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Jean Fouquet's 'The Martyrdom of St Apollonia' and 'The Rape of the Sabine Women' as Iconographical Evidence of Medieval Theatre Practice

Philip Butterworth

Jean Fouquet's miniature of *The Martyrdom of St Apollonia* (1465) (Plate 1) has been for many years the most important visual reference available to scholars and theatre practitioners from which to attempt reconstruction of conditions and conventions surrounding the production of medieval theatre.¹ Scholars have analysed this miniature in detail for any information it might yield about the nature of medieval theatre and how such theatre might have been conducted.² It has been thought that this illustration was the only one of its kind painted by Fouquet. However, another similar miniature is attributable to this artist: dating from 1478, it depicts, in a French translation of Roman history by Livy, *The Rape of the Sabine Women* (Plate 2).³ There have been doubts about the attribution of the miniature to Fouquet, but in this paper the provenance of the miniature is of less concern than the potential information that it contains and communicates.⁴ Richard Hosley, in 1971, recognized the illustration's potential to further our understanding of the conditions relating to medieval theatre.⁵ William Tydeman mentioned it in 1978.⁶ However, neither Hosley nor Tydeman attempted to investigate its content. Henri Rey-Flaud undertook an analysis of the illustration in 1973.⁷ English-speaking scholars have not in general recognized the existence of this miniature and its potential significance has remained undeveloped. I propose to examine a number of similar and different features relating to both miniatures, in order to assess their corroborative value.

It might be assumed, at first sight, that the content of both miniatures depicts theatre in action, but this assumption needs examination. When we look at the miniatures how do we know that what we see is representation of real theatre? How might we distinguish between what we see as theatrical acts, in 'documentary' terms, and what might be the artist's use of imaginary theatre conventions? How might these possible realities be determined?



Plate 1: 'The Martyrdom of St Apollonia', from *Les Heures d'Etienne Chevalier*
(Reproduced courtesy of the Musée Condé, Chantilly)

aptes pite. Les pite furent dis pite pour cause
donna et cause de leur lignee furent aples pite.



Comment les rommains ravirent les vier
ges sabines et apres prise des batailles des sabie
contre les rommains. **En** un.
Le peuple et le pouoir rommain estoit
si grant si puissant et si fort que
pouoit en bataille estre egal a chascun qui
estoit ou pais mais ils n'avoient avecques eux
aullz comme nulles femmes ne ne le mouroit.

Plate 2: 'The Rape of the Sabine Women', B.N. Fr. 20071, fol. 9r
(Reproduced courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

In both miniatures, all the depicted people appear to be participants in communal events. However, the roles of the identifiable individuals seem to vary. Some figures appear to be physically active while others are apparently passive. Some people look as if they are watching others. Of itself, this surveillance does not confirm that we are witnessing theatre in action. We may simply be observing celebrations that are not consciously intentioned acts of theatre. Alternatively, we may be looking at artistic or religious statements by the painter that are communicated through the use of narrative or theatre as metaphor. Are there any features, therefore, in either of the miniatures that determine theatre in progress?

The figure dressed in a blue gown with a red collar and red hat is the most identifiable common feature of both miniatures.⁸ He holds a book in his left hand and a stick or pointer in his right hand. By his bodily attitude he is a key figure in determining focus of the visual scene. His posture is essentially the same in both miniatures albeit with different stick gestures. The artist has placed this figure in physically commanding positions in both miniatures. Such spatial significance is capable of fulfilling both the two-dimensional requirement of the artist concerning composition and the three-dimensional theatrical need for visual focus. The physical position of this figure in both illustrations is one of visual importance. It might be presumed that such a figure would enjoy commensurate status with that of his physical presence. What, therefore, might be his role or function?

If the content of the miniatures does represent theatre in action, then this person is likely to be an organizing and/or monitoring figure. His function appears to have been concerned with affecting the performance as it happened. Thus, it might be presumed, that if his book is a text or annotation of the event, then he possessed the capacity to both check and, perhaps more important, anticipate its action. In the theatrical parlance of today his range of responsibilities could have embraced the functions of directing, stage managing, cueing and prompting the players in performance. One might conjecture further that his high-profile presence was considered both necessary and normal to the depicted acts of theatre.

Of all the common features in the miniatures, the presence of this figure most strongly indicates that we are witnessing theatre in action. In terms of the perception of the audience and the viewer of the miniatures he is simultaneously inside and outside the action. The importance of his pivotal role in translating theatrical intention into action is deliberately brought into visual focus by the artist. The apparent formality and style of his dress mark him out from performers and spectators. His role is comparable to the musical conductor of an orchestra or a visible puppeteer in the sense that his physical presence is acknowledged by the audience but is peripheral to

the principal visual focus. His presence does not detract from the action but contributes to a dynamic relationship with the action through a theatrical convention that the audience understands and accepts. No other feature in the miniatures offers the same degree of certainty that we are witnessing theatre. Further common features do exist and may be used to support the notion that theatre is taking place but, of themselves, may be otherwise ambiguous or inconclusive.

For instance, one representation observable in both miniatures is that of the fool. His identity may be confirmed by his possession of the marotte. The sculpted head on the end of the marotte is pointed as is the chin and beard. Both marottes appear to be of similar shape. The clothing of each fool also appears to be of the same style. His inclusion in the miniatures would not, of itself, confirm that we are watching theatre for he could be equally present in some folk tradition or celebration. However, his role and function may be clearly used in support of the notion that theatre is taking place. The same point may be made in respect of the musicians in both miniatures and the devils and angels in *The Martyrdom of St Apollonia*. It is unclear whether the depicted theatre was actually witnessed by Fouquet and represented here, or whether the particular modes of representing theatre visually are exactly equivalent to what in fact takes place. Either way, the respective scenes appear to be constructed from the artist's knowledge of such things. Consequently, lack of clarity over this point does not detract from the capacity of the miniatures to offer evidence of theatrical acts taking place.

Does the subject matter of the miniatures help to establish whether acts of theatre are taking place? It is not clear whether the story of *The Rape of the Sabine Women* as told by Livy is historically accurate. However, details of the story and the circumstances to which it refers suggest some possible layering of meaning in the content presented by the miniature. Livy's story is as follows: After Romulus had created the city of Rome, and become its first king, it became clear that there were not enough women in the city to marry available Roman men. Thus, Romulus sent representatives to neighbouring states in order to 'negotiate alliances and the right of intermarriage for the newly established state'.⁹ Responses to these overtures were largely negative and the young men of Rome were consequently offended and angry. Romulus therefore devised a secret plan to take a number of Sabine women. In his preparations to celebrate the *Consualia*, a celebration in honour of the god Consus or, as Livy records it, 'a solemn festival in honour of Neptune',¹⁰ Romulus sent invitations to all the neighbouring peoples to attend the event. On the day of the festival crowds flocked into Rome. Among them were the Sabines with their wives and children. The people of Rome were most hospitable to their visitors. Then the great moment came:

Ubi spectaculi tempus venit deditaque eo mentes cum oculis erant, tum ex composito orta vis, signoque dato iuventus Romana ad rapiendas virgines discurrit. Magna pars forte, in quem quaeque inciderat, raptae: quasdam forma excellentes primoribus patrum destinatas ex plebe homines, quibus datum negotium erat, domos deferebant: unam longe ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem a globo Thalassii cuiusdam raptam ferunt, multisque sciscitantibus cuinam eam ferrent, identidem, ne quis violaret, Thalassio ferri clamitatum; inde nuptialem hanc vocem factam.¹¹

[The show began, and nobody had eyes or thoughts for anything else. This was the Romans' opportunity: at a given signal all the able-bodied men burst through the crowd and seized the young women. Most of the girls were the prize of whoever got hold of them first, but a few conspicuously handsome ones had been previously marked down for leading senators, and these were brought to their houses by special gangs. There was one young woman of much greater beauty than the rest; and the story goes that she was seized by a party of men belonging to the household of someone called Thalassius, and in reply to the many questions about whose house they were taking her to, they, to prevent anyone else laying hands upon her, kept shouting, 'Thalassius, Thalassius!' This was the origin of the use of this word at weddings.]

Given the content of this story, how much of what we see in the miniature is a fusion of Roman (ostensibly eighth-century BC) and French (fifteenth-century) subject matter? Are we witnessing a play about the *Consualia* and/or *The Rape of the Sabine Women*? Or are we watching a French depiction of the Roman *Consualia* itself? Could it be that we are viewing a composite work intended to communicate a narrative? Does the mixture of Roman and French imagery point to different realities within the miniature?

Clearly, the buildings behind the stands or scaffolds are intended to signify buildings of Rome. However, it seems improbable that the two buildings topped by statues represent known architecture of the eighth century BC. It seems more likely that they represent the artist's interpretation of buildings that were thought to have existed. It is known that Fouquet spent some time in Rome during the mid 1440s and

during this period painted a portrait of Pope Eugene IV.¹² However, it is unclear whether these images represent a record of Fouquet's experience or memory although the seventeenth-century drawing of *The Forum* and surrounding buildings by Gillis van Valckenborch does indicate a similar building in the *Tor de' Conti*.¹³ It is known that separate temples to Consus and Neptune were vowed or built in the third century BC.¹⁴ Given that Livy refers to both Consus and Neptune in his account of *The Rape of the Sabine Women* it is possible, despite the chronological discrepancy of some four centuries, that the two buildings represent these temples. The 'SPQR' designation on the banners of the instruments of the musicians indicates the imaginative setting as being in Rome or of Roman influence. The men of Rome, in the foreground, appear to be clothed in mid-fifteenth-century Italian dress.¹⁵ Further identification of Roman symbols is indistinct or ambiguous.

The distinctly medieval French images appear to consist of the blue-coated figure and the fool. The semi-circular arrangement of scaffold-type structures or stands may be conjectured to be those of, or based upon those of, contemporary France and represent a partial view of theatre in the round.¹⁶ This seems more likely since it is known that early Roman theatres were often temporary structures which consisted of a façade or *skene* and two projecting wings containing doors known as the *paraskenia*.¹⁷

The action taking place in the middle of the miniature appears to relate to the figure that stands on the column. The assumption involved is that this is a statue. If this is the case, what is the significance of the device and who is represented by the figure? Given that the *Consualia* was held in honour of the god, Consus, there is every possibility that the figure is a representation of him. However, since Livy also records that the festival was held in honour of Neptune, patron of the horse, the possibility again arises, that the figure represents Neptune.¹⁸ The two figures to the left of the one on the column, one with the outstretched arm and the other with a bent arm are seemingly pointing or referring to the statue. Are their gestures selected or random ones? They could be either, but the story as told by Livy does offer a key point that might serve to symbolize possible narrative. The chosen moment could well be that at which, 'at a given signal all the able-bodied men burst through the crowd and seized the young women'. It is possible that these gesturing figures provide the 'given signal'.¹⁹

The two figures to the left of the one with the outstretched arm present intriguing issues of focus and role. They are shown within the frame of action determined by the activity in the middle ground of the miniature and as such are in the same spatial and temporal reality as the person holding the book and the two

gesturing figures. One of the two carries a shield and both wear garments that appear to be gathered over their right shoulders. The use of 'highlight' on the top of their respective heads suggests some form of headgear, such as laurel leaves, but this is indistinct. Their bodily attitudes indicate intimate discussion and shared information. This interpretation may be taken further to suggest secrecy or even conspiracy. In addition to their conjectured relationship they direct their attention to the foreground of the miniature which suggests that they are observing the abduction of the women. If these two people are watching the seizure then they represent the means by which the activity in the middle ground is linked to that of the foreground and may be considered to share the same spatial and temporal reality. Given this possible connection, what is the relationship between the abduction of the Sabine women in the foreground and the seated or kneeling figures on the ground? Different answers to this question are possible according to how one identifies the presumed realities.

One such reality might be that the Roman abductors together with the Sabine women are performers, since they may be seen to be linked to the two figures who look upon their activity from the middle ground. This possibility either directs attention to the Sabine women as 'plants' among the viewers/audience or to a form of audience participation. Although there may be apparent logic to these prospects, appropriate corroborative evidence does not confirm such French medieval theatre practice.

An alternative and stronger reality would seem to be that these women have been watching the celebrations of the *Consualia*. If this is the case, then we, the viewers of the miniature, are witnessing a French depiction of the Roman *Consualia* in which Roman and French imagery co-exist. Images of the putative eighth century BC arise as a result of fifteenth-century French perception. Thus, the reality posed by the two figures in the middle ground who look upon the abduction may be interpreted as a faithful version of Livy's narrative. In this interpretation the performers may have been part of the conspiracy to the abduction and thus have had a vested interest in witnessing its implementation. This reading of the miniature also supports the artist's evident concern for compositional unity. Fouquet is asking us to witness the moment of the abduction as Livy recounts it; all other possible realities appear to be secondary to or subsumed under this, the principal reality.

Fouquet seems to have interpreted Livy's use of the word 'spectaculi' as an act of theatre as distinct from other kinds of events such as 'shows' or 'spectacles'.²⁰ The staging arrangements, the existence of the organizer/monitoring figure, the central scenic device of the statue on the pedestal and the three-dimensional disposition of the performers combine to reinforce this interpretation.

Although the identifiable French imagery of the blue-coated figure and the fool may be seen to be the principal means of determining that an act of theatre is taking place, the Roman imagery provided by the supposed performers in the middle of the miniature also may be seen to support this view. However, it is the French imagery that allows the inference that the inspiration concerning the depicted act of theatre is seen to reflect or draw upon theatre practice of fifteenth-century France. Fouquet's interpretation of the *Consualia* is based upon theatre conditions of his own time and place.

The subject matter of the miniature of *The Martyrdom of St Apollonia* is not a matter of straightforward identification, for the significance of the Saint is treated differently in respective legends. It is not, however, my purpose here to argue the relative merits of the diverse claims for the subject matter of the miniature. Rather, I simply want to establish whether the miniature does depict the taking place of a real or imagined act of theatre and what it is that determines this condition.

Given that the blue-coated figure in both miniatures reinforces the notion that acts of theatre are taking place, further examination is needed of his role and its effect upon the nature of the presented theatre. It is important to start from the premise that the role is a normal one, despite the possibility that inclusion of this figure in *The Rape of the Sabine Women* is simply a copy or 'calque' of the apparent original featured in *The Martyrdom of St Apollonia*.²¹

Of the possible roles so far enumerated, the different functions of directing, stage managing, cueing and prompting in performance are all concerned with issues of timing in the theatrical act. So this figure appears to have had an important role in affecting or determining when moments or events occurred within the theatrical reality. Does the relationship between this figure and the performers depend upon simultaneous responses as seen, for example, with a modern musical conductor? Or are any gestures or signals from this figure to the performers given in advance of their required responses? Does the audience have to wait for the performers to respond to any given signal or instruction? Twentieth-century audience expectations of western theatre often require the rate of delivery of a theatrical event to be executed at a tempo that is usually determined by work upon the notion of 'pace'. In practical terms, 'pace' is largely arrived at by actors 'picking up' their lines 'on cue' which prevents unwanted gaps or pauses in the resultant momentum of delivered lines, dialogue or action. This practice and its consequences is normal and expected in much modern western theatre. However, it must not be assumed that this is or was always the case.

The functions of directing and cueing within such an overt convention as this figure represents may have occurred simultaneously with the theatrical action. No

significant additional time need have been taken up by the communication of signals to the performers. However, the undisguised tasks of stage management and prompting are likely to have occurred during an extended amount of time between the signal or instruction from the organizer/monitoring figure and the execution of the moment or action by the performer. If this is the case, modern sensibilities concerned with and conditioned by contemporary western theatre would point to such a time lag or holding up of the action as a weakness in the communicated theatrical statement. Such a response is rooted in assumptions concerning the role and purpose of illusion in the presentation of theatre. Delays brought about by overt mechanisms that do not conspire to reinforce the creation of illusion may be considered as weakening the power of the theatrical statement.

However, examples exist of theatrical conventions in use today in which the relationship between reality and illusion is of a different order. In the village of Trevelez, the highest populated village in Spain, the four-day annual fiesta referred to as the *Fiestas Populares* is held in June and contains a performance known as the *Representación de Moros y Cristianos* in which men of the village present a theatrical enactment of the battle between the Moors and the Christians.²² The *Representación* is held in honour of the patron saint of the village, St Anthony of Padua.²³ A level wooden platform of roughly 3 square metres is constructed to cover the width of the sloping street. A set of wooden steps enables performers and public to ascend to the level surface. Performers arrive and depart on horseback. Some speeches are delivered from the platform and others from performers astride their horses in front of the platform. The only other construction to aid the performance consists of some poles that are lashed together and fastened to existing railings in order to prevent horses and riders from inadvertently falling into another street below.

The most distinctive characteristic of this event concerns the role of the 'maestro' whose principal functions in performance are to organize, prompt and cue protagonists and musicians. However, the convention concerning prompting goes beyond that normally associated with the role. Here the 'maestro' provides the performers with all their lines – not just forgotten ones. He does not prompt from a book but memorises the whole text and its action. He stands behind the prospective speaker in full view of the audience. No attempts are made to disguise his presence or function. The audience is able to witness the entire process in the open. The 'maestro' says the lines quietly in advance of the performer, line by line or statement by statement which is then repeated. Regardless of the content of the line, the outcome is one of declamatory statement. Each line appears to be a separate statement for the performer repeats it as if it is self-contained and unconnected to the previous one.

Lines tend to rise to a climax and are often delivered with arm gestures that culminate with the statements. The rhythm of speech delivery is therefore conditioned by the time it takes for the 'maestro' to say the line (with an accompanying time gap in the action) and the performer to pick up his cue. So the work progresses in this staccato fashion. In one respect the rhythm of speech delivery through the repeated declamatory statement limits vocal variety which in turn makes for a certain theatrical monotony. In another sense, the emphasized rhythm produces a mildly hypnotic effect through what becomes a somewhat repetitive tone.

This theatrical *Representación*, like all theatre, establishes its terms of reference in performance and thereby legitimizes the role and function of the 'maestro'. His position in this event is normal and his presence is necessary to the progress of the presentation. However, the adopted convention that his role represents forces us to reconsider assessments of earlier theatrical conditions that are unconsciously based upon modern-day assumptions and practices.²⁴

The 'maestro' is not simply a practical functionary in the delivery of the *Representación*. His role is integrated into the fabric and expression of the work in such a way that he contributes to the conditioning of theatrical form and style. It seems likely that these sorts of circumstances apply to the Fouquet blue-coated figure.

The implicit concern of anyone who finds it difficult to accept that figures like the Trevez 'maestro' and Fouquet's blue-coated figure are more than supernumeraries is that such figures would destroy the creation of illusion. However, illusion does not have to be allied with sleight-of-hand or action hidden from sight of the audience. All that is needed for illusion to work in the theatrical context is collusion between presenter and audience to the effect that what is said or demonstrated to be illusion by the presenter is agreed to be just that by the audience: the nature of pretence is agreed. In other words the use of illusion is an agreed, imaginative convention, the mechanics of which may be communicated to an audience without fear of damage to the convention. Such a convention may be implicit within the terms of reference established by the theatrical presenters or it may exist by custom or tradition. So the overt physical presence and functions of the Fouquet blue-coated figure would not necessarily help destroy illusion. Rather, the very presence of such a figure may have conditioned the nature of illusion and dictated its use in the development of plot or narrative.

The performer/audience relationship clearly affects the 'agreed pretence' in the Trevez *Representación*. Performances of the players are conditioned by the fact that the 'maestro' provides all the lines which are repeated. The role and function of the audience in performance is different from one indoors in modern western theatre.

Identification and involvement of the audience with the *Representación* conditions a relationship with the performed action that is tantamount to the audience being in role as performer. This is not the same as a contemporary understanding of audience participation, but of a depth of involvement brought about by a combination of shared social, cultural, religious and traditional factors. This *Representación* belongs to the audience which responds accordingly. Shouts and cries from the audience punctuate the proceedings. The audience, along with the 'maestro', knows the action of the event, so much so that it is able to anticipate verbal and physical cues to the band for 'musica'. Individuals in the audience shout to cue the music at the same time as the 'maestro'. Sometimes, members of the audience who shout cues for the 'musica' get the timing wrong and the 'maestro' has to correct the cue by gesticulating to the band leader. When protagonists deliver speeches from their horses they are not given their lines by the 'maestro', who is positioned on the platform, but by the Moorish 'diablillo' [little devil] who is a fool figure. He carries a pole to which is attached a large ball (slightly bigger than a soccer ball) that is covered with lambswool. The 'diablillo' hits horses and members of the audience with this instrument in a manner reminiscent of the fool with a pig's bladder or balloon in an English mummers' play. The apparent antagonism provided by this figure in hitting the horses is only a small part of a larger provocation to get the horses to rear up on to their hind legs. After a particularly fine display of this kind, horses and riders are showered by handfuls of sweets thrown at them by obliging teenagers in the audience who stand on balconies and rooftops. Younger children eventually scabble for the sweets in the street.

The Trevelez *Representación* clearly offers some vital evidence to the possible relevance and role of the blue-coated figure in the Fouquet miniatures. If these paintings tell us anything about the nature of fifteenth-century theatre in France, other than the physical staging arrangements, they do so through the blue-coated figure. The sorts of representations, impersonations or imitations of kings, emperors, torturers, fools, devils, saints and angels in the miniatures belong to a range of portrayals that still exist in many different kinds of modern theatrical events. Similarly, modern theatrical conditions may also embrace the physical staging configurations seen in the miniatures. However, the area in most need of investigation is the one which deals with the underlying theatrical assumptions that are shared between presenter and audience. Fouquet's blue-coated figure occupies a pivotal place in demonstrating and expressing this theatrical confluence.

NOTES

I should like to thank Max Harris for pointing me towards the Trevelez *Representación de Moros y Cristianos*. I am also grateful to Urszula Szulakowska and David Hill who read and commented on an earlier draft of the paper.

¹ The following sources are representative: Gustave Cohen, *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du Moyen Age* (Paris: Champion, 1906; 2nd edn 1926; repr. 1951), pl. facing p. 86 and passim; Allardyce Nicoll, *The Development of the Theatre* (London: Harrap, 1927; 5th edn 1966), pp. 56-57; A. M. Nagler, *A Source Book in Theatrical History (Sources of Theatrical History)* (New York: Dover, 1952), pp. 49, 51, 54; Natalie Crohn Schmitt, 'Was there a Medieval Theatre in the Round?: A Re-examination of the Evidence (Part 1)', *Theatre Notebook*, 23.4 (1969), 130-42; (Part 2), 24.1 (1969), 18-25; *The Hours of Etienne Chevalier: Jean Fouquet*, intro. by Claude Schaefer (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), pl. 45; Glynne Wickham, *The Medieval Theatre* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974), p. 83, pl. 23; Graham A. Runnalls, 'Medieval French Drama: A Review of Recent Scholarship (Part 1A: General Surveys of Religious Drama)', *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama*, 21 (1978), 83-90; Graham A. Runnalls, 'The Catalogue of the Tours Book-Seller and Late Medieval French Drama', *Le Moyen Français*, 11 (1982), 112-28; David Bevington, 'Castles in the air: the morality plays', in *The Theatre of Medieval Europe: New Research in Early Drama*, ed. by Eckehard Simon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 97-116 (pp. 101-02); Leslie Abend Callahan, 'The Torture of Saint Apollonia: Deconstructing Fouquet's Martyrdom Stage', *Studies in Iconography*, 16 (1994), 119-38.

² Richard Southern, *The Medieval Theatre in the Round* (London: Faber and Faber, 1957; 2nd edn 1975), passim; Henri Rey-Flaud, *Le Cercle magique: essai sur le théâtre en rond à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris: Gallimard, 1973), pp. 113-36; William Tydeman, *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 138-39, 143, 146, 147, 151, 153-54, 159, 164, 177, 182, 214-15, 231.

³ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Fr. 20071, fol. 9^r.

⁴ Rey-Flaud discusses the provenance of the miniature and cites the doubts of Paul Durrieu concerning its authenticity but also refers to Klaus G. Perls in support of its legitimacy. Rey-Flaud, pp. 132-33.

⁵ Richard Hosley, 'Three Kinds of Outdoor Theatre before Shakespeare', *Theatre Survey*, 33.12 (1971), 1-33 (pp. 4-5).

⁶ Tydeman, p. 143.

⁷ Rey-Flaud, pp. 133-36.

⁸ The following titles and functions have been ascribed to this figure: 'Régisseur'

(Cohen, Nagler); 'Meneur de Jeu' (Cohen); 'Stage Director' (Nagler); 'Master of Ceremonies' (Nagler); 'Repetitur' (Wickham).

⁹ *Livy: The Early History of Rome, Books I-V of the History of Rome from its Foundation*, trans. by Aubrey de Séincourt (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1960; repr. 1971), p. 43.

¹⁰ *Livy: The Early History of Rome*, p. 43.

¹¹ *Livy: In Fourteen Volumes*, trans. by B. O. Foster (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919; repr. 1976), I, 34-37. This translation taken from *Livy: The Early History of Rome*, p. 44.

¹² *The Hours of Etienne Chevalier: Jean Fouquet*, p. 17; Paul Wescher, *Jean Fouquet And His Time* (Basle: Pleiades Books, 1947), p. 24; Trenchard Cox, *Jean Fouquet: Native of Tours* (London: Faber and Faber, 1931), p. 29.

¹³ Paul Hetherington, *Medieval Rome: A Portrait of the City and its Life* (London: The Rubicon Press, 1994), pl. 23.

¹⁴ H. H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), pp. 177-78, 234-35, 236-37; *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. by M. Cary and others (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1949), pp. 232, 603.

¹⁵ Examples of the dress are to be found in the following: François Boucher, *A History of Costume in the West* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967), p. 210, fig. 399; Millia Davenport, *The Book of Costume* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1948; repr. 1966), I, p. 249, fig. 699, p. 254, fig. 714; Albert Racinet, *The Historical Encyclopedia of Costume* (London: Studio Editions, 1988), pp. 154-55; John Peacock, *The Chronicle of Western Costume* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), pp. 65, 77; Iris Brooke, *Western European Costume: Thirteenth to Seventeenth Century And its Relation to the Theatre* (London: Harrap., 1939), pl. opp. p. 78.

¹⁶ Southern, pp. 91-107; Rey-Flaud, pp. 113-36. One of the main arguments for these miniatures depicting a partial view of theatre in the round concerns the position of the audience at ground level within a semi-circular space. Why would these people be represented in a semi-circular space to watch theatre? If these people were outside of the semi-circular space watching the performed action the performance might take place in a semi-circular form. There is no historical precedent or theatrical sense in the miniatures representing a semi-circular form of theatre if the audience is seen within the semi-circle.

¹⁷ Richard C. Beacham, *The Roman Theatre and its Audience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 56-85 (p. 57).

¹⁸ The connection of Neptune, patron of the horse, to the *Consualia* is considered to be incorrect. See Scullard, p. 178; *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 603.

¹⁹ Plutarch in his version of the story records: 'The signal that the time had come for the onslaught was to be his rising and folding his cloak and then throwing it round him again.'

Plutarch's *Lives: Theseus and Romulus; Lycurgus and Numa; Solon and Publicola*, trans. by Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914; repr. 1993), p. 129.

²⁰ It is unclear whether Fouquet took his interpretation from the original Latin text or from the French translation that he was to illustrate. Either way, his interpretation places emphasis on an act of theatre.

²¹ Even if this is the case, as Rey-Flaud suggests, it does not affect the value of the miniature in its capacity to provide evidence of the kind displayed in *The Martyrdom of St Apollonia*.

²² Trevelez is in the Sierra Nevada, south-east of Granada. The four-day festival took place in 1997 between the 13-16 June and the *Representación de Mores y Cristianos* was held in the late afternoon of Saturday 14 June.

²³ *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, ed. by David Hugh Farmer, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 26-27.

²⁴ At the time of writing, I am uncertain of the age of the Trevelez *Representación*. Even if the age of the event is known, its provenance does not directly affect my argument. It is possible that the history of the event may be subject to similar doubts as those surrounding the history of the English mummers' plays where the events are thought to have been derived from some ancient tradition and where there is little historical evidence of their existence beyond the nineteenth century.