other four texts there are different places that have to do with water. In *An Buhez* Barbara expresses the wish for a drink and goes "Dan feunten mat ſo diadreff" (255), to a good fountain, well, or source that is not immediately visible, in order to quench her thirst. When she finds the fountain to be dry Barbara's exclamation "A feunten huy oa an leunaff" ('Oh, fountain, you were the fullest', 254) indicates that the fountain has been there before. However, no information is given with regard to the appearance or design of the fountain within the play. In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, the *Legenda Aurea* and *cinq journées* Dioscorus asks his craftsmen to build a bathhouse for his daughter's exclusive use, but the term used to describe the building changes. In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* the order to build a bathhouse appears as an afterthought of the instructions concerning the tower, but the importance of this second building is emphasised by the term "precipue" ('especially'):


ſet nuptiarū repudiū affectui ſuo votiuū Oꝛigitur p
munere iuratus ꝓmittit ei ꝓ omnia que ꝓ ſuo cōmodo
ac delectatiōe turri poſſint aptari oꝛnatiſſime ſe ꝓſtrui
iuſſurū ⁊ ꝓcipue in ea balneandi cauſa lauacrū ope no
biliſſimo circūtextuꝫ Quiꝙ tūc deſcēdens receſſit ⁊ ma

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 19)

The term "balneandi" refers to the act of bathing (Glare 1968, 224) and the term "lavacrum" can be translated as "bathhouse", but had acquired the additional meaning of "baptism" or "baptismal font" by the Middle Ages (Niemeyer and Kieft 2002; Blaise 1954, 489). Similarly, Dioscorus instructs the craftsmen to build a "lavacrum" in the *Legenda Aurea* (899). When Barbara later descends her tower to view the work that has been accomplished so far, she walks around "in natatorio" (900), which is also where she draws the cross into the stone. It is not clear from the text whether the "natatorius" is the same building as the "lavacrum" or whether there are two separate buildings. The term "natatorius" indicates a (swimming-)pool or "piscine" (Blaise 1954, 549). Dioscorus' instructions in *cinq journées* are clear with regard to the use he intends the building in question to be put to. But even then he uses three different terms to name the building:

> Vous luy faciéz une SISTERNE
> De fin marbre d'assés grant cerne,
> Appelleë ung LAVOUER
> Ou aultrement ung BAIGNOUER.
> Quand elle aura affectïon
> A prendre recrëacïon,
> El se baignera la dedans
> A son privé, sans queles gens,
> A son aisë, a ses despors.
> La dedans lavera son corps
> Toutes les foiz qu'il luy plaira.
> (4807-4817)

A "sisterne" is simply a basin or reservoir in which to collect (rain)water and a "baignouer" would be a basin or tub with a connotation of washing or bathing. A "lavouer" also refers to a basin or bowl, or a container used for washing oneself or something else. Similar to the

Latin "lavacrum", the French verb "laver" also carries the additional meaning of "washing away sins" (*Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500)* 2012, "laver"). The idea of baptism and of the washing away of sins is later made explicit in both *cinq journées* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* when Barbara is baptised in that very place. This lends the heathen king Dioscorus' request for a "lavacrum" a certain irony because he certainly did not intend to provide his daughter with a baptismal font. The irony was likely intentional on the part of the author of the legend, for a more neutral term like "balneum" would have served to indicate a mere bathhouse. In accordance with this, the *fatiste* of *cinq journées* might simply have dispensed with the term "lavouer" and its connotation, but did not. The similar term "lavacr" also appears in *An Buhez* (257), where Barbara uses it as an alternative for "feunten". According to Ernault the term means "fontaine, lavacrum" (Ernault 1888, 324). Both Ernault and the Middle Breton dictionary (Hemon 1979, 1734) list this passage as the only occurrence of the term "lavacr" in Middle Breton. Thus, the use of the term at this point serves to heighten the perception of the "feunten" as a regional development of the "lavacrum" or "lavouer" of the Latin and French versions of the legend. However, a physical act of washing as implied by the term "lavacr" would hardly have been performed with the "dour sacr dihacr" ('pure [and] holy water', 257) for which Barbara asks.

Instead, principal physical use of the fountain in *An Buhez* is to quench Barbara's thirst, which she had expressed just before finding the fountain. Unfortunately, she finds the fountain dry. However, she is able to revive it through her prayers:

Sante Barba
[…]

[255] Meya heb fellell da ſellet
Oar vn tro a me caffo quet
Un bānhech dour net da quētaff
Dan feunten mat ſo diadreff
Ma hunan ha heb den gueneff
Er hoant ſo em eneff da euaff.

Aman ez queff an feun= / ten ſech.
[256] Allas.
A feunten huy oa an leunaff
Ayoa quet enbet a credaff
Ha pa ouz ſellaff ouz guelaf ſech
na maz guell bout aet an pret mā

Euelſe na pe dre moean
An dour glan breman ahanech.

Aman ez ſtouff oar he douglin
[257] Autrou a croeas glas ha ſech
Dileuzret plē mar plig guenech
Aman oar an lech na nechet
Dour ſacr dihacr en lauacr man
Maz euiff ſaczun ma hunan
An draman ma diſouzanet

[258] Huy goar heb mar dre hoz caret
Emeux ent eſpres dileſet
An bet/ receuet ma pedēn
Ha reit diff dour mat en ſtat mā
Euit euaff anezaff glan
Quent monet breman ahanēn

Aman ez queff an feunten leun
[259] Breman feunten ezout leun tēn
A dour ſacret ha me cret crēn
Pa nen cafffēn ez maruſēn mic
Bezcoaz en bet man den ganet
Ne taffhas dour guell ſaouret
Da neb a ve quet ſechedic.

[260] A vn hat dan dour probatic
Maz voe groaet an paralytic
Saluet dic eholl piſtigou
Eno heb neb goab gant map doe
Dan pret ha dā eur ma en deurfoe
Euel guir roe an holl ploeou.

[…]

[263] Feunten ſo leun mat ha natur

Equichen an tour a dour pur
[…]

[265] Heman ſo dour flour amourabl
Da guelchiff pēn dēn conuenabl
Net hac etabl nen deu fabl quet
Gant Ieſu chriſt an miniſtr pur
Ezeu biniguet bezet ſur
Dre e pligadur affuret.

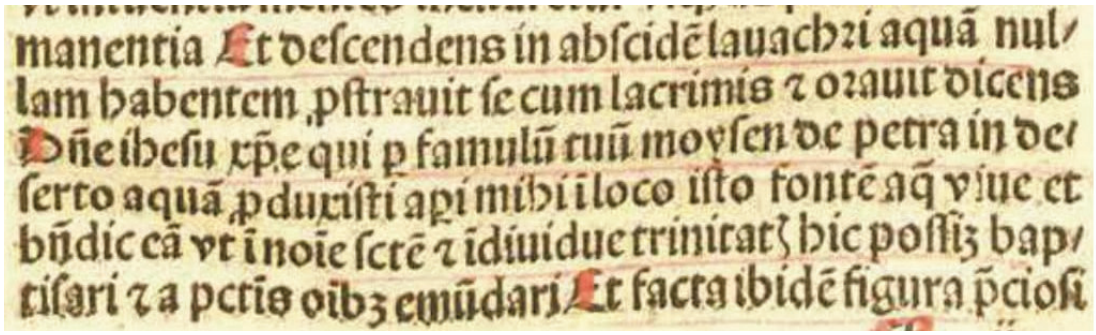
Saint Barbara: / […] // I go straightaway to see, / on the spot, if I will find / a drop of clear water first of all, / to the good fountain which is (hidden) back there / on my own and without anyone with me / because there is a wish in my mind to drink. // *Here she finds the fountain dry.* / Alas! / Oh, fountain, you were the fullest / that was in the world, I believe, / and when I look at you, I see you dry. / And where can it be gone at this time / so, and by which means, / the clear water now away from you? // *Here she kneels.* / Lord who created green and dry, / kindly send, if it pleases you / here, soon – do not refuse! – / pure, holy water into this pool / so that I myself will drink gladly. / May this lift me up. // You know, without doubt, that due to loving you / I have truly given up / the world; hear (receive) my prayer / and give me good water now / so I can drink it, gladly, / before going away now. // *Here she finds the fountain full.* / Now, fountain, you are entirely full / of sacred water; and I believe, truly,/ if I had not found it, I would simply have died. / Nobody in this world ever / tasted water which was more delicious / to anyone who would be thirsty, // akin to the probatic water / where the paralytic was / healed completely from all his pains, / therein – without any fraud – by the son of God / as the true king of all peoples / at the time and at the hour that he wished. // […] // The fountain is well and properly full / of pure water next to the tower. […] // This here is tender, pleasant water / to wash the head of every decent person / pure and righteous; it is no fable. / By Jesus Christ the holy priest / it is blessed, be sure, / truly, due to his favour. //

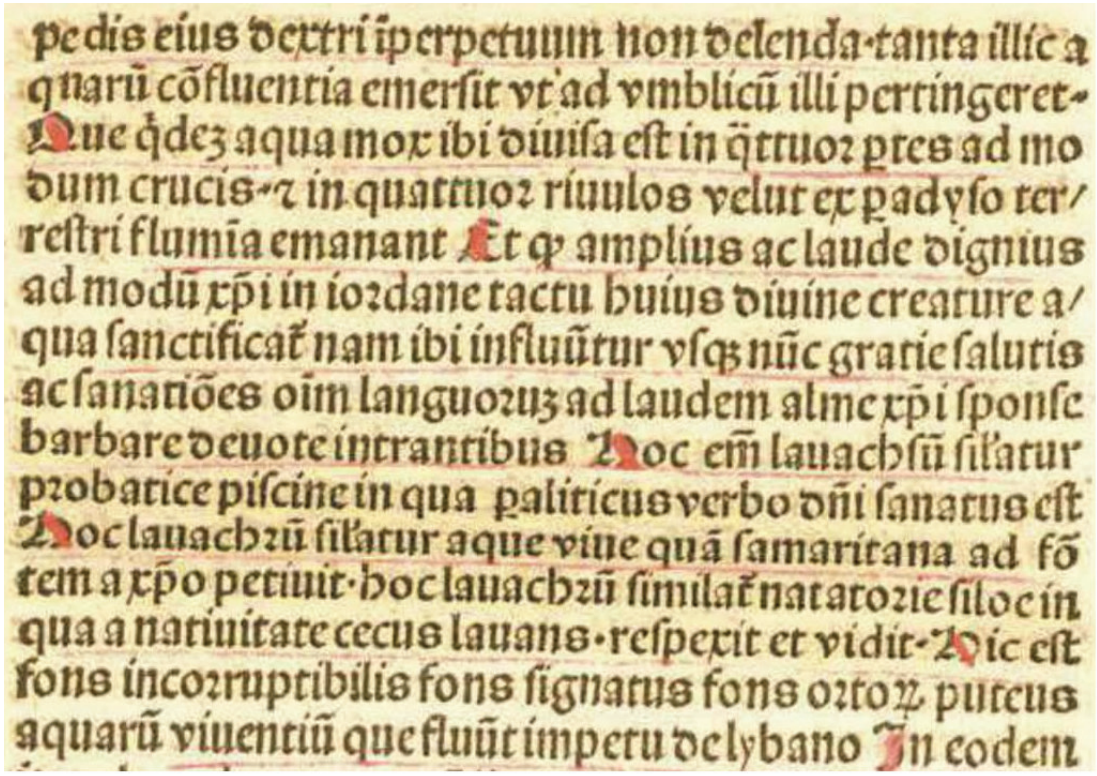
In *An Buhez*, this revival of a dried fountain is the first miracle Barbara works. While she performs a similar miracle in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *cinq journées*, it is not her first. There, her first miracle is the cross in the stone, which she repeats in the "lavacrum" with her right foot. In both versions, this second cross is the place from which the water gushes forth, while in *An Buhez* the water simply appears. Moreover, Barbara's motivation for conjuring

the water is different. In *An Buhez* Barbara has already received baptism at the hands of Saint Valentine, which is why the author of the Breton play must have felt the need to provide Barbara with another motive to perform the miracle. In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *cinq journées* Barbara is still waiting for her baptism to occur and for that she needs water as well as someone to perform the rite. Thus, she issues rather lengthy prayers:

> *cinq journées*:
> *Hic dictis descendat ad piscinam in qua nondum fit aqua et [BARBARA] dicat.*
> S'il y eust icy de l'eau mise
> En ce lavouer grandement,
> Et j'eusse aulcun presentement
> Qui me baptizast par amour,
> […]
> Helas! plus de cent foiz helas!
> Or n'ai ge ame qui me baptize
> Pour me mectre soubz la franchisse
> De Jesus Crist et de sa route!
> Or n'ai ge pas d'eau une goute,
> Dont venir ne puis a mon esme.
> […]
> Glorïeux Dieu, clere fontaine,
> […]
> Qui quatre fleuves habundans
> En paradis terrestre feistes,
> Yceulx alors vous produiseistes
> Pour le lieu plaisant arouser,
> Veilléz moy cy par vos merites
> Donner eau pour moy baptiser!
> […]
> Voustre pouoir treshabundant
> Produisit piecza ou desert,
> La vie de la pierre en appert,
> Aux enfans d'Israël pusier,
> Dont par plaisir tresrecouvert
> Ilz furent tous resazier.
> […]
> Et en tresferme seureté,

En ma cisterne j'entreré
Esperant que le hault Dieu vroy,
Le principal souverain Roy,
De eau nette et clere me pourvoye.
[...]
Fiat signum crucis cum pede. Et veniat aqua in lavatorum et dicat admirando.
O vray Dieu, Sanctus sanctorum,
Véz cy divine demonstrance,
Véz cy de eau tresgrant habundance,
Véz cy liqueur bon entre mil,
Qui m'ataint ja juc'au nombril;
Car des quartïers tresbeaulx
De la croix sont quatre russeaulx
De eau clere sours et sailliz,
Qui jamais ne sauroint faillir.
Se sont fontaines impuisibles
Qui seront indiminuïbles,
Plus parfaicte que l'eau champestre.
Comme de paradis terrestre,
Courans quatre fleuves plaisans,
Quatre sources tressusistans
Sourdent du fons du lavouer.
Autrë eau je ne veil avoir!
(10852 - 10934)


manentia Et descendens in abscidē lauachri aquā nul/
lam habentem pstrauit se cum lacrimis ꝛ orauit dicens
Dñe ihesu xp̄e qui p famulū tuū moysen de petra in de/
serto aquā pduxisti api mihi i loco isto fontē aq̄ viue et
bñdic cā vt i noīe sctē ꝛ idiuidue trinitat̄ hic possiz bap/
tisari ꝛ a pctis oibz emūdari Et facta ibidē figura p̄cios


pedis eius dextri ip̄erpetuum non delenda·tanta illic a
q̄narū cōfluentia emersit vt ad vmblicū illi pertingeret·
Que q̄dez aqua mox ibi diuisa est in q̄tuor pres ad mo
dum crucis·z in quattuor riuulos velut ex padyso ter/
restri flumīa emanant Et q̄ amplius ac laude dignius
ad modū x̄pi in iordane tactu huius diuine creature a/
qua sanctificat nam ibi influūtur vsq; nūc gratie salutis
ac sanatiōes oīm languorūz ad laudem alme x̄pi sponse
barbare deuote intrantibus Hoc em̄ lauachrū sil̄atur
probatice piscine in qua paliticus verbo dñi sanatus est
Hoc lauachrū sil̄atur aque viue quā samaritana ad fō
tem a x̄po petiuit·hoc lauachrū similat natatorie siloe in
qua a natiuitate cecus lauans·respexit et vidit·Hic est
fons incorruptibilis fons signatus fons ortoz̄ puteus
aquarū viuentiū que fluūt impetu de lybano In eodem

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 21f)

The two texts resemble one another strongly. They are similar with regard to the manner in which Barbara conjures the water or with regard to the description of the water which is like the four rivers of the earthly paradise. However, there are some further references to the bible in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* that have not found their way into *cinq journées*. After comparing the water to the four rivers, John of Wakkerzeel compares the water from the "lavacrum" to that of the river Jordan in which Jesus was baptised and claims that both these waters have touched holy creatures. This idea might be detectable in the way in which Barbara repeats her wish to be baptised in the "lavacrum". John of Wakkerzeel makes it more explicit when he refers to three biblical stories concerned with water, namely John 4 "Jesus talks to a Samaritan woman" (*aque viue, ſamaritana*), John 5 "The healing at the Pool" (*probatice piscine*), and John 9 "Jesus heals a man born blind" (*natatorie ſiloe*), which do not occur at all in *cinq journées*. In the two latter stories Jesus heals a person afflicted by a physical ailment and pools play a role – the Pool of Bethesda, which is also called the Probatic Pool in John 5, and the Pool of Siloam in John 9. John 4 is about the juxtaposition of Jesus' physical need to drink with a Samaritan woman's need for spiritual nourishment. When Jesus comes through Samaria during his travels, he asks a Samaritan woman for a drink. The author of *An Buhez* takes up this idea and uses it as the

pretext for Barbara to approach the fountain. She has "a wish in [her] mind to drink" (255). However, Barbara plays neither the role of the Samaritan woman nor the role of Jesus. Her attitude might best be described as mirroring the Samaritan woman's after having found out who she is talking to.

> Jesus: "si scires donum Dei et quis est qui dicit tibi da mihi bibere tu forsitan petisses ab eo et dedisset tibi aquam vivam [...] aqua quam dabo ei fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in vitam aeternam."
>
> The Samaritan woman answers: "da mihi hanc aquam ut non sitiam neque veniam huc haurire"
> (*Vulgata* 2017, John 5)

These aspects have been worked into Barbara's prayer in *An Buhez*: "Lord who created green and dry, kindly send here, [...] soon pure, holy water into this pool so that I myself will drink gladly. [...]" (257). In asking God to send her "pure, holy water" (257) with which she wishes to quench her thirst, Barbara in a way follows the instructions Jesus gives to the Samaritan woman. And as Jesus promised to the Samaritan woman, Barbara is rewarded with the return of the water. Barbara then voices her devotion to Jesus, again taking up the idea of the supernatural water provided by God: "Nobody in this world ever tasted water which was more delicious to anyone who would be thirsty, akin to the probatic water [...] I render [the son of God] the utmost gratitude for sending his benevolence, his goods, to me down here" (259-261). The term "living water" ('dour beu'), however, does not appear in *An Buhez*. Instead, Barbara describes the water as "clear" (net, 255), "bright" (glan, 256), "good" (mat, 258), "sacred" and "delicious" (ſacret, ſaouret, 259), "pure" (pur, 263), "tender" and "pleasant" (flour, amourabl, 265) . The adjectives in question always carry either an internal or an end-rhyme. In two of these cases, the internal rhyme could have been supplied by another word in the verse, but in both cases the adjective in question repeats the internal rhyme and is thus preferable to another adjective of the same length but with a different sound pattern. Due to the rigorous metrical requirements, the adjective "beu" ('alive, living') could not easily have replaced any of the above adjectives in order to include the phrase "living water" familiar from the bible. An alternative form such as "dour a vuhez" (water of life) would have been even harder to include in the complex metre. Instead, the author of the Breton play seems to have chosen a different way to allude to the biblical phrase. "Pa nen caffſēn ez maruſēn mic" ('if I had not found it, I would simply have died', 259) can be interpreted as an inversion of the "living water", since the context requires Barbara's statement to be understood in a spiritual rather than a literal way.

Despite the lack of direct biblical references in *cinq journées*, there are some similarities of

terminology between *cinq journées* and the other texts. As in *An Buhez*, the term "living water" does not appear in *cinq journées*. Instead, Barbara calls God "clere fontaine" (10878), praises the water as "eau clere" (10925), "fontaines impuisible / qui seront indiminuïbles" (10927f), and claims that "Autre eau je ne veil avoir" (10934) and "Ce n'est pas cy eau naturelle" (10944). While there is no mention of drinking the water in any way, the terminology and metaphors are strongly reminiscent of John 4. The two biblical stories about Jesus' power to heal (John 5 and 9) are worked into the play in a corresponding way. Between the appearance of the water and Barbara's baptism, God, Mary, John the Baptist and Gabriel talk about Barbara's virtue in heaven. During this conversation the water is described first by God:

> L'eau aura telle force en soy
> Et telle vertu donneray
> Qu'elle poura donner santé,
> Voyre de toute enfermeté,
> A chascun malade quelconques.
> (11058-11062)

and then by Gabriel:

> Que l'eau qui est cy en presence
> Aura sus toutes preëminence,
> Vertu, force et virilité,
> Et ouste toute infirmité.
> Par son touchement garira,
> Car puissance de garir a
> Douleur et mal debiblité.
> (11068-11074).

The idea that the water has healing abilities is thus clearly present in *cinq journées*, but without any direct reference to a specific biblical story.

This is different in *An Buhez*. There, the biblical reference is made explicit by calling the water "probatic" (259), and summarising John 5:1-9, "The Healing at the Pool". In this story, Jesus is on his way to Jerusalem where "est autem Hierosolymis super Probatica piscina quae cognominatur hebraice Bethsaida quinque porticus habens" (*Vulgata* 2017). This "Probatic Pool", also known as the "Pool of Bethesda", is famous for its healing powers. There, Jesus heals a paralystic, who was unable to reach the Pool of Bethesda by himself at the proper time. The question is how this reference has found its way into *An Buhez*. There are many striking similarities between *An Buhez* and *cinq journées* as well as between *An Buhez* and the *Legenda*

Aurea, respectively. In this case, neither *cinq journées* nor the *Legenda Aurea* include either of the key terms "Bethesda" or "probatic". However, *cinq journées* does use the term "piscina" in two stage directions: "Hic dictis descendat ad piscinam in qua nondum fit aqua" (10851/2) and "Descendat in piscinam" (10909/10). In classic Latin the word "piscina" means "(fish-)pond", "(swimming-)pool", or "vat" (Glare 1968, 1383). According to the *Dictionnaire du Moyen Francais* (*Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500)* 2012, "piscine") the term "piscine" carries the general meaning of "bassin dans lequel on se purifie" or simply "bassin", but it also refers specifically to the "bassin proche du temple de Jérusalem, destiné aux rites purificatoires". The latter entry is based on two passages from *Le Mystère de la Passion*,[34] dated to the middle of the 15th c. (Marcadé 1893) and thus preceding *cinq journées*. The passages in turn are clearly based on John 5, which underlines the popularity of this particular biblical story. The simple term "piscina" used in the stage direction may therefore have caused all kinds of associations in the mind of a reader who is familiar with other mystery plays in general, and with *Le Mystère de la Passion* in particular, or with its point of reference, John 5. The effect on a spectator, however, is highly dependant on the way this scene is staged as well as on the level of his/her education. The word "piscine" is not used at any point in the speech of a character, it appears only in two stage directions and would therefore not have been heard during the performance. A spectator of the play would thus not necessarily recognise any connection to John 5 in this scene. The *fatiste* of *cinq journées*, however, probably had the Pool of Bethesda in mind when choosing the term "piscina" in the stage directions, because the many similarities between *cinq journées* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* in general point to a close connection of the two plays. Still, the *fatiste* chose not to mention the Pool of Bethesda – or any of the other Pools from the bible – directly. Thus, it is unlikely that the author of *An Buhez* took the idea to include the Probatic Pool from *cinq journées*. As the pool is absent from the *Legenda Aurea* as well, the author of *An Buhez* must either have worked from another source such as John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*,

[34] En passant devant la piscine
La a fait de miracle ung signe,
Car ung qui la estoit gisans
Il y avoit XXXVIII ans
A donné sancté et gary
(8242-8246).

De puis en ce lieu on a fait
Une yaue qu'on nomme de fait
La probatica piscina,
Qui maint beau miracle fait a,
C'est la piscine ou sont lavées
Les bestes qui sont presentées
Au temple pour faire offertoire
(15434-15440).

or have fashioned the connection between the fountain and the well-known story of John 5 himself.[35]

The question remains why the author of *An Buhez* has transformed the "lavacrum" into a "feunten". While it is impossible to answer this question, I would like to make a suggestion with regard to a possible reason for the author's decision. As Cathy Marzin points out in her essay on fountains in the Basse-Bretagne, "il n'est pas de région en France où le culte des sources soit aussi important qu'en Bretagne" (Marzin 1998, 15). According to Brigitte Caulier, who has conducted a useful study of wells and their respective cults in France, "toutefois des régions où l'eau abonde, la Bretagne ou le Limousin, détiennent le record des fontaines à dévotions" (Caulier 1990, 20). Francis Jones has provided us with a similar study from the other side of the channel in "the holy wells of Wales" (Jones 1954), while "Celtic Christianity and Nature" (Low 1996) or the "Archaeological Survey of the Dingle Peninsula" (Cuppage 1986) show that holy wells are a very common feature of Early Irish Christianity, too. In light of such regional preference, it is tempting to assume a "Celtic" heritage as the driving force behind the author's choice, but "well-worship was a feature of the religious life of the Ancients" (Jones 1954, 20) rather than only of the Celts. Furthermore, "the sacramentality of water is a feature of primal religions in many parts of the world" (Low 1996). It is thus much more likely that regional factors played a role in the author's choice rather than Brittany's "Celtic" heritage. Nevertheless, the above studies exemplify that the cult around wells was (and often still is) very commonplace in Wales, Ireland and Brittany and they also show that practices associated with wells were very similar. Wells that are dedicated to or associated with a certain saint are called saints' pools. According to Sylvette Denèfle a Breton fountain is always natural and never the result of water being channelled to the fore. Most fountains are marked by some kind of stone construction, which is often set directly into the soil and usually measures between 50 cm and 8-9 m. The water flows into a square or oblong stone basin, which is often covered by a small oratory. The water basin usually remains accessible from one side and the whole structure is often surrounded by a stone wall in order to keep out animals, with benches for pilgrims on the inside (Denèfle 1994, 32f). Marzin describes four different categories of fountains common in Brittany: 1) A "Trou d'eau empierré" is a simple hole, dressed with stones, which sprouts

[35]The third pool that is mentioned by John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* does not appear in any of the four texts compared in this study. It is mentioned in an Old-Norse/Icelandic version of the life of Saint Barbara, in *Barbare Saga* (Wolf 2000). According to Wolf, "*Barbare Saga* must be considered a close rendering of the Latin source text as represented by BHL Suppl. 913a" and differs "significantly from its Latin source [on only two occasions]" (Wolf 2000, 106). While this may be true on the whole, there are some minor details that have changed on the way from Latin to Old-Norse/Icelandic. One example is the loss of the Pool of Bethesda in *Barbare Saga*, another is the transformation of the Latin "lavacrum" into a "brunni", which Wolf translates as "spring". It may well be a coincidence that both the Old-Norse/Icelandic and the Breton version of the saint's life use a fountain or spring rather than a bathhouse. Although a direct relation between the Breton and the Old-Norse/Icelandic text does not seem very likely, it cannot be ruled out entirely.

water. 2) "La fontaine bassin" is a construction made up of four stones, one of which is lowered to channel the water. It is usually rectangular or square measuring between 40cm and 1m in length. 3) "La fontaine couverte" is similar to 2) but adds a (roofed) construction or a stone plate on top of the basin to cover the water and keep it pure and to keep animals away. 4) "La fontaine ornementale, monumentale" is an ornamented, professionally built construction, which is subject to a certain style that usually goes with the surrounding buildings. It is more of a piece of art and almost always dedicated to a saint (Marzin 1998, 17f).

Pools of all kinds abound in Brittany and one very prominent pool dedicated to Saint Barbara is located in Le Faouët. Of course, this is by far not the only one. In Plouharnel, there is a whole village dedicated to Saint Barbara, with at least a chapel and a fountain carrying her name, as well as a lavoir.

> [La chapelle] que l'on peut voir actuellement dans le hameau éponyme date de la fin du XVIe siècle […] A cent mètres de la chapelle Sainte-Barbe, se trouve la fontaine éponyme datant du XVIe siècle. Il s'agit d'un édicule avec pignon deux pentes et voûte profonde. L'enclos est de petite dimension.
> (*Fontaines de France* 2005)

With regard to the lavoir we cannot be sure whether this is in fact dedicated to Saint Barbara or whether it is merely situated in the vicinity of the chapel and the fountain and is thus associated with Barbara indirectly. In any case it is interesting to note that there is an abundance of objects associated with or dedicated to Saint Barbara in, for example, Plouharnel. This raises an important consideration with regard to the author's choice of a fountain over a "lavacrum" in *An Buhez*. There is a distinct possibility that a saint's pool – possibly dedicated to Barbara – is located in the vicinity of the stage, or even included in the performance. As medieval theatre was performed not in buildings housing a stage but instead in the open on a stage constructed to serve for one play only (2), it is likely that the organisers of a play would have taken the local conditions into account. It is thus conceivable that a stage for the Breton play would have been built in proximity to a saint's pool, so that the pool could be revealed at the necessary moment and Barbara could go to a real "good fountain which is (hidden) back there" ('feunten mat ſo diadreff', 255). Even the fact that the fountain is dry when Barbara encounters it in the play could have been exploited. As Mireille Andro points out, there is a rarity of fountains in coastal regions and "beaucoup de fontaines mancquent d'eau en été normal" (Andro 1998, 50). Incidentally, Plouharnel is a coastal town, although it has to be mentioned that Andro's study referred to fountains further east. If we take Plouharnel as an example for a possible place of performance, the author of *An Buhez* could have chosen to include either a saint's pool or a lavoir in the play. The latter would very likely have been closer to the ideas of the "lavacrum"

in *cinq journées* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia.* But according to Denèfle, the terminology is not interchangeable and "Eau vive", "fontaines", "sources", and "lavoirs" are to be regarded as distinct concepts (Denèfle 1994, 25). This point of view is supported by Giraudon when he explains that lavoirs are usually separated from a source or fountain, but can nevertheless be fed by its waters: "[des lavoirs] sont installés au bas d'une prairie, en contrebas d'une source ou d'une fontaine, en bordure d'un ruisseau ou d'une rivière" (Giraudon 1998, 93). If, indeed, a lavoir carries a strong profane connotation and is associated with doing the laundry and other daily chores, it might have felt anti-climactic to the audience to see Barbara praying for water to come back into their wash basin, particularly since there is no need for her to step into it completely as is the case in *cinq journées.* A saint's pool, however, would already carry a certain mystical or sacred aspect and thus underline the holiness of the act. Gaël Milin has explored this mystical and supernatural air associated with fountains in the Middle Ages in her article "L'imaginaire médiéval de la fontaine: esquisse d'inventaire" (Milin 1998, 131-177). There, she also claims that the oriental heritage often associates a fountain with life, and thus with "l'eau vive" (Milin 1998, 158f), a motif which, as has been argued above, is present in the bible and has indirectly found its way into *An Buhez.* Milin also quotes the *Voyage of Saint Brendan*, in which the Irish local saint Brendan meets Paul the hermit, who is living on a mountainous island and claims to have lived for sixty years "on [a] well without nourishment or any other food" (O'Meara 1994, 84). The *Navigatio Brendani* in turn apparently has been inspired by the *Vita Pauli*, in which a hermit named Paul lives in a cave for sixty years, where the water from a spring and a regularly forthcoming loaf of bread are his only nourishment (Strijbosch 2000, 145). This particular anchoretic image of fasting and self-denial is not particularly strong in *An Buhez*, but Barbara expresses the wish to fast and to use the fountain as a sanctuary for her prayers:

[266] Ma refection da donet
A quemeriff ne filliff quet
En placc man affet credet diff
Da dibriff del ha mel quelyen
Euit pitancc da ſuſtancc plen
Nem bezo quen dan ſouteniff.

[267] Aman pep hent emem rentiff
A quement an hez maz veziff
Da dibriff ha da pidiff doe
Ne flachiff quet en requet den
Nemet en nos da repos plen

Eguit tremen plen diouz enoe

[268] Monet a hanēn amēnaff
Euit vetez da ān hezaff
Dan tour flour haff oar guelhaff pret
Eno pep nos ez repoſiff.
Hac aman en dez ez beziff
Hennez ariff ne filliff quet.

My future refreshment / will I take, I will not fail, / here in this place indeed, believe me!, / and eat foliage and honey of insects /as the only nourishment for sustenance; / I will not have anything else for alimentation. // I will repair to this place anyway / from any residences where I will be / to eat and to pray to God. / I will not move in answer to anyone's plea / except to rest at night indeed / in order to get past all sorrow. // I want to go away from here / to move, from today on, / into the most tender tower first of all. / There I will rest every night / and here I will be by day. / I will do this, I will not fail. //

However, her plans do not include living on the water from the fountain alone, as the hermits in the legends mentioned above do. Yet the aspect of removing herself from society is present insofar as Barbara refuses to fulfil her office as heiress, i.e. marry and have children in order to secure the succession (cf. Campbell 2008). While there is a certain aspect of withdrawal in her lines, she mostly wishes for a place to worship. We do not find a direct parallel for this in *cinq journées*, but the idea of withdrawal is certainly given there as well. In *cinq journées*, Barbara puts on "vestimenta humilitatis" after her baptism and declares her intentions to leave behind all worldly embellishments:

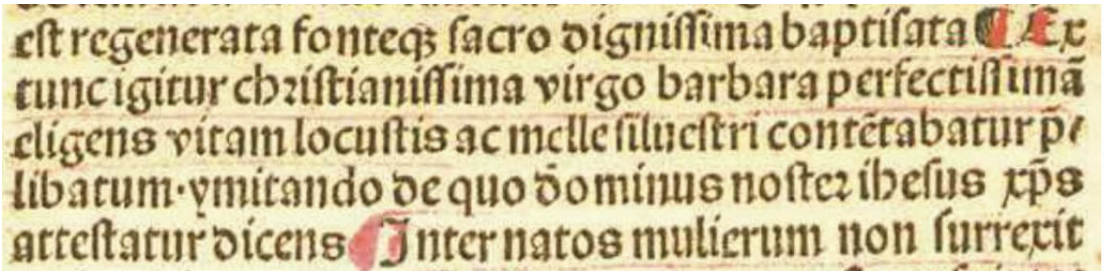
Fy d'atours et de queuvrechefs
Dont on queuvre les nobles chefs!
Fy du monde tant qu'il est grant,
Fy de drap d'or fin et luysant!
(11332-11335)

The nutritional restrictions Barbara wishes to place upon herself in *An Buhez* are very famous, of course. They are familiar from Matthew 3, in which John the Baptist prepares the way for Jesus. He is described as wearing clothes made from camel's hair with a belt and eating locusts and wild honey: "ipse autem Iohannes habebat vestimentum de pilis camelorum et zonam

pelliciam circa lumbos suos esca autem eius erat lucustae et mel silvestre" (*Vulgata* 2017 Mt 3:4). Both *cinq journées* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* include this particular aspect, as well:

> *cinq journées*:
> Jehan Baptiste, homs d'abstinence
> [11185a . . . ence]
> D'excés et de gulosité,
> Tu as mengé par rarité
> Saultereaux et miel sauvaige.
> Si conclud qu'en toute mon aage
> Je t'ensuyve en qualité,
> Pour vivre par voustre retente.
> (11184-11191)

John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*:

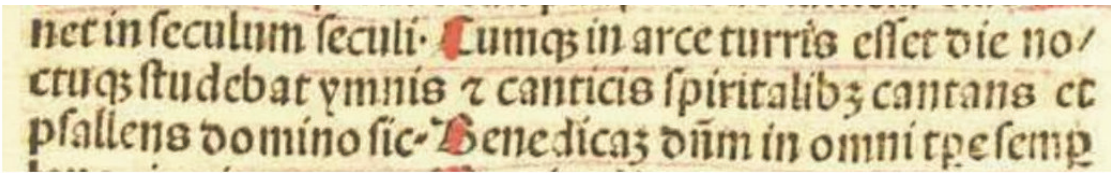

est regenerata fonteq; sacro dignissima baptisata Ex
tunc igitur christianissima virgo barbara perfectissimã
eligens vitam locustis ac melle silvestri contẽtabatur p
libatum·ymitando de quo dominus noster ihesus xps
attestatur dicens Inter natos mulierum non surrexit

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 23)

While John the Baptist plays the very important role of baptising Barbara in both *cinq journées* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, this role is filled by saint Valentine in *An Buhez* and the *Legenda Aurea*. Apparently, the author of the Breton play wanted to find a way of including John the Baptist in his play despite the fact that he was not required to perform the baptism of Barbara. As a result, the author of *An Buhez* combined John's famous nutritional restrictions with the holiness and spiritual nourishment provided by the water of the fountain, rather than leave John the Baptist out of the story entirely as in the *Legenda Aurea*. This serves two purposes. On the one hand, it creates a link between Barbara and one of the most famous and respected saints in the Christian world. On the other hand, it elevates Barbara's own status as a saint. The author of *An Buhez* may have felt that this was necessary since Barbara is not baptised by the same hand that baptised Jesus as in *cinq journées* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*.[36]

Furthermore, there is another interesting detail that merits a closer look. In *An Buhez* Barbara wishes "to repair to/return here" ('aman [...] emem rentiff') to eat and pray and wants to "spend [her nights in the tower and] her days here" ('aman en dez ez beziff', 267/8). In this case "aman' ('here') very likely refers to the fountain that she has just been visiting. Such a juxtaposition of her daily and nightly activities does not occur in *cinq journées* or in the *Legenda Aurea*. In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, however, there is a sentence towards the end of the episode giving the information that Barbara practices singing hymns day and night:

[36]The differences between *cinq journées* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* with regard to the scene in the "lavacrum" are slight. Apart from the lack of the references to the biblical pools, the *fatiste* of *cinq journées* also did not make it explicit that Barbara has a vision of Jesus as a child before her baptism. While she is indeed visited by Jesus, there is no mention of his being a child or of him transforming somehow. In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, the Christ child has the stigmata that make him recognisable, but in *cinq journées* this is replaced by a rather strange stage direction indicating that Jesus appears with slow-running blood: "Hic appariat Jesus sanguine lentus" (10552/3). Barbara's following lines indicate that Jesus seems to be covered in blood. It remains unclear, however, whether he is a child or an adult at this point. This event does not occur in either *An Buhez* or the *Legenda Aurea*.


net in seculum seculi· Cumqz in arce turris esset die no/
ctuqz studebat ymnis z canticis spiritalibz cantans et
psallens domino sic· Benedicaz dñm in omni tpe semp

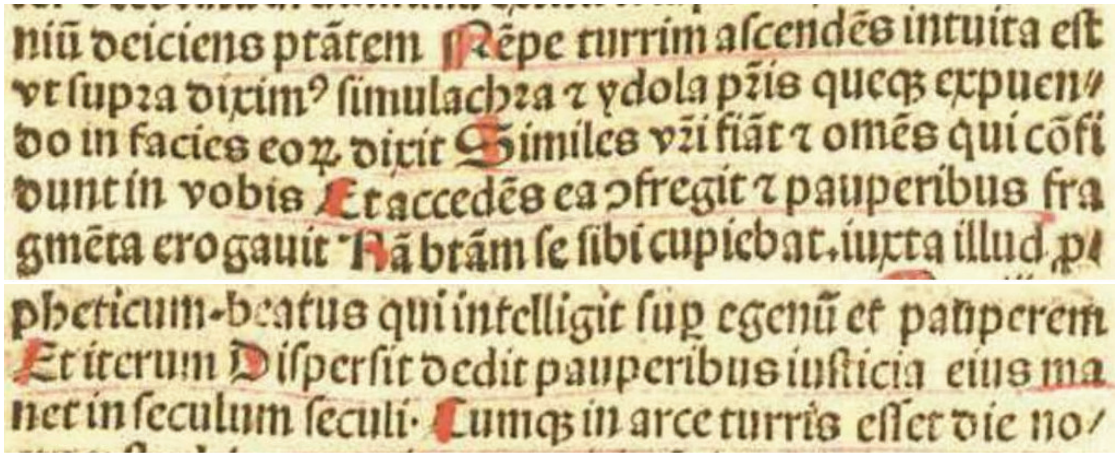
(Wakkerzeel 1495, 24)

John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* does not establish a difference between Barbara's daily and nightly activities and the singing of hymnes is not made explicit in *An Buhez*. Yet, it is noteworthy that both versions depict Barbara in some form of day- and nighttime contemplation while the other texts do not mention anything along those lines at all.

11.3. The Idols

In most versions of the legend, Barbara encounters and defies idols after the episode in the lavacrum/next to the fountain. Again, *deux journées* is the one that does not concur. There, the devils enter the stage expressing their discontent at Barbara's conversion and plan to bring as many souls to hell as possible. Longtin lists this among the principal distinct traits of *deux journées*: "Il n'est pas question non plus de saccage d'idoles paiennes dans ce Mystère. Barbe ne fait que verbaliser succinctement son mépris pour ces representations du démon" (Longtin 1996, 16). However, at that stage Barbara does not even attack the idols verbally in any way, she merely returns to her place after her baptism. This is very different in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and the *Legenda Aurea*, where she attacks the idols verbally, spits in their faces and/or tears them from their sockets, rips off their valuable decorations and gives them as alms.

John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*:


niũ deiciens ptãtem Crepe turrim ascendẽs intuita est
vt supza dixim⁹ simulachza z ydola pẽis queqz expuen/
do in facies eoz dixit Similes vẽ fiãt z omẽs qui cõfi
dunt in vobis Et accedẽs ea ofregit z pauperibus fra
gmẽta erogauit Nã btãm se sibi cupiebat, iuxta illud p/
pheticum· beatus qui intelligit sup egenũ et pauperem
Et iterum Dispersit dedit pauperibus iusticia eius ma
net in seculum seculi· Cumqz in arce turris esset die no/

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 23-24)

> […] depost ascendens in turrim vidit simulacra, quae colebat pater ejus, suscipiens spiritum sanctum inspuit in faciem eorum et dixit: similes vestri fiant, qui faciunt vos, et omnes, qui confidunt in vobis.
> (Graesse 1965, 900)

The interesting thing with regard to *An Buhez* is that the scene is very difficult to understand if one is only reading the Breton play without either watching the play or having the background knowledge of Barbara's legend in its other versions. There is no stage direction that indicates what Barbara is actually doing at this point. In 268 she appears to be still next to the fountain, planning her future contemplation. Then, in 269, she suddenly speaks about idols, which have not been introduced in any way:

> [268] Monet a hanēn amēnaff
> Euit vetez da ān hezaff
> Dan tour flour haff oar guelhaff pret
> Eno pep nos ez repoſiff.
> Hac aman en dez ez beziff
> Hennez ariff ne filliff quet.
>
> [269] ydol a drouc ſcol dipolicc
> Leun a ſcandal hac a malicc
> Hac a pep drouc vicc difficil
> Bezcoaz ne guelat en oat den
> Tra oar douar me en goar plen
> Da quen bilen na da quen vil.

> I want to go away from here / to move, from today on, / into the most tender tower first of all. / There I will rest every night / and here I will be by day. / I will do this, I will not fail. // Idol of bad influence, without virtue, / full of scandal and of malice / and of every bad, hard vice! / Never was seen in the history of mankind / anything on earth, I know it full-well, / as despicable and as evil as you! //

While she expresses her wish to move into the tower from that day on, it does not become entirely clear from her lines that she is actually going there now rather than merely expressing a future plan. However, as is discussed in 3, there is an inconsistency in stanza 269 which

suggests that Barbara has moved from one place to another at this point. In the other versions of the legend it is clear that Barbara is at this point speaking to the idols and has likely moved in the direction of the tower, or entered it, and encountered the idols on the way. In the *Legenda Aurea* Barbara enters her tower and there encounters the idols her father has ordered ("depost ascendens in turrim vidit simulacra, quae colebat pater ejus", Graesse 1965, 90). In *cinq journées* we learn that Barbara "gradiatur turrim" (11208/11309) and "sint ydola in turi cum Barbara" (11355/11356) from the stage directions. In *An Buhez*, however, the stage direction indicating her whereabouts – praying on her knees in her chamber – is given only after her abusive speech to or about the idols: "Aman ez pet doe oar he doulin / en e cambr" (276/7).

The banishment of the idols seems to be an integral part of the legend, for it happens in all versions of the legend except in *deux journées*. In both *An Buhez* and *cinq journées* the sacking of the idols consists of a lengthy monologue by Barbara:

An Buhez:

[269] ydol a drouc ſcol dipolicc
Leun a ſcandal hac a malicc
Hac a pep drouc vicc difficil
Bezcoaz ne guelat en oat den
Tra oar douar me en goar plen
Da quen bilen na da quen vil.

[270] A/ fy a quement nacion
So en fantaſy abuſion
Dre da faczon inraeſonabl
Ha quement den acret enot
A quarhēn heuel eueldot
Rac te ſo ſot ha dinotabl

[271] Te ſo da pep re deceuabl
Da ſellet e hanu ha dampnabl
Inconuenabl drouc renablet
Quement az azeul az heulyo
Dān iffern yen da chom eno
Na diſtro no deuezo quet.

cinq journées:

Ha saincte Trinité celeste,
Que font cy ses faulces ydolles?
Tiennent elles cy leur escolles?
Pendu soit il qui les forgea!
Decepcïon on leur forgea.
Mauldit soit il qui les revere,
Qui les honneure et les prefere
A Dieu des dieux et les adoure!
>Que l'ennemy tue et devore<
Cil qui premier s'en advisa
Et aussi les auctorisa,
Car le monde en est abusé!
Mon pere a de vous trop usé,
Qui vous adoure comme dieux.
Comment dieux divins sont ilz tyeulx?
Sont il d'or ne d'argent doré?
Mal ait qui vous a estoré
Et prent plaisir quand il vous voit!
Si mon pere present me debvoit
Mectre au retour par mainte piece,
Si fault il que je vous depiece,
Car mon cueur ne peult endurer

[272] Crachet ez viſaig heb flachaff
Araff dit ha da depitaff
Da diſpriſaff en muy haff ment
Ariff dit depret heb quet ſy
Na nez dougiaff quet muy eguet quy
Nezeux teaut na fry naſquient.

[273] Ne cleuez na ne guelez hent
Quent ſe a pep rout ozout lent
Groaet dre fent inſtrument pentet
Te nez eux buhez na bezaff
Bec na dant na pegant ſantaff
Bras ez quaſaff nē nachaff quet

[274] An dyaoull glout dre art ſoutil
Eguit deceff breff heb reuil
Partabl ha gentil ha bilen
A vn hat vil az compilas
A coat pe men ez quemenas
Sot ez nodas na allas quen

[275] Te nen dout na beu na ſeuen
Nemet vn tra ort diſordren
Un mē maruyen heb quē en bet
Ne alhes fifual na bale
Euit neb eres aleſſe
Nemet vn re az doucque quet.

[276] Fy ahanot tra aſſotet
Maledicion ſo ouz donet
Oar quement az cret heb quet ſy
Eñ ifferñ yen certen men goar
Ez vezint damnep heb quet mar
En glachar ha mil amloary.

Que vous puisséz cy demouréz
En despit de vous, faulx Ymaiges.
Co[ns]puat in facies ydolorum.
Je cracheray en vos visaiges.
Fy de vous, fy, fy tout a plain!
Et de ceulx qui vous prient en vain
Plustoust vous frouesseroys aux dens
Que je vous lessasse dedans
Ceste tour jamais habiter.
Venéz Venus et Jupiter,
Apolin et vous, Saturnus,
Voustre darain jour est venus:
Je vous derompré piéz et bras
Et testes. Tenéz cy Palas!
Je vous foulleray soubz mes piéz.
Et les aultres deux touz sur piéz
Si estez dieux si vous venger,
Si tort faiz et vous revenger
Par voustre dominacïon!
Vengéz vous de l'extorcïon
Que je vous faiz, faulx tristes Chiens!
Voustre puissance ne vault riens.
Quoy dea, vous n'estez dieux, més deables!
On vous deust gecter sur les fiens,
Voustre puissance ne vault riens.
Je conclu par tous vos maintiens:
Qui sont fresles et miserables
Vous estez faulces et dampnables,
[11450a . . . iens]
[11450b Voustre puissance ne vault riens.]
[11450c Quoy dea, vous n'estez dieux, més deables!]
Ydolles faulces et statues.
Toutes voz pieczes seront rompues,
Lesquelles sont d'or et d'argent,
Seront par moy a pouvre gent
Donnees et sans quelque distance.
(11402-11455)

> Idol of bad influence, without virtue, / full of scandal and of malice / and of every bad, hard vice! / Never was seen in the history of mankind / anything on earth, I know it full-well, / as despicable and as evil as you! // Oh, woe to all peoples / that are in a confusion of trickery / due to your deceitful manner! / And whoever believes in you / I would want him to be like you / because you are stupid and contemptible. // You are misleading to everyone, / disgusting and damnable to look upon, / improper, bad, obnoxious! / Whoever adores you will follow you / to the cold hell to stay there. / And they will have no way back. // I spit in your motionless face / and I defy you! / I will despise you exceedingly, / always, without any doubt / and I do not respect you any more than a dog! / You do not have a tongue or a nose or reason! // You do not hear and you do not see; / rather you are dumb in every way, / a painted object made through deceit / you have neither life nor being, / no mouth and no tooth nor something to smell with. / I hate you greatly, I do not deny it. // The gluttonous devil through subtle artifice / in order to deceive soon without regard / commoner, noble and villain alike / he devised you out of an evil intention: / he cut you out of wood or stone; / he made you stupid, and he was not able to do anything else. // You are neither alive nor strong, / nothing but a nasty and vile thing, / a cold, dead stone and nothing more. / You could neither move nor travel / – despite all wickedness – from this place / unless someone would carry you. // (I) defy you, foolish thing! / Malediction is coming / upon all who believe you, without any doubt! / Into cold hell, I know it for sure, / they will be damned, without any doubt, / in sickness and a thousand sorrows. //

It is interesting to note that the monologue is about the same length in both versions, despite the fact that *cinq journées* is about seven times longer than *An Buhez*. With regard to contents, the respective monologues may not be identical, but share some significant features. While Barbara is explicit and addresses the heathen (ancient Roman) gods by name in *cinq journées*, she only calls them "ydol a drouc scol" ('idol of bad influence', 269) in *An Buhez*. Barbara tears them apart and gives the valuable pieces to the poor in *cinq journées* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, but not in *An Buhez*. There, the idols are called "a painted object" ('inſtrument pentet', 273) made "of wood or stone" ('A coat pe men', 274), but there is no mention of gemstones or gold and thus the idea of giving their valuable pieces as alms is absent.

There are several verses in *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* that appear to be closely related. Moreover, the sequence of the pieces of Barbara's attack is similar. She begins by addressing the idols:

An Buhez:
ydol a drouc scol
(269)

cinq journées:
Que font cy ses faulces ydolles?
Tiennent elles cy leur escolles?
(11403f)

The Breton word "scol" means "école"(Hemon 1979, 2879), which is the modern orthography of "escolles" and has the same meaning (*Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500)* 2012, "école"). Moreover, both terms rhyme with ydol(les) in the respective texts, albeit as an internal rhyme in the case of *An Buhez*. After this initial similarity, the Breton and the French play differ with regard to the contents of Barbara's monologue, but not with regard to the overt tone. In both versions she begins to describe the idols and the effect they have on the people that worship them, which is clearly negative:

An Buhez:
[276] […]
Maledicion ſo ouz donet
Oar quement az cret heb quet ſy
Eñ ifferñ yen certen men goar
Ez vezint damnep heb quet mar
En glachar ha mil amloary.

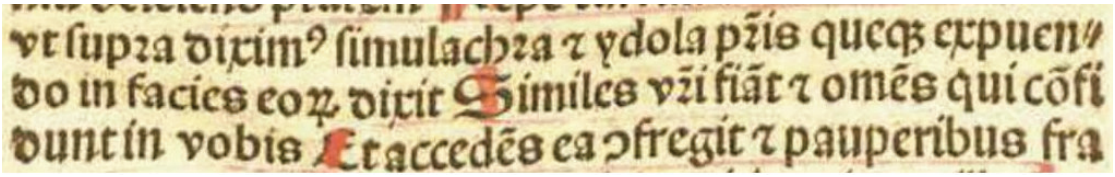
cinq journées:
Mauldit soit il qui les revere,
Qui les honneure et les prefere
A Dieu des dieux et les adoure!
>Que l'ennemy tue et devore<
Cil qui premier s'en advisa
Et aussi les auctorisa,
Car le monde en est abusé!
(11405-11413)

> […] / Malediction is coming / upon all who believe you, without any doubt! / Into cold hell, I know it for sure, / they will be damned, without any doubt, / in sickness and a thousand sorrows. //

Interestingly enough it is the last stanza of Barbara's monologue in *An Buhez* that comes closest to the beginning of her monologue in *cinq journées*. However, the idea that damnation will be the fate of all those who adore the idols is an integral part of the monologue in both plays and is also voiced in the beginning of *An Buhez*. In the Latin versions of the legend it is even more important, because it is the only comment Barbara directs at the idols:

> *Legenda Aurea*:
> […] inspuit in faciem eorum et dixit: similes vestri fiant, qui faciunt vos, et omnes, qui confidunt in vobis
> (Graesse 1965, 900)

John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*:



(Wakkerzeel 1495, 23)

That Barbara spits in the idols' faces and directs her anger at those that adore them is common to all versions of the legend, except *deux journées*. In the plays the respective verses are very similar, the only difference being an additional explanatory stage direction in *cinq journées* which *An Buhez* lacks:

An Buhez:	*cinq journées*:
[272] Crachet ez viſaig heb flachaff	*Co[ns]puat in facies ydolorum.*
Araff dit ha da depitaff	Je cracheray en vos visaiges.
[...]	Fy de vous, fy, fy tout a plain!
	(11425/6-11427)

I spit in your motionless face / and I defy you! / [...] //

However, the information that those who have made the idols and/or revere them shall suffer a negative effect precedes Barbara's spitting in the idols' faces in both plays, which contrasts with the order of events in the Latin versions. It is also interesting to note that the wording in the Latin versions is almost identical, except that the middle part "qui faciunt vos" (Graesse 1965, 900) is missing from John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*.[37] This middle part does appear in *cinq journées*: "Pendu soit il qui les forgea! / Decepcïon on leur forgea" (11405f). In *An Buhez* it is the devil that has made the idols and while this part is removed from their damning effect, the idea of the idols' "decepcïon" is also there:

[274] An dyaoull glout dre art ſoutil
Eguit deceff breff heb reuil
Partabl ha gentil ha bilen
A vn hat vil az compilas
A coat pe men ez quemenas

[37] Due to the popularity of the legend in general and Wakkerzeel's work in particular, it is plausible that there are other versions attributed to Wakkerzeel that include "qui faciunt vos".

Sot ez nodas na allas quen

> The gluttonous devil through subtle artifice / in order to deceive soon without regard / commoner, noble and villain alike / he devised you out of an evil intention: / he cut you out of wood or stone; / he made you stupid, and he was not able to do anything else. //

Furthermore, Barbara compares the idols to dogs in both plays:

An Buhez:

[272] […]
Da diſpriſaff en muy haff ment
Ariff dit depret heb quet ſy
Na nez dougiaff quet muy eguet quy
Nezeux teaut na fry naſquient.

[273] Ne cleuez na ne guelez hent
Quent ſe a pep rout ozout lent
Groaet dre fent inſtrument pentet
Te nez eux buhez na bezaff
Bec na dant na pegant ſantaff
Bras ez quaſaff nē nachaff quet

cinq journées:

Je vous foulleray soubz mes piéz.
Et les aultres deux touz sur piéz
Si estez dieux si vous venger,
Si tort faiz et vous revenger
Par voustre dominacïon!
Vengéz vous de l'extorcïon
Que je vous faiz, faulx tristes Chiens!
Voustre puissance ne vault riens.
(11437-11444)

> […] I will despise you exceedingly, / always, without any doubt / and I do not respect you any more than a dog! / You do not have a tongue or a nose or reason! // You do not hear and you do not see; / rather you are dumb in every way, / a painted object made through deceit / you have neither life nor being, / no mouth and no tooth nor something to smell with. / I hate you greatly, I do not deny it. //

However, the context of the comment is very different in the respective plays. While the fact that Barbara despises the idols and does not respect them as she voices it in *An Buhez* is true for *cinq journées* as well, she does not say so in the French play. Instead, she informs the idols that she will crush them beneath her feet and challenges them to do something about it, which in turn does not appear in *An Buhez*. There Barbara stresses the idols' worthlessness and employs phrases familiar from Psalm 135 in order to clarify her view of the idols:

> simulacra gentium argentum et aurum opera manuum hominum os habent et non loquentur oculos habent et non videbunt aures habent et non audient neque

> enim est spiritus in ore eorum similes illis fiant qui faciunt ea et omnes qui sperant in eis[.]
> (*Vulgata* 2017 Psalm 135: 15-18)

In fact, Psalm 135: 15-18 had likely inspired the passage in the Latin versions as well as in the plays, but each version seems to have placed a slightly different emphasis. The *Legenda Aurea* only mirrors verse 18 when Barbara sacks the idols, but takes up part of the psalm again when Barbara is presented to the *praeses* (the provost in *An Buhez*). Similarly, John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* seems to have reworked lines 15 and 18 into the legend at this point, but has Barbara quote the psalm again when she is about to be tortured (Wakkerzeel 1495, 29). This is the same in *cinq journées*, but the *fatiste* has placed considerably more emphasis on the idols being made of valuable material and being of human creation than did John of Wakkerzeel. *An Buhez* has extended the topic of the monologue and made use of lines 16 and 17 as well. But instead of having mouths but being unable to speak, having eyes but being unable to see etc., the idols are simply informed that they do not even have a tongue or a nose or life. Nevertheless, the reference is clearly recognisable.[38]

The single sentence Barbara speaks to the idols in the Latin legends has become an extensive monologue in both plays. Barbara abuses the idols and curses at them employing a variety of adjectives. She declaims their falsity and deception. Barbara's abuse of the idols is stronger in *An Buhez*, while more emphasis is put on the idols' falsity and deception in *cinq journées*. Both plays stress the idols' futility and powerlessness:

[38] This is particularly interesting because Kjersti Bruvoll claims that in Ungers edition of the Old Icelandic legend of Barbara (Unger 1877, 155 l. 17-23) "[Psalm 135: 15-18] is rendered in its entirety" (Bruvoll 2009, 138), which presents another similarity between the Old Icelandic transmission of the legend and the Breton play. While it is true that the psalm appears in Unger's edition, Wolf's edition of the same text does not have the psalm.

An Buhez:
[273] […]
Quent ſe a pep rout ozout lent
Groaet dre fent inſtrument pentet
Te nez eux buhez na bezaff
[…]

[274] An dyaoull […]
A vn hat vil az compilas
A coat pe men ez quemenas
Sot ez nodas na allas quen

[275] Te nen dout na beu na ſeuen
Nemet vn tra ort diſordren
Un mē maruyen heb quē en bet
Ne alhes fifual na bale
Euit neb eres aleſſe
Nemet vn re az doucque quet.

cinq journées:
Voustre puissance ne vault riens.
Quoy dea, vous n'estez dieux, més deables!
On vous deust gecter sur les fiens,
Voustre puissance ne vault riens.
Je conclu par tous vos maintiens:
Qui sont fresles et miserables
Vous estez faulces et dampnables,
[11450a . . . iens]
[11450b Voustre puissance ne vault riens.]
[11450c Quoy dea, vous n'estez dieux, més deables!]
Ydolles faulces et statues.
(11444-11451)

> […] / rather you are dumb in every way, / a painted object made through deceit / you have neither life nor being, / […]. // The devil […] devised you out of an evil intention: / he cut you out of wood or stone; / he made you stupid, and he was not able to do anything else. // You are neither alive nor strong, / nothing but a nasty and vile thing, / a cold, dead stone and nothing more. / You could neither move nor travel / – despite all wickedness – from this place / unless someone would carry you. //

Bruvoll classifies "the futility of worshipping the idols", and the emphasis on "the fact that the idols are made by human hands" and "that anyone who worships the idols will suffer the same fate as them" as typical features of hagiographic literature in general and virgin martyr legends in particular (Bruvoll 2009, 137). While she has focused upon Old Icelandic virgin martyr legends in her article, many of her findings apply to the French and Breton plays, as well.

> The Christian condemnation of idols is a central point in early Christian theology and missionary activity, and thus also in several of the early Saints' Legends. Idols are presented as an example of the many traps the Devil has devised to lure

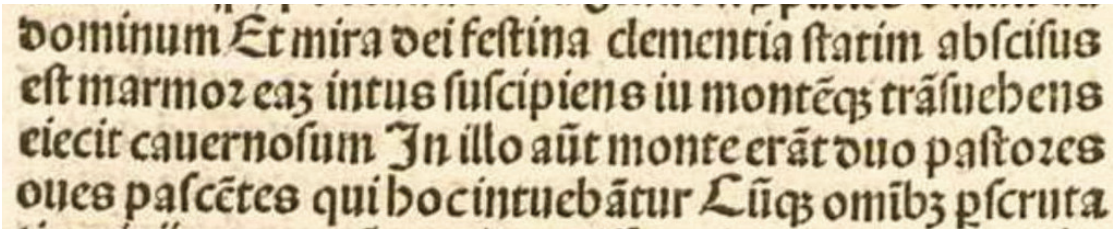
> humankind away from God, and to worship them therefore leads to damnation. […] One of the most important dichotomies in the Virgin Martyr Legends is therefore the fight between Good and Evil, represented on the one side by the Holy Trinity and on the other by the Devil and his servants and idols. However, the presentations of opposed groups differ between the extant Old Icelandic versions of the legends, and the Latin versions that they have been shown to be based on, and at times quite substantially. (Bruvoll 2009, 136)

All those characteristics feature strongly in either or both of the plays while not necessarily in the Latin versions. This emphasises both plays' affiliation with contemporary hagiography and suggests a certain knowledge of and familiarity with contemporary hagiography on the part of the respective author.

12. The Shepherds

After Dioscorus has discovered the third window and the reason behind its existence, he threatens to kill his convert daughter. Perceiving the depth of her father's wrath, Barbara begs God to rescue her. In most versions of the legend the divine intervention involves her passing through a stone of some kind and being transported to a mountainside, which is why she became the patron saint of miners. In the mountains her flight is noticed by two shepherds, one of whom betrays Barbara to her pursuing father.

In the *Legenda Aurea*, Barbara is transported through a stone to the mountainside upon her prayer: "ipsa autem orabat ad dominum et abscissa est petra et suscepit eam intus et ejecit eam super montem, in quo duo pastores erant pascentes oves suas" (Graesse 1965, 900). This is similar in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*:


dominum Et mira dei festina clementia statim abscisus
est marmor eaz intus suscipiens iu montēqz trāsuehens
eiecit cauernosum Jn illo aūt monte erāt duo pastores
oues pascētes qui hoc intuebātur Lūqz omībz pscruta

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 26)

This is very similar in *An Buhez*, where a stage direction indicates that "Saint Barbara begs God to defend her and then a great stone opened (itself) and covered her against her father, who then intended to kill her" ('Sante barba a pet doe de diffēn: ha neuſe vn men bras en em digoras hac he cuzas ouz he tat a predere neuſe he lazaff', 358/9). The information that Barbara has been swallowed by a stone is then repeated by an astonished Dioscorus in order to convey to the spectators what has just happened on stage: "can it be, and with what kind of support, / that the stone swallowed her now" ('Ez guell bout na pe dre ſouten / En he loncas breman an men', 360). The French plays handle Barbara's means of escape slightly differently. In *cinq journées*, Barbara does not beg God to rescue her. When her father draws his sword against her, a stage direction indicates that an angel descends and takes Barbara away from the tower: "Hic sumit angelus crucem faciat et Dyoscorus percutere fingat et Barbara de turri exceat et recedat" (12299/12300). Dioscorus is very surprised and begins looking for her, but there is no mention of a stone involved in Babara's rescue. In *deux journées*, the tower itself rescues Barbara from her father. As indicated by a stage direction after her prayer, she is able to pass through the tower's walls: "Tunc sindatur paries <turris> et virgo transeat per medium et postea recludat se" (995/6). As in *An Buhez*, Dioscorus speech supports what has just happened on stage: "que ceste garcë a fendu / Tout present ceste tour paree / Et vistement y est passee" (998-1000).

In all versions, Dioscorus eventually goes to the mountains and meets two shepherds. He asks them whether they saw Barbara pass, which one of them denies. The other, however, points her hiding place out to her father. In all versions except *deux journées* the evil shepherd and his flock are punished for his betrayal – the shepherd is turned into a stone (of marble) and his flock into locusts. In the Latin versions, the shepherds are simply there in the mountains, tending their sheep (s.a.), and *deux journées* presents them in much the same way. It is interesting to note, however, that in *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* the shepherds' respective characters – one is compassionate and worried about Barbara, while the other is either simply evil or at least sides with the angry father in pursuit of his daughter – are depicted before one of the shepherds betrays Barbara. This is different in *deux journées*, where the first thing the shepherd does is to betray Barbara's hiding place to Dioscorus. Only when the other shepherd asks him why he has revealed Barbara to her father the two positions are laid out. This, together with the explanation he gives for his behaviour, depicts a rather slow-witted and careless personality:

> *[Dioscorus] va <aux> pastoreux.*
> Compains, a tu veu une fille
> Plaine de barad et de guille?
> L'as tu point veüe ne ouÿe?
> Le premier pastour
> Pour vraye, elle s'en est fouÿe
> Par ce mur qui est si devers.
> […]
> Le ii. pastour
> Aquoy luy as tu dit nouvelles?
> Certes Barbe le te rendra!
> Des que son pere la tiendra
> Il la fera, se croy, mourir.
> […]
> Le i. pastour
> Mes bestes si vont sagement.
> Ilz n'yront pas trop mallement,
> Car ilz ont bon gouvernement.
> Je puis dormir tout a mon aise.
> (1007-1025)

The fact that Barbara here, in contrast to the other versions of the legend, spares the betraying shepherd has a considerable impact. Because of this, Barbara's personality in *deux journées*

differs considerably from that portrayed by the other versions.

The shepherds in *deux journées* do not have names. As in the episode about the masons, they are simply numbered. In *An Buhez* the shepherds are called Riuallen and Gueguen, which is interesting because the members of the building crew were also simply numbered, as in *deux journées*. In *cinq journées*, where all characters have names, the shepherds are called Gourlant and Bourle. When they are first introduced in their roles as shepherds,[39] they describe their life:

GOURLANT, *primus pastor*
Il n'est vië que de pastours,
Quand ilz sont justes et loyaulx.
Mais s'ilz sont faulx et desloyaulx,
Si sont meurtriers devorateurs
BOURLE, *secundus pastor*
Fy d'amb[i]cieux, de flateurs,
De chaignes d'or et de joyaulx!
Il n'est vië que [de] pasteurs,
Mais qu'ilz soient justes et loyaulx!
GOURLANT
Je ne vouldroye point les seigneurs
Servir pour lesser les aigneaulx.
Vivent, vivent les pastoureaulx
Qui de brebiz sont curïeux!
Il n'est vië que de pasteurs,
Quand ilz sont justes et loyaulx.
BOURLE
Mais s'ilz sont faulx et desloyaux,
Se sont tirans devorateurs.
(11521-11536)

In the verses above, two of a shepherd's defining traits are justness and loyalty. This is clearly a foreshadowing in order to make the betrayal one of them is about to commit all the more heinous. According to Longtin, their initial lines are a rondeau which is reminiscent of "la chanson de Marote dans Le Mystère de la Pacience de Job: Mesdieu, il n'est aultre vie / Que de pastureaulx, / Quant y tenent leur amye / Au champt des oyseaulx" ('Le Mystère de sainte Barbe en cinq journées, BN fr. 976', 539f). Similar to the "chanson de Marote", the shepherds in

[39] They both appear earlier during the pagan sacrificial ceremony depicted in *cinq journées*.

cinq journées go on explaining about the responsibility they bear for their flock, which is likely intended as an allusion to the spiritual responsibility of a pastor (11537-11548) and may well have served to create some laughs among the spectators. They then profess themselves happy about their lifestyle, conveying light-heartedness and also a certain romanticism:

BOURLE
Il n'est vïande tant soit chere
Qui suffise en quelque maniere
A plussieurs, j'en ay grant despit.
GOURLANT
J'ayme myeulx vivre en pouvreté
En franchise et en liberté
Que d'estre riche en servitude.
BOURLE
Et les aultres d'aultre cousté
Veullent honneur, joyeuseté,
Et dignité par grant estude.
(11558-11566)

This light-hearted attitude is supported by their names. "Bourle" alludes to ball games played with a club, for the word can either refer to a "massue", i.e. a baton or club, or be read as a variant of "boule", i.e. a ball (*Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500)* 2012). "Gourlant" can be interpreted as a version of "golant", which refers to a cheap wine (*Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500)* 2012).

The episode about the shepherds in *An Buhez* conveys a very similar attitude of light-heartedness, but not so much romanticism. Riuallen and Gueguen do not elaborate on the well-being of their flock, they simply explain that they will go to the mountain in order to tend their sheep:

Aman gueguen ha riuallen aya
dan menez da miret hoz deauet.
Riuallen
[368] Ha gueguen gueguen
Gueguen
Petra ſo a mall riuallen
Riuallen
A ny ya gueguen dan menez
Da miret hon deffuet vetez

Hac eno dram fez on bezo
Amſer euit ober cher mat
Memeux a crēn ſilſiguēn plat
Ha boutaillat a guin mat ſo.

Gueguen
[369] Ya, dempny ha me bennyo
Daz hem auancc a te danczo
Cza eomp affo non guelo den
Riuallen
Pebez hoary on be ny quen
Mar bez anezy yenien
Deomp gueguen, don em pourmenaff

Gueguen.
[370] Guell eu deompny friſq diuiſcaff
Da mellat ha da ebataff
Euit hon em tommaff a mat
Riuallen.
Heman ſo taul ſech a brech mat
Aya tizmat hac a pat pell
Horell.
Gueguen.
A te teur affet guelet guell
Heb fellell tam gant ma cāmell
Horell.

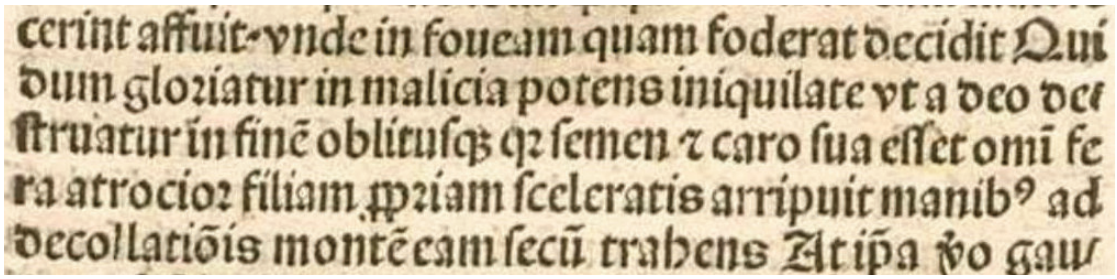
Here, Gueguen and Riuallen go / to the mountain to tend their sheep. / Riuallen: / Hey, Gueguen, Gueguen! /
Gueguen: / What is so urgent, Riuallen? /
Riuallen: / Do we go, Gueguen, to the mountain / to tend our sheep today? / And there by my faith we will have / time to make merry. / I have, certainly, a whole sausage / and there is a bottle of good wine! //
Gueguen: / Yes! Let's go and I will play music / come on! And you will dance! / Great, let's go at once so that nobody will see us! /
Riuallen: / What other distraction could we have / if it is cold? / Let's go for a

> walk, Gueguen! //
> Gueguen: / It is better for us to disrobe boldly, / to play *Mell* and to have fun / in order to warm ourselves well. /
> Riuallen: / This is a heavy blow of a good arm / which rushes and goes far! / *Horell!* /
> Gueguen: / Have you ever seen better? / Flawless with my club! / *Horell!* //

In contrast to *cinq journées* and the "chanson de Marotes", there is not so much romanticism here. Instead of discussing their responsibility for their flock and the beauty of the birds in the fields, Riuallen and Gueguen are worried about keeping themselves warm. But, similar to *cinq journées*, their attitude of bringing food and drink, playing music and a game expresses a certain levity. Thus, *An Buhez* combines the existential worries of shepherds with an impression of freedom, which results in a more prosaic effect in comparison to *cinq journées*. This may provide a hint with regard to the audience. A rural audience may have been more familiar with the daily routine of a shepherd than a city-dwelling audience and might thus have found the romanticised version of the shepherds strange. What is more interesting about the shepherd's dialogue, however, is that playing music, games or bringing food and drink is absent from the Latin versions and from *deux journées*, as well. In *cinq journées*, however, the names of the shepherds are reminiscent of precisely the activities discussed by the shepherds in *An Buhez*. When they first appear, Riuallen states that he has brought a bottle of good wine, which is an interesting parallel to the name "Gourlant" as explained above. The shepherds then discuss how to spend their time and want to dance and play music. According to Le Menn, Riuallen and Gueguen's dialogue is "le seul example ancien du verbe "biniaouaâ" jouer du biniou" (Le Menn 1983, 34), which appears to be a kind of (bag)piping (cf. Hemon 1979, 261). While the shepherds in *cinq journées* do not explicitly mention the playing of music, their entrance is designed as a rondeau ('Le Mystère de sainte Barbe en cinq journées, BN fr. 976', 539), i.e. embedded in a musical setting. Afterwards, Riuallen and Gueguen play "Mell" in *An Buhez*, which Le Menn interprets as "jouer à la crosse" (Le Menn 1983, 34). It is clear from the contents of the play that the shepherds use a club and require some strength in their arm(s) in order to play (370), which is an interesting parallel to the name "Bourle" as explained above. Thus, significant similarities between *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* can be found in the details.

13. Barbara's End

After the king has recaptured Barbara, he accuses her in front of the provost. The provost in turn attempts to make Barbara renounce her faith and when she refuses to do so, he has her tortured extensively. Nevertheless, Barbara does not comply, nor can she be killed. Therefore, she is eventually returned to her father so that Dioscorus can commit the murder of his daughter himself. The atrocity of the crime in which a father destroys his own flesh and blood is stressed particularly in the theatrical versions of the legend, but is also present in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*:


cerint affuit-vnde in foueam quam foderat decidit Qui
dum gloziatur in malicia potens iniquitate vt a deo de
ſtruatur in finē oblituſq; qz ſemen ⁊ caro ſua eſſet omī fe
ra atrocioz filiam ꝓpriam ſceleratis arripuit manib⁹ ad
decollatiōis montē eam ſecū trahens Ac ipa vo gaw

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 34)

The *Legenda Aurea* is considerably shorter at this point and merely describes the king as "furore repletus pater" (Graesse 1965, 901). The plays, on the other hand, dramatise the situation further. Barbara questions her father's reason, sanity and his ability to judge, but also the validity of their familial ties. In *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* Barbara even renounces kinship with her father. In all three plays she reviles him with strong language and calls him a tyrant and/or torturer. In order to illustrate the similarities between the plays, I quote the respective passages almost in their entirety:

cinq journées:
BARBARA
[…]
Je ne t'apelle plus mon pere,
Car vroy pere tu ne m'es pas,
Mais boureau en ce present pas.
Homme crüel! Homme imparfaict!
Fais tu le fait et le deffaict?
Naturë, en toy trop deffault
Bon sang et amour quand il fault
Que par toy je perde mon estre.

Par toy, je commencé a estre,
Tu m'as faicte de ta semence,
Et, a non estre, je commence
Au monde, telle que je suis,
Nourie et eslevee, et puis,
Par ton crime, tu me depieces;
Tu me mectras en plussieurs pieces.
M'as tu nourië jusques cy
Pour më octire sans mercy,
Sans trouver cause ne acheson,
Comme ung pourceau ou ung oyson
Qu'on nourist pour tüer aprés?
Helas, si tu fusses discretz,
Saige et prudens selon ta sorte,
Pour l'amour de ma mere morte
De qui ton honneur tu recouvre,
Tu ne commisse pas telle euvre
Toy mesme, en la propre personne.
(18770-18795)

deux journées:
Barbe
<Haa>! pere, ta loy te surmonte.
Barbe en muant le metre.
Pitié deussez avoir de moy
Qui suis yssue de ta nature.
Tirant, respons tantost: Pourquoy
N'as tu en toy sens et mesure?
Pas ne deusses la chose faire.
Tu m'engendras dedans ma mere,
Or, me veulx tu le corps deffaire?
Pourtant, se je ne te vueil plaire,
Tu me deusses de mal garder,
De deshonneur et de grant bruit.
Las! bonnes gens, or regardez

Quel pere j'ay qui me destruit!
Elle dit a sa mere.
Las! mere, as tu point de pitié
De ta fille qui mourir doye?
Je te supply, par amytié,
S'onc m'aymas que je le voye.
Adonc, le roy descend au champ.
Pour quel raison m'avez vous faicte?
Pour me fairë icy mourir?
[…]
A une chienne pren toy garde
Qui a ung grant tas de chëaulx
Naturellement et les garde
Et les preserve de tous maulx;
[…]
Faulx chien, tirant qui est mon pere,
Fay tout tant que tu pourras faire.
(3222-3260)

An Buhez:
Sante Barba.
[697] yuez ne dalchaff quet cret pur
Effes diff tat dre neb ſtatur
Rac pan ves ſur ha muſuret
Ne ves quet hoantec a te cleu
Da ober officc gour vn bourreu
A eneb bleu ezeux cleuet

[698] Dre da moean ez viouff ganet
Ha penaux pennac ha maguet
Ouff guenet affet ha cret plen
Effe an tra ſe tra neant
Ouziff heb guir mar bes tirant
Ha teig mechant en preſant den.

[…]
[700] A te na maçſes quet ez ty
March ha caſec heb dieguy
Caz ha qui ha muy mar bihent
Propicc dit eguit meritaff
Hac ho emplig daz ſeruichaff
Heb ho lazaff an quentaff poent.

[701] Rac ſe ſotony diſquient
Eu dit bout quen yen na quen lent
Hac a drouc hent ez pretendez
Ma lacat dan maru mic dicar
Dre ampris dicoantis diſpar
Heb memoar ne neb digarez
[…]
[703] A te na dleſes quet quentaff
Tremen amſer ha differaff
Da vihanaff ha bezaff yen
Palamour dam mam en draman
Ez dleſes flam auiſaff glan
Ma preſeruaff breman an poan

Saint Barbara [speaking to Dioscorus]: / Also, I do not uphold, believe (it) completely, / that you would be my father in any manner / because if you were indeed / you would not be keen – do you hear? – / to assume the services of an executioner's assistant / against the hair that you have nourished. // Because of you I was born / anyhow and I was raised / by you, indeed. And be aware / that it would be an evil act / if you were a torturer, without any doubt, / and a nastiness against mankind. // […] // Would you not have nourished in your house / a horse and a mare without regret / a cat and a dog and other (animals), if they had been / useful to you for making a profit / and to use them to serve you / without killing them first of all? // Therefore insane stupidity / is on you to be so cold and so insensitive / and based on wrong assumptions you intend / to put me cruelly to the silent death / due to a uniquely cruel scheme / without reason nor any excuse. // […] // Would you not first of all have to / let pass some time and wait / at least an cool down? / For the love of my mother / you should, in this matter, truly consider / to

save me, now, from pain. //

While the gist of Barbara's speech is the same in *deux journées* and in the other two plays, *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* are strikingly similar with regard to contents and structure. Barbara first renounces kinship with her father and then calls attention to his deficiencies as a human being. The manner in which she speaks is also quite similar. She broaches the subject of his responsibility for her existence in order to underline the magnitude of the crime he is about to commit . Barbara then compares her own situation to that of certain animals. The order of the images Barbara employs in her speech remains the same in *cinq journées* and *An Buhez*, but there is a difference with regard to the way in which the images of the animals are employed. In *cinq journées*, Barbara compares herself to a pig or a goose raised for slaughter. This is turned around in *An Buhez* and Barbara states that her father would certainly not even kill useful (farm)animals like horses, a cat or a dog, but still wants to murder her, who should be of much more value to him. A similar comparison is also drawn in *deux journées*, and in fact the tone of this comparison is more similar to that in *An Buhez*. In both *deux journées* an *An Buhez*, Barbara compares herself to a dog, but Barbara speaks of one rather than of several useful animals in *deux journées*. Towards the end of the respective passages in *cinq journées* and *An Buhez*, Barbara refers to her mother employing the same words: "Palamour dam mam" ('For the love of my mother', 703) and "Pour l'amour de ma mere" (18792). In *deux journées*, Barbara's mother comes up at an earlier point during the passage. As she is not dead, Barbara speaks to her mother directly rather than bringing her up while talking to her father ("Tu m'engendras dedans ma mere", 3228). Apart from the imagery with regard to the animal comparison, there is another detail that is very similar in *An Buhez* and *deux journées*. At the beginning of the passage in *deux journées*, Barbara asks her father "Pourqouy n'as tu en toy sens et mesure" (3225f). This is closely mirrored by *An Buhez*, where Barbara says "pan ves sur ha musuret" ('if you were sure and measured', 697). This proximity of expression between *deux journées* and *An Buhez* is very striking, but the *Dictionnaire du Moyen Francais* lists "Par sens et par mesure" as a phrase and translates it as "Avec discernement" (*Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500)* 2012, "mesure"), which indeed suggests that the phrase may be an expression of some general customariness. Nevertheless, the similarity between *An Buhez* and *deux journées* is noteworthy. On the whole, however, the general impression of a close resemblance between *An Buhez* and *cinq journées* remains and is strengthened further by the following passage:

An Buhez:	*cinq journées*:
Sante Barba.	BARBARA […]
[713] An moch hān con hān leonet	Helas, ung loup, ung elephant,
Hān chatal hēn aneualet	Une sigoigne ou une agnesse,
Auez pepret nendeux quet ſy	Ung pourceau, une lÿonnesse
Cuff hac vffuel ouz ho quelin	Qui n'a point de sens en la teste
Hac ho mac quer hac anterin	Et toute iraisonnable beste
Han yar he poucin han briny	S'efforce fort de preserver
	Leurs fruictz et de mal les garder
[714] Apoſtat gat ydolatry	En leur estre et en leur estat.
Dren cas mā out hoaz ezout muy	Tu es en ce cas appostat
Goaz euit quy heb conſciancc	En lessant nature et amour.
[…]	(18802-18811)

> Saint Barbara: / The pigs, the dogs, the lions, / the cattle, and (all) animals / are always, there is no doubt, / mild and soft towards their young / and they provide for them lovingly and diligently, / and (also) hen and her chicks, and the ravens. // You are an apostate because of idolatry / given this behaviour. Moreover, you are / worse than a dog without conscience / […]. //

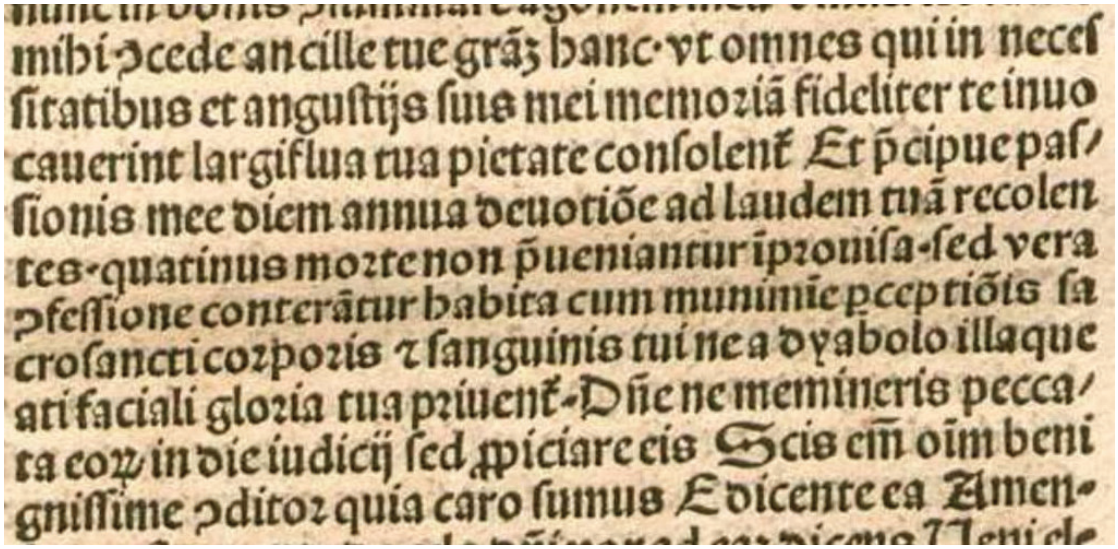
Although the animals that serve as a comparison to Dioscorus' character are again partly different in the two plays, the structure, the contents of the comparison and Barbara's aim are obviously the same. Generally, the Breton version makes use of much more common animals than *cinq journées*. This makes the inclusion of the lions in the parable all the more remarkable, particularly because it enhances the resemblance between the two plays even further. In addition to this, the phrases "Apostat […] / Dren cas mā out" ('You are an apostate in this case', 714) and "Tu es en ce cas apostat" (18810) are virtually identical.

13.1. Prayer

In all five versions of the legend, Barbara says a prayer shortly before her father beheads her. She praises God and then makes a request to him. This request is one of the focal points of the legend, because it is largely responsible for "the prestige of Saint Barbara as a patroness of a good death" (Wolf 2000, 27). She asks God to treat all devoted Christians and all those who honour her feast day and memory as if they had been shriven and received the Eucharist, and to treat them with mercy on Judgement Day. According to Wolf, John of Wakkerzeel "attributes

to the intervention of Saint Barbara a much more precise efficacy" (Wolf 2000, 28) than his predecessors:

John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*:[40]


mihi ꝺcede ancille tue grāz hanc·vt omnes qui in necel
ſitatibus et anguſtijs ſuis mei memoriā fideliter te inuo
cauerint largiflua tua pietate conſolent Et ꝑcipue paſ/
ſionis mee diem annua deuotiõe ad laudem tuā recolen
tes·quatinus morte non ꝑueniantur ipromiſa·ſed vera
ꝓfeſſione conterātur habita cum munimie ꝓceptiõis ſa
croſancti corꝓoris ⁊ ſanguinis tui ne a ꝺyabolo illaque
ati faciali gloria tua priuent·Dñe ne memineris pecca/
ta eoꝝ in die iudicij ſed ꝓpiciare eis Scis em oim beni
gniſſime ꝺitor quia caro ſumus Et dicente ea Amen·

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 35)

Indeed, the *Legenda Aurea* is similar, but considerably more concise. As can be expected, the opposite is true for the stage productions, in which Barbara issues a wordy version of the prayer in *cinq journées*. In *deux journées*, the prayer is shorter than in *cinq journées*, but the content is similar. All versions clearly contain her plea for the souls of her followers to be rescued:

> *Legenda Aurea*:
> [Barbara] orabat ad dominum dicens: domine Jesu Christe, cu iomnia obediunt, praesta mihi hanc petitionem, ut, si quis memor fuerit nomines tui et famulae tuae faciens memoriam passionis meae, domine, ne memineris peccatorum ejus in die judicii, sed propitius esto ei, tu enim scis, quia caro sumus.
> (901)

> *cinq journées*:
> BARBARA:
> […]
> Dont je te rens, o grant Devocïon, Graces et merciz icy treshumblement. Vroy Dieu, mon cueur sans nulle fictïon

[40]For a transcribed version of the passage see Wolf 2000.

Te supplyë voire devotement
En te requerant que tout premierement
Tu deffendes mon ame de la flamme
Infernalle, de grief et de tourment,
De deshonneur et de toute diffamme.
[…]
Ton sainct secours j'actens en ceste place:
A ton resgne fay mon ame venir!
Je Te supply que Tu veilles ouÿr
Presentement ma devote prïere,
Car je ne puis sans Toy de bien jouïr.
Mon oraison ne gicte point erriere,
Enlumine par ta saincte lumiere
Et fay venir a ta joyeuse gloire
Ce[ux] qui feront de moy ta chamberiere
De cueur devot en ce monde memoire.
Et ne souffre jamais que la mort noire
Les pourface mourir subitement,
Mais seuffre les par confessïon faire
O toy leur paix et leur appoinctement.
Et quand viendra ton final jugement,
Je Te requier, oublyë leurs pechéz,
Desquelz ilz ont esté villainement
Es temps passéz maculéz et tachéz.
Ne seuffre [de] mes serviteurs pechéz,
Pour eulx Te faiz presentement requeste.
Et oultre plus ne souffre tresbucher
Surs eulx danger, ne fouldre ne tempeste.
Ta pitié soit a mon serviteur preste
Et ta doulceur. Avec misericorde
Preserve les de chascune moleste:
A tes voulloirs les resjouys et accorde.
[…]
Nunc in manus commando Domine.
(19108-19145)

deux journées:
Barbe
Je te supply tant que suis saine,
Laisse moy prïer Dieu mon Pere.
– Jesus, mon Pere Crëateur,
Qui de mon ame es servateur,
Vueillez recevoir mon esperit.
Tu as esté mon Crëateur
Et de mon corps ministrateur.
Je me commande au Sainct Esperit.
Je te requiers, doulx Roy de gloire,
Que ceulx qui m'auront en memoire,
Qui de moy feront remembrance,
Qu'ilz ayent de leurs maulx a1egance.
Garde de fouldre et de tempeste.
Tous ceulx qui de moy feront feste.
Je Te supply, tresvaillant Sire,
Ou se soit homme, femme ou beste,
Donne leur santé de leur teste,
Car Tu es le principal Myre.
[…]
In manus tuas Domine…
(3269-32888/9)

In *An Buhez* her last prayer is introduced by a stage direction: "Amā ſante barba ara he oraeſon" ('Here Saint Barbara makes her prayer', 723/4). The prayer consists of only three stanzas and is thus rather short:

[724] Autrou doe roen ſter ma ſperet
Pa duy diff glan tremen an bet
Ozich parfet a erbedaff
Gruet en dez hiziu en diuez
Ma meſtr clouar dre trugarez
Entren aelez e ānhezaff

[725] Em heur maruel em em guelaff
Na nem deur muy contraliaff

Na reſiſtaff ne mennaff quet
Rac raeſon guiryon deboner
Eu diff quemeret ent ſeder
An amſer euel maz querhet

[726] A pebez ſoulacc ſo placet
Na pebez ioaou ſo em coudet
Pan ſongiaff affet heb quet ſy
Bezaff en deduy reliet
Compaignunes dan guercheſet
Ach doe roen bet pez meledy
Amā an diaulou a incit dioſco=
rus da haſtaff lazaff e merch

Lord God, king of the stars, / when it will come to me to finally leave the world behind, / I recommend my soul entirely to you. / In the end, today, / – my kind master out of mercy – let it rest among the angels. // I see myself in my hour of death / and I do not wish to oppose anymore / and I do not want to resist / because it is truly reasonable / for me to accept, surely, / the time according to your wishes. // What solace is placed / and what joys are in my heart / when I consider indeed without any doubt / to be received in happiness / a companion to the virgins! / Oh God, king of the world, what glory! // *Here the devils incite Dios / corus to hurry and kill his daughter.* /

Those three stanzas are also the last lines Barbara speaks in the Breton play. The part that contains the plea for the souls of Barbara's devotees, i.e. one of the focal points of the legend of Saint Barbara, is not part of this prayer. Instead, it precedes her last prayer by almost seventy stanzas. The passage that contains this plea is likewise introduced by a stage direction which is strikingly similar to the one that introduces Barbara's last prayer: "Sante Barba ara he pedēn" ('Saint Barbara makes her prayer', 652/3). Her first prayer is considerably longer (653-672), and generally much more reminiscent of the prayer in *cinq journées*:

[653] Ieſus ma autrou ma coudet
Ma eſper douczder ma ſperet
Parfet meurbet oz requetaff
Ez ententet oz ma pedēn
[…]

[654] Quentaff affet en oz pedaff
Pan duy dam buhez finuezaff
Gruet diff coezaff en guelhaff fin
Maziff eſpres gant guir eſper
Dan ioa triumphant hac antier
En tron deboner anterin.

[655] Iuez dichuy ez ſupliaff
Pliget guenech net permetaff
Hac aſſantaff da quentaff placc
Da quement den em ſouteno
A guir coudet hac am pedo
Ez vezo pep tro en ho gracc.

[656] Dre guir amour me auēn pourchac
Dam querent parfet credet acc
Ez rohech ſpacc en pep faczon
Na maruhynt quet en contredy
Heb caffout corpus domini
A deffry ha confeſſion.

[657] Quement heny dre vnion
A couffhay ma paſſion
Gant deuocion deboner
Ha dez ma martyr en miro
Han nos quent ſaczun a yuno
Dan reman pep tro ez roher.

[658] Spacc ha reſpit da doen vitoer
En pep bataill […]

Jesus my lord, my heart / my hope, gentleness, my spirit, / altogether mighty, I ask / that you listen to my prayer / […] // First of all, truly, I ask you / when he will come to finish my life / let me face a good end / so that I will surely go with true hope / to the triumphant and total delight / into heaven, entirely blissful. // Also, I

> beg you, / indeed, let it please you to permit / and to agree first of all / to everybody that will serve me / with a true heart and I will invoke me (when I am dead) / that they will always be in your grace! // In my all-embracing love I want to obtain / for my fervent followers, believe it, / that you ill certainly give (them) the opportunity / not to die in disagreement / without receiving the corpus domini (Communion) / truly, and absolution. // Everyone who, through allegiance, / will remember my passion / with pious devotion / and will respect the day of my martyrdom / and will fast properly the previous day, / to those shall always be given // the time and opportunity to bear the pain / in every battle […]. //

As in *cinq journées* and *deux journées*, Barbara begins by praising the lord and asking him to grant her a request. While in *deux journées* there is merely one line in which she asks God to receive her spirit (3273), her request is considerably longer in both *cinq journées* and *An Buhez*. The construction of her request is quite similar in the two plays: "En te requerant que tout premierement / Tu deffendes mon ame […] / Ton sainct secours j'actens en ceste place: / A ton resgne fay mon ame venir!" (19088-19107) and "First of all, truly, I ask you […] / make the best end happen for me / so that I will surely go […] / into heaven, completely pious" (654). Only then she makes her famous request for the souls of her followers. It is interesting to note that Barbara calls her followers her "kin" in *An Buhez* and thus replaces her family by blood with her Christian family. In a way, she decides against her worldly familial ties in stanza 690 when she says to her father: "I am an orphan anyway" ('Me ſo pep ſtat emdiuades'). Furthermore, the Breton version has Barbara make another special request for women:

> [661] Han groaguez eſpres braſeſou
> An re ſo nes ma careſou
> Gruet y gāt gnou māmou louen
> Maz duy leal ho bugalez
> Da quempret an ſtat a badez
> Dre trugarez ma ne vez quen.
>
> And in especially the pregnant women, / which are my particular friends, / make them truly happy mothers, / so that their children will come loyally / to receive baptism / due to grace so that it is not otherwise. //

I did not encounter a similar request in any of the other texts and it thus appears to be an addition made by the author of the Breton play. After the prayer, the similarity between *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* continues. In both plays Barbara's prayer is followed by an appearance

of Jesus in paradise who grants his approval. However, while he sends an angel to Barbara in order to assure her of this in *An Buhez* (673-679), he is only speaking to Barbara from his place in paradise in *cinq journées* (19148-19191). In *deux journées*, there is no time for anyone to assure Barbara of anything, because she is killed directly after her prayer. An angel does come to collect her soul, however (3291-3293). It seems that in *An Buhez*, Barbara is saying her first prayer on the way to the mountain. This is indicated by Dioscorus who says to her in stanza 651 "come to the mountain where you will end" ('Dueux dan menez yuez maz finuezy'), and then noting in stanza 684: "Well then truly, since you have come, entirely I believe, / now with me quickly to the square here" ('Orcza affet pan out duet ma cret acc / Gueneff breman aman buhan dan placc'). In between, Barbara says her prayer.

13.2. Consciancc

Barbara's prayer is followed by her death in the Latin and French versions pretty directly. *An Buhez*, however, features a surprise. In the Breton version there is an intermediary episode involving Beezlebub and a new character called "Consciancc", 'conscience'. This character is evidently allegorical[41] and does not appear in either of the other two plays. The inspiration seems to spring from the genre of the morality plays:

> The morality play was one of the major dramatic genres in France during the late Middle Ages. […] A morality play may be generally defined as an allegorical drama in which the protagonist is required to make a moral choice between good and evil. […] [Some morality plays] bear a superficial resemblance to the Passion plays in that they are quite lengthy, probably requiring several days to perform, and their staging includes both Heaven and Hell with the usual complement of angels and devils. They are essentially different from the Passion plays, however, because their plots are allegorical fictions rather than historical representations. […] Virtually all morality plays are personification allegories in which ideas and psychological traits are represented as characters on the stage. Their names [often designate] common virtues and vices like Charity and Pride […].
> (Knight 1995, 1206f)

[41] According to Vince, and Allegory is "[a] form of extended metaphor in which objects and characters denote meanings beyond the confines of the fiction, usually by representing an abstraction in terms of a concrete image. Allegory was employed in order to explain the liturgy and the Bible. […] But the most common allegory in the medieval theatre was that of the *morality plays of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. […] The Tegernsee **Antichrist* (c. 1160), for example, features characters such as Heresy, Hypocrisy, Mercy, and Justice […] A common theme was a battle between the *Virtues and the Vices for the souls of humankind" (Vince 1989, 6).

The morality play is often associated with the farce for while "at their extreme limits the two types of plays are obviously different, […] there seems to be a significant area of overlap" (Knight 1983, 42). From the late fifteenth century on, "the generic terms *farce* and *moralité* are more and more frequently linked in order to designate the whole body of non-historical or fictional drama" and by the middle of the sixteenth century, the terms "are frequently encountered in combination" (Knight 1983, 44f). In contrast to the fictional drama stood the historical drama, whose subject matter dealt with biblical history (e.g. *Le Mystère de la Passion*), profane history (e.g. *La Destruction de Troye*), and saints' lives (Knight 1983, 91). When discussing aspects of the genre of farce and morality play, Knight argues that there is a distinct difference with regard to the characters, or to be more precise, with regard to their motivation. While farce characters "act in order to deceive" and are usually motivated by personal gain, "morality characters act always in relation to a future goal […] imposed on them by an external and supernatural power" (Knight 1983, 51). In addition to this goal, there is also an "external moral standard" in the morality world, which is absent from the farce world (Knight 1983, 51f). The consequences of the choices a morality character makes are based on this external moral standard, but the choices a farce character makes thus remain without consequence – "[m]orality characters are either moral or immoral; farce characters are amoral" (Knight 1983, 52). According to Knight, "the morality world is dominated by reason" and "it is reason that enables [the morality character] to make the right choice. […] Thus, contrary to the farce, reason is the primary characteristic of the morality world in terms of its constant availability as a sure guide to the good" (Knight 1983, 54). He explains further that there were two kinds of meaning associated with the term *ratio* in the Middle Ages, the first of which could be rendered as "deductive reasoning" and the second of which as "conscience" in modern understanding. The "function [of reason in the second meaning] was to perceive the good and to lead man to choose good over evil." While such reason is usually portrayed by a character named "Raison" on stage, characters by the name of "Conscience" also appear. In Knight's example, Conscience is the daughter of Raison (Knight 1983, 54-55). The author of *An Buhez* has evidently chosen Conscience instead of Raison in order to persuade Dioscorus to choose good over evil, to the end that he would not behead his daughter. The connection between conscience and reason described by Knight is also evident in *An Buhez*, for the king's reason is questioned repeatedly; first by Barbara: "Puniſſion inraeſonabl" ('an unreasonable punishment', 687), "Peguen diraeſon fellony / […] / Dre da exces heb quet raeſon" ('how much unreasonable treachery / […] / due to your unworthiness without any reason', 707), "Nendout quet parfet nac etabl / Nac e nep faczon raeſonabl" ('You are not strong nor fair / nor in any way reasonable', 710), then by Consciancc: "Aue diſſemper hac eres / Hac exces a enep raeſon" ('[To kill Barbara] would be desperation and malice / and an excess against reason', 744), "Te goar eſpres dre da raeſon / Ezeu dit meurbet pechet/ don" ('You know,

surely, due to your reason / that is is truly a great sin for you [to kill your daughter]', 757), and finally by the king himself (after he has committed the crime): "Peguen diraeſon fellony / Dirac pep den eu ma heny / Diabry ha diconſciancc" ('How much unreasonable treachery / have I committed in front of everyone? / Inexcusable and conscienceless', 783).

This shows that the king's reason (and conscience) is broadly contemplated during the Breton play's final episode on the mountain. Interestingly, it is the king himself who combines the concepts of reason and conscience even before the above example. In a way, the king's reason, which has lain dormant since he discovered the third window, is (re)awakened in stanza 740, and it is this (re)opening of his mind to reason that opens the door for its personification in the form of Consciancc to enter the stage.

> [740] Neōn en nouar pez araff
> Coll ma ſquient mar ez ſentaff
> Heb mar araff nen nachaff quet
> Rac vn ſtudy ſo em conſciancc
> Ha mar bēn ruſt ouz ma ſuſtancc
> Aliancc aue offancet.
>
> I don't know what on earth to do / if I obey, I lose my reason / without doubt, I do not deny it, / because a thought is in my conscience / and if I were harsh against my scion / the allies would be offended. //

As Cohen explains, Consciancc is a manifestation of the king's own doubts: "Voici maintenant que les doutes, et c'est encore une originalité, vont se matérialiser devant lui. La Conscience et Beelzebut apparaîtront [...]" (Cohen 1956, 399). Indeed, the phrase "Rac vn ſtudy ſo em conſciancc" could be rendered less literally as "there is some doubt in my mind". However, this would not convey the foreshadowing the phrase contains, for three stanzas later Consciancc appears on stage in order to contemplate ("study") the king's situation and choices. She acts as a counterpart to Beezlebub, who appeals to Dioscorus' baser urges.

First, Beezlebub and Satan plot to make Dioscorus kill his daughter in order to condemn his soul to hell:

> Sathan.
> [730] Allas ma car chede ary
> Laca ēnhaff heb tardaff muy
> Creffhaff mahilly drouguyaez.

Bezlebut.
Men lacay en diuez gant mez
Maz arrago oll gant follaez
Na caffo den rez anezaff

Satan: / Alas my friend, here's what you will do: / Put in him, without more tarrying, / the strongest animosity that you will be able to (produce). /
Beezlebub: / In the end I will put him to shame / so that he will be altogether furious with madness / so that no one will get justice from him. //

When Consciancc appears, she speaks to Dioscorus and also directly to Beezlebub in order to achieve the opposite and keep Dioscorus from committing the heinous crime and thus save his soul from hell:

Dioſcorus.
[743] Piu onchuy na pe aliancc

Conſciancc.
Me eu a deffury conſciancc
So duet quētaff doz diauancc
A vn drouc ſetancc offauczabl
[…]

Bezlebut a cōps a eneb cōfciancc.
[745] Pe a lech ez duet huy ytron
Gant hoz contenancc brabanczō
Et da ſarmon hoz ſotony
En vn lech arall ha brallet
Ahanēn crēn hoz em tennet
Leſt hoz quaquet na compſet muy

Dioſcorus.
[746] Petra a hoarffe na compſe hy
Ha lauaret he queffridy
Pan roaff me dezy odiancc
Compſou mat a cleuaff ganty
Ha douccder ſo en he matery

A nen deu hy eu conſciancc

Bezlebut
[747] Mar lequez ēnhy da fiziancc
Ez taulo breff en deceffnancc
Gant he loquancc ez offanczo
Aenep an doeou louen
E ſarmon dit gant depit yen
Na quen termen ne ſouteno

Conſciancc
[748] Deux aman pront mez reſponto
Oar poan am pēn men quelenno
Hac en cuſulyo de proffit

Bezlebut
ya da maliczc inlicit
Hac abuſion heb gonit
Ha nep merit ne acquite

Dioscorus: / Who are you and of what alliance? /
Conscience: / I am conscience, truly, / that is come in order to dissuade you/ from a bad, blameworthy judgement […]. //
Beezlebub speaks against Conscience. / Where have you come from, lady / with your boastful attitude? / Go preach your balderdash / elsewhere and get lost, / withdraw yourself from there entirely! / Stop your cackling and speak no more! //
Dioscorus: / Why should she not speak, / and raise her matter / when I give an audience to her? / I hear good words by her / and gentleness is in her subject. / Is it not her that is conscience? //
Beezlebub: / If you put your trust in her / she will shortly deceive you / with her eloquence. Her words directed at you will offend / the dear gods / with cold contempt / and she will bring about no other end. //
Conscience: / Come here, I will reply to you promptly! / On pain of death I will teach him / and I will counsel him to his advantage. /
Beezlebub: / Yes, to illicit malice / and deception without gain / and no merit would

justify her. //

This passage is in accordance with Styan's description of morality plays. He says that they are about "the contest for [man's] soul between the forces of good and evil" and that they are "essentially a form of 'debate"' (Styan 1996, 40f). This is precisely what takes place on stage in this episode of *An Buhez*.

What is most intriguing about the episode is the fact that it does not appear in any of the other texts compared in this study, nor does a character named Conscience. There is, however, an episode in *cinq journées* that is categorised as a farce by Longtin and which he has termed *Farce des quatres Miraculés* (Longtin 2005, 341). It is included among the miracles that take place at Barbara's burial site and therefore obviously happens after her death and entombment. Such miracles are not portrayed in the Breton play. Thus, the timing is bound to differ, but the fact remains that both *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* contain an episode that has its origin not in the saint plays but in the fictional genre of farce and morality. As Knight illustrates, farce and morality were considered cognate despite some significant differences (s.a.; Knight 1983, 44f), which makes the fact that both *cinq journées* and *An Buhez* contain such an episode all the more intriguing. With regard to content, the episodes are very different, though. In *cinq journées*, there are four characters suffering from various disabilities, who are miraculously healed by the end of the episode. The farcical and comic effect is created by the names and disabilities and the respective connotations of the characters on the one hand – Longtin describes them as "un aveugle (Maliverné), un sourd (Linart), un «infirme» (Malnoury) et un fou furieux (Briffault)" (Longtin 2005, 343) – and by their conversation involving "allusions de toutes sortes, de[s] références à d'autres farces ou mêmes a d'autres genres, comme la sottie ou à la moralité" (Longtin 2005, 348) on the other hand. In contrast to this, the morality episode in *An Buhez* questions the king's reason and judgement. While this is a commonality in all three plays, there is no additional character to convey the point in either of the French plays. There, the king's soul has been condemned from the beginning without any chance of its rescue. The morality play setting employed by the author of *An Buhez*, however, opens the possibility for a choice and provides the character Dioscorus with a free will, which, according to Knight, "is always part of the morality world" (Knight 1983, 60). That Dioscorus chooses to murder his daughter of his own free will makes his decision all the more grievous, in fact. But the episode is also very instructive with regard to the author of *An Buhez*. His knowledge was evidently not restricted to one or two French mystery plays and prose legends. Instead, he appears to have been familiar also with the genre of what is now called fictional plays (i.e. farce and morality), or at least with the allegorical characters employed in that genre.

One French example of a morality play in which a character named Conscience also appears, is *L'Homme Pecheur*, and it is "one of the longest moralities" (Knight 1983, 96). It was printed

in France in the beginning of the sixteenth century (Eustace 1496). The play is not called a *moralité* on the title page, simply *L'Omme Pecheur par personnage joué en la ville de Tours*, which leads Knight to think that the printer thought of the buyers of books rather than buyers from the theatrical world when designing the title page (Knight 1983, 96). The text's purpose as a theatrical work, however, is made plain by the reference "par personnage". The prologue underlines the double use to which the text may be put when it

> informs the reader that 'en lisant ce livre et mistere trouverés a plain declaree la matiere par personnages et motz expres'. The word *mistere* seems to be used here in a very broad sense that encompasses any significant matter presented the reader or spectator 'par personnages'. […] Thus while the term *mistere* was usually associated with the historical genres, it was occasionally applied to morality plays, where it designated a serious subject matter presented in dramatic dialogue.
> (Knight 1983, 100)

The designation of an obvious *moralité* with the term *mistere* also suggests that the distinction between the genres allowed for some flexibility, at least, which makes the appearance of a morality episode in a mystery play less striking. In fact, it is not uncommon for mystery plays to include allegorical characters, as is the case in the Latin mystery play *Catharinae Martyrium, Sive Historica narratio*, printed in Germany in the sixteenth century ('Catharinae Martyrium').[42] Longtin makes plain that he considers the presence of an episode foreign to the genre of saint plays equally unproblematic when he introduces the reader to his analysis of the farce episode in *cinq journées*: "Le *Mystère de sainte Barbe en cinq journée* contient, comme bon nombre de textes du genre, une pièce enchassée relevant de la farce" (Longtin 2005, 341; cf. Muir 2001, 330). Nevertheless, it remains noteworthy that the Breton play contains a morality episode when both French plays do not, which is also pointed out by Cohen when he refers to the episode as an "originalité" (Cohen 1956, 399).

13.3. Dioscorus' End

Despite or perhaps because of all the contemplation on reason and conscience, Dioscorus in the end beheads his daughter ("Dioſcorus a dipēn e merch", 782). He bows to the fear of the pagan gods, placed in him by Beezlebub:

> Bezlebut
> [777] Ret eu dit e ober certen

[42] I am very grateful to Prof. Dr. Cora Dietl and Prof. Dr. Estelle Doudet for their personal correspondence regarding German and French mystery and morality plays including a character named "Conscience".

Pe an doeou quer ſouueren
En berr termen az ſourpreno
Da bout heretic bizhuyquen
Effes dalchet ne ve quet quen
Gant quement den aue en bro

Beezlebub: / It is certainly necessary to do this, / or the dear sovereign gods / will punish you in a short while! / You would be considered / a heretic forever – it would be no different! – / by every man who would be in the country. //

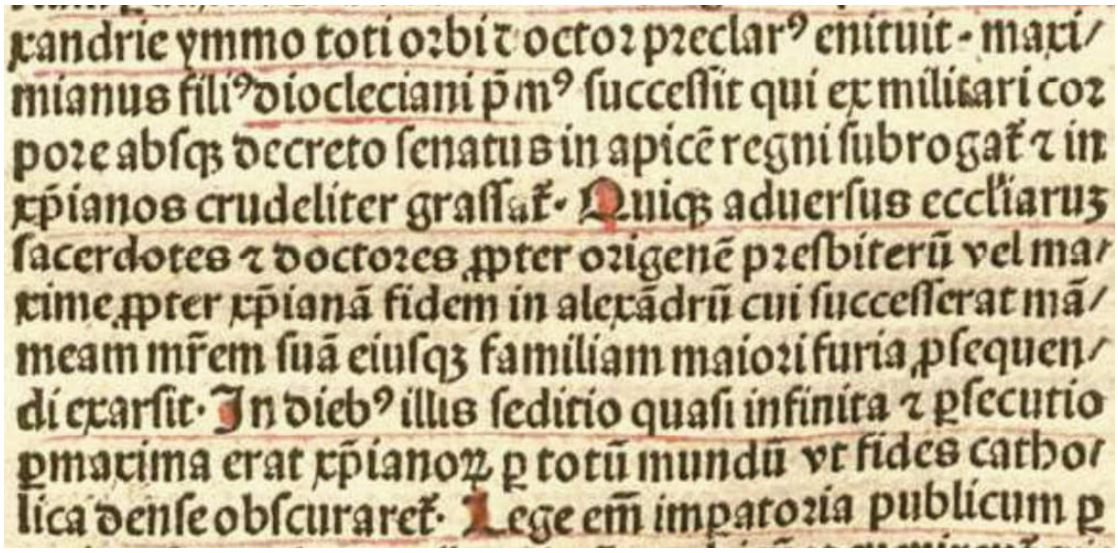
The king feels that he has no choice, because his status as a subordinate to Maximian does not allow for a Christian heretic to thrive in his household:

Bezlebut:
[773] Orcza oar ſe pez aue gruet
Penaulx ez vezo goloet
Na diſſimulet da quentaff
Diouz Maximian pep manyer
So vn den cazr empalazr quer
Pe dre ez galher differaff

Beezlebub: / Now then, what should be done about this? / How will (this) be hidden / and concealed, first of all, / (in) any way from Maximian, / who is a powerful man, a beloved emperor; / how will it be possible to buy some time? //

This is particularly interesting, because the information that Maximian is a persecutor of Christians is presupposed. The audience of *An Buhez* is not presented with this information prior to Beezlebub's statement. The only other instance Maximian is mentioned in *An Buhez* is at the very beginning, when Dioscorus explains his own role: "I am without doubt from the house of Maximian / complete emperor ruling over everybody. // I wish to govern brightly one part, under him" ('ouff hep sy a ty Maximien / Empalazr plen oar pep den ouz renaff // Gouuerñ en splān vn queffrān didānhaff', 33f). That he persecutes Christians is not mentioned at all in *An Buhez*. While it may have been common knowledge that an ancient Roman emperor was also a persecutor of Christians, it is noteworthy that Maximian is very familiar from *cinq journées*. There, he has another subordinate, Dyogenes, who wages war against the Christians of Alexandria, and Dioscorus supports him in this endeavor (cf. *cinq journées*, 7778-7810). In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, Maximian is depicted as a strict persecutor of Christians, and his actions

are responsible for the Christian faith to have fallen into obscurity even after Alexander and his mother have promoted it and converted many of the Roman nobility.


xandrie ymmo toti orbi & octor preclar⁹ enituit · maxi/
mianus fili⁹ diocleciani p̄m⁹ succeſſit qui ex militari cor
pore abſq; decreto ſenatus in apicē regni ſubrogat & in
xp̄ianos crudeliter graſſat · Quicq; aduerſus eccl̄iarus
ſacerdotes & doctores ꝓpter origenē preſbiterū vel ma/
xime ꝓpter xp̄ianā fidem in alexādrū cui ſucceſſerat mā/
meam mr̄em ſuā eiuſq; familiam maiori furia ꝓſequen/
di exarſit · In dieb⁹ illius ſeditio quaſi infinita & ꝓſecutio
pmaxima erat xp̄ianor̄ p totū mundū vt fides catho/
lica denſe obſcuraret · Lege em̄ imperatoria publicum p

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 5)

Unfortunately, it remains impossible to tell whether the author on *An Buhez* took the information from either *cinq journées* or John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, or whether Maximian's hatred of Christians was indeed common knowledge. But it is interesting to note that the information explicitly provided by *cinq journées* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* but not by *An Buhez* is simply being assumed at this point in the Breton play.

In the end, Dioscorus chooses evil over good, and rules against his conscience because he fears the loss of favour with the pagan gods more than he fears his subjects' and kin's negative reactions:

[782] […]
Dioſcorus a dipēn e merch
Stou da pēn me mēn da crēnaff
Aman gant aṇoaz haz lazaff
Euit reuiraff ma auffy.

Dioſcorus a diſemper
[783] Peguen diraeſon fellony
Dirac pep den eu ma heny
Diabry ha diconſciancc
Monet daz lacat en ſtat man

Diſaczun am dorn ma hunan
Andeu homan drouc contenancc

[784] Gant crueldet a drouc ſetancc
Ha drouc cher ha diſemperancc
Ha perſeuerancc offanczabl
Da bezaff mut perſecutet
Gueneff aman dirac an bet
Ne caffaff quet ma fet etabl

[…] *Dioscorus beheads his daughter.* / Bow your head, I want to behead you / here with sorrow and to kill you / in order to satisfy my desires. //
Dioscorus despairs. / How much unreasonable treachery / is mine, in front of everyone? / Inexcusable and conscienceless / to go and put you into this state / cruelly, by my own hand! / Is this one not a bad action? // With cruelty and bad judgement, / bad treatment and violence / and shameful hardness / to be blindly persecuted / by me, here, in public! / I do not find my deed right at all. //

Dioscorus' reaction upon having beheaded his daughter fits the previous encounter with (the personification of) his own conscience very well. The doubts he had about beheading Barbara and which he had suppressed in order to be able to commit the crime resurface directly after he has wielded the blow. Once again, the author of *An Buhez* demonstrates his ability to lend an existing subject matter a certain originality. It is precisely the morality episode that enabled the king to react in this remorseful way. In the other versions of the legend, he is depicted as the evil instrument of the devil(s) that kills the saintly maiden Barbara. His role as a father is exploited in order to vilify the crime further, but he never issues any doubts as to the righteousness of his actions. In *cinq journées*, Dioscorus is a relentless persecutor of Christians, similar to Maximian, and does not make an exception for his daughter:

cinq journées:
DŸOSCORUS
J'en ay fait sans compassïon
Presentement et queue et teste!
Chevalliers, sans dillacïon,
Allons nous en a ma requeste!
(19212-19215)

[…]

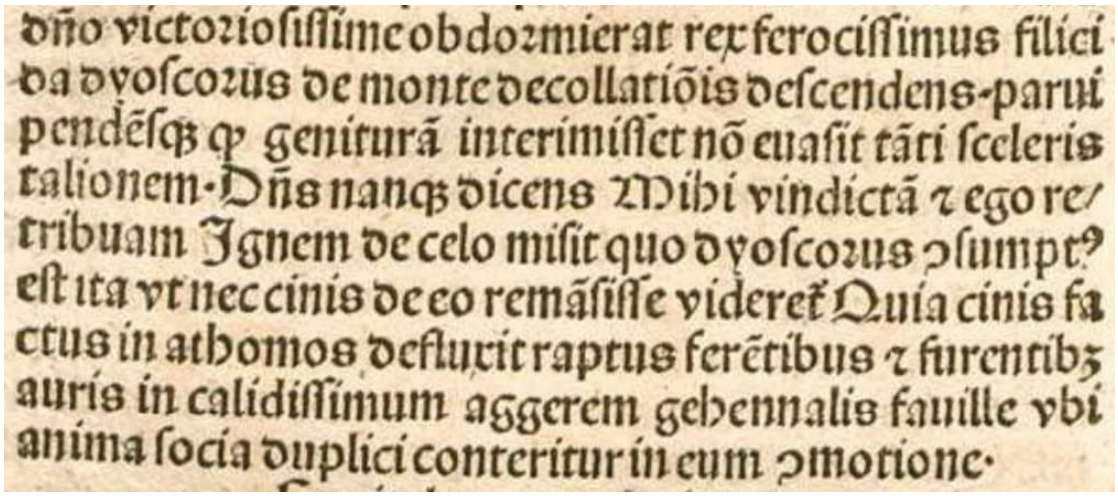
DŸOSCORUS (finit)
Puis que j'ay faict ung exploit de justice,
Et pour l'onneur de noz trespuissans dieux,
Et ay pugny de ma fille le vice,
El est morte, dont je suys tresjoyeux!
Dorrenavant, mes Chevalliers, je veulx
Touz crestïe[n]z pugniz crüellement
Ou sont moyens, ou sont jeunes et vieulx,
Et en despit de Jesus seullement.
Il appartient a ung roy de pugnir
Touz forfaiteurs, ce despent de noblesse.
La loy des dieux aussi doit soustenir,
Car en ce fait apparest sa prouësse.
Pource, je vueil par grande hardïesse
Touz crestïens pugniz villainement
Par tourmens faiz en fureur, en destresse,
Et en despit de Jesus seullement.
Helas! helas, j'ay ma fille perdue
Et si n'ay plus enfant de mon lignaige!
Les crestïens l'ont a leur loy rendue
Dont je me deulz treffort en mon couraige.
Par tous mes dieux je leur feray dommaige
Si je ne meurs voire bien brefvement,
Je leur feray pire quë une raige
Et en despit de Jesus seullement.
Ha Crestïens! Vous charéz soubz ma main!
(19459-19483)

While there seems to be a certain displeasure at having had to kill his daughter, the king feels that he has done the right thing. His feelings of regret are on the one hand very much restricted to the fact that he now has no more living offspring. On the other hand they are quite overshadowed by his continual hatred for Christianity. Furthermore, he blames the faith for having taken his daughter away from him. But there is no remorse there, at all, not even after he has been killed. He merely wallows in self-pity for having been damned to hell: "Que ferai ge, maleureuse dampnee, / Puis qu'il me fault present tumber es las / D'enfer?" (19656-19658).

In *deux journées*, the king does not speak at all directly after having killed his daughter, only after her soul has been taken to heaven. Then, he accepts his own fate as being bound to Lucifer and hell and does not betray any feelings of remorse or regret:

> Dïoscorus
> Haro! quel fouldre et quel tempeste
> Il est venu soubdainement;
> Il m'a fendu toute la teste.
> Oucques mais ne vy tel tourment,
> Je <ne> sçay quel part me tourner,
> Ne quel pan ne en quel terre;
> Le temps se veult tout bestourner.
> Les dyables sont esmeuz par terre,
> Oncques mais je ne vy tel erre,
> Qui vont en vent et en tourment.
> Or, voy je bien que j'auray guerre
> Ou eulx, se croy, prochainement.
> Lucifer tout le principal,
> A toy me rens comme mon sire.
> Pour te obeir, j'ay fait maint mal;
> <Mon> amë en aura du pire,
> Du feu d'enfer, je suis brouy.
> Oncques ne vy telle tempeste!
> Lucifer, m'as tu point ouÿ?
> Faire me devez belle feste.
> (3330-3350)

In the Latin versions, the king dies very shortly after having killed his daughter: "A proprio enim patre decollata est. Patre ejus de monte descendente ignis de coelo descendit et combussit enm, ita ut nec pulvis ejus inveniretur" (Graesse 1965, 901) and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*:

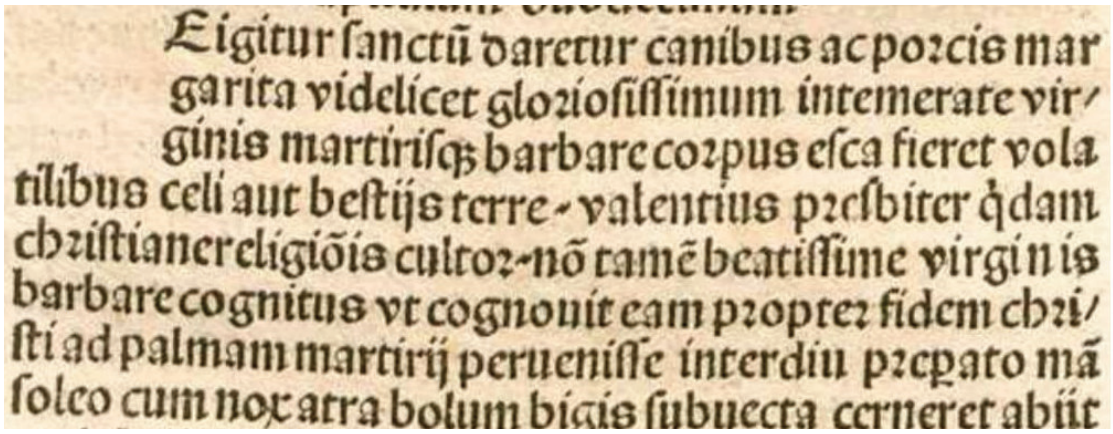

dño victoriosissime obdormierat rex ferocissimus filici
da dyoscorus de monte decollatiõis descendens-parui
pendẽsq; q genitura interimisset nõ euasit tãti sceleris
talionem·Dñs nanq; dicens Mihi vindictã ⁊ ego re/
tribuam Ignem de celo misit quo dyoscorus ꝯsumpt⁹
est ita vt nec cinis de eo remãsisse videret Quia cinis fa
ctus in athomos defluxit raptus ferẽtibus ⁊ furentibꝫ
auris in calidissimum aggerem gehennalis fauille vbi
anima socia duplici conteritur in eum ꝯmotione·

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 36)

Thus, the "originalité" attributed to the morality episode by Cohen (s.a. Cohen 1956, 399) does not end after Consciancc has exited the stage. Instead, the author chose to deviate from the simple image of an evil heathen king depicted in the French plays or Latin legends and supplied him with a conscience. And it is this conscience that makes it possible for the king to feel the remorse he does and which renders his, and his daughter's, end all the more dramatic, for the crime was committed by choice rather than as the result of a predestined fate.

13.4. The End

In all versions, Dioscorus suffers death by divine fire/lightning and is burned to ash. In the plays, his soul is escorted to hell by the devils. In John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, Barbara's body is buried by a Christian priest in order to preserve it from violation by wild animals. This priest did apparently not know her, but nevertheless performs this service for her and creates a "mausoleum" for her:


Eigitur ſanctū daretur canibus ac porcis mar
garita videlicet glorioſiſſimum intemerate vir/
ginis martiriſq; barbare corpus eſca fieret vola
tilibus celi aut beſtijs terre - valentius preſbiter q̄dam
chriſtiane religiōis cultor - nō tamē beatiſſime virginis
barbare cognitus vt cognouit eam propter fidem chri/
ſti ad palmam martirij peruenisſe interdiu prepato mā
ſolco cum noctatra bolum biais ſubuecta cerneret abiit

(Wakkerzeel 1495, 36)

In the plays Barbara's body is buried by Saint Valentine (*An Buhez*), by Saints Valentine and Valerian (*cinq journées*), and by the hermit (*deux journées*), respectively. The *Legenda Aurea* does not provide any information with regard to Barbara's burial. The resemblance between John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *cinq journées* is generally close and it is interesting to note that the priest in the above quotation is referred to as "valentius presbiter", which may easily have been interpreted as referring to Saint Valentine. Saint Valentine does not perform Barbara's baptism in either *cinq journées* or John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, and the information that "valentius presbiter" does not know Barbara would therefore fit both *cinq journées* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*. In *cinq journées*, Valentine appears again and according to Longtin plays "le rôle dévolu ordinairement à un personnage qu l'on appelle le Prologue dans les mystères, c'est-à-dire qu'il offre une réflexion sur la matière donnée a voir" (Longtin 2005, 355). While this description of Valentine's function at the end of the play would also be in accordance with the role of Valentine in *An Buhez*, the content of the respective characters' speeches is very different. In *An Buhez*, Valentine very briefly sums up the recent action of the play and refers to the date of Barbara's martyrdom (December the fourth) and her function as an intercessor at the hour of death. He thus provides the essential information about the saint before the audience departs. Furthermore, he speaks of a chapel which he will build: "Meray vn chapel da guelet / Diuoar da bez hac ānhez net" ('I will make a chapel to see / clearly from your tomb and residence', 812). There, he plans to spend his time in contemplation and wishes to be buried eventually. Such a chapel is not spoken of in the Latin legends, nor in *cinq journées*, but the last stage direction in *deux journées* indicates that "[the hermit, a lame and a blind person who have been miraculously healed] portent le corps de Saincte Barbe / en sa chapelle en chantant: / Libera me Domine vel Subvenite" (3667-3668). Afterwards, the hermit speaks again and concludes the play:

Or, est mone la vraye martire,
Dont je requier Dieu nostre sire
Qui luy face pardon a l'ame.
Helas! c'estoit tant bonne dame
Jc luy donné crestïenté
Et la mis dehors d'orphanté,
Dont en paradis est saulvee.
Elle fut en bonne heure nee,
En loüant le Dieu de lassus,
Chanton: *Te Deum laudamus.*
Finis
(3668-3678)

While the hermit's statement differs from that of Valentine in either *cinq journées* and *An Buhez*, it is noteworthy that the hermit refers to himself as having baptised Barbara. The same offices (introduction to Christianity, baptism, burial) were fulfilled by Valentine in *An Buhez*, but were apportioned among different characters in *cinq journées*. The lame and the blind person, of whom Longtin states that they are a "topos" of the genre and "sert à établir la sainteté du personnage central" (Longtin 1996, 38), mirror the characters of the farce episode in *cinq journées*. There, they provide a humorous interlude, but essentially serve to support the same purpose, i.e. to establish Barbara's sanctity. This is the same in he Latin legends, where the legend proper is also followed by accounts of miracles associated with Barbara. These are entirely absent from *An Buhez*, which ends with Valentine's burial of Barbara.

14. Conclusion

> [M]edieval authors of such dramatic works do not necessarily copy from one another, since each writer or *fatiste* is separated from the next in space and time; also, these works quickly become *public property* and are changed in the hands of producers to suit local requirements and possibilities of staging; thus, a dramatist writing fifty years after his predecessor may have a *livret* version in front of him which had changed considerably since its genesis[.]
> (DuBruck 2004, 75f)

It would appear that *An Buhez* is a model example of DuBruck's assessment. In this study, I have compared *An Buhez*, which was first printed in 1557, to four contemporaneous sources about Saint Barbara in order to determine possible ancestors of the Breton play. Saint Barbara was highly venerated throughout Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There is an abundance of sources about her, and her legend was worked into two French plays, among others. Because of the commonality of genre and geographical proximity, these two French plays were the logical starting point for my comparison. The older of the French plays, *Le Mystère de sainte Barbe en cinq journées*, is a five day production dated to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century (Longtin 1996, 5; Kim 1998, 365). The younger of the French plays, *Le Mystère de sainte Barbe en deux journées*, is a two day production, whose oldest print version was published between 1511 and 1517 (Julleville 1880, 486; Longtin 1996, 10f). In addition to the two French plays, I have looked at two Latin prose versions of Barbara's life, the *Legenda Aurea*, which has most likely come into existence some time after the end of the fourteenth century (Wolf 2000, 22), and John of Wakkerzeel's version of the legend, which was composed in the second half of the fourteenth century (Derolez 1991, 202). In order to determine whether *An Buhez* was influenced by any of these four versions, I have subdivided the Breton play into episodes around certain motifs (1). I have then compared these episodes and motifs to the corresponding passages of the other four versions of Barbara's legend. Although there are clearly commonalities between the Breton play and all of the four other versions, *An Buhez* is definitely not a translation of any single one of them. Instead, the author of the play appears to have drawn from a European pool of floating traditions with the figure of Saint Barbara at it's centre and created an individual piece of theatrical art.

With regard to the order of events in each of the texts under consideration, it appears that *An Buhez* corresponds to the *Legenda Aurea* for the most part. Kim's assumption that *cinq journées* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* are closely related (Kim 1998, 375-377) is supported by the similarity of the order of events in those two texts. Although there is a discrepancy in the middle of the two versions, the overall impression is fairly homogeneous. The younger French

play, *deux journées*, is not close to any of the other four versions in this regard. Although it depicts many of the common topoi of the legend of Barbara, others are missing. Barbara's intuitive knowledge of the Christian God, for example, appears to have surfaced before the play begins and the episode about Origen was left out. I have attempted to illustrate the order of events in the following table. This table provides only the key points of Barbara's legend, which are basically similar in the different versions. However, they are, respectively, adapted with regard to staging on the one hand, and with regard to content on the other. The table is only supposed to give an overview and does not provide any details about how the different events are depicted in the respective versions or convey the diversity with which the respective authors have treated the subject matter of the legend of Barbara. Nevertheless, it serves to illustrate the connections between John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *cinq journées*, between *An Buhez* and the *Legenda Aurea* and *cinq journées*, respectively, and the independence of *deux journées*.

Historia 2nd half of 14th c	*cinq journées* early 16th c	*Legenda Aurea* end of 14th c	*An Buhez* 1557	*deux journées* 1511-1517
intro	X	intro	intro + devils	intro + folle femme
schooling	schooling, intuitive knowledge	tower	tower	temple
temple, intuitive knowledge	temple	temple, intuitive knowledge	schooling, intuitive knowledge	marriage proposal
rumor	pilgrim	rumor	hermit-pilgrim	tower
letter to Origen	tower	letter to Origen	message to Origen	windows
nameless envoy	marriage propsal	Valentine + baptism	Valentine + baptism	cross in stone
tower	letter to Origen	marriage proposal	marriage proposal	hermit + baptism
marriage proposal	envoy Ysacr	windows	windows	shepherds
windows	windows	bathhouse + cross in stone	fountain + cross in stone	torture
bathhouse + cross in stone + baptism	bathhouse + cross in stone + baptism	idols	idols	deaths

idols	idols	shepherds	shepherds	
shepherds	shepherds	torture	torture	
torture	torture	deaths	deaths	
deaths	deaths			

The contents of the episodes in *An Buhez* are clearly not dependant on the *Legenda Aurea* alone. There are certain motifs that both versions of the legend share. The tower, for example, is mentioned at a particularly early stage in both *An Buhez* and the *Legenda Aurea*. The most striking commonality between *An Buhez* and the *Legenda Aurea* is of course the baptism. This office is performed by Origen's envoy Valentine in both versions, which contrasts with John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *cinq journées*. Although Origen's envoy appears in all four versions, he does not baptise Barbara in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *cinq journées*. There, she is baptised by John the Baptist instead. This is particularly striking because the events that frame Barbara's in both John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *cinq journées* (i.e. the episode in the bathhouse) are also present in *An Buhez* and the *Legenda Aurea*. However, they are not connected to the baptism. Furthermore, they were adapted to suit the local requirements in the case of the Breton play (11).

The commonalities between *An Buhez* and *cinq journées* are much more numerous and much more striking. Both plays depict Barbara as being educated by (a) pagan tutor(s) and connect this education to the awakening of her intellect and the resulting intuitive knowledge of God. Barbara gives voice to her intuitive knowledge during a visit to the temple in both the *Legenda Aurea* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*. However, it arose at an earlier point in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, namely during her studies of the liberal arts. This education is merely referred to in a short statement in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, which was transformed into an entire episode in the stage productions. As a result, the characters of the tutors were added in the plays (7). A similar mechanism of conveying certain pieces of information through a character rather than by narration was employed when Barbara learns of the existence of Origen of Alexandria. In both Latin legends, Barbara hears a rumour of the famous Origen. In *cinq journées* and *An Buhez*, this rumour was worked into a character, the pilgrim. The text of this pilgrim, or hermit-pilgrim in *An Buhez*, corresponds in a notable way in the two plays. Furthermore, the route he takes to/from Jerusalem is the same in the two plays, but in *An Buhez* this route contrasts with the geographical location of Nicomedia as proposed by the first *diablerie*, which makes this feature particularly noteworthy (7.1). Despite the fact that the building process of the tower occurs at two different points in time during the action of the respective play, this episode is another excellent example of a close correspondence between *cinq journées* and

An Buhez (6). Both plays depict the craftsmen as industrious people and their appearance has a striking ring of authenticity, which is, in fact, more pronounced in *An Buhez* (6.1, 6.1.1). This is similar in the episode of the shepherds. The actions of the shepherds in *An Buhez*, playing music and a ball game, appear to be reminiscent of the names of the shepherds in *cinq journées*. Yet, *An Buhez* seems to draw a slightly more authentic image of the shepherds' lives (12) than *cinq journées*. The tower and the shepherd episode share another commonality. In both episodes, music plays an important role. The French play employs several "rondeaux" as a musical setting for the respective characters' texts in order to liven up the action. This is similar in *An Buhez*, where the workers sing a Breton song and the shepherds play a Breton instrument in order to create a similar effect. The latter example serves to clarify that the Breton play is not merely a translation of the older French version. Yet, the scope of correspondence between the respective episodes is quite suggestive of an existing relationship between the Breton and the older French play.

With regard to a relationship between *An Buhez* and John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, the situation is much more complex. Large parts of the content and structure of John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* are also present in *cinq journées*. One example for an exclusive correspondence between John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *An Buhez* can be found in the passage involving the messenger Barbara sends to Origen. Only those two versions establish the messenger's trustworthiness and depict Barbara as being visited by Origen's envoy in her rooms at the royal dwelling rather than in the tower (8). Another example is the use of the term "probatic", which refers to the waters of the Biblical "Pool of Bethesda". During the episode in the bathhouse in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*, the water of the bathhouse is compared to the "Pool of Bethesda". In the corresponding episode at the fountain in *An Buhez*, the term "probatic" is used to describe the water of the fountain. However, the fountain as such is an example for an individualised motif that has very likely been adapted "to suit local requirements and possibilities of staging" (s.a. DuBruck 2004, 75). In all other versions, the action that surrounds the fountain centres on a bathhouse, but the author of *An Buhez* has evidently chosen to employ a fountain instead (11). Another example of a significant deviation of *An Buhez* from the other versions is Dioscorus' reaction when Barbara refuses to be married. During the episodes preceding the marriage proposal, Dioscorus is depicted as unwilling to give his daughter in marriage to anyone in the Latin versions, in *An Buhez* and in *cinq journées*. At some point, the king is pressured by the nobility of his country to wed Barbara after all. She refuses this request and he embraces her gladly in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *cinq journées*, while simply leaving her in the *Legenda Aurea*. In *An Buhez*, however, he utters his first death threat against her at this point. The king's reaction in John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia* and *cinq journées* is much more logical with regard to the fact that he had refused to let anyone marry his daugh-

ter before. Nevertheless, the author of the Breton play changed the king's reaction despite the fact that the onset is the same in the three versions (9). It is possible that this change is related to another motif that is unique to *An Buhez*. Shortly before the king beheads his daughter, a character named "Consciancc" appears. As an allegorical character, Consciancc is part of an episode reminiscent of the morality plays of the Middle Ages (13.2). Such an episode exists in neither French play and has no equivalent in the prose versions, either. Both the marriage proposal and the Consciancc episode, serve to extend the picture of the king's character in the Breton play. The result is an entirely unique version of the antagonist of the saintly maiden. These changes to the king's character merit further investigation.

Examples of correspondence between *deux journées* and *An Buhez* are mostly limited to structural similarities, such as the fact that both plays feature an introduction, which is made by more than one person. While the contents of the respective introductions differ, the second part in *deux journées* involving a "folle femme" making amorous gestures and singing might be considered somewhat similar to the devils who plan how to best lead humankind into temptation in *An Buhez*. Furthermore, both plays consist of one short first day (24 percent of the play in *deux journées* and 30 percent of the play in *An Buhez*). This is followed by a second day in *deux journées*, which features a second introduction. In the case of *An Buhez*, only the action of the first day is described in the introduction. There is neither a second introduction nor a clearly defined number of consecutive days provided by the Breton play. Based on studies Runnalls has conducted on French mystery plays, I suggest that the second part of *An Buhez* has been performed in two sessions on one (Sun)day, namely in a morning and an afternoon session (Runnalls 2004, 8-9; 2). In the case of *deux journées*, the second day is equally lengthy in comparison to the first, and the performance practice may thus have been the same. In addition to these structural similarities, there is the name of the character "the hermit", which appears in both plays but nowhere else. However, the function of the figure differs considerably in the two plays. Although the name of the character in *An Buhez* corresponds to *deux journées*, his actions and speech are quite similar to the pilgrim's in *cinq journées* (7.1). In general, *deux journées* apparently follows a very different approach to the legend of Barbara than the other versions. The play leaves out several of the motifs that lead up to Barbara's conversion, for example her education/visit to the temple and her contact with Origen and his envoy. Barbara appears to have already secretly converted to Christianity before the action of the play begins, because her refusal to be married happens at a very early stage (Barbara's second appearance, 405-414, 9). When she bids farewell to her parents, she wishes them that "Dieu le vous vueillë ennuit rendre" (564) and during her subsequent prayer addresses God as "Vray Dieu" (633). Furthermore, *deux journées* includes motifs that are not present in the other versions of the legend, such as the visit of the "folle femme" during Barbara's imprisonment and the exorcism

Barbara performs on her (2462-2796). Thus, *deux journées* is a highly individual version of the legend, which was nevertheless quite popular, as is attested by its numerous reprints (Longtin 1996, 10f).

The number and the level of detail of the corresponding passages of *An Buhez* and *cinq journées* suggests that the author of *An Buhez* was familiar with a version of *cinq journées*. Le Braz considers *An Buhez* and the other Breton plays to suffer from a "maigreur souffreteuse". One reason for his judgement is that in his opinion the Breton versions are necessarily abbreviations of their often lengthy French ancestors and are therefore bound to fall short of the original in certain aspects (Le Braz 1905 , 250). It is true that *An Buhez* is considerably shorter than *cinq journées*. However, I have shown in this study that the author did by no means simply copy and shorten *cinq journées* into a Breton version of the French play. Instead, the author was evidently versed in many fields of literature and theatre and drew on a diversity of sources for the creation of *An Buhez*. In addition to his familiarity with *cinq journées*, he has made use of prose legends. The influence of the *Legenda Aurea* shows very clearly and the author probably knew at least one other branch of the Barbara tradition related to John of Wakkerzeel's *Historia*. Moreover, the author was aware and able to make use of theatrical conventions from more than one genre. As a saint's play, *An Buhez* belongs to the genre of mystery plays and displays many of the conventions associated with it. The protagonist is a saint, her antagonist is a heathen in league with the devil(s). These appear in the form of a *diablerie*, which is another typical feature of the mystery plays. The fact that one of the devils is paired with an allegorical character and these two begin to vy for the soul of a human is clearly an influence from the theatrical genre of the morality plays (13.2). Although such morality episodes can be included in mystery plays, this is not the case in either of the French Barbara plays. The author of *An Buhez* has thus likely found inspiration in a different mystery play, or even in a different genre. Either case proves that the author was capable of more than merely copying, translating and adapting one French play to a Breton audience. Nevertheless, it is true what Le Braz says, that in order to adapt a French play for a Breton audience, many rules and restrictions need to be observed, not least of which is the rigorous Breton versification. "Les exigences de la rime intérieure comdamnaient le poète à un perpétuel tour de force dont il ne se tirait le plus souvent qu'en prodiguant cheville sur cheville, et qui, même avec cette lamentable ressource, avait tôt fait de fatiguer sa verve" (Le Braz 1905, 248-249). It is true that the rhyme scheme is complex, because strict rules for both end rhyme and internal rhyme need to be observed. The usual metre of *An Buhez* employs stanzas consisting of six octo- or decasyllabic verses and end rhymes that are passed on through the stanzas. In addition to this, there is an internal rhyme scheme in which the penultimate syllable rhymes with at least one of the preceding word-final syllables of the same verse, ideally with the one before the caesura. The end rhyme (upper case

letters) of the first and second verse of a stanza usually becomes the internal rhyme (lower case letters) of the third verse and so on:

s s A
t t A
a a B
u u C
v v C
c c B

w w B
x x B
b b D
y y E
z z E
e e D

This necessitates the extensive use of chevilles. However, I would like to stress that the author has successfully managed to adhere to the rigorous demands of the Breton rhyme scheme for almost the entirety of the play. Most of the inconsistencies of the rhyme scheme appear to have a function. Many support the action that takes place on stage, such as the movements of actors or changes of subject (3). The French theatrical conventions require a much simpler metre, i.e. octosyllabic verses and pair rhymes (Runnalls 1998, 23). Despite the complex demands of the Breton versification, the author of *An Buhez* has managed to convey the most important contents of the legend of Barbara, adapt the play to a Breton stage and audience (6, 6.1.1, 11), and make significant changes to the character of Dioscorus by including an episode inspired by a different genre (13.2). The result of such creativity is a unique piece of Breton art.

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A. Summary

The Breton saint's play *An buhez sante Barba* – The life of saint Barbara – has come down to us in three print versions, one of which has survived in two redactions. The oldest version is dated to 1557, followed by two redactions dated to 1608 and a third version dated to 1647. All versions are virtually identical with regard to contents (Scherschel 2014). My thesis is based on the oldest version of 1557, which is associated with a printer by the name of Bernard de Leau(e). He was active both in Brittany and Paris (Le Guennec 1927; Walsby 2011, 146-149), which attests to a certain exchange with regard to literature and culture between France and Brittany. The fact that a play about one of the most popular saints in Europe in the late Middle Ages has come down to us in both French and Breton adds to this impression, as well.

In order to shed some light on possible origins of the Breton play, I have compared *An Buhez* with four contemporaneous sources about Saint Barbara. The two French plays were an obvious choice, because they correspond to the Breton play with regard to genre as well as with regard to the subject matter. The older French play, *Le Mystère de sainte Barbe en cinq jourées*, is dated to the second half of the fifteenth century and has survived in one manuscript version. Parts of it were edited by Jun-Han Kim in 1998 (Kim 1998), and Mario Longtin is currently working on a new edition of the entire play with his colleagues Laurent Brun and Jacques Lemaire. He has very kindly permitted me to use his work in progress ('Le Mystère de sainte Barbe en cinq journées, BN fr. 976'). The younger French play, *Le Mystère de sainte Barbe en deux journées*, survives in several print versions, the oldest of which is dated to between 1511 and 1517. This play was edited by Longtin, as well, and by Paul Seefeldt before him (Seefeldt 1908). In addition to the two French plays, I have also looked at two Latin prose legends of Saint Barbara. The most popular collection of saints' lives of the Middle Ages, the *Legenda Aurea*, includes a life of Saint Barbara, as well (Graesse 1965). However, Barbara was not part of the original version of the collection (Voragine 1995) and her legend was added probably after the fourteenth century (Wolf 2000, 22). Another Latin version of Saint Barbara's legend was assembled by a Belgian monk, John of Wakkerzeel (Wakkerzeel 1495). He was an admirer of saint Barbara's and compiled a grand encomium based on diverse sources at the end of the fourteenth century. This version was very popular in the late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period (Gaiffier 1959, Derolez 1991).

Although there are some differences with regard to contents, the basic plot is similar in all the legends of Saint Barbara. A pagan lord or king by the name of Dioscorus has a lovely and beautiful daughter called Barbara. He does not wish to see her married and confines her to a secluded tower instead in order to hide her from the eyes of men. Depending on the version he has a tower and/or a bathhouse built exclusively for Barbara's use. The respective

building is to have exactly two windows. Barbara has an intuitive knowledge of the Christian faith and secretly converts to Christianity. At some point she meets another Christian who introduces her to the basics of the faith. She is then baptised either by this other Christian figure or by a vision of John the Baptist. After her conversion, she makes the builders of the tower/bathhouse add a third window to the original plans, against the explicit wishes of her father. When Dioscorus discovers the addition, he is furious and attempts to kill her. She can flee through a stone or wall and is miraculously transported to the mountains. There, she is seen by two shepherds. When Dioscorus comes looking for her, one of the shepherds betrays her whereabouts to him. Thus, Dioscorus recaptures her and brings Barbara to trial. Even though she is tortured extensively for her religion, she neither renounces her new found faith nor dies. The judge therefore returns Barbara to her father eventually and the king decides to kill her in the mountains. There, he beheads her with his sword and creates Saint Barbara, the martyr. As a result, Dioscorus suffers death by lighting or divine fire and is burnt to ashes on the spot.

Barbara's historical existence is in dispute, but her veneration endures nonetheless. Saint Barbara's feast day is the fourth of December and although it was no longer part of the Roman calendar after the second Vatican Council in 1969 (Wolf 2000, 22), folk beliefs and customs still abound, for example the cutting of Barbara-twigs on her feast day, which will then blossom on Christmas day. The oldest testimonies of the veneration of Saint Barbara can be found in northern Africa and in the Middle East. The oldest testimony in Europe is a fresco of the saint in Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome (Wimmer 1980, 1432f). During the later Middle Ages veneration of Saint Barbara grew into a cult, which was particularly strong in Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands (Wolf 2000, 34-37). The fact that her legend was put on stage sixteen times between 1450 and 1550 in France alone testifies to the great popularity of the saint. Unfortunately, it is impossible to tell which Barbara-play was put on stage and it is most likely that more plays about the saint existed but have not survived. Of the two French versions that do survive, the younger one was particularly popular. It has come down to us in seven print-editions all of which were published within a time span of a hundred years. Thus, Saint Barbara's popularity was and still is well attested in Europe.

While saints' plays or mystery plays in French abound, only four plays in Breton have come down to us. In addition to the life of Saint Barbara, one passion play (*An Passion*, Villemarqué 1866; Le Berre 2011) and two mystery plays about local saints of Brittany (*An Buhez santez Nonn*, Ernault 1887b; Le Berre 1999 and *An Buhez sant Gwenole*, Ernault 1932-1933; Widmer 2011) have survived. Similarly to the life of Saint Barbara, the Breton passion play was printed in Paris and is based on European material that may have served as a model. The other two plays have been preserved as manuscripts and their protagonists are the Breton local Saints

Nonn and Gwenole, respectively. In addition to contents, the structure of the Breton and the French Medieval plays corresponds, as well. The plays are subdivided into "days" (French: "journées") rather than into "acts" and "scenes". A "day" reflects the amount of text that could be spoken within one performance session. The term originates in the practice of performing the plays on several consecutive Sundays and/or feast days, for example in front of the church or at some other suitable space outdoors. Short plays took only a few days to perform, but lengthy productions could last up to 35 days (Runnalls 1998, 35-49, 61-82, 98f; Runnalls 2004, 7). Both French Barbara-plays indicate clearly when a day begins and/or ends. The older play has five days, the younger play has two. The Breton play is considerably less clear with regard to the number and duration of its days. The only hint given by the play is in the introduction, which provides a summary of the plot and names a certain point at which the action of the first day is supposed to be over. However, this is not reflected at that point in the play. Nevertheless, based on the assumption that the first day did indeed end at the point indicated in the introduction, the play would consist of at least two days. Based on comparisons with French mystery plays and the works of Graham Runnalls on the length of Medieval theatrical "days" (Runnalls 2002; Runnalls 2004), I agree with Ernault's suggestion (Ernault 1888, vi) that the play was in fact subdivided into three parts. The last two may well have been performed in one single day, namely a morning- and an afternoon-session, but it is also possible that the performance took place on three consecutive (Sun)days. With regard to this asymmetric structure, i.e. a short first day and a considerably longer second part, the Breton play corresponds to the younger French play.

Medieval plays were customarily written in verse form, usually in pair rhymes. This convention holds true for both French plays, as well. The Breton version employs a considerably more complex rhyme scheme, namely aabccb bbdeed and so on. In addition to the end rhymes, Breton makes use of internal rhymes as well, which means that two syllables within a verse need to rhyme, too. The internal rhyme is usually determined by the penultimate syllable of a verse. This leads to another significant difference between Breton and French, because like other Celtic languages, Breton has a metric system based on a syllable count rather than on poetic feet. *An Buhez sante Barba* employs eight-syllabic verses for the most part, but verses of ten syllables are also common, particularly when characters of a higher social standing speak or are addressed. Furthermore, five-syllabic verses are used in the introduction. The fact that the author of the Breton play maintained such a complicated rhyme scheme throughout the play and still constructed a coherent plot demonstrates artistry and considerable skill.

In order to be able to compare the five versions of the legend of Saint Barbara, I have determined different motifs that appear in at least one other version apart from the Breton play. The following motifs are analysed in this thesis: the devils, the tower, Barbara's education and

her meeting with a pilgrim/hermit, her baptism, marrying Barbara, the windows, the fountain, the shepherds and the end, which also involves the character "Consciancc". The order in which the motifs are treated in this thesis corresponds to the order of events in the Breton play.

Due to the fact that the Breton play and the younger French play are very similar with regard to formality – both have been preserved in more than one print version, the oldest of which is dated to the sixteenth century, both consist of (at least) two days and are similar in length – it was expected that further similarities could be determined. However, apart from a few details, this is not the case. The younger French play has several episodes that do not appear anywhere else, such as the visit of a prostitute Barbara receives during her incarceration and whom she promptly converts. Yet, the younger French play does not include other episodes that are very common, such as Barbara's exchange of letters with Origen of Alexandria (cf. Longtin 1996). The Breton version turned out to be much more similar to the older French play, which in turn is based largely on John of Wakkerzel's grand encomium of Saint Barbara (Kim 1998, 375-377). However, the Breton play and the older French play display some important differences, for example with regard to Barbara's baptism. In those cases, the Breton play often corresponds to the *Legenda Aurea*, instead. Furthermore, there are some motifs that were adapted, probably in order to fit the local situation better. An example for this is the episode around the dried-up fountain which is revived by Barbara in the Breton version. The other versions have corresponding episodes, but Barbara visits a bathhouse instead and makes the water gush forth, there. It is possible that a fountain was preferable because it reflects an actual fountain or spring in the place where the play was performed. Other aspects are unique to the Breton version, such as the appearance of a character named "Consciancc" ("conscience") shortly before Dioscorus beheads his daughter. The character attempts to convince the king that his plan is evil and will lead to his damnation, while Beezlebub, one of the devils, attempts to convince him to go through with his plan for the sake of his heathen gods. The episode mirrors another Medieval theatrical genre, namely that of the morality plays, in which good and evil allegorical characters vy for the soul of a human protagonist. Such a character or episode does not appear in the other versions of the legend. The detailed analysis and comparison of those motifs and episodes form the nucleus of my thesis.

The results of those comparisons lead to the assumption that it is impossible to determine a single ancestor of the Breton play, which in turn rules out the idea that the Breton play might merely be a translation of a French model. While there are episodes that correspond largely to one or more of the other texts, it is not always the same text to which a striking correspondence can be found. Some episodes and motifs are unique to one or another version of the legend. Thus, it is very likely that there was a common European pool of motifs, or floating traditions, around the figure of Saint Barbara from which the respective authors worked and

created individual pieces of art.

B. Zusammenfassung

Das bretonische Theaterstück über die heilige Barbara *An buhez sante Barba* existiert in drei bzw. vier Druckversionen. Die älteste Version wird auf das Jahr 1557 datiert, die jüngste stammt aus dem Jahr 1647. Eine weitere Version wurde im Jahr 1608 gedruckt, von dieser sind zwei Exemplare erhalten. Inhaltlich gleichen sich die Versionen weitestgehend (Scherschel 2014). Meine Arbeit stützt sich auf die älteste Version von 1557, die mit einem Buchhändler und möglicherweise -drucker namens Bernhard de Leaue assoziiert wird. Dieser war sowohl in Paris als auch in der Bretagne aktiv (Le Guennec 1927; Walsby 2011, 146-149), was ein Beispiel für den Austausch zwischen Frankreich und der Bretagne darstellt. Die Existenz eines Theaterstücks über die europaweit bekannte und beliebte heilige Barbara in bretonischer Sprache ist ein weiteres Beispiel dafür, dass die Bretagne im Austausch mit Europa stand.

Um die Herkunft des bretonischen Stückes näher zu beleuchten, habe ich *An Buhez* mit vier anderen Versionen der Legende der heiligen Barbara verglichen. Als Vergleichstexte boten sich die beiden französischen Theaterstücke über die Heilige besonders an, da sie sowohl vom Genre her als auch inhaltlich dem bretonischen Theaterstück entsprechen. Das ältere der beiden französischen Stücke entstand gegen Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts und ist als Manuskript erhalten. Mario Longtin hat mir dankenswerterweise die noch unpublizierte PDF-Version seiner Edition des Stückes zur Verfügung gestellt (‘Le Mystère de sainte Barbe en cinq journées, BN fr. 976’). Das jüngere französische Stück, von welchem der älteste erhaltene Druck zwischen 1511 und 1517 entstanden ist, wurde ebenfalls von Longtin ediert (Longtin 1996). Weiterhin habe ich zwei lateinische Prosaversionen der Legende zum Vergleich herangezogen. Eine spätere Version der besonders bekannten Sammlung von Heiligenleben, der *Legenda Aurea*, wurde von Theodor Graesse ediert (Graesse 1965). Diese Version ist allerdings schwierig zu datieren, wurde aber vermutlich erst nach Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts verfasst (Wolf 2000, 22). Eine weitere Version der Legende der heiligen Barbara, die im späten Mittelalter bzw. der Frühen Neuzeit ebenfalls wohlbekannt gewesen ist, findet sich in einer Sammlung von Texten über die Heilige, welche von Johannes von Wakkerzeel am Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts zu einem großen Lobwerk verarbeitet wurde (Gaiffier 1959, Derolez 1991).

Obwohl es inhaltlich einige Differenzen gibt, sind sich die verschiedenen Versionen in den wesentlichen Punkten gleich. Ein heidnischer Herrscher (teilweise als König bezeichnet) mit Namen Dioscorus hat eine schöne Tochter namens Barbara. Diese möchte er nicht verheiraten, sondern sperrt sie in einen Turm um ihre Schönheit vor den Augen der Menschen zu verbergen. Je nach Version lässt er den Turm eigens für sie errichten, und/oder ein angrenzenden Badehaus für sie erbauen. Das jeweilige Bauwerk ist explizit mit nur zwei Fenstern auszustatten. Barbara verfügt über eine göttliche Intuition und konvertiert zum Christentum. Sie trifft auf

einen weiteren Vertreter des christlichen Glaubens und wird von ihm bzw. von einer Erscheinung Johannes des Täufers getauft. Entgegen der ursprünglichen Anordnung ihres Vaters, lässt sie ein drittes Fenster in den Turm bzw. das Badehaus einbauen. Als Dioscorus dies sieht und von ihrer Konversion erfährt, will er sie töten. Ein Stein bzw. die Wand des Turm öffnet sich für Barbara und erlaubt es ihr in die Berge zu fliehen. Ihr wütender Vater verfolgt sie und trifft im Gebirge auf zwei Hirten. Diese haben Barbara gesehen und einer der beiden verrät sie an ihren Vater. Daraufhin nimmt Dioscorus Barbara gefangen und bringt sie vor Gericht. Trotz brutaler Foltermaßnahmen bleibt sie ihrem neu gefunden Gott treu und wird schließlich zu ihrem Vater zurück gebracht. Dieser bringt sie wiederum ins Gebirge, wo er sie mit seinem Schwert enthauptet und zur Märtyrerin macht. Als Strafe wird er von göttlichem Feuer getroffen und zu Asche verbrannt.

Barbaras historische Existenz ist umstritten, weswegen ihr Festtag (der 4. Dezember) vom Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil aus dem Kalender der Heiligen entfernt wurde (Wolf 2000, 12f). Die ältesten Zeugnisse der Barbaraverehrung finden sich in Nordafrika und dem nahen Osten, das älteste westliche Zeugnis ist eine Frescodarstellung der Heiligen in Santa Maria Antiqua in Rom (Wimmer 1980, 1432f). Im Laufe des Mittelalters wuchs die Barbaraverehrung zu einem regelrechten Kult heran, der in Deutschland, Frankreich, Belgien und den Niederlanden besonders stark ausgeprägt war (Wolf 2000, 34-37). Brauchtümer zu ihren Ehren halten sich teilweise bis heute, für Deutschland ist hier z.B. das Schneiden der Barbarazweige am 4. Dezember zu nennen. Die Tatsache, dass Barbara's Legende zwischen 1450 und 1550 allein in Frankreich 16 mal auf die Bühne gebracht wurde, macht ihre Popularität deutlich. Es ist nicht mehr ersichtlich welches der Barbarastücke dargestellt wurde, aber höchstwahrscheinlich existierten mehr Bühnenversionen als Textversionen erhalten sind. Die Tatsache, dass das jüngere der beiden französischen Stücke über einen Zeitraum von knapp 100 Jahren hinweg sieben Mal neu gedruckt wurde, gibt zum einen Aufschluss über die Popularität dieser Version, zum anderen über die allgemeine Beliebtheit der heiligen Barbara.

Während vor allem aus dem französischen Sprachraum eine Vielzahl von Heiligenstücken, sogenannten Mysterienspielen, erhalten ist, sind in bretonischer Sprache nur vier Stücke bekannt. Zum bereits genannten Leben der Heiligen Barbara treten noch *An Passion* (Villemarqué 1866; Le Berre 2011), *An Buhez santez Nonn* (Ernault 1887b; Le Berre 1999) und *An Buhez Sant Gwenole* (Ernault 1932-1933; Widmer 2011) hinzu. Das erste Stück ist ebenfalls in einer Druckversion erhalten und handelt von der Passion und Auferstehung Christi und hat ähnlich dem Barbarastück einige Entsprechungen in französischer Sprache, die möglicherweise als Vorlage gedient haben. Die beiden letzteren Stücke behandeln populäre Lokalheilige der Bretagne, den heiligen Gwenolé und die heilige Nonn, und sind in handschriftlicher Form erhalten. Abgesehen von den thematischen Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen bretonischen und französischen

Mysterienspielen, finden sich auch einige Ähnlichkeiten hinsichtlich der Struktur. So wurden mittelalterliche Theaterstücke nicht in „Szenen“ und „Akte“ unterteilt, sondern in „Tage“, französisch „journées“. Ein Tag entspricht dabei der Menge an Text, die an einem Tag von den SchauspielerInnen auf der Bühne gesprochen und dargestellt werden konnte, wobei es Anzeichen dafür gibt, dass bei früheren Stücken mehr und bei späteren Stücken weniger Text innerhalb eines Tages verarbeitet wurde. Aufgeführt wurden die Stücke an aufeinanderfolgenden Sonn- und Feiertagen. Kurze Stücke konnten innerhalb eines Tages aufgeführt werden, lange und aufwändige Produktionen umfassten bis zu 35 Tagen (Runnalls 1998, 35-49, 61-82, 98f; Runnalls 2004, 7). Die beiden französischen Barbarastücke enthalten klare Angaben hinsichtlich der Unterteilung in Tage. Das ältere Stück wurde an fünf Tagen aufgeführt, das jüngere an zwei. Für das bretonische Stück wird keine genaue Angabe gemacht, aus der Einleitung geht aber hervor, dass es mehr als einen Tag gegeben haben muss. Aufgrund des Vergleichs mit französischen Mysterienspielen und der Arbeiten von Graham Runnalls (Runnalls 1998, Runnalls 2002, Runnalls 2004) schließe ich mich Ernault 1888 (S. vi) an und schlage vor, dass das bretonische Leben der heiligen Barbara in drei Teile unterteilt war. Die letzten beiden Teile könnten an einem einzigen Tag, vormittags und nachmittags, aufgeführt worden sein, woraus sich ein zweitägiges Stück ergäbe, oder alle Teile wurden an separaten Tagen aufgeführt, woraus sich ein dreitägiges Stück ergäbe. In dieser Beziehung ähnelt das bretonische Stück dem jüngeren französischen Stück, denn auch dieses besteht aus einem kurzen ersten Teil/Tag und einem deutlich längeren zweiten Teil/Tag.

Mittelalterliche Theaterstücke wurden in Vers- bzw. Reimform verfasst. Diese Konvention trifft auch auf die beiden französischen und das bretonische Stück zu. Im Französischen wird meist ein Paarreim angewendet, als Reimschema ergibt sich also aabbcc usw., während beim bretonischen Theaterstück ein etwas komplexeres Reimschema vorliegt, nämlich aabccb bbdeed. Als keltische Sprache hat das Bretonische allerdings zwei weitere Besonderheiten im Verhältnis zum Französischen. Erstens werden Silben statt Hebungen gezählt; *An buhez sante Barba* besteht zum größten Teil aus achtsilbigen Versen, wobei es auch einige Abschnitte gibt, die aus zehnsilbigen Versen bestehen. Zehnsilbige Verse scheinen vor allem dann gebraucht zu werden, wenn sozial höhergestellte Figuren an der Interaktion beteiligt sind. Darüber hinaus finden sich auch kurze Verse bestehend aus fünf Silben, die ausschließlich in der Einleitung vorkommen. Zweitens gibt es im Bretonischen einen internen Reim, wobei zusätzlich zum Endreim innerhalb eines Verses mindestens zwei Silben miteinander reimen. Der interne Reim wird dabei von der vorletzten Silbe des Verses bestimmt und eine zweite Silbe, die diesen Reim trägt, findet sich idealerweise in der Silbe direkt vor der Zasur desselben Verses (Ernault 1888, vi-viii; Ernault 1912).

Um nun die verschiedenen Versionen der Legende miteinander vergleichen zu können, habe

ich einzelne Motive herausgearbeitet. Ausgehend vom bretonischen Stück habe ich Entsprechungen in den anderen Versionen gesucht und mit der bretonischen Variante verglichen. Die für diese Arbeit genutzten Motive sind die folgenden: die Teufel, der Turm, Barbaras Unterweisung durch einen Schulmeister und ihr Zusammentreffen mit einem Eremiten/Pilger, Barbaras Taufe, Barbaras Verheiratung, die Fenster im Turm, der Brunnen, die Hirten und der Schlussteil mit dem Charakter „Consciancc". Die Motive werden im wesentlichen entsprechend der Reihenfolge ihres Auftretens im bretonischen Stück abgehandelt.

Aufgrund der strukturellen Ähnlichkeiten zwischen dem jüngeren französischen Stück (*deux journées*) und dem bretonischen Stück (*An Buhez*) – die beiden Stücke ähneln einander hinsichtlich ihrer Länge, der Tatsache, dass beide als Druck publiziert wurden, und des Druckzeitraums – wären weitere Ähnlichkeiten erwartbar. Tatsächlich unterscheidet *deux journées* sich aber insgesamt sehr von den anderen Versionen, da es einige Motive enthält, die sonst nirgends auftauchen (z.B. wird Barbara in einer Pause während ihrer Folter von einer Prostituierten besucht, die von der Heiligen bekehrt wird), andere aber unterschlägt (Longtin 1996). So trifft Barbara zwar auf einen Glaubensvertreter in Form eines Eremiten, hat aber keinen Kontakt zu Origenes oder seinem Vertreter wie in den anderen behandelten Versionen der Legende. Der Eremit ist jedoch ein sehr interessanter Faktor für den Vergleich der Theaterstücke, denn ein Charakter, der als Eremit bezeichnet wird, findet sich auch in *An Buhez*. Allerdings wird im bretonischen Stück schnell klar, dass es sich um einen Pilger handelt, welcher wiederum dem Pilger aus dem älteren französischen Stück (*cinq journées*) auffällig ähnelt. Darüber hinaus gibt es weitere deutliche Ähnlichkeiten zwischen *An Buhez* und *cinq journées*, z.B. beim Turmbau, Barbaras Unterweisung durch einen (*An Buhez*) bzw. zwei (*cinq journées*) Schulmeister, oder die Episode der Hirten. Trotzdem lässt sich *An Buhez* nicht als gekürzte Übersetzung von *cinq journées* auffassen, denn es finden sich auch einige Abweichungen von *cinq journées*. An diesen Stellen entspricht *An Buhez* dann häufig der Version der *Legenda Aurea*. Als besonders auffällig ist hier die Episode um Barbaras Taufe zu nennen. Während sie in Johannes von Wakkerzeels *Historia* und *cinq journées* von einer Erscheinung Johannes des Täufers getauft wird, erhält sie das Sakrament in der *Legenda Aurea* und in *An Buhez* von Origenes' Gesandtem. In *deux journées* wird sie vom Eremiten getauft. Exklusive Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen *An Buhez* und Johannes von Wakkerzeels *Historia*, dem zweiten lateinischen Text, der für diese Arbeit herangezogen wurde, sind schwierig festzustellen, da *cinq journées* in weiten Teilen Johannes von Wakkerzeels *Historia* entspricht (Kim 1998, 375-377). Eine Besonderheit ist allerdings zu nennen. Im Laufe des bretonischen Stücks findet Barbara einen ausgetrockneten Brunnen und belebt diesen wieder. Hierbei beschreibt sie das wiederkehrende Wasser mithilfe verschiedener biblischer Termini, wovon einer „probatisch" ist, was sich wiederum auf den Teich Betesda aus Johannes 5 bezieht. Dieser Teich Betesda wird von den vier mit *An Buhez* verglichenen Texten

nur in Johannes von Wakkerzeels *Historia* erwähnt. Die Episode um den Brunnen ist aber insgesamt sehr interessant, da sie sich als individualisierte bzw. lokalisierte Variante der anderen Barbaraversionen darstellt. Wie bereits erwähnt lässt Dioscorus seiner Tochter in einigen Versionen der Legende ein Badehaus bauen (Johannes von Wakkerzeels *Historia*, *Legenda Aurea*, *cinq journées*). Bei einem Besuch dieses Badehauses lässt Barbara das Wasser aus dem Boden des bis dahin trockenen Beckens hervor sprudeln (Johannes von Wakkerzeels *Historia*, *cinq journées*). Inhaltlich ähneln sich *An Buhez*, *cinq journées* und Johannes von Wakkerzeels *Historia* in dieser Beziehung besonders, aber in *An Buhez* wird das Badehaus eben durch einen Brunnen ersetzt. Dies könnte auf eine lokale Gegebenheit hindeuten. Da mittelalterliches Theater meist im Freien aufgeführt wurde, ist es durchaus möglich, dass der Brunnen in *An Buhez* einen realen Brunnen in einer Ortschaft in der Bretagne widerspiegelt, in der eine Aufführung stattgefunden hat. Das bretonische Stück verfügt darüber hinaus über eine weitere Auffälligkeit, die sich in keiner der anderen vier Versionen wiederfindet. Am Ende der Legende wird Barbara von ihrem Vater enthauptet. In *An Buhez* tritt kurz zuvor ein Charakter mit Namen „Consciancc“ (dt. „Bewusstsein“) auf, der den König von seinem Plan abzubringen versucht. Ein vergleichbarer Charakter findet sich in keinem der beiden Barbarastücke, wohl aber in einem anderen Genre des mittelalterlichen Theaters, nämlich in den Moralitäten. Dort treten solche personifizierte Allegorien als Charaktere auf. Häufig entspinnt sich daraus ein Zwiegespräch zwischen einem positiven und einem negativen allegorischen Charakter, bei dem beide versuchen einen menschlichen Protagonisten auf ihre jeweilige Seite zu ziehen. Ebenso ist der Abschnitt in *An Buhez* angelegt, denn Consciancc ringt mit Beelzebub um die Seele von Dioscorus – tötet er seine Tochter, wird er in die Hölle kommen, lässt er Gnade walten, kann seine Seele noch gerettet werden. Eine solche Entscheidungsgewalt wird dem König nur in *An Buhez* zugesprochen und findet sich nicht in den anderen Texten.

Abschließend bleibt zu sagen, dass das bretonische Stück zwar merkliche Verbindungen zu mehreren anderen Versionen der Legende der heiligen Barbara aufweist, es sich aber keinesfalls um eine bloße Übersetzung eines der Texte handelt. Stattdessen ist das Stücks eine kreative Bearbeitung des Barbarastoffs, der unter Einbeziehung verschiedener hagiographischer und dramaturgischer Quellen zu einem individuellen und erkennbar bretonisch geprägten Kunstwerk geformt wurde.