

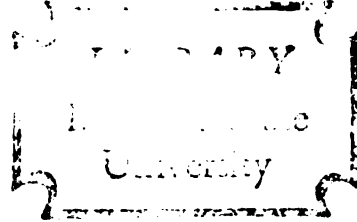
TIME AND THE RELIGIOUS DRAMA: AN INVESTIGATION
INTO THE FORMAL DRAMATIC STRUCTURE OF TWELVE
PASSION PLAYS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

JOHN WILLIS ARNOLD

1977



This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

Time and the Religious Drama: An Investigation
Into the Formal Dramatic Structure of Twelve
Passion Plays of the Middle Ages

presented by

John Willis Arnold

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Department
of German and Russian

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Richard Ernest Walker".

Major professor

Date August 3, 1977

ABSTRACT

TIME AND THE RELIGIOUS DRAMA: AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE FORMAL DRAMATIC STRUCTURE OF TWELVE PASSION PLAYS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

by

JOHN WILLIS ARNOLD

The massive corpus of criticism written about the medieval religious drama contains few studies of either its structure or its dramatic intensity. Through a consideration of the formal, regenerative structure of twelve Passion plays encompassing the years 1150 AD. to 1517 AD. and originating in Italy, Germany, France, and England, I have attempted to unearth several reasons for their extraordinary theatrical longevity. The method employed was derived from the phenomenological school of criticism and especially the treatment of temporal dramatic structures advanced by Peter Pütz. The process of creating anticipation in audiences was found to be the cornerstone of the formal organization of all dramatic endeavors, regardless of their time of production. Attention was directed to the manner in which medieval playwrights integrated succession as well as past and future events into a 'present', or audience-imminent time. Several categories of temporal manipulation were applied to each play in an attempt to discern how specific authors consciously or unconsciously employed dramatic-structural techniques to extend their productions beyond the confines of scriptural records while faithfully representing the sacred history of Christ's Passion.

The biblical story was found to admit numerous alternatives of representation, possibilities consistent with religious, cultural, and social values and attitudes of the surrounding society. The texts were divided into chronological groups to afford opportunities to compare

and contrast tectonic methods within the four mentioned national literatures.

The two texts of Group I (1150-1250) presented the Passion in a commemorative fashion, celebrating the facts of Jesus' triumph over His enemies. Group II (1250-1340) gradually redefined and amplified existing material to stress the Lord's human suffering. This redefinition led directly back to a renewed Christocentric piety introduced by St. Bernard, St. Anselm, St. Francis, St. Bonaventure, the Franciscan preachers, and John of Caulibus. Group III plays (1340-1517) greatly expanded an awakened interest in character portrayal and social criticism to instruct, to moralize, and to preach.

The method revealed a correlation of intent and form. Artists chose or instinctively included certain temporal categories to reflect their attitudes and designs for the works.

By investigating time structures I was able to identify and evaluate the curious tendency for anachronistic presentation in medieval Passions, then to comprehend it in light of the medieval understanding of sacred history, that is, the eternal 'presentness' of Old and New Testament truths. There emerged a 'theory of dramatization' perceived by few medieval scholars. This definition of the consequence of time made many modern ideas on ideal dramatic forms redundant and inconsequential.

Another result of this study was an expanded aesthetic appreciation of often masterful, occasionally inspired methods of rendering the age-old tale of the Passion. It was found that, by employing objective measurement to non-contemporary dramas, a modern mind, having put away its preconceptions and prejudices, could enjoy and more thoroughly comprehend the artistry behind these monuments of medieval Europe.

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by

John Willis Arnold

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to

Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of German and Russian

1977

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DEDICATION

For my understanding and loving wife, Claudia,
for my dear and patient son, Michael, and for
our esteemed mutual friend, Gail.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is with a profound sense of gratitude that I recognize the many persons who have lent their abilities to this thesis:

Dr. Richard Walker, co-chairman, whose unfailing interest, support, and human perceptions kept me at the task these many months;

Dr. Sandro Sticca, co-chairman, who so graciously shared both his time and vast knowledge of medieval drama and criticism, and without whose constant guidance and concern the task would long since have been abandoned;

Dr. Arnold Williams, who many years ago provided the initial spark of interest in medieval drama and at whose hands the topic first took shape;

Dr. Ann Harrison, who first introduced me to the French branch of the medieval dramatic family and constantly supported me with her wisdom;

Dr. Kurt Schild, a demanding, but understanding taskmaster, who taught me to read;

Dr. John Yunck, a singularly knowledgeable and effective teacher, whose insights into medieval culture and literature, combined with a well-honed wit and deeply-appreciated humanity, excited my curiosity and caused me to endure the difficulties of a lengthy investigation;

Mr. Walter Burinski and the staff of the Inter-Library Loan Facility at Michigan State University, who cheerfully and expertly provided many specialized texts upon which the thesis rests.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES.	viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES.	ix
PREFACE	xi
CHAPTER	
I Introduction	1
II Traditional Scholarship.	23
III Methodology.	33
The Stratum Theory of Literature.	35
The Stratum of Linguistic Creation.	36
The Stratum of Meaning Unity.	37
The Stratum of Represented Perceivable Objects.	39
The Stratum of Schematized Aspects.	40
Medieval Drama and Literary Temporal Parameters	42
Successive Ordering of Events	44
Presentational Time and Represented Time.	46
Temporal Foreshortening	49
Tempo- Acceleration and Retardation	51
Parallelism, Interruption, and Psycho- intellectual Moments	53
Suspense and Anticipation	57
IV Formal Consideration of Drama and the Dramatic	63
The Genre Drama and the 'Dramatic' Style.	63
Medieval Drama as 'Drama'	66
V Group I- Montecassino and Benediktbeuern	74
Time of Presentation and Represented Time	75
Succession of Events.	78
Adverbial Evidence	78
Temporal Linking of Events	79
Spatial Movement	81
Appearance and Withdrawal of Characters.	84
Succession by Dialog	87
Plot	92
Design and Realization.	93
Command and Execution	96
Mention and Appearance of Characters.	97

Tempo of Succession	99
Temporal Parallelism	102
Interruption and Suspension.	105
Discourse on Mary Magdalene.	111
Anticipation of the Future	114
Proclaimed Occurrences Originating in	
the Material	115
Announced arrivals	115
Prophecy	116
Oaths.	120
Forms of Proclamation Emanating from	
Structure.	122
Intimated Occurrences Originating in	
the Material	123
Time Consciousness	124
Mood	126
Dreams	128
Forms of Intimation Emanating from	
Structure.	130
Discourse on Conventions of	
Early Stages	130
Silence.	132
Music.	134
Recovery of the Past	135
Events Previous to the Onset of	
Dramatization.	137
Remembrance.	137
Trials	139
Expositional Forms of Remembrance	142
Narrated Pre-history	143
Pre-history as a Present Circumstance.	144
Actualized Pre-history	145
Retrieved Events Within Dramatized Time	147
Epic Application of the Chorus.	149
VI Group II- St. Gall, Wien, Palatinus, Autun B and R.	160
Time of Presentation and Represented Time.	173
Succession of Events	184
Adverbial Evidence.	185
Temporal Linking of Events.	187
Spatial Movement.	193
Appearance and Withdrawal of Characters	200
Succession by Dialog.	204
Plot.	213
Design and Realization	214
Command and Execution	218
Mention and Appearance of Characters	218
Passage of Time	220

Tempo of Succession . . . . .	.223
Discourse on the Virgin and her Structural Importance in the Passions of the Fourteenth Century. . . . .	.235
Temporal Parallelism . . . . .	.268
Interruption and Suspension. . . . .	.273
Integration of the Future. . . . .	.289
Proclaimed Occurrences Originating in the Material . . . . .	.289
Announced Arrivals . . . . .	.289
Prophecy . . . . .	.290
Oaths. . . . .	.293
Forms of Proclamation Emanating from Structure. . . . .	.294
Intimated Occurrences Originating in the Material . . . . .	.297
Time Consciousness . . . . .	.297
Mood . . . . .	.300
Dreams . . . . .	.302
Forms of Intimation Emanating from Structure. . . . .	.303
Silence. . . . .	.303
Music. . . . .	.304
Reflection and Contrast. . . . .	.304
Integration of the Past. . . . .	.311
Events Previous to the Onset of Dramatization. . . . .	.313
Remembrance. . . . .	.313
Trials . . . . .	.315
Expositional Forms of Remembrance . . . . .	.317
Pre-history as a Present Circumstance. . . . .	.318
Actualized Pre-history . . . . .	.319
Retrieved Events Within Dramatized Time . . . . .	.320
VII Group III- Chester, Towneley, Gréban's Mistère, Donaueschingen, Alsfeld. . . . .	.332
Time of Presentation and Represented Time. . . . .	.349
Succession of Events . . . . .	.374
Passage of Time . . . . .	.374
Succession by Dialog. . . . .	.376
Plot. . . . .	.384
Design and Realization . . . . .	.384
Mention and Appearance of Characters . . . . .	.386
Tempo of Succession . . . . .	.388
Discourse on the 'Reality' of the Crucifixion. . . . .	.396
Temporal Parallelism . . . . .	.408

Interruption and Suspension. . . . .	.412
Integration of the Future. . . . .	.425
Proclaimed Occurrences Originating in	
the Text . . . . .	.425
Oaths. . . . .	.425
Intrigue . . . . .	.427
Forms of Proclamation Emanating from	
Structure. . . . .	.434
Intimated Occurrences Originating in	
the Material . . . . .	.441
Time Consciousness . . . . .	.441
Mood . . . . .	.442
Unconsciousness. . . . .	.443
Forms of Intimation Emanating from	
Structure. . . . .	.446
Meaningful Noises. . . . .	.446
Reflection and Contrast. . . . .	.448
Integration of the Past. . . . .	.455
Events Previous to the Onset of	
Dramatization. . . . .	.455
Expositional Forms of Remembrance . . . . .	.457
Narrated Pre-history . . . . .	.457
Pre-history as a Present Circumstance. . . . .	.459
Retrieved Events Within Dramatized Time . . . . .	.463
VIII Conclusion. . . . .	.477
APPENDICES . . . . .	.486
FOOTNOTES. . . . .	.509
LIST OF REFERENCES . . . . .	.602

LIST OF TABLES

Table

1	List of Plays Examined . . . . .	.22
2	Adverbial Evidence of Succession	486
3	The Scenic Structure of <i>Montecassino</i>	488
4	The Scenic Structure of <i>BenP</i>	489
5	The Scenic Structure of <i>StG</i>	490
6	The Scenic Structure of <i>Wien</i>	493
7	The Scenic Structure of <i>Palat.</i>	494
8	The Scenic Structure of <i>Autun B.</i>	495
9	The Scenic Structure of <i>Autun R.</i>	496
10	The Scenic Structure of <i>Chester.</i>	497
11	The Scenic Structure of <i>Towneley</i>	499
12	The Scenic Structure of <i>Mistère.</i>	500
13	The Scenic Structure of <i>Donau.</i>	503
14	The Scenic Structure of <i>Alsfeld.</i>	506

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

<i>Alsfeld</i>	Das Alsfelder Passionsspiel
<i>Autun B</i>	La Passion d'Autun- B(iardi) manuscript
<i>Autun R</i>	La Passion d'Autun- R(omani) manuscript
<i>BenP</i>	Das Benediktbeurer Passionsspiel
<i>Chester</i>	The Chester Cycle
<i>Christusbild</i>	<u>Pickering</u> : „Das gotische Christusbild, Zu den Quellen mittelalterlichen Passionsdarstellung."
<i>Configurations</i>	<u>Nelson</u> : "Some Configurations of Staging in Medieval Drama."
<i>Deutsche Drama</i>	<u>Michael</u> : <i>Das Deutsche Drama des Mittelalters</i>
<i>DLK</i>	<u>Ingarden</u> : <i>Das Literarische Kunstwerk</i>
<i>DL:1500</i>	<u>Michael</u> : „Deutsche Literatur bis 1500: Drama."
<i>Donau</i>	Das Donaueschinger Passionsspiel
<i>DMC</i>	<u>Young</u> : <i>Drama of the Medieval Church</i>
<i>Drama</i>	<u>Brinkmann</u> : „Das Religiöse Drama im Mittelalter: Arten und Stufen."
<i>Drama</i>	<u>Hartl</u> : „Das Deutsche Drama des Mittelalters."
<i>DVjs</i>	Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift
<i>EES</i>	<u>Wickham</u> : <i>Early English Stages: 1300 to 1600</i> , vol. I.
<i>Eigenform</i>	<u>Brinkmann</u> : „Die Eigenform des mittelalterlichen Dramas in Deutschland."
<i>Elemente</i>	<u>Müller, Maria</u> : <i>Tragische Elemente im Passionsspiel des Mittelalters</i>
<i>English Religious Lyric</i>	<u>Woolf, Rosemary</u> : <i>The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages</i>
<i>Erkennen</i>	<u>Ingarden</u> : <i>Vom Erkennen des Literarischen Kunstwerks</i>
<i>Figure</i>	<u>Meyers</u> : <i>A Figure Given: Typology in the Wakefield Plays</i>

List of Abbreviations and Short Titles (cont'd)

<i>Formgeschichte</i>	<u>Böckmann</u> : <i>Formgeschichte der Deutschen Dichtung</i>
<i>French Drama</i>	<u>Frank</u> : <i>The Medieval French Drama</i>
<i>GR</i>	Germanic Review
<i>GRM</i>	Germanisch-Romanisches Monatsheft
<i>Grundbegriffe</i>	<u>Staiger</u> : <i>Grundbegriffe der Poetik</i>
<i>JEGP</i>	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
<i>Lit and Art</i>	<u>Pickering</u> : <i>Literature and Art in the Middle Ages</i>
<i>Mimes</i>	<u>Gamer</u> : "Mimes, Musicians, and the Origin of the Mediaeval Religious Plays."
<i>Montecassino</i>	The Montecassino Passion Play
<i>Mistère</i>	<u>Gréban</u> : <i>Le Mistère de la Passion</i>
<i>Palat</i>	La Passion du Palatinus
<i>Passion</i>	<u>Sticca</u> : <i>The Latin Passion Play</i>
<i>Pilate</i>	<u>Williams</u> : <i>The Characterization of Pilate in the Towneley Plays</i>
<i>PMLA</i>	Publications of the Modern Language Association
<i>Prozessionsspiele</i>	<u>Michael</u> : <i>Die Geistlichen Prozessions-spiele in Deutschland</i>
<i>Spirituality</i>	<u>Sticca</u> : "Drama and Spirituality in the Middle Ages."
<i>StG</i>	Das St. Galler Passionsspiel
<i>Stil</i>	<u>Müller, Walther</u> : <i>Der Schauspielerische Stil im Passionsspiel des Mittelalters</i>
<i>Teufel</i>	<u>Rudwin</u> : <i>Der Teufel in den deutschen geistlichen Spielen des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit</i>
<i>Themes and Images</i>	<u>Gray</u> : <i>Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyric</i>
<i>Towneley</i>	The Towneley Cycle
<i>Untersuchung StG</i>	<u>Hartl</u> : „Untersuchungen zum St. Galler Passionsspiel."
<i>Verschmelzung</i>	<u>Wolff, Ludwig</u> : „Die Verschmelzung des Dargestellten mit der Gegenwartswirklichkeit im Geistlichen Drama des Mittelalters."
<i>Wien</i>	Das Wiener Passionsspiel

PREFACE

In the subsequent analysis of medieval drama I have selected a viewpoint which emanates from a personal reading of the texts. The reasons for such a non-traditional approach to these products of ages long past are twofold: my primary interest and intent during this exercise is to offer aesthetic insights for modern readers which will enable them, if not to thoroughly enjoy, then at least to respect the accomplishments of artisans operating within a set of literary rules or 'handicaps' significantly different from those we take for granted; the resulting structural analysis *may* provide insights into medieval thought and life, providing in the mirror of staged activity at least a glimpse of the possible reality laying behind it. The uninterrupted flow of chronology has made the way back through the centuries, particularly through the vehicle of literature, fraught with cultural, religious, even historical misunderstanding;¹ we cannot renew an acquaintance with medieval drama in the same manner as did its contemporary audiences; we must rely on manuscripts which, in many cases, have not well withstood changes in religious dogma, war, or general neglect, and which are subject to scribal whim, the ultimate significance of which we can only conjecture. We also view dramatic activity from an altered point of view. But the unyielding curtain of time and change may prove to have small tears in it through which we may occasionally peek. In the final analysis, however, the cultural and religious distance between then and now is simply too great to bridge with complete success. We may approach that flickering mirage of truth, and, if we are careful and fortune smiles, chance to touch it here and there. Nevertheless our tools will remain imperfect at best, for any modern analysis or

discussion, though it purport to contain ultimate viewpoints and perceptions similar or identical to the Middle Ages, will inevitably betray its anachronistic bias to one degree or another.² I have, therefore, chosen to adopt a stance which is obviously modern, but which at its most challenging point demands that each work be considered in light of the exigencies of literary creativity which define it and make it unique. It is not only naïveté, but intellectual folly to expect, for example, a complete originality of plot and character from medieval drama. The initial step on the path of acceptance and literary enjoyment is to recognize that that particular value so highly prized by twentieth-century man has little, and in many instances, no appeal or value of its own in medieval times.³ But this is not the only problem inherent in the ensuing discussion. The theme of the analysis and the critical method employed therein raise several fundamental literary questions. Some relate to the concept of temporal experience, one which has undergone substantial mutation in the centuries separating us from the Middle Ages, while others appear as part of an essentially modern literary theory generated by the philosophy of phenomenology. To afford methodological clarity, it will be necessary to differentiate between medieval and modern thought on the nature and experience of time. A second category requiring amplification will be the philosophical distinctions which separate the two ages. It is also necessary to consider the experiences which bind the two eras to complete the picture.

Several basic observations concerning the inner workings of phenomenology must be made, since this method has rarely been applied to medieval texts. Although the following remarks offer an outline of numerous literary tenants of this philosophy, my interest in offering

them is to establish the validity of the approach, not to engage in a protracted examination of the psychological and philosophical background of the method. I shall discuss only those portions of phenomenology which have directly affected the outcome of this *literary* investigation. Readers who feel the inclination to explore these theories further are referred to the works on the subject quoted in later footnotes and in the general bibliography.

The attempt to define the playwright's intention through structural analysis is made with the full realization that the result must remain only an attempt. One must be something of a modern Renaissance man for complete understanding of a complex phenomenon like medieval drama. Thus, I do not imply a thorough recapitulation of medieval philosophy, rather a recognition of the correlation of form and intent at a fundamental level of artistic creation.

Since my interest is not specifically to ascertain the origins of particular characters or dramatic forms, or to investigate other than in the most superficial way the influence of the liturgy or Easter plays on evolving Passion plays, I have omitted the normal discussion of the evolution of liturgical drama from the tenth-century '*Quem quaeritis*' trope through the several steps culminating in Easter plays and preparing the way for fully-developed Passions. A particularly well-written outline of this development is offered by William L. Boletta in *The Role of Music in Medieval German Drama: Easter Plays and Passion Plays* (Nashville, 1967).

Allied with my cardinal interest in the coming paragraphs is the desire to investigate through the techniques of structural measurement the degree to which medieval men were able to fashion *meaningful*

dramatic forms from biblical material. I choose formal analysis which turns upon the successful integration of several temporal phenomena in order to ascertain how well the Middle Ages reconstituted drama without knowledge of previous Greek and Latin theatrical practices. What forces act upon the author as he attempts to mold the story which *precedes* the dramatic genre?; how will he shape a tale which turns on supernatural and miraculous events and whose sequence permeates the whole of historical time? How does his product employ structural-temporal necessities of effective theatrical performance? What follows is a consideration of the *reformulation of a genre* as witnessed by dramatic structure. How an author provides for spectator interest is a very real indicator of the quality of that reconstitution.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The experience of time is a universal human phenomenon. Each person experiences time in some fashion, for, as Meyerhoff explains, "There is no experience . . . which does not have a temporal index attached to it."¹ From the dawn of civilization mankind has studied the passage of time and determined methods of measuring it, thereby relating himself to its movement. He has not always occupied his present psychological and philosophical position relative to the coming and going of events. Modern man's predilection for viewing past events as separate from his present situation (except as one event causes another) is a function of his historic sense, one which places developments into specific contexts relating social, cultural, religious, and political events to one another and to a given historical situation. For modern man there is little sense of continuity in life or art. His is a world in continuous flux; innovation becomes an artistic virtue of exceeding importance. It is for these reasons that to more clearly understand medieval art in general and medieval religious drama² in particular, we must consider the ancient concepts of man's relationship to the passage of time and contrast it with our own modern ideas. Only then will we be prepared to ask what the medieval religious drama communicated to its audience and what form the message took.

In the temporal frame of reference which constituted spiritual behavior medieval man perceived himself surrounded by abiding things. He counted himself part of a hierarchy of existence from the lowest forms to the highest, whose members possessed an intrinsic continuity.³ All existence was created existence and seemed to be created each moment, not anew, but continually. God gave things being and at the same time caused them to endure.⁴ There was a specific form of continuity inherent in the creative act which linked man and his surroundings to previous and succeeding generations. In its most general sense time was not horizontally linked from one secular event to another, but rather evolved on earth and rose vertically into eternity.⁵ The result was incomplete duration, a system continually developing towards some uncharted future union with the Creator. Georges Poulet explains:

Thus sustained by the permanent continuity of substantial form, the moving continuity of time unrolled itself, so mobile and so fluid that it was impossible to distinguish consecutive moments. No doubt such fluidity implied a part of non-being. But what distinguished this time from Heraclitan time or even Platonic time . . . was that it was a movement towards an end. . . . Even in his body the Christian of the Middle Ages felt a continuous orientation towards a spiritual perfection. Time had a direction. Time finally carried the Christian toward God.⁶

For medieval man, then, time was "strictly limited in duration and importance: it differed from eternity, and in eternity lay all human goals."⁷ Eternity, as understood by our ancestors meant not infinite time, but *timelessness*.⁸ This concept of time which placed God outside the confines of human temporal experience, but recognized His unlimited dominion over it, projects numerous staged conventions upon medieval theater, most notably that of a pervasive anachronism, which at first glance seems strangely out of place or 'foreign' to us. As we delve

further into certain of the peculiarities of medieval theater, its importance and appropriateness will become apparent.

The perception modern readers bring to literature is conditioned by the habit of attaching chronology to all events, their genesis, continuation, and exodus being delimited by fairly specific dates in history. They do not lead to eternity, but issue from one, continue into another, only to disappear into the vagueness of past time. They may be recalled, but are seen as having left the consciousness of present things, resting somewhere in the realm of history. Even when we bring an event nearer our reality through memory, an inescapable logic tells us that it continually recedes into history, or as Roman Ingarden observes:

Es wird immer ,älter', immer mehr ,ancien', immer länger ,vergangen'. Zwischen das vergangene Ereignis und unsere immer neue Gegenwart schieben sich immer neue, soeben noch gegenwärtige und jetzt schon vergangene Tatsachen, Prozesse, usw. . . . Aber auch diese . . . eben noch werdende aktuelle Gegenwart geht nichtsdestoweniger vorbei und verwandelt sich in eine neue Vergangenheit, . . .⁹

Modern man distinguishes consecutive moments and marks them in his mind. But he has lost the benefits inherent in relating himself to past events and experiencing the implied continuity. He has instead substituted history in its broadest sense. His chronological notion not only colors his philosophy of life, it also permeates his literature. Modern man has little tolerance for anachronism in art, events or objects out of chronological order with their surroundings. Medieval man, on the other hand, referred his whole cultural, social, and religious life to the vast panorama of preceding events and found a satisfying sense of endurance. In his religious life, our ancestors from the Middle Ages formulated their weekly communion with God in terms

of sacred history. History for them was not, as Weber puts it, "a descriptive ordering value",¹⁰ giving events a life of their own in a chronology which might be conceived as a relationship between cause and effect; man's final reality, his origin, end, and center of time, was the Almighty, Who dwelt beyond time.¹¹

Even if man considered himself part of incomplete duration, he was, by virtue of his temporal bondage and human condition, conscious of the passage of time in other ways. He experienced night and day, the changing seasons, the times of nature. But this natural time was impossible to mark with accuracy until the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the introduction of counter-poised clocks afforded him freedom from the vicissitudes of inclement weather.¹² Before the advent of this invention, mankind reckoned the movement of time by motion of heavenly bodies-- when he could see them. These phenomena all conform to sidereal or conceptual time, of calendar and clock time, recognized by modern scientists and mathematicians in their calculations. For medieval man conceptual time was decidedly inferior to his spiritual timepiece. Conceptual or natural time may have guided his system of food production, his lying down and rising up, but in things of the spirit, he was indifferent to its passage, as Scholes and Kellog state: "For ancient man the significant (i.e. ritual) actions, by virtue of their identification with mythical events, took place outside of ordinary chronological time."¹³ Medieval man's spirit was bound to an entity beyond his reckoning of days and years. Unchanging rituals integrated individuals into the community of true believers; the liturgy subsumed every aspect of the person into direct affiliation with his Lord's life.¹⁴ Even natural time and seasonal changes were

integrated into the Church calendar by alliance with stages of redemption: autumn prepared Christ's inception into human time by Advent; the long period of penitance during Lent flowered with nature in spring and came to bloom in Easter; summer was equated to Pentecost.¹⁵ The Roman Mass, occupying the center of liturgical celebration, was ordered in its variable parts to stress the lives of saints (though on a daily, not seasonal basis).¹⁶ For members of religious orders even the hours of the day were fixed, not by the natural course of time (though Prime and the rising of the sun were linked allegorically),¹⁷ but enclosed in prayer and a reformulation of sacred history using Scripture, according to Weber, to "relate each day to the seasonal (religious) cycle of the year and to interpret the passage of the day in the life of the individual soul."¹⁸ Thus was medieval man's life ordered far beyond natural or conceptual time; every moment or wish on his part or on that of the congregation was "articulated and consecrated by the liturgy of the Church."¹⁹ His eyes saw the ultimate truth of a God-centered universe beyond his sensual experience of changing hour and season.

As noted, natural or sidereal time is a constant. But entirely different methods of experiencing the flow of time exist which employ criteria other than the constancy of moving bodies; they prevail outside the barriers of natural time; they are not always steady, determined or defineable passages of minutes, hours, or days. This time experience has its origin in each individual consciousness, a fact recognized by ancient and modern minds alike. It is also somewhat independent of the idea of sacred history, for though it may be directed by the sacred,

its ultimate reality exists in the psyche of every individual.

St. Augustine, in rejecting the concept of sidereal time as the final arbiter of temporal experience,²⁰ was perhaps the first to recognize the presence of an alternative perspective based on the eternal presentness of actions.²¹ Although every event must be placed into a present system to occur at all, it is possible to employ memory and expectation to account for past and future happenings.²² The past was understood to be the present memory of past events and the future a present anticipation or expectation of unrealized conditions:

*. . . nec proprie dicitur: tempora sunt tria, praeteritum, praesens, et futurum, sed fortasse proprie diceretur: tempora sunt tria, praesens de praeteritis, praesens de praesentibus, praesens de futuris. . . . praesens de praeteritis memoria, praesens de praesentibus contuitus, praesens de futuris expectatio.*²³

With his discussion of time based on memory and expectation, St. Augustine initiated the investigation of the subjective relativity of temporal experience. In view of these considerations, this study attempts to stress this subjective relativity of time, of the consciousness of temporal experience, by applying certain modern techniques of form analysis developed primarily by the phenomenological philosophy of literature, a system which places the experiencing individual at the center of consideration.

Each literary epoch contains certain artistic possibilities. These alternatives are reflected in form. Since man is the center of the literary process, it follows that his art will reflect an understanding of his world at a particular time. Thus, in the medieval period, life may revolve around the Creator, but the understanding and form taken by literature is supplied by human beings, who interpret through human images and communicative devices.

Each author we shall investigate perceives the events of the Passion in a singular perspective and creates certain time structures, if only intuitively, to reflect this subjective experience. Each provides a separate statement on the accepted flow of events culminating in the Resurrection. It is also of utmost importance to realize that the cultural and social milieu in which the artist finds himself will greatly influence what he chooses to commit to record and how he accomplishes it. The monastic surroundings of Montecassino will do much to define that first preserved Passion, as will the market and urban experiences of writers of the late fifteenth century.

True literary masterpieces refuse to be frozen into 'period pieces', objects of little consequence for any but the most dedicated specialist. Their form, the structure given them by human intellect, is the key to their existence. Ideological and cultural investigations are useful, but they do little to clarify the artistry reflected in great literary endeavors. They do not take into account the degree to which the intellectual content of the work, the ideas of a cultural period, are rendered into a form which transcends chronological barriers.

Paul Böckmann argues convincingly: "Solange man das Eigenrecht der Epoche allein aus ihren geistes- oder kulturgeschichtlichen Bedingungen heraus rechtfertigt, kommt man nicht zu einer Erkenntnis ihrer dichterischen Möglichkeiten."²⁴ We may speak of cultural and bibliographic inputs of an era and perhaps gain some shred of understanding for the creative process at a given time. But this says precious little about the power of poetic creation at work in an *individual* writer or group of writers. When one makes clear that certain historical situations direct artists down specific paths, that the method of literary communication

is unique to a period, that it does not follow an abstract norm nor conform to some ideal set of rules, then, and only then will the deeper and more productive questions of the mutation of form and its importance be asked.²⁵

Literary masterpieces communicate independently of the ideas expressed in them.²⁶ Works of art certainly convey attitudes and ideas; these are the unavoidable raw materials of intellectual endeavor. That which separates them from mundane transmission of information is the structuring of the informational process. The history of form and its manipulation is the history of ideas and their mutation. When form is studied, a satisfying aesthetic appreciation for the author's creative talents constitutes an added benefit for the initiated reader. Form places man before himself,²⁷ as in a mirror, and in the words of Böckmann:

Es erweist sich dann, dasz in allem dichterischen Schaffen nicht um beliebige Formen geht, sondern immer um diejenigen, in denen sich das Menschliche seiner selbst vergewissert . . . Es geht nicht um eine Technik der kunstgerechten Wirkung, sondern um eine Erkenntnis der Formen, in denen der Mensch sich selbst zu begegnen vermag.²⁸

With all this stress upon the position of man in the literary equation, critics may argue that he is not the center of interest in medieval drama. Ample evidence to the contrary may be cited. One can point to a change in the pattern of Christian consciousness of existence which as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries began to dissolve the objective participation in the Mass and in liturgical drama as the mystical Body of Christ; instead one perceives even in the years which contain the earliest preserved Passions of Western Europe a movement towards fractionalization of the community of believers into a group of

individuals, all experiencing the plays in a subjective way.²⁹

There are to be found in late medieval religious drama statements on the meaning for the individual of Christ's sacrifice. Such a pronouncement is made by the *Proclamator of Alsfeld*:

*got gebe das mer das spiel szo triben,
das mer got damidde eren
und alle sunder und sunderyn sich bekeren
die disse horen und sehen.*³⁰

The context is purely religious, but mankind remains the focal point. This example provides evidence that representation of the ultimate offering by the Christ is not experienced as a purely historic and far-removed event, performed as a *known* deception; an intensive awareness of His sacrifice for man is called for and a response anticipated. Later paragraphs on the peculiar nature of drama will lend further weight to the argument.

The relationship between content and form which gives a literary work its unity, reflects the author's world of experience and brings it to view.³¹ When one considers the origins of medieval drama in the Church liturgy, when one notes the religious positions of those identified as having written Passion plays, as well as the fact that they long remained under the auspices of Church authorities, one recognizes the relationship between expressed ideas and the form they took. Even with all the elaborate discussion of 'secularization' of religious drama, which, it is supposed, accounts for the numerous worldly elements of later plays, one must not overlook the fact that the Church did not eject the plays into the streets, but guided them there "on grounds of convenience",³² maintaining control over much of the performance even after they left 'consecrated ground',³³ by virtue

of the division of clergy into regular and secular membership.³⁴

Mere acceptance of a theatrical hand from laymen, particularly from guild members in France and England³⁵ in no way altered the basic message or reason of performance. We can expect, therefore, that the underlying intentions of even the most 'secularized' plays originated in the religious arena, that a design other than pure entertainment defined their form. A study of temporal form can recreate in part the literary possibilities of these works, possibilities which in turn direct our attention to the spiritual context of the Middle Ages.³⁶

Of equal importance for this study is the investigation of aesthetic qualities in medieval drama which are reflected in the time structure. Insights by readers as far removed from the original presentations as twentieth-century readers are will surely only approximate those of medieval audiences, although the intensity need not be less. We cannot hope to recreate in every detail the primitive experience of the first audiences. But the phenomenologist's tools of objective measurement *do* enable us to experience the products as dramatic entities with a particular style and temporal construction worthy of consideration. Readers may well find themselves at odds with my conclusions and even with one another when the discussion turns to authorial intention, for even a marginal comprehension of intent implies not only a vast knowledge of social and intellectual history, but a solid foundation in medieval theology as well. Though these limiting factors be operative, none can deny the *structural* application, the formal presence of literary phenomena in the texts. Dramatic qualities can be immensely enjoyed and appreciated even by modern readers when structural criteria are applied: the 'how' of creation is more important than the 'what'.

Eberhard Lämmert addresses himself to the importance of the process:

Sofern aber historische Forschung ihr Augenmerk nicht nur auf das ‚Was‘, sondern auch auf das ‚Wie‘ der künstlerischen Aussprache richtet, gerät sie notwendig in Kontakt mit einer Poetik, die die grundsätzlichen Möglichkeiten dichterischer Aussage ausgebreitet hat. Solche Blicknahme auf auszerhistorische Sachgesetzmäßigkeiten gibt dem historischen Betrachter kunstimmanente Maßstäbe in die Hand und begünstigt auf diese Weise auch die historische Beurteilung einzelner Werke und ganzer Literaturströmungen nach ihrer ästhetischen Eigenart.³⁷

Such qualitative conclusions benefit our objective considerations of distant epochs which cannot be defined by those aesthetic conventions of our modern literary reality,³⁸ for they concentrate attention on the manipulation of enduring measures, on the very act of creation, on *form*.

Significant for literary masterpieces is their ability to withstand changing demands placed on them.³⁹ Their communicative capacities transcend their ideological content. Many ideas lose their impact in time, but their structure resists subjective changes in interpretation. It is the realized potential of material which associates succeeding generations with masterpieces and creates the possibility of intimate aesthetic experience independent of the date or the creation of the work. An effective channeling of ideas into poetic reality can be absorbed and appreciated by anyone who will attend the formal structuring of literature. A study of several Passion plays is well suited for such an experience, as all rest on common liturgical ground.⁴⁰ The ideas expressed remain relatively constant; they all share a similar potential for dramatization. This dramatic potential, as reflected in temporal structure, will in each instance, however, be singular, as not only each Passion, but each realization of the same

play constitutes a separate dramatic entity.⁴¹

The attendant investigation employs as its point of departure research into the peculiar artistic potential of time management discussed by Peter Pütz in *Die Zeit im Drama: Zur Technik Dramatischer Spannung* (Göttingen, 1970).⁴² This author investigates several methods of structuring past, present, and future events in theatrical performance. His service is that he approaches the formation of time relationships from the temporal demands of drama as a genre. This avoids much of the current unwarranted antagonism toward medieval drama, an aggravation which rests upon a misunderstanding or lack of exposure to the artistic possibilities which medieval drama could employ, and is often abetted by the current attitude of agnosticism towards things religious. Pütz substitutes objective measurement and a study of technique not bound to any school or type of dramatic literature in the place of emotional and irrational criteria. Hardin Craig, a well-known contemporary medievalist, displays such a bias when he remarks:

When one considers the origin of the mystery plays within the medieval church, an origin without thought of dramatic or histrionic effect, and when one considers also how these plays passed into the hands of very simple medieval people . . . one can see that their technique was inevitably naïve.⁴³

Such a generalization does great injustice not only to the artistic capacities of the several clerks, priests, and other clergy who at various times lent their talents to the formulation or expansion of the dramas, but to the auditors of the plays as well. Furthermore, it does violence to the facts now available to any careful investigator. I feel obliged to refute this inadequate statement not only with hard evidence, which will be developed at length in the analysis, but also with opinions generated by scholarship more recent than Craig's.

After intense reflection and investigation into medieval drama I am convinced that Craig has erroneously and all too harshly judged these ancient plays. Instead I share the thoughts of Boletta on the subject. While he directs his remarks specifically to *Alsfeld* and to the role of music in it, his observations have, I believe, general validity for the entire dramatic genre of the Middle Ages:

It is, of course, a well established critical stance to regard medieval drama as a rather simple-minded but devout dramatic rendition of the Vulgate into scenes, but the selectivity and the deceptive artlessness of many plays belie their simplicity. . . . Those responsible for the *Alsfeld Passion Play* were not possessed of the sophistication of a Gottfried von Strassburg, or a Hartmann von Aue, but they were not fools or children either. Though *Alsfeld* has its occasional loose ends and exists within a definite medieval dramatic and religious tradition, it is not devoid of merit and originality. If the word 'artistic' in this context offends, let us call the achievement in *Alsfeld* one of dramatic craftsmanship, but let us not dismiss this play and most of medieval drama as an interesting curiosity devoid of dramatic cogency.⁴⁴

Indeed, it appears that the presentation of conventional religious ideals may well have made audiences from this period more sensitive "to the implications of thought in dramatic works than to the inner relationships of plot and character,"⁴⁵ the latter quality of which constitutes a supreme value for modern drama. A much more constructive, and, I believe, accurate conclusion than those of scholars like Hardin Craig is advanced by Glynne Wickham, who hints at dramatic successes not recognized by many critics:

All in all, scholarship is teaching us that our ancestors of the Middle Ages, far from being crude, barbarous, illiterate and generally inferior beings, were, on the contrary, civilized. Despite their lack of our cushioned, conveyor-belted and cellophane-wrapped amenities, their world had meaning and purpose: and what is more, they were fully able to make this manifest in all they left behind them.⁴⁶

And in the context of production organization of the English cycle plays, the same author again questions Craig's insinuations of intellectual naïveté in medieval people:

To take another aspect of the plays, what right have we to regard organizers and administrators who were capable of handling casts between fifty and a hundred actors, budgets totalling several thousands of pounds and audiences comprising thousands of people, as simpletons? If they were, then it is surely quite extraordinary that these audiences . . . should have supported plays regularly all over Europe for some two hundred years?⁴⁷

I share many of Boletta's and Wickham's philosophical orientations. My study stresses the idea that, despite the religious exigencies inherent in Passion accounts and often because of them, artists were capable of brilliant products reflecting intensive dramatic power by the effective structuring of the *literary potential of the drama in that epoch*. Indeed, I shall endeavor to show that the very core of the Passion account, of material contained in Scripture dealing with this time in the life of Christ, contains a wealth of dramatic potential. A formal analysis employing primarily modern tools of structural measurement will show the degree to which mostly unknown artists formed their messages into viable dramatic works by consciously or intuitively employing dramatizing techniques of time manipulation.

To return to the benefits of employing structural measurement, some validity may be contained in Craig's opinion concerning the lack of an identifiable, all-pervasive dramatic theory from which medieval drama issued, but to state that medieval drama was inevitably naïve is to judge earlier works by narrow, even biased, and individual standards. I will have occasion to consider Craig's contentions again upon the advancement of several pertinent structural discoveries. I do, however, wish to call one more witness against Craig, for he

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typifies so much of adverse medieval scholarship. The opinion I wish to call up is that maintained by Waldo F. McNeir, who has observed that if medieval drama is to be afforded its distinctive and rightful position in English letters, it must be studied for its own value, not simply as some poor antecedent of the more noble Elizabethan accomplishments.⁴⁸ His statement can be generalized to include traditions of all texts contained in this study. The phenomenological approach advocated in these pages stresses objective textual analysis and careful measurement of form in an attempt to more clearly and impartially approach the doctrinal and intentional realities behind them. It looks upon the text as the final arbiter and most perfect witness of its makers' accomplishments. Unreasoned and uncritical reactions have no place in structural measurement. The investigations of Pütz avoid precisely such pitfalls by concentrating on the techniques available for creative temporal management. His study enables one to recognize the dramatic potential of any body of material as well as to identify those particular techniques employed by medieval dramatists to effectively structure their works. There can be little doubt that medieval Passion plays were not created primarily as literature or as exercises in aesthetics:⁴⁹ to maintain that these ancient dramatists consciously sought out the most effective dramatic techniques consistent with their religious context from a generally accepted literary theory is to completely misunderstand its nature and aspiration. There is to be found, however, ample evidence that, within the traditional and doctrinal strictures of their material and its presentational manner, medieval poets were indeed able to more than adequately organize their plays. The work of Kolve and Eleanor Prosser in the area

of choice of presented scenes convincingly establishes a remarkable latitude which could be exercised by any competent writer.⁵⁰ I am neither so bold nor so naïve as to imply that a completely conscious creative process is at work in all the texts we shall view. But the structurally measurable facts indicate that medieval dramatists were able to create intense statements of belief within a religious framework by intuitively exploiting the potential for presentation of the Passion account contained in Scripture. It is at this point that a modern reader armed with an understanding of form and structure can communicate with the work in meaningful ways. That the creative process was in certain instances an unconscious application of the biblical material and the artist's understanding of it does not alter the reflected literary skill. In order to open the door to medieval drama just a crack further, however, it behooves us to remember that it is *we* who must for a moment arrest our own presentational and religious conventions and let other modes of thought wash over us. We should realize that psychological understandings of the world which motivate modern tragedy has gradually replaced the dominant metaphysical concept which guided religious thought of ages past and lent medieval drama its singular form.⁵¹ During this exercise we will additionally have cause to investigate several circumstances in the progressive alteration of probable authorial intent during the beginning of the fourteenth to the end of the fifteenth centuries which, within the context of a Christian view of the world, will suggest a certain commonality of motivation with psychological dramas, preparing the field for their later dominance.⁵²

Whereas continual chronological and cultural comparison of individual works is necessary to ascertain developments in the application of the dramatic potential inherent in the Passion account, stress is laid on analogical, not homological relationships, as differentiated by Dieter Hasselblatt.⁵³ A discussion of normative poetics is not intended, though the specific criteria of time measurement are repeated. Analogical comparison will best reflect the realized power of each work, as well as afford insight into the significance of the material in general.

Wilhelm Kosch provides us a rough definition suitable for the original Passions, but which will necessarily be broadened to include material antedating and postdating the Passion proper. He describes a Passion play as „eine dramatische Darstellung der Leidensgeschichte Christi, wie die Osterspiele kirchlichen Ursprungs, im neunten Jahrhundert lateinischen Lesedramen, zu den Mysterienspielen gehörig.“⁵⁴ These plays originally encompassed the period of time from Christ's entry into Jerusalem until His Crucifixion, a period roughly equivalent to six days.⁵⁵ There remains little question that the events of Easter morning, particularly the Resurrection,⁵⁶ constituted the germ from which Passions developed. The history of the evolution of medieval drama involves a study in retrograde enlargement, of a continuous addition of material from the story *before* Christ's triumph over death. Although the original impetus for the Passion as a sub-genre remains open to debate,⁵⁷ its relationship to the Resurrection is made clear from earliest times. The *Ludus Breviter de Passione* from the *Carmina Burana* collection, though preserved in fragmentary form, makes its precursive role to an Easter

play apparent by declaring at its conclusion: "*Et ita inchoatur ludus de Resurrectione.*"⁵⁸ Indeed, a Passion play without an Easter morning is doctrinally and dramatically incomplete; the final message of triumph and resolution of dramatic conflict are both lacking. Later plays represent composites of the time from the Lord's Baptism to His entry into Heaven. We are dealing, then, with dramatic accounts which nominally can be called Passion plays, but which in reality constitute significantly broadened statements of belief. With this in mind, we must approach the English cycles carefully, for their scope is considerably greater than the already extended continental Passions.⁵⁹ All include plays commencing with the Creation and culminate in the Day of Judgment. To arbitrarily separate the plays dealing with the Passion from their more inclusive religious context is to risk losing sight of the manner in which the cycles referred this segment and its personalities typologically to previous dramatized material.⁶⁰ Since no point in the biblical account of Christ's life found in the cycles conforms to the point of departure in the continental tradition of Passion plays, His Resurrection and subsequent appearance to the three Maries, where staged, are included under the purview of this analysis. This procedure assures a representation equal to that of the later German Passions. It allows a more adequate consideration of their considerable mastery of source material.

English cycles are often dissimilar to their continental relatives in the presentational form they assume. The latter normally employed a single stage with several *loca* and a great undefined area known as the *platea*, filled with a cast which remained constant throughout the dramatization. The former may have been performed in the usual manner, but

evidence of presentation on pageant wagons has also been found.⁶¹

Each individual play has its own staging facility and its own cast under this system. There result a series of discrete, but related presentations. Although the dramatic design of the cycles links one player with his counterpart in previous and succeeding accounts, a constant change of backdrop and actors is experienced. Eleanor Prosser notes the discontinuity of physical presentation, explaining that rather than the audience arresting its interest between scenes of a unified drama and reinstituting it as the play continues (as is most often the case with modern drama), medieval English audiences experienced a complete break in dramatic activity while new wagons rolled into place and new cast members took their positions.⁶² She concludes: "Since drama is evaluated in terms of its effectiveness, we must remember that each play created a separate impression."⁶³ With this anomaly in mind, Prosser offers a definition of a single play in the English cycles as "any defined unit presented without break by a single cast."⁶⁴

We will wish to keep this definition constantly in mind when discussing the English cycles and comparing them to French and German Passions. In *Chester XII*, The Temptation, for example, there exist two separate dramatic units; we observe the temptation of Christ proper, then our attention is diverted to the entirely new circumstances and characters encompassing the Adulteress. Both are formally separated from their immediate surroundings by epilogs. Thus, an analysis of the Temptation must focus on two distinct units only formally identified as a play.

Representative texts were chosen based upon chronological, linguistic, and cultural criteria. My intention was to apply temporal measurement

on several analogous, but independent manuscripts from varying centuries of religious thought. I would thereby be able to more positively identify those points of commonality of structure which united them into a generic whole, but also be able to recognize the reformulations which made each text unique. I chose Passions from different cultural traditions in order to ascertain what, if any, alterations to the basic story might be attributable to social, religious, and historical factors not always shared by all groups of men of all eras. There evolved, therefore, an analysis of massive proportions, which, on the surface, appeared to involve the simple reiteration of examples within an identical methodological framework. However, in order to identify the indebtedness of each chronological grouping to its immediate cultural and religious surroundings, and the degree to which the fundamental artistic structure of each Passion mutated with changes in thought and perception, it was necessary to at once respect the uniqueness of each play by considering it within a closely-defined number of years, and to attempt to not only comment significantly upon the temporal structure of each work independently, but also to identify its position in an evolving artistic manipulation of traditional materials. Phenomenology insists on the value of the text and its enjoyment in its own environment; to lump all eleven Passions into one group would be to blur the characteristics which make each a singular product of a particular age. We would surely gain by having to read only one relatively short analysis, but we would lose the inestimable joy of communication with many texts of varying artistry: our final opinion of medieval drama would be less than it could be.

Since textual evidence plays such an important role in formal structural analysis, the degree of textual completeness constituted a vital criterion. Thus the *Ludus Breviter de Passione*, the *Sulmona Passion*, and the *Frankfurter Dirigierrolle* were omitted. I had originally intended to include the Passion sections of *York* as well as those of *Ludus Coventriae*. But a reasonable and cogent analysis and presentation of results forced their exclusion. Similar considerations prompted me to delete the *Passion Provençal* and the *Frankfurter Passionsspiel* of 1493. Having accomplished much of the formal work on them, I am convinced that their exclusion does not adversely affect the conclusions of this work; they all add valuable insights into four more methods of presenting religious attitudes, but their basic techniques and goals are shared by other Group III Passions. The texts included can be found in Table 1.

As the analysis employs an uncommonly large number of footnotes, I have organized them according to chapter, beginning each with a new series.

I wish to lastly draw readers' attention to the list of abbreviations and short titles accompanying the work on pages ix-x. They will be used throughout the body of this dissertation.

Table 1. List of Plays Examined

PASSION	MS. DATE	EDITOR	VERSE NUMBERS	COMMENCEMENT	COMPLETION
Montecassino Benediktbeuern	ca. 1150 ⁶⁵ first half 13th century ⁶⁶	Inguauez Froning	320 289	Judas' Treason Calling the Disciples	Planctus Mariae Descent from the Cross
St. Gall	ca. 1330 ⁶⁷	Hartl ⁶⁸	1340	Wedding at Cana	Resurrection- Appearance to Magdalene
Wien	ca. 1330 ⁶⁹	Froning	532	Lucifer's Fall	Last Supper
Palatinus	early 14th century ⁷⁰	Frank	1996	Preparation for Last Supper	Magdalene's witness to Peter
Autun	early 14th century ⁷¹	Frank	B 2117 R 937	Preparation for Last Supper Preparat for Last Supper	Resurrection Joseph's Request for Christ's Body
Chester	ca. 1375 ⁷²	Deimling	2485	The Adultrous	Resurrection
Towneley	ca. 1450 ⁷³	England	4025	Baptism (XIX)	Resurrection (XXVI)
Gréban's <i>Mistère</i>	ca. 1452 ⁷⁴	G. Paris	12401	Assembly of Devils	Resurrection- Appearance to Disciples
Donaueschingen	1485 ⁷⁵	Hartl	4106	Magdalene's Sinful Life	Resurrection
Alsfeld	1501 ⁷⁶	Froning	8095	Assembly of Devils	Division of Apostles

CHAPTER II

TRADITIONAL SCHOLARSHIP

Medieval drama has been approached from numerous points of view, but seldom with an eye towards its dramatic viability. Early scholars placed most consideration on developmental relationships. These studies often took the form of handbooks on the subject and were limited in their scope to observations of historical and developmental import. The names of Creizenach, Sepet, de Julleville and Chambers are most often recognized as the primary representatives of this early scholarship.¹ Still others concentrated on questions involving manuscript and textual history. *Towneley* is an interesting case in point. Its peculiar history of revision as reflected in the application of several metrical styles has caused extensive debate. Attempts have been made to date the text by metrical and stylistic analysis, none of them completely satisfactory.² Its similarities to *York* have prompted discussion suggesting the original unity of the two cycles.³ Specific phenomena have been studied, then restudied.⁴ Despite this flurry of academic activity, *Towneley* remains an anomaly by virtue of its curious management of certain biblical material, especially that of the Passion. One fact continually insinuates itself into all discussions of *Towneley*; the last reviser, the one called the Wakefield Master, was a literary artisan of immense capabilities. His accomplishments are seen throughout the entire cycle, identified by a characteristic thirteen-line stanza. The Master's revisions of preceding texts served to significantly alter the dramatic effectiveness of *Towneley*, making it one of the most impressive witnesses of dramatic genius at work in any age.

In addition to studying manuscript interrelationships, the texts themselves were examined for accuracy. The editions used throughout this dissertation are primarily products of this facet of the history of medieval drama.

Gustave Cohen has outlined the staging conventions and physical reality of continental medieval drama, interesting himself primarily in French drama.⁵ His conclusions can be applied to most other continental Passions as well. Cohen's research into the proprieties of fixed platforms affords a view into stage management barely hinted by many manuscripts. An understanding of these presentational potentialities will do much to relieve initial prejudice against an apparent carelessness or naïveté of temporal and spatial construction. What seem either slavish imitations of biblical scenes or questionable units of dramatic endeavor placed throughout the texts without regard for temporal causality or continuity, with an apparent lack of appreciation of spatial relationships between locations, may be explained as the realization of medieval staging conventions. Certain of them make specific reference to time and place simply redundant. Cohen thoroughly investigates this stage with its several *loca* or *sedes* continually visible to the audience and his conclusions offer rational explanations for certain phenomena of time structuring which would otherwise be considered aggravating at worst, clumsy or vague at best. Without benefit of Cohen's research we are likely to dismiss medieval drama as utterly poor organizations of irrelevant material.

Glynne Wickham, and more recently Alan H. Nelson, have investigated the specifics of English cycle staging and have thrown much preceding scholarship into question. Wickham theorizes, for example, that the

fully-outfitted pageant wagons were not ever intended to be pulled through the streets of English cities other than processionally, and that the plays themselves were most likely presented when the procession was concluded or at very selected spots along the way.⁶ Wickham's investigation into the particulars of pageant construction, the manner in which they were employed, and the relationship of their fabrication to the plays to be performed greatly enhances one's working knowledge of medieval English stages.

Nelson also envisions the procession of wagons through towns, but doubts a true-processional character of the cycles like *Towneley*, which, he supposes, with considerable evidence, to have been presented in the fashion of a theater-in-the-round, subsequent to the procession.⁷ Nelson considers in great detail the theatrical traditions of all the cities which supported cycle plays and in the process offers many plausible answers to staging questions.⁸ The work of both Nelson and Wickham is basic for any understanding of English staging tradition, particularly as it relates to performance on other than fixed stages. Their discourse upon the areas of the stage, notably its division into *loca* and *platea*, indispensably fills the informational gap for English theater,⁹ much as Cohen did for continental theater.

Research into the origin and development of medieval drama constitutes so large a corpus of secondary material as to be practically unmanageable. Each linguistic group has its own standard references, and one must possess numerous language talents to adequately explore them. The role played by Church liturgy, responses, hymns, and antiphons has received generous attention. Of the many excellent accounts of the liturgical genesis and early development of medieval drama, Karl

Young's monumental two-volume work, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford, 1933), remains, with few alterations by later scholars, the standard work of its kind.¹⁰

Significantly, as we have seen, most secondary literature concerning medieval drama is historical. This has created a situation of imbalance, which for many years biased scholarship, making it easy to avoid consideration of the *dramatic form* of medieval theater. Prosser expounds: ". . .most scholars of medieval drama have turned to a study of external facts: sources, borrowing, dates, verse forms, guild records and the like. The religious drama *qua* drama has been all but ignored."¹¹ All too many scholars are uncomfortable with medieval theater as anything but a naïve representation of religious belief which somehow created entities generously called dramas. One key seems to be the religious attitude which these critics themselves bring to the texts. Miss Prosser correctly identifies the problem: "Modern man is simply not Christian in the way that medieval man was."¹² We must attempt to divest ourselves of such prejudices before these ancient plays can assume their rightful place. Formal textual analysis concentrates upon structural entities within the text which cannot be colored by the inability of scholars to recreate the historic religious atmosphere of the Middle Ages. Their deliberations may aid us in our journey, but they will not supply all the answers.

Eleanor Prosser is one of the few scholars to interpret English medieval drama with dramatic criteria. Waldo F. McNeir has also considered as dramatic constructs the Passion plays of English cycles and concluded that they would not have fulfilled their aim as religious instruction¹³ and died an early death¹⁴ had they not been effective as

dramatic creations.

Prosser lists three conventional arguments against applying critical dramatic standards to medieval drama: 1) the English plays are not products of conscious authorship, but of folk growth; 2) the English plays were not intended to entertain but were designed for religious worship; 3) these plays, based as they were on fixed material, did not allow an author personal selectivity, the creation of art thereby rendered impossible.¹⁵

In rebuttal to the first argument one can note that literary masterpieces need not be attributable to a single author to be worthy creations. To maintain this is to exclude the entire body of oral epic literature from consideration. It is not the organic building up of a text from one period to another which defines literature, but the degree to which the final text, regardless of the number of individuals who participate in its ultimate form, realizes the dynamics of the material for presentation. If literary masterpieces are not solely unconscious accidents, then neither are they purely conscious endeavors. There exists a guiding spirit behind all great literature. An author may utilize inherent dramatic energy, though he may only sense its proportions. This is, after all, one of the remarkable qualities which separate artists from ordinary men.

The second contention is refuted by Prosser with the aid of an analogy:

If religious purpose makes esthetic evaluation irrelevant, should the critic dismiss Giotto's *Adoration of the Magi* as a mere historical artifact of the Church? No one has ever argued that religious purpose makes a painting 'non-art'. It would seem just as invalid to reject a play as 'non-drama' on these grounds. Surely the *Agamemnon* was not written primarily to entertain. The festival of Dionysus was religious in origin, as were the plays it fostered.

Let us, then grant the medieval playwrights their primary motive, noting, of course, that as critics of drama we are still completely free to judge their results on aesthetic, not religious grounds.¹⁶

The third supposition is the theme for Prosser's study and is shared by me. She asks that the reader grant the hypothesis that medieval dramatists had the freedom to choose incidents, rearrange chronology, and alter traditional interpretations. Based upon the observations of Prosser, Frances Foster, and Helmut Niedner,¹⁷ I do likewise. This is not done to draw attention away from a weak argument, rather for the sake of organizational expediency, for the proof of the hypothesis is given by much of the structural and factual evidence to be developed in later paragraphs. Prosser restricts her arguments to the context of English medieval drama represented by the five preserved mystery plays. Her approach stresses the dramatic nature of the plays and she admirably investigates the organizational effect religious doctrine had upon these presentations. Prosser specifically studies the Magdalene and Doubting Thomas episodes as indicators of effectively structured doctrine. She further deliberates over intrinsic aesthetic qualities; she sees the literary competence of medieval playwrights mirrored in their reorganization of biblical chronology.¹⁸ This takes the form of a confrontation with the biblical material and a subsequent textual amendment. Her study reveals that, contrary to the opinions advanced by Craig and others, didacticism and drama do not conflict. To the contrary, the best dramatic presentations occur where doctrine and theater are carefully integrated.¹⁹ Through discussion of textual evidence supported by a sensitive and objective approach to the dramatic potential of religious subject matter, Prosser approaches an

aesthetic appreciation of literary artistry. This dissertation accepts the same general goals of reflection on the literary achievement of great authors as well as an attendant aesthetic experience of the plays. My discussion is less inclusive in that I restrict my observations to the Passion sections of two English cycles, but more intensive inasmuch as a larger number of texts are investigated. Whereas Prosser deals at length with the doctrine of medieval religion reflected in the English cycles, this study investigates the realization of temporal management as witnessed by form, the degree to which artistry is revealed, not necessarily as a fusion of doctrine and drama, but with the same associated appreciation. Both studies propose to clarify the dramatic viability of these early plays.

Traditional scholarship has normally disregarded the structure of medieval drama. Two significant departures from this norm are the products of Hennig Brinkmann.²⁰ He, too, recognizes the importance of the origin of the drama in the liturgy and appreciates the effect which simultaneous staging had on form. But his intention is to determine the religious understanding behind the form of medieval drama. Brinkmann does this by considering the interrelationship between structure and the creative forces contained in drama at a given time:

Das Wesen des Dramas wandelt sich wie das Wesen dichterischer Leistung. Unsere Aufgabe ist, das geistliche Schauspiel des Mittelalters . . . als einmalige Verwirklichung der Gattung 'Drama' zu nehmen und in seiner Eigenform zu verstehen.²¹

Brinkmann recognizes the dramatic mandate to present generally known material: "Es gilt nur, das Bekannte eindringlich zu machen."²² His observations lead directly to a consideration of the 'what' (the story) and the 'how' of drama (the method of presentation, of creating tension).

Brinkmann also focuses attention on the phenomenon of time and its presentational ordering: he identifies various qualities of what is here called the subjective experience of time by noting several textual examples where time appears to be suspended and where a second scene is begun before its historical predecessor is completed.²³ This scholar speaks of chronologically parallel scenes and how their eventual unification reflects an artistic mastery of the material required by its religious background. Brinkmann is one of the few early scholars who recognized form to be a prominent factor in the comprehension of medieval drama. The relationship between his observations and those of Pütz are intimate, though separated in time by forty years. The only apparent contrast between them is Brinkmann's specific interest in the dramatic form of medieval theater and Pütz's fascination with drama as a genre. Both correctly identify temporal management as a cornerstone of mimetic activity.

A slightly varied approach to medieval drama is undertaken by Ludwig Wolff.²⁴ He investigates the manner in which biblical material was made relevant for medieval man. Wolff discusses the presence of contemporary medieval figures and their part in the presentification process („Vergegenwärtigung"). His research gives a clue to the didactic purposes of this drama and the ahistorical manner in which medieval man regarded Christian thought. The roles of Old Testament prophets, contemporary Jews, Church fathers like Augustine, personifications like *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* are identified, allowing further insight into the temporal structuring of the Passion story. Wolff identifies the power of music in Passions and its part in 'contemporizing' Scripture. He examines interruptions in represented events by Augustine, Mary, and

others, reflects on their dramatic purpose, and marks their mimetic significance for doctrine and structure. Wolff provides valuable insights for an analysis of the anachronistic qualities of medieval drama and their presentational effects as they relate to time management.

Both Kolve and Wickham address themselves to the phenomenon of anachronism, but specifically in English theater.²⁵ Each sees anachronism at the center of presentation, as an attempt to relate the main concepts of sacred history to the medieval experience. Wickham postulates:

Symbols drawn from the day to day routine in the local environment would be immediately comprehensible to a medieval audience, where symbols drawn from book learning or extensive global travel would not.²⁶

In the theater of the Middle Ages we are dealing with drama which concentrates not upon the mundane events of everyday existence, but upon what Kolve calls "the significant past and the significant future,... designed to shape action, not to record it."²⁷ What to uninitiated readers may appear to be a quaint slip of the pen will, upon protracted exposure, assume the proportions of a remarkable attempt to impart life and meaning to events we have come to consider purely historical. In this respect, there is scant danger of overstating the importance of anachronism for these plays.

Much attention has been devoted to specific characters who people medieval drama. Those scholars who tend towards such research inevitably approach them in terms of religious origin and historical development. They, too, reflect the linguistic grouping of which the author is a part.²⁸ Arnold Williams' book on Pilate is one exception.²⁹ He stresses the dramatic development of Pilate in the *Towneley* Passion plays and offers convincing arguments relating the concentration of dramatic

interest in him to the artistic selection of scenes and events. Williams goes far in offering collateral evidence for Eleanor Prosser's contention that medieval playwrights could, indeed did, consciously select their material for dramatic impact. The investigations of Williams offer plausible reasons for the many peculiarities of the *Towneley* Passion section. My analysis of time will bolster Williams' suggestions by relating time spent on stage by Pilate to that of other characters, and the degree to which Pilate motivates the *Towneley* conspiracy. He will be seen as the moving force behind the temporal structure of the Passion section by the manner in which he *causes future events to happen*.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I shall introduce the fundamental phenomenological perceptions of literature central for the study of formal structure. These observations, designed to establish the tenor for the remainder of the exercise, will be augmented by the specific temporal/dramatic phenomena to be measured and evaluated in the analysis section.

The critical method employed throughout this thesis derives from several literary and philosophical sources. Authors such as Schiller¹ and Goethe emphasized the importance of form in literature during their extensive periods of personal correspondence, thus precursing a fundamental element for phenomenological consideration of literature.² Philosophers like Dilthey,³ Husserl,⁴ and Heidegger,⁵ along with their several students, investigated, among other problems, the phenomenon of literature, its essence in being, and its relationship to 'true being'. Phenomenology, applied to literature, concentrates on the structure of masterpieces as it seeks to lend understanding to the creative process in both artist and audience, coupled with the experience of aesthetic qualities ingenerate to literature.

Since the philosophical precepts which describe phenomenology are exceedingly numerous and intentionally far-reaching, only those ideas are advanced which directly affected the structure of literature and the immediate problems raised in this thesis. The concepts themselves are reviewed in outline form only, as they were specifically employed. For a more detailed consideration of the several strata of literature, their constitution, function, and relationship to literary aesthetics,

attention is directed to the works of the above-mentioned philosophers and those of Roman Ingarden in their entirety.

In the words of Ingarden, phenomenologists perceive literary works of art as

. . . ein rein intentionales Gebilde, das seine Seinsquelle in den schöpferischen Bewusstseinsakten seines Verfassers hat und dessen Seinsfundament in dem schriftlich festgelegten Text . . . liegt. Vermöge der Doppelschicht seiner Sprache ist es zugleich intersubjektiv zugänglich und reproduzierbar, wodurch es zu einem auf eine Lesergemeinschaft bezogenen, intersubjektiven, intentionalen Gegenstand wird.⁶

In other words, the text, with all its 'objective' forms and witnesses, is the product of an *intentional* manipulation of relevant material by its author.

At the center of literary creativity lies the attempt by an author to express what he cannot adequately convey through words alone.⁷ To effect a deeper, more compelling and intensive communication, the author avails himself of particular structures, relationships, characters, actions, and numerous additional creative qualities, which, when organized into their final form, combine to comprehend the work of art. Such qualities are possessed by all worthy literary enterprises from all ages. Literature constitutes an attempt by mankind to understand itself, its surroundings and situation.⁸ Artists form their material to manifest their understanding, and it is through a reconstruction of their literary structures that this comprehension becomes partly available to us, for as Böckmann affirms: „Die Entfaltung der Formenwelt ist also aufs engste mit der Entfaltung des menschlichen Selbstverständnisses verknüpft, so dass sich beide gegenseitig erhellen müssen.“⁹ The postliminious creation not only transcends its author, but its reader as well,¹⁰ for it encompasses the knowledge man has of himself at a

specific period of intellectual development. Phenomenology, although it relies upon textual manifestation of intentional forms, does not attempt normative poetics, nor does it serve as a handbook for literary creation. Its function is to make available to the careful reader¹¹ a critical system based upon observable and regenerative structures reflected by the work itself. In this way countless errors of subjectivity, personal literary taste, and insensitivity are avoided. The proper application of the tenets of this methodology requires an individual confrontation with the text within its own particular spiritual environment. Inherent in such analysis is the attempt to perceive the reasons behind the intentional material manipulation. The possible aesthetic experience a reader may have as he observes the skillful manipulation of a gifted craftsman constitutes just one added benefit of the method.

The Stratum Theory of Literature

„Die wesensmässige Struktur des literarischen Werkes liegt u(nseres) E(rachtens) darin, dasz es ein aus mehreren heterogenen Schichten aufgebautes Gebilde ist.“¹² With these disarmingly simple words Ingarden introduces his analysis of literary structure. He notes the variation of individual levels („Schichten“) by stating that each possesses characteristic material from whose singularity certain qualities result and that each stratum plays a special role in the formulation of the entire work.¹³ Despite the diversity of characteristics and qualities within the individual levels, the literary work constitutes an organic structure whose unity is founded precisely on the peculiar nature of each layer.¹⁴ The unity of sense („Sinneinheit“),¹⁵ which forms the structural framework, underlies each layer and even

requires all of them according to its particular being.¹⁶

But the structure of a literary masterpiece is neither monotonous nor tiresome, rather it carries a polyphonic differentiation with it.

Das heisst; infolge der Eigenart der einzelnen Schichten wird jede von ihnen auf ihre eigene Weise in dem ganzen sichtbar und trägt etwas Eigenes zu dem Gesamtcharakter des Ganzen bei, ohne dadurch der phänomenalen Einheit des letzteren Abbruch zu tun. Insbesondere hat jede dieser Schichten ihre eigene Mannigfaltigkeit von Eigenschaften, die zur Konstitutierung von spezifischen ästhetischen Wertqualitäten, in welcher eine polyphone und doch einheitliche Wertqualität des Ganzen sich konstituiert.¹⁷

Ingarden identifies four separate levels in all literary works, each of which provides the entire structure with particular material and form. The four levels fit together so that an internal unity is created which accompanies the 'formal' identity of the entire work.¹⁸

The Stratum of Linguistic Creation

The initial level investigates morphological and phonological qualities as well as resultant characteristics of a higher order conditioned by these separate phenomena acting within a context („die Schicht der Wortlaute und der sprachlautlichen Gebilde und Charakter höherer Ordnung).¹⁹ Analysis of this stratum concentrates on individual words, their form and function, intonation and sound patterns, their relative strengths or weaknesses, and the like. The erective dynamics of single words in series and phrases or sentences are identified together with whatever basic changes in individual speech elements occur as a result of contextual inclusion.²⁰ Rhythm and tempo, the regular alternation of accented and unaccented syllables, if there be such a phenomenon present,²¹ form a significant portion of this level. In a word, the first level of analysis deals with words and their

individual components, singularly and in context, with all the stylistic, grammatical, and semantic peculiarities that separate artistic communication from mundane speech or random sounds.

The Stratum of Meaning Unity

The layer of unity of word meaning („die Schicht der Bedeutungseinheiten“) occupies the second rung of the phenomenological ladder.²² It is here that the more significant meaning of words within a context is developed, clarified, and the implication for artistic form drawn.²³ Areas such as the meanings of words as sentence elements, sentences themselves and their relationship to subjective, individual artistic operations, and general characteristics of sentences occupy the analyst. By means of an extraordinarily detailed and sophisticated philosophical and psychological discussion of the potential for alteration of word meaning, and of variously organizing linguistic elements, Ingarden proves the presence of intentional manipulation within the creative process. He speaks of the purely intentional object resulting from a plain act of opinion („der rein intentionale Gegenstand eines schlichten Meinungsaktes“) as well as the derived intentional correlation of the unities of meaning („die abgeleiteten rein intentionalen Korrelate der Bedeutungseinheiten“).²⁴ Further consideration of intentional correlation of sentences,²⁵ of the interrelationships of sentences and the constituted higher unities of meaning²⁶ provide irrefutable evidence that at even the most elementary linguistic levels intentional manipulation does occur, a process emanating from definite acts of conscious awareness; they both pervade and structure the work.²⁷

That an artistic creation cannot result from completely irrational stimuli is true for all literature:²⁸

Auch in einem ganz auf das Stimmungshafte und Gefühlsmäßige eingestellten literarischen Kunstwerk ist das Moment der Ratio immer enthalten, auch wenn es nur undeutlich mitschwingen sollte.²⁹

The immediate implication such a contention has for medieval drama is apparent: no matter how emotional the outcries of Mary Magdalene upon recognition of her sinful ways may be, regardless of the acutely expressive laments of the Virgin beneath the Cross in later Passions, there looms behind them an individual, an artist or group of persons, who knowingly and rationally form (or borrow in several instances) the words and sentences to create specific contextual situations into which the laments fit. These redactors may choose only traditional biblical words and phrases, in which instance their product may have less impact on modern readers who may be inclined to then criticize the plays for lack of originality. Other artists may choose to include phrases from hymns, antiphons, responses, and liturgical or apocryphal writings as amplifications of traditional Gospel texts. This will also influence the reception of the plays, and at once provide later audiences with a differentiated, more varied and striking witness of their cumulative understanding. Our own aesthetic senses will inevitably be conscious of the simplicity of the first account and the emotional depth of the second.³⁰ But as observers from a distant time we will do well to insist on the separation of the two accounts and to study them as distinctive events. Relative simplicity, for instance, does not necessarily imply less artistry, rather it signals the active operation of forces either not present or significantly altered in later circumstances.³¹

The Stratum of Represented Perceivable Objects

Of the several levels which create a literary art work, that of the stratum of represented externalities („die Schicht der dargestellten Gegenständlichkeiten")³² receives almost unknowingly the most attention from readers who carefully follow the intentional meaning of the text.³³ The greatest number of critical essays usually investigate particular segments of this stratum in one manner or another.³⁴ In terms of formal criticism the represented objects comprise the outer or external structure of literature. It is at this juncture that phenomenology stresses the ontological dimension of poetic objects, their poetic reality in the work. Of capital importance for this stratum are the 'things' of literary endeavor, those qualities and capacities which are created by the author from words, phrases, and sentences combined into a unity of meaning. The results are the characters who people literature, the story as dramatized (inclusive of its sequence), the metaphoric of the problems existing in the presentation.³⁵ All objects which partake of a 'concrete' or 'quasi-existential' life in literature and are given some externalized, measurable, observable form, act in concert to shape the third level of each work.³⁶

The discussion of represented time, its nature and peculiarity, its poetic realization in contrast to 'real', that is, conceptual time, occupies a prominent place in this stratum, for although it is hardly a concrete object, time does possess an externality corresponding to a created quality of the work and has the same potential for manipulation as any other 'thing' which is a part of the literary account. Ingarden makes the relationship clear when he observes:

Vor allem zwingt uns dazu die Tatsache, dass die Geschehnisse, an denen die dargestellten Gegenstände teilnehmen, wesensmäßig zeitlich sind und ausserdem als aufeinanderfolgende oder zugleichseiende dargestellt werden. Damit ist unter ihnen eine zeitliche Ordnung statuiert. Schon diese zeitliche Ordnung bringt es mit sich, dass einzelne Zeitphasen und Momente zur Darstellung gelangen. Aber sie werden öfters auch durch entsprechende Elemente der Satzsinngehalte auf ganz dieselbe Weise, wie die in ihnen seienden Gegenstände, intentional entworfen. Es besteht also kein Grund, in dieser Hinsicht irgendeinen Unterschied zwischen den dargestellten Gegenständen (Dingen, Personen, Geschehnissen) und der dargestellten Zeit zu machen.³⁷

The Stratum of Schematized Aspects

The fourth level of literary art, that of the schematized aspects („die schmatizierten Ansichten“), finds its being not in any device peculiar to itself, but is rather the result of the interaction of the other three strata. Of the countless characteristics or qualities of persons or events theoretically available for exploitation („paratgehalten“),³⁸ only specific portions will be used to create the desired personality or action. These aspects can never define the object, happening, or circumstance *in toto*, and the reader or playgoer is confronted with a schematized entity which he can never completely know.³⁹ That which he *does* learn takes shape as words and sentences gradually reveal the circumstances into which a character is placed. The view the spectator receives depends primarily upon the words the author chooses and the contexts he portrays.⁴⁰

In many ways a spectator may be closer attuned to certain authorial ideas because he does not solely rely on his imagination. He rather participates in the drama via the mimetic nature of the characters, who at least outwardly resemble to some degree those which the redactor saw in his own imagination. But there continues to exist, however well-conceived the characters may be, an irremovable

screening effect between spectator and author. The actor himself naturally interprets words and actions from his personal understanding of the material, and those of the director further complicate the process. His dramatics will never be identical to those of persons before or after him, except perhaps in the most uninspired and repetitive performances. And the degree to which any of them approach the original ideas of the author is open to question. In the case of early medieval drama, the parameters of allowable deviation from an accepted and traditional norm may have been exceedingly narrow and thus possibly nearer the original intent. However, as the theater develops into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, interpretative impulses broaden with the growth of dramatic participants.

Though the spectator may unknowingly allow his vision to be filled with secondary interpretation, he still catches only glimpses of the aspects presented, which by no means conform to a reality for itself; this relies on suggestion, as Ingarden attests:

. . . sie werden dem Leser (dem Zuschauer) nur durch künstliche Mittel suggeriert und gehören nicht zu wirklich realen, sondern nur zu rein intentionalen, ihrem Gehalte nach quasi-realen Gegenständlichkeiten.⁴¹

Of the innumerable entities which encompass a complete literary work I have chosen for analysis the indispensable, but nevertheless single element of the whole called the temporal structure. Although its importance to literary aesthetics and dramatic appreciation is, I think, irrefutable, time by no means constitutes the only, nor perhaps even the most prominent quality thereof. It has, however, an active place in the polyharmonic character of literature. A careful study will reinforce the contention that a literary work of art is a

„rein intentionales Gebilde" at any period of its development. To adequately comprehend literary endeavors from a structural standpoint implies understanding the interrelationship of the several strata and the intentional structure which grows out of their manipulation. Without each of them the work no longer exhibits an organic composition and ceases to be an effective statement on human experience.

Medieval Drama and Literary Temporal Parameters

In this portion of the methodology I investigate the specific temporal phenomena necessary for any dramatic presentation and relate them to medieval Passion plays. These are statements on the methodological notions of formal criticism as applied to temporal management. Since we are dealing with a large number of texts and an approach rarely applied to medieval literature, the examples provided in footnotes for this section are designed to clarify the ideas themselves in a more directed manner than was attempted in the introductory remarks. The concepts form the framework around which individual Passions will later be investigated, documented, and interpreted.

It is apparent from the outline of a minute section of phenomenology which preceded this section that the text as preserved offers the most fertile field of consideration. Since it is impossible to recreate medieval spirituality in its entirety, one must concentrate on texts to find hints of the ideology behind these old dramas which served as their impetus and dictated their overall structure. However, recognition of the deeper religio-cultural implications of time structuring is contingent upon a well-defined perception of the linguistic and phenomenological nature of dramatic forms. By a careful

reconstruction of the conscious and unconscious formation of specific time structures, readers not contemporary with these plays can experience a satisfying aesthetic communication not only with the work, but to some degree with the author as well.

Subsequent discussion establishes the text of medieval Passions at the center of interest, not its staged reality. Not all scholars agree with such an approach. Among them is Glynne Wickham, who finds⁴² only a constant repetition of familiar texts in these activities. But the scholar is faced with innumerable difficulties when ancient dramas are approached in any manner not relying on their preserved form, especially if he wishes to research structure.⁴³ Consider, for example, the catalogs of useful and enlightening facts concerning the musical aspect of medieval drama which have been identified by scholars⁴⁴ like Schwietering, Gamer, Sticca, Smoldon, Molitor, and Osterhoff. They greatly facilitate the understanding of dramatic presentation during the period and more clearly define the often impressive unity which may develop between music and text. Such knowledge, however well appreciated, constitutes one of the several factors which only the physical attendance upon the plays themselves can realize.⁴⁵ Similarly, the exact status of gesticulation can often only be surmised, and the audience reaction to it is equally uncertain. Communication between reader and presentation must rely on textual evidence. With all the accompanying difficulties of imperfect preservation, chronology, history, and scribal whim or plain error, the text still links a formal record of performance with later intellects; it is the most perfect and indeed the only witness to artistic accomplishment and intent.⁴⁶

Successive Ordering of Events

Whenever ideas, observations, intentions are committed to formal records, either orally or physically, through the written word, the results convey unavoidable temporal consequences quite distinct from everyday communicative applications. Literary time frames and the language employed to create them find their being in a condition beyond physical reality. Wolfgang Kayser comments:

Dichterische Sprache ist von der Zweckbestimmtheit und „Realitäts-“ Bezogenheit der Alltagssprache befreit. Die von ihr hervorgerufene Gegenständlichkeit hat eine eigene Seinsweise, und die Sprache steht in besonderen Gefügen.⁴⁷

Medieval drama, a product of language, necessarily fulfills certain communicative demands inherent in all linguistic processes. It seems to lie at the center of human intellect to perceive 'reality' in temporal terms. This is equally true of literary works.⁴⁸ Language superimposes an indispensable temporal context on literature: one word precedes another, bundles of related words are formed into clauses and sentences, some occurring 'earlier', others 'later'; sentences are formed into entire 'phases' of activities, certain happenings precipitating later ones. Ingarden refers to the result as „die Ordnung der Aufeinanderfolge“. His observations concerning the phenomenology of temporal experience are predicated on the differentiation between 'concrete', i.e. sidereal time, and the literary application of time. The fact that such a literary time exists is recognized when he states:

Sie (die Zeit) ist aber bei dem Stellenwert der einzelnen Phases des literarischen Werkes durch den Aufbau des letzteren gefordert. Bestimmte Sachverhalte z(um) B(eispiel) müssen „schon“ entworfen sein, damit die anderen sich auf ihnen bauen können.⁴⁹

Ingarden further notes that well-conceived dramas produce scenes which are prepared by previous occurrences: „Sie (die Szene) fließt

sozusagen als Resultat aus vorangehenden hervor, sie setzt voraus."⁵⁰

The inherent temporal structuring of events can be tested by placing culminating events toward the beginning of a drama: chaos or bewilderment is the usual result. Were we to locate the Crucifixion or *Planctus Mariae* before the conspiracy to capture Jesus in any of the Passions, the entire cause and effect relationship, the doctrinal message of redemption through sacrifice, would be negated for even the most sophisticated audiences.⁵¹ Theoretically defined, the text of a drama has only one continual 'now' about it, that is the time of presentation.⁵² But the dramatic experience relies on the observation of the successive ordering of various developmental phases ("die Aufeinanderfolge der Phasen"). Individual scenes contain elements of earlier and later actions. The complexities and interrelationships of the parts are recognized when one notes that each part of a literary work (except perhaps the initial one) shows moments which have their bases in 'earlier' conditions. They likewise contain elements which have no basis in those of other portions, but which begin at that point. Finally, they include causes for future, 'later' sections; they hold the seeds of coming events.⁵³

Literary works exist as physical entities beyond the human experience of flowing time; they possess no temporal beginning or ending. All pieces are equally 'present', coexisting on the same physical plane. Yet the human communication with the several parts of the literary whole betrays a definite and perceptible 'flow' of events. That experienced phenomenon embodies the concretization of the work, that artistic ordering of events taking place quite apart from either author or audience.

*Presentational Time and Represented Time*⁵⁴

The 'present' or audience-immanent time of dramatic spectacles has been identified as a series of events staged against a temporally and phenomenologically moving background, as one of successive ordering of dramatic material. Although spectators are locked into a perceptive 'now' of physical experience, they view the ebb and flow of events causally and temporally linked to one another, but seldom contemporary with the play-goers. To understand a poet's accomplishments requires the investigator to separate presentational time from represented time. Putz argues that on stage presentational and represented time are, for all practical purposes, united.⁵⁵ He finds little interest in the time span between presentational and represented phenomena, for the difference is irrelevant for this genre.⁵⁶ Whereas the correlation of the two qualities is certainly not as crucial to dramatic structure as it is to narrative form, I maintain that the best Passion authors from the Middle Ages created moments of suspense often by omitting great blocks of represented time and referring to developments contained therein with epic reports, thus establishing a conspicuous degree of concentration. This is precisely what makes the Pilate of *Towneley* so impressive; the Christ of *BenP* may well be abstractly defined by the seemingly undramatic scenes which initiate this Passion. Both instances can be understood only by studying what amount of presentational time is required to stage a specific represented time span. Appearances by prophets, angels, and choirs in *Alsfeld* affect represented time and the amount of presentational time required for the series of statements forms a significant indicator of doctrinal intent. Although the literary preponderance of presentational and represented time is

admittedly not as prodigious in the drama, the length a given event occupies the stage and our attention in objective units does provide at least a hint of its most important messages.

During the ensuing discussion I shall interpret the represented time of the plays from a standpoint existing not only outside the time presented on stage, but also outside the time of the medieval bystander. I have generalized Ludwig Wolff's notion that medieval man recognized the plays as 'artificial' constructs⁵⁷ and that he did not continually identify with represented characters. That this fundamental separation between auditor and performer was recognized and understood by spectators is born out by recent investigations by Kolve into the Corpus Christi plays as "play and game".⁵⁸ The distance between the two groups of celebrants, however, is by no means inviolate, and conscientious authors will employ numerous theatrical and doctrinal tricks to bridge the gap. But another, more critical awareness of necessary detachment enters into the analysis.

The distinction between my position and the original audience is methodologically compelled, for certain qualities, notably presentification through linguistic phenomena and anachronism, disrupt the technically pure flow of represented time on stage and involve medieval audiences, but not necessarily the modern reader. To more perfectly comprehend the complexity of represented time, I must often assume the status of an impartial observer of the audience as well. A phenomenon which may be described as breaking through purely represented time into the temporal surroundings of the spectator does not imply an accompanying break into *my* temporal reality. It seems necessary to make these fine distinctions if one desires to deal meaningfully with

medieval drama and the audiences which may have attended them.

Presentational time is a continuum of finite units, of objectively measurable minutes, hours, days. It comprises the time required to physically perform the plays. In the instance of Gréban's *Mistère*, this form of time approaches four days. The exact number of hours of daily dramatization is unknown, but to judge from the length of the work itself, the sum must have been considerable. To avoid possible error in measurement of presentational time and to account for individual reading speeds, I have equated it with verse numbers. Although variations in length are to be found within specific Passion groups, the differences are minimal and do not destroy the validity of the standard.

Represented time refers to the time frame of every action depicted on stage, as well as those implied or reported by directions or characters as having occurred, but not dramatized. As Petsch relates:

Dieses Kernstück umfasst alles, was sich von dem ersten Aufgehen bis zum letzten Fallen des Vorhangs teils vor unseren Augen, teils in dem unmittelbaren Spielfelde benachbarten Raume vollzieht; das ist die 'Handlungszeit' im engeren Sinne, die der wesentlichen Entfaltung des Vorganges in der Zeit entspricht.⁵⁹

Represented time involves an infinitely more complex phenomenon than presentational time, for it does not flow evenly, nor is it always successively ordered. Generally speaking, one can equate the primary human experience of life (as opposed to the subjective experience of memory) measured by clocks or other 'objects' with a series of usually unrelated highlights separated by vast periods of mundane, inconsequential, even boring existence. Human memory rarely stores the input of the majority of uninteresting activities; rather it concentrates the

more relevant and appealing events into lasting, but often chronologically disconnected images. Dramatic representation functions analogously. A fundamental characteristic of drama is its tendency to concentrate. It involves the artistic selection from the mass of theoretically dramatizable 'historic' events those deemed most pertinent and efficacious for the author's conceptual ideas. Surely Petsch is correct when he observes:

. . . der Dichter (m^us^z), um die Handlungs- und Spielzeit in ein ertr^äg^liches Verh^ältnis zu set^zen, die Handlung selbst durch Auswahl des Wesentlichen k^ur^zen und das Gebotene in perspektivischer Weise verkn^up^fen.⁶⁰

Temporal Foreshortening

The public encounter with represented time bespeaks an apparent willingness on its part to suspend its incredulity, for the unavoidable temporal voids which inevitably happen during artistic concentration are in most instances simply not perceived. Real time, by its very nature, tolerates no interruption.⁶¹ Whenever two separate situations are presented, one earlier, the other later, the undramatized period lying between them is accepted by the reader or spectator as also having somehow existed. He may not even be aware of its absence unless, in an abstract and non-contemporary involvement with the piece, he *purposely* seeks out these anomalies. The audience is inclined to overlook whatever incongruities might arise from these undefined areas of the play, inasmuch as they are even aware of them.⁶² Medieval Passions accommodate innumerable empty, undramatized moments within represented time which seem to leave spectator acceptance of the plays unaffected.

Although some of these undefined portions of the story are simply not reported, other more weighty considerations receive epic treatment

and are narrated as prior circumstances which lead toward dramatized scenes. Represented time thereby enables the work to take on new, enhanced horizons by epically intensifying dramatized scenes. Thus is the past opened to exploitation, an unlimited panorama of temporal affiliations made possible.⁶³ The fact remains, however, that represented time never truly focuses on events as they occur in objective reality (Ingarden- „weil dieses Schema von uns gedenklich nicht in allen seinen Phasen konstruiert wird“).⁶⁴

The audience experience of represented time varies with the time perspective afforded it by the playwright. Since dramatists concentrate⁶⁵ their messages by selecting particular events, the scenes chosen for playing and the time devoted to them on stage will directly reflect the dramatic competence of the poet as well as provide clues as to his intention.

This observation is further substantiated by the fact that an author cannot physically portray all events of a character's life, i.e., equate represented time with presentational time, without incurring severe audience languishment. Even the most consequent Naturalist did not succeed in presenting such detail without adversely affecting his dramatic product.⁶⁶ An author can only approach the equality of the two phenomena, and he risks increased spectator boredom and uneasiness as the two converge. Certain late Passion plays begin to approach just such temporal equity. *Alsfeld* and *Mistère* present extended scenes of Christ's flagellation and Crucifixion.⁶⁷ The degree to which these accounts detail the events of the period traditionally believed to have encompassed six hours⁶⁸ leads to loss of concentration and interest for all but the most intensely engaged individual; they have developed

senseless cruelty carried out by torturers, unrelenting intransigence of Jewish mockers, and a deadening repetitiveness in Mary's laments which border on intellectual and dramatic overkill.⁶⁹

Represented time varies from the severely delimited accounts of *Montecassino*, *Autun*, and *Palat*,⁷⁰ through the somewhat more inclusive stagings of *BenP*, *Donau*, and *StG*,⁷¹ to the extensive descriptions of Christ's ministry and Passion, lengthened by numerous secondary events and occasionally gratuitous detail that constitute the two English accounts and *Mistère* and *Alsfeld*. The reader is invited to compare the presentational and represented times outlined for each Passion in Appendix B.

Represented time does not exhibit a continuous, unbroken flow of activity within presentational time. The movement of time in representation, a kaleidoscope of forward rushing, retarding, interrupting, recollecting elements, produces an often fascinating dynamic of temporal experience. The techniques by which represented time is arranged on the stage is at once objectively measurable, regenerative, and capable of lending increased insight into the aesthetic and artistic construction of medieval Passions. Particular scenes central to the poet's message can be plotted and measured in 'objective' duration. The next logical step leads to consideration of how a playwright draws out or shortens his represented time, how he manages his material and forms it in presentational time.

Tempo- Acceleration and Retardation

The focus has heretofore been the inherent temporal organization of dramatic presentations, the manner in which the „Aufeinanderfolge der Phasen" necessitates an experience of time. Although it is useful to

compare the amount of time represented within the confines of presentational time, another related facet of the temporal structure must be considered. This is the tempo of succession. There occurs in all drama not only a foreshortening of 'historical' or 'objective' time within represented time, but also an individual (often unconscious) experience of the passing of time equally controlled by the author.⁷² I speak of *duration*, the resolution in time an event seems to have.⁷³ Putz prefers to consider the quantity of experience from a standpoint of succession, specifically the rapidity with which one event precedes another.⁷⁴ Dramatic tempo is seen to be regulated by the span of time between the anticipation of an action and its realization.⁷⁵ Whenever the temporal connection is short, acceleration results; contrarily, as the period between the two entities widens, dramatic retardation assumes control.

Effective drama will not tend toward either temporal extreme. Rather, a healthy mixture of the two assures spectator attention. A medieval dramatist may fill his presentational time with broad, generally undeveloped happenings, tracing only their vaguest outlines in rapid succession, thereby constricting them. Or, he may present an intense, detailed point-by-point analysis of the event, dwelling on it at length, thus elongating it and retarding the succession of coming activities. Irena Slawinska demonstrates the importance of this temporal retardation by observing that the resultant moments correspond to those of greatest dramatic import:

C'est 'au ralenti' que nous vivons les scènes les plus importantes; un plus grand espace du temps semble être nécessaire pour transmettre plus de valeurs sémantiques.⁷⁶

Careful readers perceive a given occurrence or series thereof in represented time as either accelerated or retarded, their duration shortened or lengthened in presented time. This temporal encounter is completely relative, and is manipulated by each individual author. Indeed, as Froning has noticed, the three developmental stages for German Passions are marked by continual additions of characters, events, and speeches, resulting in the institutionalization of temporal retardation.⁷⁷

Early Passion accounts generally hasten depicted time by their skeletal, ritualistic nature; their tempo is relatively rapid. Little dramatization of the specifics of several Passion sections is found, rather an outline of activity leading towards the Crucifixion provides the focus.⁷⁸ This observation may be explained by their relationship to liturgical drama and their position at the very inception of dramatic ventures depicting the central message of Christ's sacrifice in ever-increasing detail and intensity.⁷⁹ Later plays employ retardation to such a degree that several of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Passions contain scenes which must be regarded as disruptively lengthy. Their dramatic impact is diluted, the forward movement of the play impeded and occasionally voided entirely.⁸⁰

Parallelism, Interruption, and Psycho-intellectual Moments

In the following pages two types of parallelism are introduced under distinct titles. The first is *parallelism of action*, to which the simple term, parallelism, refers. The second is a sort of plot parallelism, wherein audiences are drawn into the time sequence of plays by virtue of *anachronism*.⁸¹ Walter F. Meyers identifies another method

of presentation whereby vastly different times are brought into contemporaneity, that of direct address to spectators.⁸² For purposes of organization and to allow for a full consideration of their potential, I have chosen to consider these ideas under a separate section called suspension and interruption.

In several Passions the phenomenon of the complete interruption and recapitulation of time can be discerned. It occurs whenever a dramatist places two simultaneous events in dramatic succession, not a surprising state of affairs when one considers that he has no other means by which to present them in represented time. An audience can only attend one event at a time, even though in history they be simultaneous. Evidence of this curious interruption rests in many instances on the witness of stage directions, wherein a poet occasionally provides hints as to the manner in which he understands his represented time to be arranged in mimetic reality. Words and phrases such as the Latin *dum*, *interim*, *interea*, and the German *die wil*, *in dissem*, *in dem* afford positive evidence of the author's conception of the chronological ordering of staged events. In those instances without sufficient textual documentation, notably the French and English plays, one must rely on analysis of time and place of scenes as well as the content of speeches to identify scenic and temporal parallelism.

The intimate corollary of parallelism, the interruption or suspension of represented time, functions not only to occasionally retard succession, it often disrupts temporal movement completely. Particularly in medieval theater is the latter true. To adequately understand the fundamental nature of this drama one must separate consideration of the

interruption of succession contingent upon the presentation of material on stage and the complete relaxation of the barriers which distinguish represented time from that of the spectator. To facilitate comprehension I equate *interruption* with the temporary halting of the dramatic succession of represented time by *characters acting as players* and *suspension* with the phenomenon of temporal disruption which reduces or completely negates the psychological distance between stage and spectator time.⁸³

The succession of represented time, the historical period of Christ's Passion as revealed in Scripture, can be interrupted. Lyrical insertions may intrude upon the flow of time and the bystanders may experience a momentary interruption of the movement of represented substance. The phenomenon of interruption, as defined here, constitutes an extreme illustration of temporal retardation.

Staged time, especially in medieval drama, is often altogether suspended and a unity of varying duration of spectator and character or staged reality emerges. The unity can be hinted by anachronistic words peculiar to the culture and society of medieval man, such as *pfaffe*, *pennigk*, *Kirche*, *bishop*, *mahound*, *knyght*, *fleur de lis*, *vaillant et cortois*, *preudom*, *bewsire*, and so forth. Such a context of anachronism separates the words themselves from the historical presentation and alters it in such a way as to provide innumerable points of entry for medieval man into the doctrinal and religious significance of the plays.⁸⁴ Represented historical time may be suspended for more extended periods by figures who momentarily drop their dramatic facades to speak directly to the audience, seeking its sympathy, explaining the meaning of a concluded scene, or even preaching a short sermon on the evils of

contemporary life. The relatively important position occupied by music in these dramas may likewise indicate varying degrees of commonality between audience and stage characters. Singing of the well-known '*Te Deum*' by Mary Magdalene near the close of *Palat* evokes the active participation of the observer in that portion of the story. Alternation of Latin and vernacular speeches lessens the distance between represented and presentational time. Each of these phenomena seems designed to elicit a definite spectator reaction, pulling him into the dramatized action, 'presentifying' it for him. He can thus become actively integrated into the play: it lives for him, not as mere religious history, but as a statement on the continuing validity of the message.

Several points of doctrinal and dramatic interest can be identified in the Passions by observance of the elongation afforded them. Some comprise an elementary piling up of detail which surrounds an event such as the Last Supper or the Crucifixion. They are classic examples of temporal retardation. Still other elements function to arrest the flow of represented time by injecting purely lyrical moments into the stream of staged time. Numerous illustrations of characters who aim their monologs directly at spectators can be documented. The presence or absence of these psycho-intellectual moments greatly influences the perceived intention of the work. It is at precisely these junctures that the plays become most transparent. They sublineate dramatic highlights lifted out of the normal dramatic context to a level of uncommon intensity. Their inclusion serves to call attention to a certain dialog, scene, or event, but they can only be adequately delineated by a painstaking analysis of presentational and represented time, complimented by a recognition of their capacity to stretch individual

temporal perception.

Suspense and Anticipation

The German term applied to one of the basic concepts of drama, that of ,Spannung', cannot adequately be defined by a single English equivalent, for it denotes at once a characteristic subjective spectator reaction to an objective contextual circumstance. The term most appropriate for audience psychology and perception is *suspense*; its corollary, *anticipation*, lends itself most easily to the meaning for textual structure.

Anticipatory form, that dramatic structure linking past and present events to the future, occupies a position of ascendancy over audience suspense; it must be operative before suspense can be created.⁸⁵

Alan Thompson refers to anticipation as "the life of narrative and the essence of suspense."⁸⁶ This structural „Gespanntsein' aller Elemente auf das Kommende"⁸⁷ admits one of the central considerations of theatrical activity. In effective drama individual scenes are rarely self-contained; rather they are prepared by previous events and lead to other as yet unrealized scenes. These anticipatory dramatic forms depend on the interrelationships of the three temporal modi to one another.⁸⁸

In his discussion of the peculiar nature of medieval drama, Cecile Schreiber offers a general and, at first glance, perfectly acceptable criticism of the plays:

La surprise, l'événement fortuit n'existent donc pas, et le théâtre, de même que l'histoire, est alors une succession de moments, d'étapes, dont le contenu est préétabli.⁸⁹

A common mistake of critics infers that to be effective and successful, drama must include elements which surprise. These take all manner of

dramatic form, like peripetie, unexpected changes of events, or perhaps the introduction of unexpected characters. Were the essence of salient drama condensed into such requirements, medieval theater could with just cause be labeled unskilled productions. Surprise is, happily, not essential to the stage. The varying degrees of anxiety experienced by spectators depends not on single events or stage effects, but as Thompson demonstrates, on "a state of feeling induced by the entire action already witnessed."⁹⁰ It is indeed true, as Schreiber states: "Le théâtre médiéval est un théâtre sans surprises."⁹¹ But this is actually of little consequence, for really good drama depends upon the interaction of past and future events, upon *anticipation*. Pütz clarifies these observations:

Jeder Moment greift Vergangenes auf und nimmt Zukünftiges vorweg. Die dramatische Handlung besteht in der *sukzessiven* Vergegenwärtigung von vorweggenommener Zukunft und nachgeholter Vergangenheit.⁹²

It makes little difference that in medieval drama, according to Schreiber, "nombreuses prophéties annoncent les événements futurs,"⁹³ that the dénouement is "une nécessité, une partie intrinsèque de la situation initiale."⁹⁴ Indeed, the latter circumstance has an exciting logic and drive towards the conclusion not possible with other dramatic structures. For, contrary to expectation, public awareness of the conclusion may actually heighten the potential for suspense rather than diminish it. Thompson explains:

It is strongest when the spectator knows or at least suspects the outcome, as when we see a swimmer helplessly drawn to the brink of a waterfall. . . . To know the ending does not relieve our feelings; it may, on the contrary, increase them.⁹⁵

To focus specifically upon medieval theater, Prosser provides a collateral opinion, stating:

Will the Jews destroy Jesus? To say 'But the audience knew the answer' is, of course, wholly irrelevant where drama is concerned. Read *Hamlet* as many times as you will; see it again and again; there is still that nonrational question, that anticipation, that hope, and that shock of loss.⁹⁶

Of the several types of suspense, the most applicable to our investigation of Passions is „Wie-Spannung", or how the sequence of scenes prepares the Crucifixion and Resurrection, making both unavoidable.⁹⁷ Since these two truths contain the common denominators of medieval Christian faith (and modern Western religious belief as well), the manner in which the playwright forms his story to insure audience attention, participation, and suspense is of primary interest. Since the medieval dramatist is active within the religious framework of his material and is bound by the long tradition of dramatic endeavor which preceded him, he cannot, nor does he ever wish to avoid the twin mysteries of his faith. However, this in no way affects the potentiality for impressive-- and mediocre-- artistry which he may employ to arrive at the known end. Interest and suspense are characteristically focused not on the outcome, but on the process which make it inevitable.⁹⁸

It is in the arena of possible alternatives to the Lord's suffering and Passion that the otherwise undramatic scene in Gethsemane assumes greater significance than one initially realizes, for in several of the late accounts (and, one might add, in the Biblical records) it is in the Garden where the possibility of avoiding the coming trials and hardship is finally abandoned by the Christ and the human decision to endure accepted. Although Jesus continually signals the inevitability of the Crucifixion by prophesying His Betrayal and Trial, He still entertains the human desire to momentarily pass up the bitter cup. The active listener might well have felt anxiety at Christ's words in *Alsfeld*:

*Pater, si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste.*⁹⁹

A triple repetition of the phrase and a paraphrase in the vernacular appended to it serves to strengthen the inherent pathos of the scene.¹⁰⁰

It underlines Christ's humanity and creates substantial „Mitleid" in the listener.¹⁰¹ Resultant suspense is, however, almost always short-lived, for the arrival of an angel to comfort Him and assure Him of God's will signals the necessity of the sacrifice. The related scenes before Pilate will likewise contain significant capacity for suspense which we will wish to examine closely.

A second form of suspense enters into the structure of medieval Passion plays, one known as emotional suspense („Gefühls-Spannung").¹⁰² Functional drama is not formed solely from the inexorable drive towards the conclusion. There exist many factors, as I have previously shown, which interrupt the flow. The way to Golgotha is by no means a steady one; there occur several interruptions along the way as well as after this station has been completed. Lyrical elements add their particular plaintive quality to spectator suspense by fastening on human reaction to overwhelming suffering. The laments of the Virgin not only interrupt represented time, they also serve to intensify audience emotion by stressing immediate commentary in a forceful manner. Other forms of emotional suspense depend heavily on audience awareness of impending disaster, one which normally overshadows the knowledge of the characters themselves. Inclusion of such devices serves to throw successive lyrical interruptions into greater relief.

Since medieval drama shares a fundamental temporal structure with all dramatic forms, the measurable manipulation of the various time modi and techniques employed to create a moving account are at once

identifiable and indicative of the artistry employed to formulate the Passion accounts. The points of inception will often offer clues to the causal chain of events leading to the Crucifixion and Resurrection. These in turn will provide insights into the manner in which poets make the known outcome unequivocal. They also aid in the identification of means by which writers artistically structure their tales to provide effective opportunities for suspense. Epic elements assume greater significance when employed not only to concentrate action on the most important events of the Passion, but also to provide information indicative of causality, of the absolute necessity of the Passion. The power of past events continues to be felt throughout the entire story. Prophetic utterances which betray the eventual chain of events continuously remind the audience of mankind's spiritual dependency on the Lord of the Passion. Whatever the development on stage, they relate it to the conclusion. Yet prophecy is but a single example of the many techniques whereby the future is anticipated. To investigate the methods by which past action is related to future outcome is to feel the artist's pulse, to know the dramatization of Christ's Suffering not as a purely abstract exercise, but as a vibrant, vital, and lively encounter with the work itself.

Though no division of so many and varied texts from such a great expanse of chronological time can be completely satisfactory, the organization I have chosen takes into account the changing exigencies of staged performance and religious thought by drawing restrictive boundaries around each group of plays. This is an attempt to hold inviolate the particular spiritual and dramatic surroundings of each

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text, while simultaneously allowing at least a minimum of comparison within limited registers of years.

The analysis of each play group is organized into three major categories. Interest will be focused on: 1) the temporal succession of the plays, 2) the means by which past events are integrated into the presentational 'now' of the stage, and 3) the anticipation of future events. Discussion of the several techniques for ordering staged time comprises the bulk of each analysis. Each category contains a plethora of potential temporal creativity and lends its capacities to the construction of audience suspense.

An analysis of so great a number of techniques and plays inevitably results in the consideration of certain passages and phenomena in two or more analytical areas. While every attempt has been made to minimize such overlapping, those temporal entities in prominent scenes like the trials and the Crucifixion necessarily find their way into related discussions. To facilitate analytical clarity I have employed the basic outline of temporal structuring developed by Peter Pütz. Most of the definitions and titles of pertinent techniques are his, although I have augmented them where necessary to account for peculiarities endemic to drama in the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER IV

FORMAL CONSIDERATION OF DRAMA AND THE DRAMATIC

The essential value transmitted by coming analytical observations depends upon the recognition of two theoretical and phenomenological assumptions dealing with the drama. We must endeavor to comprehend the constituents of the genre 'drama' and the 'dramatic' style, two closely-related, but independent concepts.

The Genre Drama and the 'Dramatic' Style

Drama has traditionally been defined in terms of impersonation, of mortal men disguising themselves to represent other beings on stage.¹ Other researchers have appended the requisites of action and dialog to impersonation, and have thought to have recorded the essence of a genre. Unfortunately, these intuitive recognitions fail to account for massive amounts of material which depend upon none of the three activities, but which are incorporated more or less into all 'drama'. These involve alternative experiences of mind and soul, contrasting methods of exposing the world and relating to it. Dramas exhibit essences of those reactions to external reality which may best be termed 'lyrical' or 'epic', both adjectives. Their inclusion has enormous consequences for the drama. Therefore, one must strive to differentiate the drama as a nominal entity from its adjectival form, the 'dramatic', for as Robert Edwards correctly pronounces:

. . . in pursuing the suggestion which is primarily phenomenological, one should always keep clear a distinction between the dramatic and drama. The dramatic deals with tension between two forces. . . . Drama is a sophisticated art form whose diverse elements presumably contribute to a single overall impression. Foremost among its elements is a sense of the dramatic, but this sense in isolation does not add up to the complexity of the form any more than impersonation defines the totality of drama.²

That specific body of plays we call medieval religious drama may include hymns, responses, antiphons, and psalms from Church liturgy, as well as narration of previous situations or undramatized events. The appearance of each greatly alters the purely 'dramatic' organization of time, for the temporal structure and intentional meaning of each component is distinct. Temporal composition in medieval drama is so varied and complex that it transcends terms addressing physical presentation alone. The inclusion of a *planctus Mariae*, for instance, creates intensely 'lyrical' moments, where the emotion evoked transcends all external objectivity,³ perhaps creating in us modern readers analogous flights of ecstasy or depths of despair, both internalized into our own spirit and quite apart from the plays or their reading. Or the artist may turn his attention to the past through narration. Though the main area of interest is occupied by the 'dramatic', it must be recognized that this experience is only one of several fundamental reactions to human existence.⁴ We have before us entities known as dramas, but whose qualities are far from adequately explained by staged presentation. We must look closer at the temporal and existential apperceptions which surround the dramas under review. We must consider the 'dramatic' style.

The singlemost decisive temporal factor at work in any literary creation called 'dramatic', whether it be a poem, a work of fiction, or a staged production, is an *anticipatory* frame of reference; the

existence of the piece is directed in all its parts to the future outcome of stated circumstances.⁵ Connate with all dramatic productions (whether organized into any of the three genres-- Lyric, Epic, or Drama) is a temporal interest in how present and past events cause or effect the future outcome of a dramatized situation. The dramatic style organizes time with the intention of creating suspense or anticipation of future developments. The context of this suspense involves the conflict of individuals with their surroundings, with their fates, another reflection of a basic quality of drama. Petsch comments:

Jedes echte Drama . . . zeigt also den Menschen im Ringen mit dem Schicksal. Das gilt von dem ernsten so gut wie von dem heiteren, von dem Entwicklungs- wie von dem Vernichtungsdrama. In der grossen Antinomie, auf die zuletzt jeder dramatische Vorgang sich zurückführen lässt, ist immer das Ich mit seinen Forderungen der Behauptung, der Durchsetzung und Vollendung seiner Selbst die eine Grundkraft, das Schicksal als Nicht-Ich im weitesten und im tiefsten Sinne die andere. . . .⁶

To bring this theoretical perception to bear on medieval drama, one need only attend to the words of Hennig Brinkmann, who places the ideas squarely within the religious context of man's struggle with external forces in the Middle Ages: „Das Drama des Mittelalters war ein heiliges Spiel, in dem es (im Sinne des Mittelalters) um die religiöse Existenz des Menschen ging.“⁷

The dramatic style employs audience-imminent presentational forms, like monologs and dialogs, to transfer its message from author to spectator. Events unfold in the presence of the audience, with the intention of influencing its perceptions, as Staiger observes: „Wenn der Vorhang fällt, hat das Publikum das Vernommene zu bedenken und sich klarzumachen, inwiefern es Folgendes vorbereitet. . . .“⁸ The unknown authors of *Alsfeld* place anticipated audience reaction into the specifically

religious context of the time by suggesting an appropriate, natural response to the dramatized Passion:

*zu der kirchen sollen mer alle gann
und got dankende sym
syner grossen martel und pynn!
(Alsfeld 2915-2917)*

Medieval Drama as 'Drama'

The drama of the Middle Ages has long been identified with fundamental qualities generally accepted as comprising the genre in its broadest sense. Both Chambers and Young defined it in terms of action, dialog, and impersonation. Young asserted that the latter must be physical imitation, that a performer must not only *represent* a figure, he must *resemble* him as well.⁹ A major difficulty in the uncritical approval of this philosophical stance has already been suggested: it fails to account for participation and experience of countless other factors. From a purely philological standpoint, it also constricts our own abilities to relive drama without recourse to stages. O.B. Hardison also points out the limiting effects of such a definition by noting that Young's ideas are predicated upon the physical presentation and not at all upon the literary text.¹⁰ He continues by observing that such discussions of drama are impaired by an imperfect knowledge of medieval stagecraft: "but acting and staging procedures are certainly not essential elements of the theory of drama."¹¹ Hardison's ensuing evaluation of the relationship of life to art further supports his contention that a good deal more than mere impersonation enters into the equation. As he searches for elemental forces which may define dramatic presentations, Hardison turns his attention to primitive societies and their religious rites. He finds an analogy between

priests and actors: "The priest (in primitive societies) does not represent the god, he *is* the god." Sarah Weber, too, finds an analogy in the celebration of the Mass, but is reluctant to identify the celebrant with Christ. Instead, she sees him acting "as the Lord's visible representative and His living instrument,"¹² rather than *being* Christ. Benjamin Hunningher is even more adamant in his denial of any identification between celebrant and the Unseen.¹³ Nevertheless, it seems to hold true that the most successful actors in some manner do identify themselves with the action of the play and the character they portray, that they do indeed assume, if only fleetingly, the cloak of personal suffering of the original personage. Hardison supposes this phenomenon of identification to have been active in the psyches of medieval actors as well.

Since subsequent appreciation of literary art depends on its preserved form rather than on a complete reconstruction of stage realities, the factor linking medieval man to his post-Renaissance counterpart must lie elsewhere than in impersonation. I contend that it can be found in the definition of the 'dramatic', in the opposition of struggling forces. A challenge elicits similarly-conceived responses because they have their origin in human existence. At the very core of drama one discovers a human attempt to organize elements external to man, and thereby master them. Chambers correctly identified the 'mimetic instinct' of man as reflected in its classical dramatic form,¹⁴ but was misled by his own distaste for the medieval Church and the evolutionary theories espoused by Charles Darwin, as applied to literature. In his desire to derive a continuous developmental pattern of the dramatic genre from elementary pagan beginnings to complex

and infinitely more enjoyable Shakespearean monuments, Chambers' 'mimetic instinct' relegated medieval drama to the status of a poor stepchild, of scant value or importance for its own sake. Nevertheless, it was an unfortunate antedating specimen of development towards Elisabethan masterpieces which required investigation, if only to complete the evolutionary pattern. Chambers did not approach this drama as an art form possessed of intrinsic value. In his opinion, he had uncovered a medieval Church exceedingly hostile to 'pagan' dramatic influences, a Church interested only in eradicating their unhealthy presence. It has since been established that the medieval Church actually directed and furthered dramatic presentations.¹⁵ More recent scholarship than Chambers' has given the lie to one of his primary arguments governing the early growth and intent of medieval drama.¹⁶

A modern-day proponent of the position espoused by Chambers and von Winterfeld is Benjamin Hunningher, who remains convinced that medieval theater owes its genesis to 'pagan rites' instead of tropes¹⁷ and that mimes played an extremely decisive role in early Church drama.¹⁸ Gamer, Sticca, and, most recently, Wolfgang Michael have taken issue with most of Hunningher's folkloristic responses to the questions of origin.¹⁹ I need not delay further with matters concerning the nascence of theater except to remark that most scholars seem to agree that there does indeed exist a 'mimetic instinct' in all of human kind. Differences of opinion arise when one attempts to organize the transition from lost Classical traditions to that body of theatrical production we call medieval theater.²⁰ But it is exactly this basic drive for expression which links medieval drama with preceding and succeeding drama.²¹

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Present day scholars generally agree that drama, as understood by classical artists and audiences, did not survive the decline of Rome intact.²² Structurally speaking, Greek drama resolved itself into forms reflecting the observations of Aristotle in the *Poetics*. This singularly important theoretical treatise became known to Western Europe at a relatively late time, when a German named Hermann translated it into Latin in 1256. Medieval drama had long since evolved Passion plays, as is evidenced by the Montecassino text.

Church liturgy is normally afforded the title of progenitor to this drama, specifically the *Quem Queritis* trope of the Easter liturgy. Julius Schwietering postulates that liturgical drama, a phase evolving towards Passion plays, finds its origin in musical entities constituting significant portions of the Mass.²³ According to this theory, medieval drama has its genesis in a *lyrical* form, that of music. Elsie Helmrich, in her introduction to *The History of the Chorus in the German Drama* (1912), sketches the broad developmental outlines of Greek drama, likewise beginning with lyrical hymns, those honoring Dionysus.²⁴ She relates the first epic additions to the festival as well as to the part played by dance. It would thus appear that, quite apart from their distinctive final forms, Greek and medieval drama do share some common religious ground.²⁵ A note of warning is raised by Robert Edwards, who cautions readers against uncritical acceptance of the ritualistic origins of medieval drama by noting that classical scholarship has recently moved away from the attitude that Greek tragedy arose from ritual.²⁶ There need not be any fundamental disagreement between the ideas of Schwietering, Helmrich, and Edwards, for even in ritual I see a religious response to mankind's 'mimetic instinct'.²⁷

Medieval drama shares dramatic characteristics with all drama which can be formally reconstructed with modern tools. It is not simply a naïve, impoverished relative of more sophisticated dramatic offerings. It merely organizes its mimetic instinct and lessons into the religious context of the period, as countless ages and cultures have done before. Schwietering glimpses the religious origins of drama when he writes:

Ich bin mir klar, dass ich damit an letzte metaphysische Gründe religiöser dramatischer Dichtung und, falls alle dramatische Dichtung im Religiösen wurzelt, an den Ursprung dramatischer Wortgestalt schlechthin zu rühren wage, aber nicht mit vorgefasster Theorie, sondern aus vertiefter historischer Einsicht in die Genesis des mittelalterlichen liturgischen Spiels . . . von diesem bescheidenen Einzelgebiet aus ein literarhistorisches Problem von allgemeiner Gültigkeit lösen zu können.²⁸

When we look for concepts which shape the fate and character of a civilization, its religious practices and teachings are found to unlock attitudes and fundamental methods of dealing with life. A natural coalition of religion and drama appears almost inevitable.

Thompson explains:

. . . it is religion that ultimately informs the dramatist's work as well as other men's, and gives it whatever human significance it has. . . . Technique is necessary to make a play effective, but out of a high religion alone can the substance of a great play come.²⁹

In these lines are contained the most probable reasons why the dramatic style, instead of epic narration, for instance, was employed so extensively to address the Passion of our Lord. No less significant was the very nature of the material to be portrayed. The raw material contributing the 'historical' context or 'plot' of Passion presentations, the biblical story, itself possessed a highly-dramatic character in an epic organization; the dramatic style lent itself best to a forceful realization of Scripture.³⁰ And the dramatic form best suited the

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purposes of its mentor, the Church of the Middle Ages. From a purely theoretical viewpoint, the conflict between Christ and the external world, embodied in pharisees, devils, Jews, and Pilate, presents enormous dramatic potential. This contention of forces is paraphrased into philosophical terms by Petsch, who finds in such discord the true roots of the dramatic style:

Das gewaltige Ringen des Ichs mit dem Schicksal rückt in der dramatischen Gattung so überwältigend in den Vordergrund, ja in die Mitte der ganzen Darstellung, weil es den Vorgang gleichsam aus allen seinen Erlebnis- und Erfahrungszusammenhängen herausreißt und vor uns auf die Bühne hinzwingt.³¹

Passion plays not only explore Christ's wrestling with forces external to Him, but also seek to explain man's part in the struggle.³² It is to be expected that the structure of time also contributes to this outcome by engaging expectations and anticipation within the spectator. Sandro Sticca relates the function of medieval drama to its dramatic form and finds theater integrated into Christian philosophy:

It constitutes a powerful dramatic statement on the Christian faith at its richest and most complex. The aim of medieval drama is that which motivated the medieval church as a whole: to express in visible dramatic terms the facts and values of the accepted body of scripture and theological belief. Christian art, particularly the dramatic art, is more than a pleasing ornament, it is actually grafted on to the fabric of Christian thought.³³

If we concentrate upon the peculiar fact of medieval Passions, that the story was widely-known and accepted, our attention is directed to the touchstone of dramatic endeavor: how to portray the known in 'impressive' ways, how to bring home to bystanders its greater significance for their very salvation.³⁴ This immediately turns our interest towards the management of the material by the writer, towards the 'how' of his temporal structure and its implication for the

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dramatic style in general; for it has been established that dramatic presentations by their very nature tend toward the application of certain techniques designed to create anticipation or suspense in their audiences. To more clearly understand the deeper implication of these temporal techniques the reader need only accept the religious milieu which defines medieval stages. If the dramatic style is viewed as reflecting a continual struggle of man with his fate, either in a religious or secular context, then the analogous relationship of all dramatic forms become apparent. Modern man can then apply his phenomenological tools stressing structural measurement and not be in methodological conflict with these old dramas. Medieval dramatists may not have the complete freedom to relate to their material that is afforded modern playwrights, but they will still organize their tales and employ temporal techniques to accomplish goals consistent *with the literary alternatives of their time.*³⁵

The structural method employed here will serve to elucidate several literary techniques which culminate in viable works of art. Implicit in the method is an investigation into the reasons behind the final form, for as Alan Thompson affirms: "Theater is an instrument, not an end."³⁶ If structural measurement is correctly employed, the measured temporal manipulation *may* point directly to the cultural and religious values of the Passions. One may consequently develop a higher regard for essentially unknown artists. The conscious and unconscious workings of artistic minds may be glimpsed; the genius of a Wakefield Master can be more readily appreciated. But even this genius must be comprehended in the light of subservience to a higher purpose. Readers can marvel at his linguistic and dramatic facility, thereby gaining

perhaps an intensified aesthetic communication with the work quite apart from its age. They should, however, realize that the Master's artistic genius always serves to comment not upon itself, but upon the timeless story of man's struggle for religious existence.

CHAPTER V

GROUP I (1150-1250) Montecassino and Benediktbeuern

Our knowledge of the seminal years of the development from liturgical play to Passion play is indeed inadequate. The history surrounding this transfer of media often rests on conjectural grounds and is openly disputed among scholars. We can, however, discern some vague outlines of patterns which may have aided the displacement. Early in this century Émile Roy was able to identify a Byzantine Passion antedating its oldest known relative in Italy by several hundred years.¹ Sandro Sticca has recently traced the influences of Byzantine iconography, manuscript illumination, and graphic arts on southern Italian monestaries, notably that of Montecassino, from whence issued the first preserved Passion in the West. In the context of structural criticism, the *Montecassino* Passion, a fully-developed Latin representative from the middle of the twelfth century, assumes significant proportions as the initial play of its kind. *Montecassino*, although an incomplete text, offers a dramatic enterprise of relatively high sophistication. This quality is all the more remarkable when the nearest chronological counterpart of *Montecassino*, *BenP*, is investigated. But we must draw strict parameters around any comparisons we may wish to make, for although the central theme of both plays is the Passion of Jesus Christ, each text reveals its own understanding of the event and each relates the tale differently. Each play shares a core of dramatized material, but few, if any, direct causal relationships have been established between German and Italian Passions of the period.²

Even though *Montecassino* does not contain as much structural differentiation as later continental Passions and English cycles, the playwright can be seen to organize his material into effective drama at an early date. Despite this, one early discerns a tendency in both accounts to remain faithful to Scripture, thus obviating any necessity to offer novel or completely original composition. Several techniques of time manipulation are therefore employed in a somewhat superficial manner, but their presence will set the stage for later, more complex plays. Thus it is that several examples of succession reveal the logic and power of the biblical story rather than evince a continual dramatic mastery of the same. In many instances these first two texts bask in reflected glory, but a substantial potential for dramatic creativity still exists.

TIME OF PRESENTATION AND REPRESENTED TIME

The objective duration of *Montecassino* encompasses 320 verses, whereas the represented time of Christ's Passion includes the period from Judas' bargain to the Crucifixion, those events from Maundy Thursday evening to Good Friday afternoon. Represented time approaches approximately twenty-four hours. Table 3 shows the general coincidence of the play and the Gospels.

Montecassino commences with "*Judas dicat*", but there is no specification of the temporal relationship between Judas' actions and the Last Supper, one made implicit by most later Passions. We cannot determine whether the playwright intended Judas to betray Christ during the final meal or whether his actions were calculated to be divorced from the meeting of Christ the Man with His disciples. The care with

which the author describes his vision of later scenes tends to confirm the latter supposition.

It is evident that in this generally unembellished recollection of the Passion, represented time is only a framework of activities, that substantial portions of time have been disregarded, probably due to its fidelity to Scripture, and that the artist did not rework or extend individual scenes to anywhere near the extent of later redactors. The single exception seems to be the scene of *Uxor's* dream, a rather lengthy amplification of Matthew xxvii:19.³ However, by studying the extensive stage directions which accompany each speech and section, one can uncover a sophisticated time scheme behind the succession of events. Movement of represented time is neither simplistic nor rudimentary.

Presentational time in *BenP* is defined by 289 verses of somewhat greater length than the *versus tripartitus caudatus* of the Latin text. Substantial differences between the two accounts rest in represented time. In these 289 lines the *BenP* author records the period from the calling of Peter and Andrew to the request by Joseph of Arimathea for his Savior's body. One shortcoming of the method of counting verses and equating them with the significance of any scene is especially evident in this play. Certain of the speeches, like the "*Cum appropinquaret dominus*" and the "*Cum audisset [populos]*" of *BenP* 11 and 12, may only represent initial words of much larger speeches delivered, but whose detailed copying was not considered necessary by virtue of their familiarity. If this be the case, approximately twenty-one lines for the first and thirteen verses for the second short title are missing from the text as delivered in performance. Unfortunately, we have no means of ascertaining how many of each block were spoken.

In *BenP*, the artist has added several scenes of varying length and dramatic impact, making it more inclusive than the traditional Passion accounts defined by Kosch. Table 4 outlines the scope of *BenP* and provides a general picture of its scenic structure.

When investigating possible anachronistic elements in Group I, few instances may be identified from the manuscripts. In order to ascertain the degree of historical or dramatic up dating which has occurred, one must search the records of contemporary plays from the liturgy. From plays such as the *Visitatio Sepulchri* and the *Peregrinus*, both preserved in the Fleury playbook, we know that ample use was made of realistic costumes copied from times contemporary with performance or with dress improvised from ecclesiastical vestments, as they had been during the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁴ Several illustrations from the twelfth century verify this tendency to employ costumes readily at hand for such plays.⁵

From this general background of the presentational method we can assume a similar means of scriptural up dating in Group I. Figures emanating from historical life, like Mary Magdalene, Roman soldiers, Pilate and his wife, most probably employed dress appropriate to a worldly woman of the time, contemporary man-of-arms, and a ruler and his mistress of the Middle Ages. Though we cannot be certain about the costuming situation for all secular persons during the latter half of the twelfth century from the texts themselves, plays from the same period like the *Ordo ad Representandum Herodem*, the *Iconia Sancti Nicolai*, and the *Filius Getronis* all were produced with historically anachronistic costumes. This state of affairs is not at all surprising

when one considers the monastic origin and cultivation of medieval religious drama during the several centuries before they took leave of ecclesiastical surroundings. To medieval man the Passion and Easter stories were not mere one-time events; they were not regarded as pure history, but as sacred history, as contemporary elements of life, renewed at each Mass, alive with meaning and significance for all.⁶ Thus anachronistic costuming was not only a product of available vestments, but also a natural outcome of a philosophical standard and outlook.

SUCCESSION OF EVENTS

Adverbial Evidence

When reader attention is focused on the establishment of a succession of events within Group I Passions, the initial phenomenon which meets the eye is a fundamental temporal motion of words and sentences indicative of an ordered chronology described therein. Immediately after Judas has agreed to sell our Lord and has been offered reinforcements by Caiaphas we read: "*Post hec exeant Iudas cum loricatis. . . .*"⁷ As Judas reveals the sign of betrayal to his cohorts, the reader is informed: "*Post hec Iudas eat ad illum locum ubi Iesus orat. . . .*"⁸ Jesus is led to the priests by the band and the author carefully indicates that this action issues from a specified previous event: "*Post hec duceant loricati Iesum ligatum ad sacerdotes. . . .*"⁹ In each of the three instances the adverbial phrase, *post hec*, irrefutably establishes the idea of succession.¹⁰

Other temporal constructions of this sort are expressed by various introductory adverbs. *Respondeat* (*respondeant*) occurs in 21 instances,

item once, *iterum* thrice, *tunc* once. Two ablative absolute constructions complete the evidence of *Montecassino*, all indicative of a logical and consistent ordering of speeches and actions in time.

The rubrics which accompany *BenP* are less inclusive. Nonetheless, a customary ordering of scenes and speeches in represented time can be discerned. They, too, indicate by several adverbial elements that a certain planned chronology is present throughout the play. Thus it is reported that the angel visits Mary Magdalene *after* she has fallen asleep,¹¹ that Jesus is lead out to be beaten *after* the command by Pilate, and that His body is arrayed in purple and the crown of thorns placed on His head *after* the flagellation.¹²

Temporal Linking of Events

The causal chain of events in *Montecassino* is dramatically sound and effective. The scene chosen to initiate the drama, Judas' bargain for Jesus, provides the necessary dramatic impetus which leads to the betrayal itself. This event in turn prepares the appearance before Caiaphas, just as this very scene contains the arguments which culminate in Jesus' trial before Pilate. Actions naturally flow from one into another, creating a series of life-like encounters. Here one should note the structural puissance of the Gospels themselves, from whence *Montecassino* draws its strength.

At first glance the author of *BenP* seems to violate the dramatic injunction to place scenes into a logical developmental pattern and build upon each individual episode. We are confronted with five preparatory events which appear to be unmotivated recollections antedating the Passion. These encounters, the Calling of the Disciples, the Healing of

the Man born Blind, the Visit to Zachaeus, the Entry into Jerusalem, and the Repast with the Pharisee, undeniably occupy dramatic territory outside and incidental to the Passion itself, and as such, do not submit to the same *dramatic* logic which defines the tighter structure of *Montecassino*. Another form of structuring seems to underlie their presence. Certainly, each scene is not *dramatically* related to its successor, but the small bits of *doctrinal* information included in each do form an eventual organizational logic sublineating the greater significance of the conversion of Mary Magdalene. To grasp this peculiar connection of widely-separated units, one must comprehend the consequences of the entire sequence of events. When seen in the light of Mary Magdalene's worldly life, an inner, more symbolic relationship of the parts becomes clear.

The five scenes in question are undoubtedly commemorative of Christ's life and teachings which precede the Passion. Jesus is seen to surround himself with simple fishermen, to heal a poor beggar, to bless the house of a tax collector, and to eat with an established religious leader. The statements place Him in a cultural milieu of great religious and social prominence. The formal linking of these rather epic renditions sets the stage for the introduction of the character who was most involved in the world until her conversion, the figure who spoke most eloquently to frail humanity of the Middle Ages, and occupied a position of highest esteem in the medieval religious hierarchy for many years, Mary Magdalene. If we observe *BenP* from this perspective, the mere suggestion of Christ's life and impact, contained in surprising doctrinal fullness in the few verses afforded the five scenes, reveals an admirable

logic of temporal development. The method of presentation is simply distinct from that of *Montecassino*. The development is nonetheless reasoned and compelling, leading as surely to the Magdalene's conversion in *BenP* as Judas' betrayal leads to Christ's arrest in *Montecassino*.

Spatial Movement

The passage of represented time is also implicit in the alternation of location, for it is inevitable that any place change defined by the playwright signals a commensurate moving of the hands of the clock in represented time. Regardless of the staged length of the journey linking any two *loca*, the symbolic or theoretical flow of time continues.

The medieval stage, particularly as it relates to the use of space and movement therein, owes most of its conventions to liturgical drama of the tenth century. That convention which most concerns us is one which differentiated between localized and unlocalized areas of acting. The former carried the Latin name *domus*, *locus*, or *sedes*, while the latter was known as a *platea*. These distinctions certainly derive from Church architecture of the period.¹³

The generalized quality of the *platea* made the way open for development of one of the most important concepts of medieval drama. Normally this place was no more than an area in front of a stage where actors moved when necessary,¹⁴ but by implication of its geographical neutrality, no simulation of a historical fact being acted out *in a historical place* was ever attempted.¹⁵ The story of the Lord's suffering took place before a medieval audience in a medieval location, not in far off Palestine. Our particular interest here is the manner in which time is implied to

pass and how its passing is simulated when staged activity enters or transits the *platea*.

Already in the earliest Passions the symbolic qualities of movement are apparent. Contrary to much modern drama, medieval plays cannot be conceived without a good bit of movement between *loca*, for medieval drama, particularly the Passion play, is a theater of *action*, of *movement*, and the simultaneous stage with its representation of the world in miniature,¹⁶ complete with an area wherein transfers can be accounted for, allows the eye of the audience to follow movement inherent within the tale without dilution of the critical concentration on action.

The passage of time insinuated by shifting localities receives liberal application in *Montecassino*, for it is intimately bound to the transparent ordering of events and constitutes one of the most obvious dramatic techniques employed to create such an organization. The flux of time is evidenced between Pilate's judgment and the Flagellation, for it is reported: ". . . *sacerdotes et milites capiant Iesum et ducant eum ad alium locum. . .*"¹⁷ Shortly thereafter the manuscript states: "*Post hec loricati exuant Iesum [clamide et in]duant eum vestimenta sua [et ducant ad] locum ubi debet crucif[igi]. . .*"¹⁸ Each scene is similarly introduced by the establishment of imagined changes of locale.¹⁹ We may be unable to ascertain exactly how much time lapses on stage or in represented time during these spatial transfers, but their occurrence and the manner in which they drive the story forward is of primary importance. And they are of particular value for deciphering Passions which have few stage directions. They aid in extrapolating the author's conception of the succession of events and show how he envisioned the passage of time.

BenP employs several changes of location to move represented time forward. Although, for example, the exact temporal aggregate necessary for the Magdalene to move from the merchant's position to Jesus' *locus* is not specified, represented time inevitably moves forward between the direction, "*Accepto ungento vadat ad dominicam personam*",²⁰ and the next speech, delivered "*cantando flendo*", even though the audience may not be consciously aware of the ensuing temporal void. To logically remove Christ from the court of Pilate and insert Him into that of Herod²¹ and then to reverse the process²² also necessitates a progression in represented time, regardless of its suggestive degree. Pilate's reconciliation with Herod, probably mimed,²³ transpires between the return of Jesus to Pilate and his words, "*Nullam causam mortis invenio in homine isto!*"²⁴ This undramatized action provides evidence that the two events are separated in represented time. Indeed, a continual preparation of location change through dialog is obviated by the medieval convention of staging several locations simultaneously. The rapid shift from one location to another and the corresponding movement through unimportant phases of represented time can be accomplished with little disruption, spectator interest already being focused on the dramatized event, not on the time required to make the journey.²⁵ Indeed, time itself, as it applies to movement and space, is all but cancelled out by the capacities for symbolic depiction of the simultaneous stage. Hartl reasons:

Kurz sind die Wege von Ort zu Ort, und die Zeit, die in dem sub specie aeternitatis denkenden M(ittel) A(lter) nur eine untergeordnete Rolle spielt, wird durch die Kraft des Symbols auf ein Mindestmasz zusammengedrängt.²⁶

In light of staging conventions, the highly-symbolized movement from

place to place becomes readily understandable.

Appearance and Withdrawal of Characters

The inexorable transition of one represented moment into the next can be further simulated by the appearance and withdrawal of characters themselves. Entrances and exits must occur in some logical sequence; the opening moment excepted, figures appear on stage and move from the dramatic present into the realm of memory. No change in scene or character is possible without a conforming march forward of represented time.²⁷ Thus, each new appearance of theatrical personages signals the succession of chronological moments.

The artist of *Montecassino* prepares the arrival of characters well. Few instances of unmotivated entrances or leave-takings can be documented. Scenes normally grow organically either from the immediate dramatic surroundings and exigencies of the episode itself or they result from previous happenings, many of which are inherent in the story. The Cassinese playwright calls up the armed band which will capture Jesus by linking Judas petition,

[E]rgo factum maturetis
et clientes mihi detis
probos atque strenuous
(*Montecassino* 25-27),

with the willing accommodation of Caiaphas.²⁸

BenP contains a complex of individual actions related to Mary Magdalene, all of which offer in microcosm hints of temporal succession for the entire play. Highlights from several hours are telescoped into a few verses which reveal the worldliness of Mary. During her immediate speeches Mary is seen engaged in secular activities, among them the praising of her life style, the buying of accoutrements of her

trade, and the seduction of a young man.²⁹ It is here that a lust for life, the feeling of heady dramatic accomplishment emanating from the incorporation of metrical and lyrical forms from contemporary secular love poetry, of the particularly lively Latin *Vagantenlieder*³⁰ and vernacular *Minnepoesie*,³¹ are employed to enliven Mary's character. The well-conceived poetry of the *Clerici Vagantes* is subsumed into the larger structure of the Passion play and serves to define Mary as a peculiarly medieval person to a degree which will be realized in few characters throughout the development of German medieval theater.

Upon falling asleep, an angel appears to Mary,³² informing her of Jesus' presence at Simon's dwelling.³³ The angel retreats and Mary awakens to continue her activities, visiting a merchant with her handmaiden to purchase rouge.³⁴ An angel appears a second time, presumably addressing Mary with words previously spoken.³⁵ Mary's second reaction is as absent as her first, for she continues her revels, seemingly unaware of the meaning or content of the heavenly message.³⁶ After a third encounter with the celestial messenger, Mary abruptly recognizes her sin and delivers a moving Latin lament.³⁷ Although the conceptual duration of the complex is not specifically related textually, the three short subsections set off from one another by the message of the angel, insinuate a chronological linking of temporally successive moments. In these scenes, the chain of figures, seen by Pütz as the consequence of careful temporal and dramatic organization,³⁸ fosters a meaningful continuity of action between individual scenes. Unfortunately, this is not the case for the entire presentation.

I have previously remarked on the relatively well-developed causal qualities of *Montecassino*. As was stated, it is not this author's

style to invent unrelated scenes or characters. A certain carrying over of figures from one scene to the next assures a smoothness and constancy of temporal movement not as highly developed in *BenP*.

Sections which at first glance appear to be either inserted for their own sake or unmotivated according to an essential chain of figures most often occur *at the same time* as the central event, and run parallel to it in another location. These can logically only be recorded in a quasi-successive order in the manuscript.

Despite the general absence of such devices throughout the drama, one interesting example of the binding of scenes through a chain of figures in *BenP* merits consideration. Like so many of the worthy dramatic qualities developed by the author, this illustration originates in material which investigates the Magdalene. The connection between scenes depicting her recognition of sin and her forgiveness by Jesus is so logical, growing out of her extreme spiritual agitation and quest for repentance, that any temporal development not leading directly to her Master is unthinkable. Mary goes from a situation involving her lover and *diabolus*³⁹ to a profound vocalization of her sorrow,⁴⁰ pointedly symbolized by her investment of mourning cloth.⁴¹ Her realization, accompanied by an angelic assurance, "*. . . gaudium est angelis dei super una pecatrice penitentiam agente*",⁴² elicits extreme contrition in Mary; her visit to the merchant to purchase precious ointment is the only activity which separates her from Christ's loving forgiveness, which lightens Mary's sinful burden. It forms a logical continuation of immediately preceeding events, concretizing Mary's feelings into action. Her presence in each of the subsections serves to unite them into a thematic whole and to reflect the smooth transition

of successive moments.

If we were to compare identical scenes in *Montecassino* and *BenP*, the dramatic strategies of both would become immediately apparent. The appearance and withdrawal of characters affords us just such an opportunity.

I have already investigated the effective dramatics of Judas' introduction of those who will accompany him to Gethsemane on his errand of treachery, noting how well their presence is mandated from internal dialog shared by the disciple and Caiaphas. The identical episode in *BenP* shows no such motivation, for the characters who take part in Christ's arrest seem to simply be present at the time Judas agrees to betray Him. They are introduced, not by the request for arms and men, but by a suggestion of the high priests, who sing in response to Judas' words:

*Iesum tradas propere!
turbam tecum accipe
et procede viriliter!
(BenP 59-61)*

Compared with its nearest generic relative, the succession of events in *BenP*, composed by the organized coming and going of characters, is not as well defined, not as carefully established, and not as potent. The single images simply move too rapidly and the causal sequence is not adequately reinforced.

Succession by Dialog

The sense of succession in dramatic works is not created solely by means of spatial alternation and movement of characters onto or off the stage; speeches given these figures accommodate a temporal-linguistic potential upon which the artist can also build. Allusion may be made

to events leading up to dramatized scenes and temporal association drawn between represented or reported developments. Speeches may provide indications of the represented duration of events without recourse to dramatization of all pertinent actions predating it. This can be accomplished by the skillful manipulation of words and tenses in dialog. *Repetition* of individual key words and *alternation* of speaker serve to place actions and details into temporal succession.⁴³ A dialog consisting of *question* and *answer* likewise reveals unavoidable temporal order and forms a special category of alternation in repetition, „denn er greift vor und kommt auf die Sache zurück.“⁴⁴ The ensuing temporal structure, determined by the movement from query to reply, is a model of dramatic anticipation.⁴⁵

Montecassino reveals several interesting illustrations of linguistic ordering. The effective interplay of tenses in the bargain scene, as Judas responds to Caiaphas, broadens the scope of presentation while avoiding the potentially hazardous elongation of many episodes and resultant loss of dramatic intensity. The reader becomes immediately aware that several important activities have already passed before the outset of dramatization when Judas remarks:

[I]esus doli seminator
 nostre gentis supplantator
 tetro fraudis nomine.
 Multos nostrum iam seduxit
 in errorem quos perduxit
 fraudento nomine.
 (Montecassino 7-12)

Although the exact definition of the acts subverting the people is lacking, the perceived reality emanating from them is brought into focus. The temporal horizons of the scene are suddenly widened, revealing a meaningful duration of pertinent circumstances extending well beyond

those events offered in performance. Without incorporating details about the actions themselves, the author successfully establishes the prior chain of events culminating in Judas' betrayal and provides a certain hint of the causality behind the disciple's actions.

Judas also suggests a continuation of Christ's activities and an unhealthy outcome for the people if these past deeds are allowed to go on. His declaration,

*Cui si vita perdurabit
totus populos errabit
suis blandis monitis
(Montecassino 13-15),*

effectuates a dramatic combination of undramatized past happenings with their logical future outcome if permitted beyond the represented 'now'. Such uncomplicated dialog carries with it an unassuming dramatic strength of impressive quality. It preserves an essential density and concentration of action, for it leads directly back to the represented time of Judas' betrayal. The motivation of coming events is contained in the traitor's words:

*Tradam vobis ipsum vere
si vos vultis respondere
digne meis meritis.
(Montecassino 16-18)*

Judas' kiss is prepared and made dramatically ineluctable by the effective combination of past, present, and future tenses.

Jesus' speeches provide clues culminating in represented facts, too. As Judas seals his bargain with the damning sign, the Lord asks why the armed men did not seize Him while He preached in the temple.⁴⁶ The reader is made aware by this device that at some time previous to the arrest Christ was in the temple, and another purely tangential consideration has been dealt with without recourse to dramatization.

The Lord contrasts that incident with the present one, again employing a device which expands the temporal structure without creating excessive length, a common weakness of a great many later Passions. The dramatic strength of the biblical record is thus made more obvious to us, as these observations by Christ emanate directly from it.

In comparison with the trenchant exploitation of inherently dramatic material as shown above, *BenP* often disregards such possibilities for theatrical creation. The sequence of Judas' bargain and betrayal is hardly comparable to the same scene in *Montecassino*. The tenor of the episode is manifested in the rubrics: ". . . *Iudas veniat festinando et querat oportunitatem tradendi*. . . ." ⁴⁷ His words have little of the temporal power detected in *Montecassina*. The speech,

*O pontifices, o viri magni consilii,
Iesum volo vobis tradere
(BenP 131-132),*

contains only a salutation accompanied by the matter-of-fact statement of Judas' intention. Throughout the entire sequence no allusion to prior events is made. If Judas had not taken exception to the anointment of the Savior by Mary Magdalene, no indication of causality would be forthcoming. Even the scriptural reference to Christ's previous appearance in the temple is absent. A statement of the most general proportions is made by Jewish pontiffs as they deliberate the Nazarene's fate. They mention His doing of signs and wonders, fearing that the populace will believe in Him should they release Him. ⁴⁸ Their brief recapitulation of Christ's general practices moves somewhat closer to specific explanation when they report to Pilate one of His prophecies: "*Hic dixit: Solvite templum hoc et post triduum reedificabo illud*." ⁴⁹ Although the accruing dramatic effect, a tentative succession of

undramatized events to realized action, is accomplished by the movement from a general statement to a more explicit formulation of it, the net result is insufficiently underscored. It constitutes merely an application or restatement of Scripture without the additional temporal dramatization found in *Montecassino*.

An indistinct but prevalent device which occurs in *BenP* is the vocal expression by persons as they narrate their reactions to immediately preceding events. Longinus does this when he muses on Christ's true nature. Upon regaining his sight, Longinus remarks:

*Er hat ein zaichen an mir getan,
wan ich min sehen wider han.
(BenP 269-270)*

The succession of instantly associated events is reinforced by the use of a perfect tense, indicating the temporal order between them. This observation, however, hardly convinces one of the dramatic qualities of succession in the whole of *BenP*.⁵⁰

Several instances of inquiry and retort among figures are found in *Montecassino*. With few exceptions they emanate from the Gospels and their place in the text is probably obligatory for the faithful representation of the biblical story. An effective alteration of the normal following of answer to question is created by Christ's silence during His interrogations. The dramatic significance of this response will be investigated in subsequent paragraphs.

Little need be said concerning the application of inquiry and retort in *BenP*, as their appearance is generally not fostered by a desire to exercise the theatrical potential of creating succession through the intimate linking of thoughts and opinions. Of the many instances in

Ben^P where questions form a dramatic succession with answers, none are original with the author.

Plot

Every theatrical presentation presumes a movement forward of action through time.⁵¹ A point of inception is identifiable, as is the final consummation of action. The means by which authors cause their characters to interact involves an ordering of events into a succession: this chronology forms the plot. Whereas medieval playwrights may be bound to the basic material contained in religious teachings, they can and do exercise a certain freedom to order the plot of the story within established outlines. The dramatic manipulation of plot develops from relatively unoriginal presentations in Group I to extensive and highly-differentiated entities in Group III, as redactors add characters and embellish scenes offered in their infancy in Group I.

It is a curious phenomenon of drama that many actions appear *twice* during exposition, initially in an *announced* form and again as a *realized* happening.⁵² Although units of plot may conceivably be reported by a figure alone,⁵³ that motion from announcement to execution need not occupy an appreciable degree of represented time, the majority of examples of plot-induced succession in Passions offers at least some information relating the plan to its realization.

Plot manipulation, if structured well, may create suspense, for it contains the potential for observable development, allowing the audience to become active participants in the story; its interest is piqued by the succession which originates in announced intention and eventual outcome or lack thereof. But in truly effective drama there exists a

necessary separating interval between announcement and completion. Texts of Group I normally do not exploit this potential.⁵⁴ With few exceptions the first appearance of such a plot unit is immediately or quickly followed by its realization. Thus the quality of possible suspense is limited.

Of the numerous techniques available for use in connecting one portion of plot to another in temporal succession, the Passions of Group I contain three. Two are nearly unavoidable consequences of theatrical presentation and the sacred core material from which the plays draw their statements. Passion plays were not intended to be original texts; their dramatic efficacy for medieval audiences lay in their ability to enliven Scripture through mimetic performance. Nevertheless, the fact that Group I makes little use of *original* material does not detract from its final forms. The appearance of succession by plot manipulation confirms the observations on the dramatic qualities of the Gospel stories as well as the participation of medieval drama in identifiable fundamental requirements of the dramatic genre.

a) Design and Realization

When characters approach the stage, presenting a course of action to the audience or to other characters, a series of anticipatory filaments are drawn between two related, but temporally distinct events. The *plan* exposes the intent of a figure to set an activity into motion; the *result* is separated from its inception by succeeding moments, the latter, in effect, causing the former. Primary temporal movement is implicit.

In *Montecassino* Judas first promises to betray his Master. A few speeches later the realization of the agreement comes forth. He

reveals the sign of treason to his followers, stating:

*Vos hoc signum habeatis
illum caute teneatis
cui iam tradam osculum.
(Montecassino 31-33)*

The interval separating the first mention of the event from its realization is slight, as the confrontation in the Garden almost immediately follows Judas' announcement.⁵⁵

A second adaptation of the technique is evidenced upon the blaspheming of the soldiers as they voice their intention to crucify Jesus as Pilate had ordered.⁵⁶ Their decision is once again directly supervened by the next logical step in the sequence of actions and Christ is indeed led to His death.⁵⁷

Judas' plan of betrayal is contained in all four Gospels,⁵⁸ though John is the only writer to suggest that the betrayal took place in the same night as the arrest. The other three accounts suggest that Judas made a bargain at some previous time and waited for the opportunity to turn Jesus over to authorities. Two Gospels report Judas giving the sign of the kiss to those accompanying him shortly before they reach the Mount of Olives.⁵⁹ The second example cited above, while not contained in Holy Writ, conforms to a natural outgrowth of the words, "*et educunt illum ut crucifigerent eum*",⁶⁰ placed into dramatic surroundings. Though the words are not original with the author, the use of them as a technique to reflect the temporal succession of events in his play increases the technical and structural strength of the story.

In addition to the examples cited for *Montecassino*, *BenP* exhibits a number of novel representatives, due in part to its inclusion of more represented time. The first witness to the technique is found when the

Savior proclaims his desire to dine with Zacchaeus.⁶¹ In this instance the realization of the initial statement is intimated, but not defined. Logically, the meeting must have occurred to afford the tax collector an opportunity to declare his intention to repay his debtors,⁶² a promise offered at some interval after the original encounter in the Bible, but which immediately comes after Christ's statement in the play. A useful time lapse is lacking at this point; the transition from announcement to realization is too abrupt and uncertain to enhance the dramatic value of the play.

An analogous situation results when Longinus resolves to end the Redeemer's suffering with a thrust of his spear.⁶³ Here the interval between plan and accomplishment is nonexistent, as the verbalization of Longinus' intent coincides with its completion. This correspondence is indicated by the rubrics which accompany his speech: "*Tunc Longinus veniat cum lancea et perforet latus eius et ille dicat apertu. . . .*"⁶⁴

Two further instances of this technique center upon the acts of Mary Magdalene. She suggests to her handmaiden that they buy rouge from the merchant, "*die uns machen schoene unde volgetane!*"⁶⁵ A repetition of the lines beginning, "*Chrumer, gip di varwe mier!*"⁶⁶ and the merchant's response, "*Ich gib eu varwe, deu ist guet . . .*"⁶⁷ combine to form the second, more specific appearance of the decision to purchase. The plan leads naturally to the fulfillment of the characters' stated intentions and mirrors an integral succession of events within the plot.

Mary again chooses the vernacular to stress her intention of remaining at her Lord's feet until He redeems her from sin.⁶⁸ The conceptual power of vernacular German, employed to touch bystanders with its delivery and simple intensity, cuts through the formal/doctrinal

characteristics of Latin to speak directly to medieval man in his own everyday medium. Jesus' absolution is separated from Mary's pronouncement by fourteen lines of dialog between Him and Simon, including the parable of the two debtors. The realization of the announcement transpires as Christ forgives the sinful woman and concludes with the benediction, "*Vade in pace!*"⁶⁹ Mary's original design has done much to cause the scene of forgiveness and make the realization almost inevitable.

b) Command and Execution

Temporal succession within the plot can also be structured through the simple command. The decree constitutes the primary impetus for an act. The adjuring figure presupposes an attendant execution at some later time, forcing the two singular events into a commonality of cause and effect. Anticipatory forms in the guise of commands can, if properly organized, create an intense feeling of suspense, since the command may not necessarily be carried out. It may as easily be side-tracked by other, unforeseen actions, or be perverted into another form not anticipated by its originator. The possibility for substantial artistry is inherent: 'Wie-Spannung' may be reinforced as the interval between command and execution passes in the presence of spectators. Their attention can easily be focused on the manner in which the anticipatory command becomes reality.

In both Group I texts the succession of command and execution is immediate, rarely separated by more than a few words. The overwhelming majority of textual evidence for this technique originates in Scripture. Although a temporal ordering of events emerges from each instance, the dramatic potential for suspense is rarely realized. In Group I commands are routinely carried out exactly as they are given.

Montecassino demonstrates a great number of command-execution successions which drive the plot forward, not into a complex set of suspenseful relationships, but into the next logically related situation or moment. Each grammatical imperative institutes a response. Judas' request, ". . . *et clientes mihi detis*",⁷⁰ calls forth the actual compliance by Caiaphas;⁷¹ the Lord's command, "*dicite quem queritis*",⁷² initiates a response from the armed men;⁷³ the oft-repeated demand by the high priests, "*Crucifige eum*",⁷⁴ finally is fulfilled and the realization of the command takes form on the Skull.⁷⁵

The instance of *Uxor's* dream and her requests of Pilate define the single example where the commands of a figure are actually disregarded. The qualification, however, must be made that Pilate had every intention and desire to carry them out, but was hindered by the uncontrollable will of the Hebrew high priests.

The Christ of *BenP* often speaks in a prescriptive manner, His words normally eliciting an immediate response and no situation conducive to suspense arises.⁷⁶ A succession of phrases and sentences in time is called into being, but is supplied by the biblical account or is an extension of this material in dramatized form.⁷⁷

c) Mention and Appearance of Characters

A third technique of infusing a work with temporal succession while simultaneously eliciting spectator suspense and building awareness without recourse to lengthy monologs is contained in the preparation of the entrances of central figures onto the stage.⁷⁸ Individuals of minor distinction may provide anticipatory information which finally culminates in the arrival before them of the very object of their speech. Goethe effectively raises the level of expectancy for his

audiences when he introduces Egmont by this valuable technique in the drama of the same name. By reciting the previous acts, opinions, and intentions of a *dramatis persona*, by offering descriptions of his personal qualities, and by defining his physical or mental capacities, persons of lesser dramatic or doctrinal significance give notice and temporally generate the eventual approach of the figure of greatest interest. This entrance becomes the focus of an anticipatory form which may create suspense in the audience. The person about whom so much has been reported comes into sight; the playgoer knows him well, though he has not yet uttered a word.

Montecassino prepares Christ's emergence in this manner. The prior speeches of Judas and Caiaphas, while not concentrating solely on Him, provide bits of information about this exceedingly dangerous man, whom we first meet in the attitude of prayer.⁷⁹ The revelation by Judas of the seditious acts of the Savior contrasts remarkably well with His humble countenance. Time is also telescoped into a series of high-points, wherein are described the years of Christ's ministry in their quintessential forms. Without calling up great testimonies of wrongdoing in monolog or dialog, Judas identifies the perceived results of the Master's sojourn among men: He has sought to supplant the established religious authority and has seduced men into error with his new teachings.⁸⁰ With barely five lines of text the author has provided us with an enlarged conception of the period leading up to the Passion, and effectively set the stage for the appearance of the Christ. His eventual emergence is temporally and logically ordered.⁸¹

A careful reading of *Ben^p* reveals a complete absence of any application of this technique. The capacity for suspenseful ordering through mention and appearance remains unrealized, for Jesus acts from the very beginning of the tale until it is nearly completed. Indeed, from a standpoint of effective exploitation of this means of ordering and compelling future events, *Montecassino* stands alone in all the manuscripts under study; it alone offers a useful example of this technique in a well-realized form.

Tempo of Succession

The ritualistic and commemorative nature of both texts from Group I causes certain problems for any meaningful discussion of the illusionary duration of staged events. From a technical point of view, the passage of time is greatly accelerated by the skeletal character of both Passions.

Montecassino speeds the tempo of succession through its straightforward account of the development towards Christ's sacrifice. As events quickly march after one another, the possibility for purposeful retardation disappears. Few instances of suspense formed by the mingling of acceleration with retardation of tempo are forthcoming. There occur nonetheless two scenes which seem to be lifted out of the time rush, two encounters which are highlighted with additional verses and dramatic time. Of primary interest are the conglomerates of the trials before Pilate. The first scene encompasses 88 verses with the inclusion of *Uxor's* dream and entreaty to her husband that he not condemn the Innocent One, while the second trial is reported in 45 lines. Were the Flagellation included as part of the second appearance before Pilate,⁸²

as it is in later Passions, the two trial scenes would exhibit lengths greater than the rest and perhaps indicate increased importance.

Until the trial sequences commence, the succession of events has continued at a quick pace. Here detail is significantly increased, delaying the immediate succession of anticipation and realization. Audience attention is directed not only to the individual arguments of priests and the ineffective retorts of Pilate, but the eventual outcome is also postponed for some time by the dramatization of *Uxor's* dream. In fact, a certain suspense is created by Pilate's vow to accomplish his wife's wishes to avoid a false judgment. This is, of course, exactly contrary to the final outcome, as Pilate gradually must give ground to soldier and priest.

Whatever the original stimulus for the inclusion of this scene may have been, the dramatic effect of retarding and even temporarily calling the expected outcome of the trial into question through a point-for-point embellishment of extra-biblical material provides an effective slowing of tempo. The spectator can follow the unfolding of the second appearance before Pilate with increased attention. But, of those scenes presented by this artist, it should be noted that the trials are also the longest of the Gospel records.⁸³ With the exception of *Uxor's* dream, whatever retardation of succession occurs between individual scenes through extended analysis of trials in *Montecassino* seems to result from source material.

One further incidence of retardation may have taken place during the Crucifixion. Unfortunately, this state of affairs cannot be assumed with any degree of certainty, for several events subordinate to it are lacking. A more complete manuscript might well add considerable

detail to the doctrinal highpoint of the drama.

As previously noted, *BenP* also hastens temporal succession. Small remembrances of no more than three verses constitute each of the first five scenes. The succession from one to another could hardly be accomplished more rapidly. Too little detail is afforded for each event to be a complete dramatic entity. The velocity of succession can only provide a fleeting remembrance of several important incidents in Christ's life, widely separated in historical time. The succession itself is not important; one event does not emanate from its immediate predecessor, nor is the quantity of time left undefined between scenes of importance. The significance of the entire group is that they occurred at all. Such episodes do not need detailed analysis by the dramatist. Temporal acceleration serves to focus attention on their cumulative effect. Each provides a clue to Jesus' subsequent behavior and especially His interaction with Mary Magdalene. It does not appear mere coincidence that, after the recapitulation of several actions (extended in objective, historical time over months or years) within sixteen verses, a scene of many remarkable qualities and of some length immediately follows, wherein succession is retarded. Increased interest and doctrinal significance result from the interplay of blinding acceleration and sudden retardation.⁸⁴

Several modern literary theorists report that such a massive amount of time dramatized in the most foreshortened of ways presents no fundamental difficulty for a bystander. Ferdinand Junghans may speak for them:

Diese dramatische 'Zeiterstreckung' wird im aesthetischen Erlebnis annähernd so unauffällig, wie die wirkliche Zeit selber, während derer wir als Erlebende im Parkett sitzen. In der Illusion der festgefügt^{en}, mitreiszenden, dramatischen Entwicklung verblaszt das angebliche Zeitmasz der Handlung augenscheinlich zu einer untergeordneten Zeitfunktion des Konstruktiven.⁸⁵

The opening scenes of *BenP*, although encompassing a great quantity of historical time with large lacunae between speeches, do not by themselves make the play any less dramatic than later counterparts which may concentrate action into several hours or moments. The result is merely distinctive and unusual.

Most of the other sections of *BenP* show a fundamental acceleration of succession which originated in traditional biblical material. But when this author takes up the Crucifixion, an extended application of lyrical elements effectuates retardation and displays the potential to engage spectator interest. Marian laments form the core of such consideration.⁸⁶ The action of the play can no longer be defined solely by succession, for it has reached an unavoidable climax; the Passion is realized. Time does not move forward with as much perceived speed as it did in earlier settings. Succession is no longer of compelling interest. Several lyrical elements retard the flow of represented time to the point of interrupting or suspending it completely.

a) Temporal Parallelism

The dramatic succession of time cannot be completely defined by an analysis of acceleration or retardation. Several instances can be cited where time is not only retarded, but recapitulated as well. There results a phenomenon called temporal parallelism. This happens when the artist exploits scenic parallels, reporting separate events as if they were temporally successive, but clearly indicating his

intention that they be considered simultaneous in represented time, A sure indication of the playwright's manipulation of material in time ensues. Brinkmann has suggested that the application of temporal parallelism in medieval theater owes its genesis to the simultaneous stage, open to all spectators on all sides. The possibility of speaking and acting in one location, while the playgoers observed mimed activity in another, allowed two or more incidents previously only presented in succession to be shown at the same time.⁸⁷ Thus, it can be seen that even the earliest Passions exploit the simultaneous stage.

The artist of *Montecassino* represents numerous activities simultaneously. He presents Peter's denial within the identical represented time as the false witnesses against Jesus, perhaps located in the general vicinity of Caiaphas' domicile, but somewhat apart from the *locus* to which Jesus was taken.⁸⁸ Through this technique the playwright is able to provide greater detail concerning events which are related and temporally coincidental. A similar ordeal in two locations leads to diametrically opposed results; Jesus accepts the slander, while Peter denies the truth. Peter's thrice-repeated denial, opposed to the commencement of the trials of his Master, simply, but eloquently, heightens the pathos and dramatic intensity of Christ's sorrow as the two scenes come together in the rubric: "*Ad hec gallus cantet et Iesus respiciat Petrum. . . .*"⁸⁹ The simple glance of the Savior towards a failing disciple becomes a more significant gesture by means of the technique of parallelism. The resultant scene, Peter's lament, occurs coincidentally with Jesus' deliverance to Pilate and with Judas'

remorse,⁹⁰ a curious triple-tiered parallel.⁹¹

In similar fashion, *BenP* organizes spatially separate scenes into temporally corresponding parallels. One of the most intriguing events connects the Redeemer's repast with Simon to the introduction of Mary Magdalene. The dramatization of the meeting between Simon and Jesus is interrupted in the text by the Magdalene's joyful "*Mundi delectatio*".⁹² Her entire subsection must be interpreted as filling part of represented time which was not dramatized in the immediately preceding section. For upon her conversion from the world by the angel's message and her subsequent searching out of her Lord, Mary is first informed that He graces the home of the pharisee.⁹³ Proximate to her miraculous conversion, Mary visits the merchant a second time, now purchasing costly ointment with which to anoint her Master's head.⁹⁴ She then immediately proceeds to Simon's house where she *interrupts* the assembly, as is clear from the ensuing speeches. Simon protests that a prophet would have known her to be a sinner,⁹⁵ whereupon Jesus utters the words: "*Simon, habeo tibi aliquid dicere!*"⁹⁶ Textual evidence in the form of this statement and the identification of the man in question show that the *BenP* author has ingeniously structured his message in represented time so as to take advantage of the reinstitution of separate scenes into their mutual consequence.

The context of the raising of Lazarus accommodates yet another instance of a temporal parallel. This example is less transparent than the first. Jesus is in the process of resuscitating His old friend.⁹⁷ We discover that during his period of represented time⁹⁸ Judas seeks an opportunity to betray his Lord and indeed makes the fateful contact.⁹⁹ Treason is set in motion, the sign of the betrayal kiss identified, and

the armed men get underway.. At the same interval it is reported:
*"Interea Iesus faciat ut mos est in cena."*¹⁰⁰ There would seem to be an inherent incongruity in the playing of the Lazarus scene, the betrayal, and the initiation of the Last Supper simultaneously. A logical explanation might be that a certain degree of recapitulation of represented time may have been demonstrated, but not a complete contemporaneity of action. Here, as in so many other instances, stage directions provide hints of the author's temporal conception, but do not reveal its entirety. It is indeed questionable that a live performance would adequately answer the question either, although some of the structural difficulties might be clarified if one could see a simultaneous dramatization unfold and observe the interaction between characters and groups.

b) Interruption and Suspension

In the first preserved Passion in Western Europe the phenomenon of an interruption of temporal motion occupies an unclear status. In *Montecassino* no indications were found to substantiate its appearance. Its nearest representative seems to be the diminutive three-line *planctus* of the Virgin. This, however, may well be more closely aligned with suspension as I have defined it. Although it cannot be exactly determined how effective the circumstance was from a theoretical standpoint due to the incompleteness of the text, this feeling of human grief and remembrance at the close of the Crucifixion¹⁰¹ may have halted represented time and drawn the audience into a greater psychological participation.

From the lament emerge two significant facts: the vernacular of the three lines is surrounded by Latin; the verses seem to have been

sung chorally with the assistance of lay women.¹⁰² Use of the vernacular at this point in the drama is critical, as it serves not only to underscore the significance of Mary's reaction to her Son's suffering, but also to isolate the thoughts linguistically from the remainder of the drama. Represented time is not interrupted by a character from the historical period of Christ's life so much as the spectators are drawn into momentary participation in represented time itself. The divisions between actor and spectator cease to exist. The chorus assumes, if only momentarily, the pain of Mary. Commemoration has moved from witness of performance to active participation; an emotional bond is thus temporarily created, suggesting in concrete terms the meaning of the Scriptures for twelfth-century religious man.

The peculiar inclusion of vernacular German within the context of a Latin Passion produces an interesting theoretical potential for temporal interruption in *BenP*. As might be anticipated from the liturgical origins of the play, figures whose characteristics generally emanate from the Bible consistently communicate in Latin. Of the five characters who speak in the vernacular, Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Christ merit most attention.¹⁰³

Interest in heightening spectator participation hypothesized for *Montecassino*¹⁰⁴ is sustained and expanded in *BenP*. When one analyses the contexts which include vernacular speeches, it becomes apparent that their presence is due to something more than strict translation of Latin verses; a dramatic strategy of greater proportions compounds an apparently simple, naïve play. As Mary Magdalene's life unfolds on stage, she voices her joy of living by singing secular lyrics, both in Latin¹⁰⁵ and German.¹⁰⁶ Though topically related, each linguistic statement stands

alone. Latin words are more than embellishment and German verses more than easy recapitulation. Each statement adds a particular color to Mary's character. Subsequent to her conversion, Mary's vernacular outpourings of mental grief and agony over her miserable status assume greater dramatic intensity for an audience whose native language is the same as that employed for her revelation. Mary summarizes her plight in Latin, beginning the "*Heu vita preterita, vita plena malis,*"¹⁰⁷ itself a powerful conceptualization of remorse. But as she approaches Jesus, seeking forgiveness, Mary's speech again moves into the vernacular.¹⁰⁸ A final restatement of Mary's deep regret concludes the vernacular appearances.¹⁰⁹ Through the inclusion of this lament the tempo of succession is so altered as to allow substantial spectator identification with Mary. Indeed, Steinbach perceives the words, "*A^uwe, daz ich ie wart geboren*", as indicating the Magdalene's equation with the supreme symbol of mankind's lost condition and as a representation of human hope and longing for deliverance.¹¹⁰ Her outcries, highlighted by their linguistic form, achieve dramatic intensity through their capacity to be comprehended and to contrast effectively with previous vernacular speeches wherein Mary's enjoyment of worldly pleasures was suggested. The Magdalene's former lust for life has been transformed into extreme chagrin. A suspension of dramatic succession allows immediate audience sympathy and identification; a bridge from represented historical time into that of the spectator has been created.¹¹¹

Wilfried Werner sees a motivation lying deeper than a simple dramatic expansion of the Magdalene's character. He understands the worldly elements to be a warning to spectators of the threatening

dangers surrounding them and of their own sinfulness. Admonitions take on increased urgency and strength of conviction when couched in a language readily understood by all:

Sie (die Sprache) ist einmal die Sprache der Welt und der Gottesferne und bildet damit einen Gegenpol zum sakralen Bereich und sie ist zweitens die Sprache des erlösungsbedürftigen Menschen, der sich aus dem Zustand der Sündhaftigkeit heraus an Gott wendet, von dem er Rettung erhofft. Das Wesen dieser neuen Beziehung zu Gott unterscheidet sich also von dem des religiösen Bewusstseins auf lateinisch-liturgischer Ebene. Das heisst, die deutsche Sprache hat ihre Begründung nicht darin, dass sie lateinisch-liturgischen Frömmigkeitsgehalt weiteren Kreisen zugänglich machte. . . .¹¹²

Of even greater impact is the vernacular *planctus* uttered by the Virgin, which, like other laments, broadens and enhances its Latin parent forms.¹¹³ Mary approaches the Crucifixion scene accompanied by John and immediately commences the moving German lament, „Awe, awe mich hiüt unde immer we!“¹¹⁴ This separation of a desperate monolog of deep emotional impact from the following sequences, "*Flete fideles anime*",¹¹⁵ and "*Planctus ante nescia*",¹¹⁶ draws attention to the scene, adding yet another opportunity for lyrical and emotional contact in the drama. The language in which Mary's lament near the Cross is communicated provides the context with a strongly personal experience, much as it did for the sections involving Mary Magdalene. A general human identification with both characters, which might have lost its intensity but for the vernacular language employed, is made possible. Though Mary's lament is in many respects only a parsimonious outline of *dramatic* values associated with effective theatrical performance, there exists a lyric depth to it which makes its human responses stunning to even a twentieth-century reader. Medieval spectators must have experienced similar emotional reactions, being deeply moved, and through that

communication brought nearer their God.¹¹⁷

Vernacular language in a play where Latin abounds draws audiences more closely to the portrayed facts. Events assume a familiar quality, as dramatic time seems to momentarily halt its movement. It is also indicative of the developing tendency of artists to expand formal *planctus* forms in all languages into structures which increasingly rely on native tongues to make the *compassio Mariae* more responsive to human emotional stimuli. From this time forth Mary's laments will take on a depth of feeling radically different from the formality of previous centuries. I shall have more to say about the specific points of development in future paragraphs.

When we consider suspension in Group I plays, the occasions when a *dramatis persona* drops completely out of the role of actress or actor to comment upon events, our attention is once again directed to the sequence of the Crucifixion. In the height of her lament, the Virgin delivers statements which in later plays are definitely identified with the act of dramatic suspension. Her words contain the hint of deliberate temporary abolition of her role and the substitution of observation on the Crucifixion proceedings by a non-role playing person:

*lat iuch erbarmen, wip unde man!
lat iwer ougen sehen dar
und nemt der marter rehte war!*
(BenP 224-226)

The suggestion is strong that the audience has been directly addressed, that the dramatic framework has been subtly compromised, the play now assuming something closely resembling a church service, as Mary urges spectators to share her suffering.¹¹⁸

The final outcry of the Savior from the cross, "*E - ly, E - ly, lama sabactany, hoc est Deus, Deus meus ut quid dereliquisti me?*",¹¹⁹ appears to fill all the requirements of suspension. It contains a speech followed by narrative explanation of the meaning of the strange words. Fr. Schumacher, in his analysis of narrative elements in the *Autun B Passion*, makes a point of the early inclusion of narrative forms in the body of dramatic texts: "*Les auteurs de quelque drames primitifs ont admis des gloses ou des indications scéniques dans le texte du dialogue . . .*"¹²⁰ He quotes the passage at the top of the page from *BenP* as evidence, and attempts to strengthen his case with the aid of *BenP* 15 ("*Rabi [quod interpretur magister], peto, ut mecum hodie velis manducare*"). In the instance of this *Passion* these sentences should not be relied upon to prove either early narrative inclusion *by intent* or to indicate meaningful structure. The first words are merely a direct quotation of Matthew xxvii: 46, and the latter closely resembles John i: 38 ("*Rabbi [quod dicitur interpretatum Magister] . . .*"). When one remembers that instances of scribal inattention may account for several apparent inconsistencies of dramatic construction within *BenP*,¹²¹ the inclusion of the lament of Christ on the Cross should not be ascribed to any real interest in creating suspense or introducing meaningful narrative.¹²²

Both plays exhibit a structure of succession which, with the exception of the Magdalene's appearances and the less dramatic raising of Lazarus in *BenP*, procede relentlessly to the highpoint of our Lord's *Passion*. Indeed, *Montecassino* makes something of a virtue of its skeletal form by swiftly moving from one event to another, not deliberating on motivation or character. Its succession drives towards Golgotha

without so much as a pause for even a scene of such doctrinal significance as the Last Supper. *BenP* prefers another type of dramatization. Although it, too, omits an extended presentation of the Passover meal, the writer chooses to dwell at length on Christ's teachings of repentance and forgiveness in the sequence of the Magdalene. Its succession is therefore slightly more determined in its gravitation towards Calvary. But the moments of lyrical lingering on Mary's character do not obviate the necessity of the Master's sacrifice; they only forestall it and increase its poignancy.

DISCOURSE ON MARY MAGDALENE

Throughout the analysis of *BenP* thus far completed, the personality of Mary Magdalene has continually made its importance felt. I have identified numerous situations in which her activities, both prior and subsequent to her conversion, hint at the great significance she held for medieval man. The amount of presentational time in which this woman occupies center stage likewise seems to confirm a special authorial interest in her, for of the entire 289 verses, 107 of them are devoted in some way to the Magdalene. Questions inevitably arise as to what cultural and religious values may lie behind this dramatic concern and the answers can be found in the very nature of Mary Magdalene, as defined by centuries of inquisitive thought and doctrinal investigation by learned and devout men of the Church.¹²³

For the Middle Ages the figure known as Mary Magdalene comprised a synthesis of three distinct biblical personalities, those of Mary of Magdala (sister of Martha and Lazarus), Mary of Bethany, and the woman who, in the company of the Virgin Mary, watched beneath the Cross, and

to whom the Risen Lord chose to first appear. All these persons were combined into one character with the aid of Luke's account of the sinful woman who anointed the Lord and washed His feet during the visit to Simon the Pharisee.¹²⁴ Each of these personalities offered certain dramatic traits which could be exploited in many situations to varying degrees. The synthesis of personality provided the medieval dramatist with ample latitude to stress or concentrate upon what he wished to convey.¹²⁵ As a result of the medieval understanding of Mary Magdalene the gates of strict spiritual and religious development of medieval drama were swung open to admit numerous secular or profane sequences,¹²⁶ which differentially affected not only the tone or the acceptance of the drama, but its central structure as well. One thought on the essence of life of medieval times drew our ancestors towards this child of the world, for in her they often saw themselves. Marie Bath reminds modern readers of the absolute dicotomy of religious thought during this period of history, when the world, things external, those realities of life this side of death, were to be utterly shunned and the eternal values of spiritual life and inner direction cultivated:

Das Weltkind geht der Verdammung in der Hölle entgegen, das Gotteskind erwartet Seligkeit im Himmel. Aus dieser Lebensanschauung heraus, verbunden mit den biblischen Traditionen und hineingetragen in sie wird die Behandlung der Maria-Magdalenen-Scenen verständlich.¹²⁷

The character of the Magdalene is, thus, a peculiarly medieval phenomenon,¹²⁸ originating in the early centuries of the period.¹²⁹ A cult of Mary Magdalene appears as early as the sixth century in Ephesus.¹³⁰ Prior to the period covered by Group I Passions the legend of the converted woman was disseminated throughout Christian Europe and accepted as truth by the faithful,¹³¹ and the liturgy of July 22 set

aside for the saint's celebration. During the eleventh century¹³² the date assumed the status of a simple feast at Montecassino and at numerous other Benedictine establishments in the same century.¹³³

In Germany the presence of the Magdalen cult dates from the tenth century and expanded quickly after 1060.¹³⁴ Her importance, attested by Church calendars and sanctuaries named in her honor, continued into the Holy Roman Empire, even during times of eclipse in France and England.¹³⁵ In truth, within the years immediately surrounding the composition of *BenP* a new religious order, the *Penitents of Saint Mary Magdalene*, established about 1225 in Hildesheim under the name of the *Weiszfrauen* (known in later years in French-speaking territories as the *Dames blanches*)¹³⁶ with the expressed intent of promoting the moral recovery of prostitutes,¹³⁷ assured lasting influence of Mary's legend and concentration on her doctrinal importance, at least in the Empire. With all the attention to the formal qualities of her veneration, one should not overlook what in the saint spoke to medieval man. For it is not the ascetic life of Mary Magdalene to which she is alleged to have turned after her encounter with Christ which most interests and compells medieval piety, but the converted sinner, as Saxer succinctly argues:

Ce n'est plus l'ermit qu'au XIII^e siècle on vénérail dans les 'deserts' de des forêts, c'est la convertie et la pénitente donnée comme modèle a celles qui précisément ont le plus besoin de penitence et de conversion, les femmes tombées.¹³⁸

Thus is the amount of stage time devoted to this influential and sympathetic converted sinner not attributable to mere chance; her importance for the tenor and structure of *BenP* seems to reflect her religious importance for medieval man, particularly to German

clergy and laity. Mary Magdalene is indeed representative of all converted sinners¹³⁹ and the story of her forgiveness touched medieval spectators, making the injustice of the Crucifixion more intense.

ANTICIPATION OF THE FUTURE

The second area of temporal structure in the drama focuses on the techniques whereby as yet unrealized events become integrated into the 'present' time of representation and how they suggest or even foretell the future, thereby creating that strange uneasiness which may build suspense in spectators. In this section I will deal with two interrelated, but distinct concepts, each of which has many individual facets to be enumerated in detail. To facilitate analysis, I employ a suggested contradistinction between two major technical groupings, those of declaration or notification (*Ankündigung*) and hints or intimations of things to come (*Andeutung*). To clarify: a declaration is delivered as a direct anticipation of or encroachment upon future happenings, whereas an intimation seldom takes any spoken form. As Pütz relates: „Sie (intimation) wendet sich nicht als Information an den Verstand, sondern als versteckter Hinweis an die Sensibilität des Publikums.“¹⁴⁰ Declarative anticipation affords a clear outline of succeeding events; intimation only suggests, leaving the final picture of the future shadowy and undefined.¹⁴¹ Both elements develop as unavoidable consequences of dramatic endeavor, a variation in intensity and degree of application being the only factors separating one production from another.

Both declaration and intimation exhibit forms or techniques which often evolve from the story itself, suggestions within the material

which are generally unavoidable. An example of formally-mandated technique in Passion plays is that of prophecy: it is an integral part of the tale of Jesus Christ as preserved in the New Testament. If one is to remain faithful to that source, prophecies must become a portion of the play. Still other methods of evoking future structures function solely in the realm of manipulation by the artist as he creates meaningful dramas *beyond* his stipulated source material. Such techniques transcend any story; in the form of monologs, prologs, or asides, to mention only three, an artist may make the dramatization his own, he may stamp it with his own particular understanding and relationship to his surroundings. We must, therefore, consider not only those 'given' techniques of simple fidelity to religious tradition, but also those alternatives which lie totally within the domain of artistic and aesthetic formulation of the Passion.

Proclaimed Occurrences Originating in the Material

a) Announced arrivals

One of the several techniques contained in the rubric *proclaimed occurrence* („Ankündigendes Vorkommnis")¹⁴² which anticipates the future may be found in the announced arrival of a main figure.¹⁴³ In this manner succeeding scenes wherein the person appears are anticipated and a certain capacity for suspense instituted. The degree of suspense depends largely upon how the preceding scenes relate to the main character's arrival. How will he be greeted? What plans do others have for him? Are the persons who announce his arrival friendly or hostile? What has characterized previous encounters between them? Is he in control of his own destiny?

Montecassino provides us with an imperfect example of such anticipation. The arrival of Christ is not the main point of discussion as the play commences. However, the entire sequence of Judas' bargain presupposes the immediate appearance of the Lord, as much of the conversation of Judas and Caiaphas concerns the Teacher's previous activities. Bystanders are offered a generalized statement defining the Lord's character from Judas' point of view. Though this be true, the application of the technique must be viewed as a somewhat primitive instance emanating from the Passion material and its place in the Easter season rather than from any dramatic genius.¹⁴⁴ Still, its presence reflects an early application of a technique which in later tales will grow to impressive proportions. As was the case in several areas of succession, a full measure of suspense initiated by a certain critical temporal distance between announcement and arrival does not exist. The inherent anticipatory power of this structural phenomenon has yet to be realized.

These reflections find confirmation in *BenP*, where little evidence of this particular tool is found. A single example, the arrival of the Jewish pontiffs, announced by the chorus, can be cited,¹⁴⁵ one which accomplishes no more than introducing another group of players who have long since taken their positions on stage.¹⁴⁶ Repetition of the situation described in *Montecassino* becomes impossible, for Jesus initiates the play as He calls two disciples. No suspense through an introduction of Jesus by Judas can occur.

b) Prophecy

A powerful means by which to usher future events into the 'present' stage time comes to life in prophecy. Western readers are

accustomed to this phenomenon through Classical theater; they observe oracles, soothsayers, wise men and women, and even choruses voicing, often in puzzling form, specific portions of the future before they happen. Some of the most effective and suspense-filled productions are results of masterfully organized anticipatory techniques developed by Greek writers. Suspense arises from audience knowledge that an oracle may be misunderstood or that the entire process of unravelling fate may be interrupted by an entity whose existence is found beyond the control of mortal man.

At the center of Christian belief lies the concept of Jesus' all-knowing and all-seeing nature. He perceived coming events, His own suffering and death among them, but held steadfastly to the predetermined wishes of His Father. Several instances of His awareness and vision-sharing with various biblical personalities compose an important portion of the New Testament records. This sort of future integration forms a significant part of most Passion plays as well. Perhaps the most meaningful variation of medieval drama from Greek plays is that religious minds of the Middle Ages knew the absolute accuracy of their Lord's prophecies, verified in Scripture. There arose little ambiguity of interpretation, as was often the case with the sacred oracles of Classical theater. Medieval audiences were able to anticipate the resolution of prophecies explained by Jesus in exactly the manner in which they were introduced, making useful dramatic application of the phenomenon more difficult. To find really effective application of this tool one must search extra-biblical additions to the Passions, where new or altered situations give rise to novel characters and events not a part of the common religious knowledge of spectators.

With the widespread appearance of scriptural prophecy in mind, let us attend its application in the texts of Group I.

At the outset of investigation a curious state of affairs arises. *Montecassino* exhibits both instances of prophecy. The first expression is a poetic restatement of Matthew xxvi: 64, Mark xiv: 62, and Luke xxii: 69.¹⁴⁷ Christ's vision, though indicating the future to the high priests and more clearly defining His godly nature, offers little opportunity for suspense, as its realization lies far beyond the confines of the Passion drama:

[Quem vi]d[etis a]udien[tem]
vos cernetis venientem
etheris nubibus.
Et videbitis sedentem
[de]i filium potentem
ad virtutis dexteram
(*Montecassino* 88-93)

As in Scripture, the statement becomes the religious and legal hook upon which Jesus' fate is hung. Cries of blasphemy from Caiaphas exactly reproduce the reaction of his New Testament confrère.

The same can be maintained of the second prophecy, that of Christ's promise to the good thief, a stanza which varies from biblical records only in minor alterations designed to afford expression in the rhythmic and metrical patterns of the verse form:

Amen dico tibi latro
mecum hodie in sacro
paradisco veniens.
(*Montecassino* 315-317)

In this instance the message closely approximates Luke xxiii: 45. Again, any striking or suspenseful effect is obviated by the fact that prophetic truth lies in the realm of faith, not drama. Both prophecies might be suggested through additional scenes tacked onto the plays, but

this would certainly detract from the presentation. The suffering of God's Son for mankind would not be made more touching or vital by such extentions. They would not fit the intention of the author nor probably even occur to him as necessary.

When an explanation for the paucity of primary anticipatory forms is sought, one inevitably must focus on the amount of material offered in presentation and its means of dramatization in both Passions. The scope of *Montecassino* is restricted to the events immediately surrounding the Passion proper; little by way of secondary dramatization is included. Scripture provides four instances of prophecy by Christ from the time between Judas' bargain and the Crucifixion. Supplemental to the two prophecies discussed above are those of Jesus' message to Peter relating the disciple's denial and the crowing cock (Mark xiv: 72 and Luke xxii: 34), followed by His warning of impending disaster to the women of Jerusalem (Luke xxiii: 29). Of the four visions, only that of the crowing of the cock is resolved within the confines of the Passion. Even this example is reported by Mark in epic fashion.¹⁴⁸ The second resolution of the words develops from the Last Supper, a sequence preceding the onset of dramatization in *Montecassino*. Mark's placement of the prophecy in an epic framework makes its effective application to dramatic circumstances difficult, as the force of Peter's denial would surely lose much of its power upon insertion of a *narrative* element. Peter is instead called to remembrance by his Savior's doleful glance and the audience could well be counted upon to also make the connection.

Thus the absence of several expected instances of prophecy in *Montecassino* seems to be a function of its preserved scope, of its concentration on the time of the Passion itself. Much the same can be said

of *BenP*, although here the absence of dramatic prophecy, of even those visions declared by Scripture, is probably intentional. The scope of *BenP* is broad enough to admit all meaningful prophecies. However, given the highlighting effect of the opening lines and the rapid movement from one doctrinal link to its adjoining notion, no time remains to involve prophecy without significantly altering the redemptive idea behind the final form. The author's intention seems to have been doctrinally rather than dramatically disposed.

c) Oaths

Of analogous structural function with prophecy is the oath. Their divergence rests in the human elements present in the oath, one which is non-critical in prophecy. No serious spectator doubts the outcome of a sacred prophecy once the veracity of its source is established. But when an oath is entered into, the possibility exists that the person swearing it may not have sufficient strength or fortitude to see it to conclusion. The final resolution is thus cast into doubt, creating an opportunity for the author to concentrate reader or spectator attention on the process evolving from the oath. The swearing of revenge, an oath most prevalent in medieval Passions, causes the character making it to review previous circumstances which have culminated in the oath as well as to anticipate the future.¹⁴⁹

In previous discussion of dramatic succession in *Montecassino*, the pivotal structural position occupied by Judas' initial bargain was identified.¹⁵⁰ Not only do the words create succession, they also make inevitable the coming betrayal and integrate it into the dramatic 'present'. Spectators receive an open declaration of Judas' intent to

sell his Lord. Those horrible actions perpetrated by Christ which preceded Judas' promise, "*Tradam vobis ipsum vere*", are left undefined, their existence only vaguely hinted.¹⁵¹ In *Montecassino* the oath is strengthened by the willing participation of the high priests. Thus, not a single individual, but a group of co-conspirators defines the force opposing the Redeemer. The sole factor yet to be established is the manner in which the oaths will be accomplished.

The companion scene in *BenP*¹⁵² lacks much of the dramatic impact so obvious in *Montecassino*, for the anterior factors causing Judas' oath are completely lacking. In similar fashion the dramatic force of the future lessens with the position of the bargain in the larger textual structure. There appears little action of significance to separate the oath from its realization; no time is allowed to pass before this particular future event becomes reality.

Both renditions pass mutely over the potential for the sequence of the Last Supper to integrate hints of the future and effect suspense. One of the most forceful oaths contained in Scripture binds the zealous and confident Peter to his Savior's fate, as the fisherman swears unyielding fidelity: "*etsi oportuerit me simul commori tibi, non te negabo.*"¹⁵³ These words, spoken with such conviction, prove too overwhelming for Peter to manage; they underscore man's spiritual frailty. *BenP* does include at least a mimed meal, though without any apparent dialog.¹⁵⁴ As in the case of prophecy, the appearances of oaths which herald coming events is determined by the source of dramatized material and not yet by the playwright.¹⁵⁵

Forms of Proclamation Emanating from Structure

To this point our interest has concentrated on developments *within the plot* of the Passion which provide glimpses into the future.

Although several supplotory methods of foreseeing and reporting yet unrepresented incidents exist, I have investigated only those of import for Group I. Other possibilities will be introduced, documented, and analyzed as they appear. I now turn my attention to individual techniques supplied by the dramatist.

When we consider the various methods of proclaiming the future, our interest is necessarily compelled to deal with specific forms of notification („Formen der Ankündigung“)¹⁵⁶ by which a playwright structures not his tale, but its *delivery*. These phenomena are characterized by methods of presenting facts to spectators such as monologs, asides, prologs, direct addresses to the public, and the closing remarks of acts. The latter will, naturally, not come into effect until the advent of longer plays. I have moved the analysis of direct address to sections concerning interruption and suspension where its dramatic and theoretical potential becomes more understandable. The remaining techniques concentrate on individual speeches by characters who employ dramatic forms of notification in preference to those stressing verisimilitude. Such strategies allow the dramatist some flexibility in realizing the innermost cerebral processes of his characters which epic artists most often take for granted. A playwright who widely adopts techniques from this category concentrates on the conscious creation of dramatic bridges between spectator and represented character, for these opportunities find their value in the premeditated desire to *dramatically* solicit audience reactions which otherwise

might be lost or inactive.

It is significant for the probable intent of Group I texts and their cultural and religious environment that, with the exception of those conceivable illustrations from *BenP* of Mary Magdalene's direct address to the audience,¹⁵⁷ and the Virgin's call to spectators to see her martyred Son,¹⁵⁸ these specifically dramatic forms find no general application in either *Montecassino* or *BenP*. The conclusion that the texts were not primarily designed as dramatic productions but as specimen of commemorative messages employing certain dramatic tendencies seems inevitable. The alternative suggestion that these plays were simply too primitive to support the application of singularly creative forms¹⁵⁹ is unfounded, especially when the active participation of so many other dramatic facets can be determined. The impelling nature of the original material is merely exploited in unfamiliar ways and for reasons which respond to an intention not solicitous of such tools.

Intimated Occurrences Originating in the Material

Hints of coming events may also be arranged into those indicative of plot-imminent occurrences and those which allow the artist greater freedom of expression and management. The forms of intimation, as did those of notification, draw attention to specific mechanisms which the author may manipulate beyond the mandates of his sources. Though the atmosphere of a play, for example, may be established by plot material, the particular forms an author chooses to enhance it, such as stage props, meaningful noises, gestures, silence, lyric inclusions (which I have considered under the *tempo of succession*), character resemblance and contrast, all lie in the realm of authorial digression.

Artists will approach their application from various angles and will choose those techniques which best complement their individual desires for the work. In many instances, as a result of the vicissitudes of textual preservation, of the lack of meaningful directions, or of our own imperfect knowledge about props and gestures (especially those expressing well-known symbolic meanings) this potentially exciting category proves to be of lesser value for medieval Passions than for modern plays.

a) Time Consciousness

Lively presentations normally provide multitudinous intimations of things to come. A category which concentrates on a character's psychological relationship to past and future modes of time is a temporal consciousness. Putz identifies five modalities which approach such concerns: 1) The general and relentless movement of time forward; 2) the burden of past activities; 3) incapacity before the future; 4) the determined approach of an event; 5) the problem of seizing the appropriate moment.¹⁶⁰ In the Gospels one discovers a clear combination of 2) and 3) in the person of Judas. This wayward disciple reflects upon his treason and attempts to rectify it by the repayment of his blood money. He realizes that he cannot alter history and he cannot halt the natural flow of events which he has initiated; once Judas has set the wheels of treason in motion, he cannot interfere with the pure movement of time forward. With this realization that he has ceased to cause events to happen comes Judas' remorse and subsequent suicide. In the words of Putz: „Das Bewusstsein der Ohnmacht gegenüber der Vergangenheit (ist) zu einer Andeutung kommenden Unheils (geworden).“¹⁶¹

The sequence involving the repentant Judas in *Montecassino*, who seeks to alter history,¹⁶² transmits little dramatic creativity and suspense beyond its biblical origin. Were the audience less familiar with the doctrinal necessity or the inevitable outcome of Judas' act, it might sense something of Jesus' future as the priests coldly refuse to consider the traitor's pleas. They might suspect that the Son's fate were sealed and perhaps fear for His safety. As has already been shown, this sample of future anticipation cannot truly hope to initiate significant suspense because of its origin and unadorned appearance. There looms a second fact, that of the place of presentation. To believe that religious monks were unfamiliar with every nuance of the play and every intention behind it, especially that of commemoration of the Passion and Resurrection, is to completely misunderstand the very heart of medieval spirituality. Judas' recognition of the inviability of time, as we of the twentieth century conceive it, is simply stated, not one of the active forces behind *Montecassino*.

The second member of Group I exhibits a similar situation when it deals with Judas' remorse. The confrontation of Judas with Caiaphas is similarly paraphrased source material. Judas' recognition of the final outcome he has prepared for Christ, as it relates to dramatic time, remains a calculation somewhat forced in its application to Group I plays. We present-day scholars may perceive the theoretical points of reference behind the sequence, but it is certain that medieval audiences were drawn to other, more immediate and transparent qualities of the Passion.

b) *Mood*

Yet another means by which the future is intimated involves an area of some analytic difficulty. I speak of the mood of a play. Since the identical atmosphere of medieval dramas cannot be achieved, due in part to differences of religious orientation and world outlook, we must rely on our own reactions to the texts for direction. Thus it must be conceded that these two earliest Passions, where the promise of dramatic potential is more hinted than exploited, do not plumb the depths of creativity. And the reason again seems to be the particular nature of the presentation augmented by its commemorative orientation. However, one juncture of *Montecassino* does allow for a creative combination of fear of an anticipated outcome and a hope of averting it. These two concerns, acting upon one another, often serve to portend some ulterior event: „In ihren *Angst* greifen die Bühnenfiguren auf eine unliebsame Zukunft voraus; auf eine bessere warten sie in ihrer *Hoffnung*.“¹⁶³

It is the service of the Cassinese author that we experience a noteworthy moment of heightened suspense resulting from the dramatically advantageous inclusion of *Uxor's* dream. In this scene a skillful juxtaposition of a *feared* outcome of the future of Christ with a *desired*, and indeed expected conclusion of the trial is manipulated. With the aid of Satan's intervention through a troubling dream (though the author does not specify the selfish motivation of *diabolus* as later accounts do) *Uxor* is afforded a glimpse into the ultimate disposition of Jesus. Her fears for her husband are put into uncomfortably clear focus; she must hastily act to alter the vision. Concomitant with *Uxor's* agitation is a momentarily heightened anxiety which transforms

itself into malaise, a deeply-felt discomfort, as she learns of the probable outcome of the Lord's trial. For *Uxor*, the errand of warning undertaken by her handmaiden to her governor-husband seems to minimize, even eliminate, the need for fear. Her prayer of gratitude, apparently offered to the *Christian* god, verbalizes her hope and conviction that the future has indeed been mastered and all opportunity for evil negated:

[N]omen domini laudetur
quia non inficietur
pres[es iust]o sangu[ine].
(Montecassino 223-225)

What cannot be comprehended by *Uxor*, but is obvious to audiences, is the irony of the entire dream episode. She does not know the origin of the vision, nor of its instigation in the final frenzied efforts by *diabolus* to preserve his kingdom. She cannot, as a mere character, realize the degree to which both her efforts and those of Pilate will go unfulfilled because of the essentiality of the redemptive act.

The dramatic mood of *BenP* offers many qualitative as well as analytical difficulties, for, contrary to *Montecassino*, there appear few encounters which show the inclusion of elements of fear based upon perceived future events as compared with the hope to alter them. Perhaps the only representative example of these combined forces in action are seen as Mary Magdalene realizes the error of her life and laments, "*Heu, vita preterita*".¹⁶⁴ Certainly her cries are motivated by a fear that she is a lost soul. The words themselves turn our attention to the occasions in her *past* life. The fear of future damnation is strongly hinted. Perhaps it even forms an unconscious layer of sentiment underlying the entire scene, but the fear is not

spoken aloud as it was in *Montecassino*. Similarly, the hope for a remedy which might modify the hinted and perceived future originates not with Mary, but with the angel's message.¹⁶⁵ The seed of hope is planted in the sinner's breast and she proceeds immediately to implement the new possibility. With fervor she shuns her old vestments for more appropriate black robes;¹⁶⁶ her former lovers she forsakes ("*protinus a me fugite, turpes amatores*");¹⁶⁷ the act of penitence she undertakes by hurrying to the merchant to purchase a precious ointment, still lamenting, "*Heu quantus est noster dolor!*"¹⁶⁸ Mary's hope is further strengthened by her admission of guilt and plea for forgiveness:

*Jesus, troest der sele min,
la mich dir enpholhen sin,
unde loese mich von der missetat,
da mich deu werlt zuo hat braht!*
(BenP 95-98)

Jesus removes the woman's guilt, but it appears that her act of faith far overshadows Mary's repentance, for it is reported: "*Mulier, remittuntur tibi peccata! Fides tua salvam te fecit.*"¹⁶⁹

c) Dreams

Uxor's place in the drama of *Montecassino* opens another technical area to exploitation, that of the dream. Most of the important elements which dreams bring to preceptive structure have been identified. It remains only to underline one or two theoretical points concerning the dream as it relates to hints of the future.

The dream of Pilate's wife occupies a position of great importance in Passion plays, for it exemplifies one of the two major usages of this technique of portending coming events. A dream may either display the

true reality of as yet unrealized times or it may be manipulated by deceptive forces to confuse or to tempt. In the instance of religious theater of the Middle Ages, dreams faithfully reproduce a true state of affairs: these truths lie somewhere in the future, but are precisely detailed in the dream before their reality comes to life.¹⁷⁰

Dramatically speaking, the Cassinese playwright has worked out a marvelous little scene, replete with a momentary interruption of events as they rush toward their conclusion and with a sound comingling of fear ironically turned to hope. In this extra-biblical material we have a potential for efficacious application of suspense through atmosphere. We may argue the conscious use of theoretical structures in *Montecassino* but we cannot deny the author his due for exploiting inherent dramatic powers contained in dreams. And the inclusion is particularly intriguing because it reveals a splendid sacred irony of man's attempts to contain divine providence: the irony of the dream and *Uxor's* well-intentioned attempt to alter the future she sees is that both her fear and hope are ill-founded. The process of salvation will take its course despite man's intervention.

The status of the dream in *BenP* is dramatically less than for its predecessor. *Uxor's* vision is not a part of its structure. We must again search the sequences involving the Magdalene to discover even a marginal example. The angel's thrice-repeated message to Mary, though necessitating three unlikely periods of sleep during the time the Christ visits Simon, provides a hint of things to come if Mary will only heed the call. The angel not only reports the Lord's mission on earth ("*qui relaxat peccata populi!/hunc turbe confitentur salvatorem seculi*"),¹⁷¹ but further shows Mary the presence of her Master at the

pharisee's home.¹⁷² Thus the dream is not strictly limited to revelation of the future, but also to indications of parallel states of affairs. However, the impact on the spectators which results from the atmosphere of this scene does not seem to possess as much potential as the dream in *Montecassino*.

Forms of Intimation Emanating from Structure

When attention is focused on the forms of intimation which may be exploited by artists to structure their deliveries, yet another indication of the peculiar origin and design of medieval Passions comes to light. The incompleteness of our knowledge about the specific characteristics of each stage setting as well as exact information dealing with possible artistic interpretation of standard gestures accompanying certain portions of the plays does not simplify the task. Although we cannot completely reconstruct the ancillary techniques of medieval drama, a dim outline of what such presentations might have been like can be constructed from records of performances of several music-dramas prior to and contemporary with our Group I texts. In this context it is useful to briefly consider the findings of Fletcher Collins.

DISCOURSE ON CONVENTIONS OF EARLY STAGES

In his investigation of sixteen medieval music-dramas, Collins researches the presentational aspects of the plays, concentrating on areas such as characterization, movement and gesture, costuming, lighting, staging, makeup, properties and furnishings, and so forth. From his work comes the observation that movement and gesture of the earliest medieval church dramas were "formal and sustained, much as we find it in the Japanese *nō* dramas and in the vase illustrations of

Greek plays."¹⁷³

Though one distinguish a formal quality about gesture and movement in medieval theater, perhaps due in part to the tone of the dramatized material¹⁷⁴ as well as to its place of presentation, there was no traditional style of representation except that provided by the "customary verve and elegance of monastic performances of the Mass and canonical offices."¹⁷⁵

Since several of these texts occur either slightly before or simultaneous with the two Passions under discussion, and since both forms originate in the same spiritual tenor and background, a similarity of acting styles for both can be assumed. This intimates the assertion that, for purposes of analyzing the effects of gesture and movement upon suspensful anticipation of the future, these qualities show little dramatic power at this period of Passion development.

Furthermore, the theatrical impact of the stage setting is a matter of some question. For the entire medieval period few stage plans have been preserved. Those which have survived the ravages of time and cultural upheavals afford limited insight into possible early stage settings and we are unable to deduce much concerning the general efficacy of several backdrops or other props. And yet we cannot state with all certainty that the stage appeared a particular way with the relationships of many *sedes* and *loca* always preserved in the same manner as some of our texts indicate. Group I texts are likely to have been staged either within the walls of the monastery of Montecassino, or possibly outside the church for *BenP*.¹⁷⁶ Several logical possibilities of equating various required locations of *Montecassino* can be suggested by known areas employed in earlier dramas presented within the confines

of the Church itself. A thorough discussion of them lies outside the boundaries of this investigation. It will suffice to observe that the stage plan for Group I texts, because of its well-established identification of specific actions with areas of the Church shared with weekly services, Easter functions, and daily devotional hours, suggests a commonly-accepted setting wherein few, if any, manipulations would create spectator anxiety. However, it must be reiterated that this handicap is of our own making and not of medieval playwrights. The stage plan is not yet of value for its own sake.

a) Silence

Of the many methods whereby an artist may convey future events by intimation, that of a willed silence by a character produces moments of heightened awareness. At appropriate intervals during a scene such lack of desire to communicate may create an emotional discomfort in bystanders which makes itself known not as massive feelings of hopelessness or perhaps even fear, but rather as a vague, hardly defineable, continually growing uneasiness. Silence best fulfills the function of intimation when it becomes concealment: the conscious and willing suppression of particular emotions or thoughts makes one especially curious about them.¹⁷⁷

Montecassino employs the two instances of Jesus' silence in the face of accusation reported in Matthew and Mark.¹⁷⁸ *BenP* includes the second instance,¹⁷⁹ broadening it to an ancillary argument during Pilate's interrogation.¹⁸⁰ Additionally, the Teacher of *BenP* maintains the silence before Herod and his court attested by St. Luke.¹⁸¹ The Innocent's calm demeanor contrasts markedly with the rancorous noise

of hostile voices around Him,¹⁸² isolating the character from his surroundings and lending strength to his appearance.¹⁸³

To function as intimation, silence must be interpreted not only as pure silence, but its temporal factors must also be considered. Two separate time spans interact to determine its intimative nature, the past and the future: „Es ist *schon* etwas mitgeteilt, nämlich *dasz* etwas verheimlicht wird, und es ist *noch* offen, *was* unausgesprochen bleibt.“¹⁸⁴ Christ's silence in response to Caiaphas' demands, to Herod's questions, to Pilate's attempts to define His higher nature for himself, rests on His previous living testimony. Of greater interest for us is why the Lord stands mute in the two texts. A possible answer lies beyond the realm of mere dramatization; the biblical story directs our attention to the deeper meaning of the Master's silence under attack. Rosemarie Magnus comments:

Die angedeutete Spärlichkeit der Verhandlungsszenen besitzt gerade in dem, was sie verschweigt, eine unverkennbare Aussagekraft: Christus, der Herr und König, gibt sich freiwillig in die Gefangenschaft und erteilt selbst seinen Verurteilern die Macht, ihn zu töten, weil er, aus den Quellen seiner Barmherzigkeit schöpfend, die Welt von der Knechtschaft der Sünde befreien will.

A freely-offered sacrifice, made in humility, emphasizes Christ's actions. Words will neither save His human frame nor convince His adversaries at this point, as He states in Luke xxii: 67-68.¹⁸⁶

What remains is silence and its larger significance is not lost on an attentive audience. The unspoken words define the whole of Christian thought.

b) *Music*

Of the remaining theoretical potentials which may be included under forms of intimation, only one is partially operative in the definition of anticipation. Another technique, that of singing, seems at first to also be a factor. Certainly the inclusion of songs within the general story line may give rise to anticipatory forms. Questions involving the person delivering the song and where the lyrical interruption occurs can be decisive factors in the precipitation of events.¹⁸⁷ While this is doubtless a valid observation for Passions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the fact that the Montecassino and Benediktbeuern texts were sung in their entirety significantly reduces the analytical value of the concept. A production wherein all verses are sung can only differentiate either between religious and secular melodies or along linguistic avenues. I have previously dealt with the possible reasons for inclusion of vernacular songs in *BenP* and their probable effects on spectators.¹⁸⁸ The lyrical vernacular in *Montecassino* is so brief that no adequate assumptions can be drawn from it. There remains the entity by which many forms of music were communicated: the chorus.

The chorus was one of the traditional elements of theater designed to epically comment on or foreshadow events of the future. Although its application in theater was greatly diversified at an early date in Greek drama, it remained one of the most potent voices of impending peril in other theaters as well. It also served to establish distance from emotional scenes and to objectively comment on witnessed situations. From its distinctive plot-external position the chorus is able to provide hint of that which is to come. A chorus, when meaningfully

integrated into the drama, normally does not lay bare all future happenings or negate them; rather it reasons about the openness of the future and presages *alternatives*.¹⁸⁹

The origin of Passion plays in the liturgy and within the framework of the Christian religion weakens somewhat the ability of the chorus to effectuate suspense through intimation, as much of the flow of the story is already known. Nevertheless, there exists an area in the Passion inhabited by the chorus which is controlled by the writer alone, who may choose the proper time for its integration and decide the words which will be sung.

Montecassino contains no speeches by a chorus. Those of *BenP* do little to intimate the future. They serve mostly an epic function, reporting events, not hinting their imminence nor commenting on them in any depth.

RECOVERY OF THE PAST

All drama, by virtue of its selective-exclusive character, relates events deemed most important by its author. There inevitably remain several facts which are not presented, but which either more clearly define circumstances which culminate in the dramatized scenes or cast an epic light on previous encounters.¹⁹⁰ A playwright may affect the artistic form of his product by availing himself of numerous techniques which allow him to concentrate spectator attention upon crucial elements of his chosen tale, while simultaneously giving him latitude to broaden the impact of presented scenes by epically exploring their origins and repercussions. A measure of a poet's command of material and medium can be had by observing the manner and degree to which he

avoids dramatically unproductive parts of his tale, but still incorporates them through epic presentation to flesh out the necessary motivational and causative factors which make for impressive productions.

A curious quality of recourse to the past in drama is that, although the dramatist concentrates on an action previous to his 'present' state of affairs, he employs that remembrance to prepare anticipation.¹⁹¹ Momentary movement into history may have the effect of injecting a renewed impetus and motion into a slowed action; it may begin a process of recognition, or perhaps even provide insights into individual characters, thereby psychologically preparing their reactions.¹⁹² For purposes of clarity one must reduce the general rubric *recourse to the past* into its two main quantities, retrieval of events previous to the onset of dramatic activity („nachgeholte Vorgeschichte")¹⁹³ and the retrieval of events within the duration of staged time („nachgeholte Dramenhandlung").¹⁹⁴ Circumstances which find their being in a time prior to the onset of dramatization will be integrated into the 'present' time in a manner which prepares future action. Those which occur *during* staged activity serve primarily to add breadth and detail to the drama or to call a particularly prominent event to mind again, thus imparting a noteworthy intensity to it.

The importance of past happenings for 'present', staged, or impending time varies with the dramatist's intention.¹⁹⁵ They can so dominate the story that dramatization becomes purely analysis of events leading to presented action; they may conversely play such a minimal role that all possibilities of action remain open to all persons. The Passion of Jesus Christ, as reported in the New Testament, is seen as the fulfillment of a long line of prophecies and promises, and as

such may be interpreted as drastically reducing the possible alternatives of response by dramatic figures. In this way the Passion shares much motivational and structural qualities of the 'Schicksals-drama'. The requisites of the traditional story notwithstanding, Passion plays approach the integration of these previous hints with much diversity. All still contain the intimation of willing sacrifice on the part of the Savior, but some develop this idea more than others. Despite the accepted necessity of the final sacrifice by Jesus, each dramatist assembles past facts differently, laying weight upon varied developments. Few medieval dramatists conceive the Passion as mere analysis of pre-existing biblical exigencies. In spite of the restrictive affects of the tale, some authors find remarkable latitude when dealing with the past, its influence on the present and, more to the point, its bearing on the future.

Events Previous to the Onset of Dramatization

Of the several means of exploiting past incidents in Group I Passions, few are realized. Though their appearances are limited, they provide us with a glimpse of their power and structural potential. Even in infancy, these circumstances which involve the past as it helps to form the future play a decisive role in the plays.

a) Remembrance

One manner in which preceeding situations find a voice in dramas is through the perspective of remembrance. For Group I texts the primary application involves recalling to mind by a character of a specific act, normally attributed to the Man of Galilee, which bears on staged circumstances.

Montecassino depicts Judas as he seeks aid from the Jewish high priests. In his report to Caiaphas, Judas elucidates the state of affairs as it now stands: Jesus has undermined the power of the priests. He includes, however, no particular doings of Christ which make Him dangerous, only that "*Multos nostrum iam seduxit/in errorem quos perduxit.*"¹⁹⁶ The exact acts, their time of commission and severity lie completely outside the realm of staged reality, but serve still to set the betrayal in motion, giving a vague illumination to the events which motivate Judas. A second, more definite detail from the past surfaces as the Son stands before His accusers in the hall of Caiaphas.

The witnesses report:

[Templum] dei d[est]r[uc]turus
[h]ic predixit et facturum
se fore post triduum
(*Montecassino* 78-80)

Our dramaturge has taken a portion of the biblical record and incorporated it with scant alteration. Its dramatic significance lies in the expanded scope of the scene in which it appears, accomplished without resort to dramatization of minimally important elements. We learn from this epic inclusion that the God-Man at some previous time has offended high ranking officials with His openly inflammatory and threatening statements. They are the initial causes for the Lord's arrest as one engaging in seditious acts against established Jewish authority. This epic line not only defines a small portion of a present situation, its appearance actually prepares imminent events by the Christ's refusal to take an adversary position against the priests. Caiaphas is quick to believe the worst,¹⁹⁷ and his response to this man's silence, "*Per [d]eum te coniuramus/tibi [et int]er[ro]gamus/si*

sis dei filius",¹⁹⁸ prepares the positive answer which sends the priest into a rage¹⁹⁹ and effectively seals the Nazarene's fate.²⁰⁰

The same report concerning Christ's candid statements in the temple are found in *BenP*.²⁰¹ Its impact is lessened, since it finds a place before Pilate and elicits little emotion. Indeed, as a result of the extensive scope of *BenP*, the actual time in the temple is included in represented time, but not dramatized. The net effect of the accusation is to initiate the trial against Jesus by epically relating to Pilate one circumstance from His near past.

b) Trials

Of the numerous capacities whereby anterior activities receive added weight and artistic value one finds in all Passions that situation which calls forth former days and events by relating them to present circumstances: I speak of the trial. As is the case with few other techniques, the dialog structure of a trial, of premise and replication, of accusation and defense, serves to review history, that which has been dramatized as well as those incidents tangential to main occurrences, and makes those previous facts relevant.²⁰² The opposition of two competing forces has the further capacity to cause suspense by continually focusing attention on the resolution of the conflict which lies in some distant future time.²⁰³

In every instance, each playwright concentrates not so much on the trial *per se*, but on the entire judicial process itself.²⁰⁴ All Passion authors, though employing varied techniques, deal in some way with the injustice of the trial, taking issue not only with the weakness of the case against Christ, but also with the enervation or immorality

of the judge (hence of the entire procedure). Indeed, in a much later Passion, the authors of *Toumeley* make a willfully corrupt official the main opposition of Jesus.

Since the trial sequence contains many of the most central themes of the Passion which relate to the redemptive process, its forceful juxtaposition of Christ and His benefactors against His malefactors, its review of the most significant incidents from His ministry allied with the distrust and hatred of Jesus, leads to the inevitable inclusion of the trial in any Passion dramatization. The process of condemnation forms the one action of the story which cannot adequately be fathomed by mere epic narration. The degree of integration of the past and the intensity of spectator interest and suspense appear to be the only variables affecting this episode. These qualities will be determined by the overall tone of the individual play and the larger intention of the author.

Montecassino and *BenP* resemble one another in tone of presentation. Both are substantially symbolic presentations, *BenP* more so than its earlier relative. The trial scene of *Montecassino* represents a faithful model of Scripture, with the addition of *Uxor's* dream from apochryphal sources. One finds the normal questioning by Pilate, followed by silence or by short, humble responses from Christ, as set forth in the Gospels.²⁰⁵ The few reversions to anterior events are seen when the soldiers commence the case, stating, "*Nam se dixit regem [esse]*",²⁰⁶ and equate this with an act against Caesar worthy of death.²⁰⁷ Pilate is pictured as a rather vacillating official, loathe to condemn this man of few words and impressive silence, but unable to defy the wishes

of the priests and their followers. His basic benevolence towards Jesus is shown by his response to his wife's pleas to treat the Prisoner justly, but the situation soon eludes his control.

BenP includes only the report concerning the destruction and renewal of the temple in its highly-stylized and symbolic trial. Scripture provides most of the necessary dialog and development. Again, we discover the seeds of profitable anticipation to be sown in a modest manner, but one in keeping with the intention the plays may have had.

Modern readers may question the validity of such scenes on stage, but they must be reminded that what we have come to regard as uninteresting reproductions of biblical source material is not only in keeping with the spirit of the author, but also of his audiences. Such presentations faithfully reflect their liturgical origins. In response to earlier criticism by two well-known German medievalists, Rosemarie Magnus has provided us with a reminder:

Einmal bestehen die gemeinten Szenen nicht nur aus dialogisierten Bibelstellen, zum anderen berechtigt eine Herkunft aus Bibel und Liturgie nicht, den Betreffenden Szenen weniger Beachtung zu schenken, zumal geistliches Spiel in diesen beiden Sphären seine wichtigsten Grundlagen besitzt. Auf die Analyse des Wie der dramatischen Gestaltung der religiösen Wahrheit kommt es an, und dabei bildet die liturgisch-stilisierende Gestaltung eine durchaus vollgültige und hoch zu wertende.²⁰⁸

The gradual weakening of auditors' linguistic capabilities, an ever-increasing interest in purely dramatic characteristics of play production, combined with the subtle alteration of the contemporary religious atmosphere, comprise the forces which gradually augment scenes such as the trials with more lively and expanded presentation and make them, in our eyes, more than merely interesting; a process of dramatic self-realization which expands far outside the confines of pure

didacticism or commemoration will drastically influence the trial sequences of later plays. They will increase the detail surrounding the basic fact of the trial and make it more vivid. But to audiences of this period, people who were integrated into liturgical celebrations of which these two Passions were a portion, there existed scant need nor even a desire to extend them any further than symbolic representations of the trial. In this context we must nonetheless acknowledge a second time the increased quality of anticipation which may have been produced by the dream of Pilate's wife in *Montecassino*.

Expositional Forms of Remembrance

We have seen how several established and essential sections of the story of the Good Shepherd's sacrifice for mankind elicit or reveal a capacity to elicit on-looker interest or apprehension. Many other elements which may be employed to structure the mandated historical facts into dialog are also controlled by the dramatist. The most spectacular tool at the disposal of writers is that of exposition. Whereas certain statements which refer to Christ's activities are uncontrollably furnished by Scripture or centuries of traditional thought, the method by which a playwright includes them as well as that point at which he incorporates them will have an intensifying or debilitating effect on his finished product. This flexibility within generally-established boundaries was noted during the analysis of plot-induced time structures.²⁰⁹ Attention is now directed to the expositional means available to a dramatist which allow him to incorporate essential or clarifying secondary elements bearing on the Passion. Two of the organizational strategies derive their potential from *narrated* forms,

while a third lends dramatized support to coming activities. The three distinct methods of relating secondary or past events to intensify stage production may be called narrated pre-history („erzählte Vorgeschichte"), pre-history as a present circumstance („Vorgeschichte als Zustand"), and dramatized pre-history („dramatizierte Vorgeschichte").²¹⁰

Forms of exposition differ from remembrances inasmuch as they address themselves to information which defines the onset of a play, whereas recollection involves individual reactions to specific events within the exposition. Pre-history normally elucidates an entire series of situations which result in the specific chronology of the events portrayed on stage; it shows what facts lead to the inception of dramatic activity and thereby fills informational-expositional gaps for spectators. Remembrance finds its most effective application in the establishment of internal relationships between figures and unique happenings, lending vitality and a certain degree of psychological realism to the inner structure of plays.

a) Narrated Pre-history

Narrated pre-history comprises the most transparent manner of reporting activities prior to the inception of dramatization. It is defined solely in terms of a unique happening or a series of them as they relate to a particular situation which occurs on stage. The dramatic medium may be an introductory prolog delivered by a character existing outside the temporal boundaries of the play, as we shall discover with figures like *Augustinus* and *Proklamator* in later works. Their function is to formally introduce developments which precede the commencement of activity, to cast explanatory illumination upon the necessity of the action or to explain why it is worthy of presentation. Stress is laid

upon the reported activity as history. The primary tempus of interest for narrated pre-history is the past tense, but information thus shared is always subsumed into the exigencies of the dramatic 'present'.

During several close readings of both *Montecassino* and *BenP*, I have found no evidence of narrated pre-history. This situation is most likely the result of cultural surroundings and the proximity of both texts to liturgical celebration. There has not yet been any real attempt to exploit the specifically dramatic orientations of this type of epic inclusion.

b) Pre-history as a Present Circumstance

The pre-history of a dramatic activity can be deduced from present states of affairs or it may be reported in numerous phases, the cumulative effect ultimately determining the situation. Bits and pieces of relevant information pointing towards portrayed events flesh out spectator knowledge, affording him insight into the figure's unseen past, while concomitantly adding further definition to the figure who delivers the information. This artistic mastery of the past finds a particular structural strength in its intimate integration of the past with the present.²¹¹

As reported under the title *remembrance*, several soldiers voice their recollection of Christ's ability to destroy the temple and reconstruct it within three days. Depending on the scope of represented time, this event may precede the outset of dramatic activity or fall within its boundaries. In *Montecassino* it conforms substantially to the demands of pre-history as a present state of affairs by introducing information from Christ's dramatically undeveloped past, thereby lending

greater definition and depth to the present pre-trial examination by Caiaphas.

Judas' recapitulation of the ministry of his Lord, brought to light in *Montecassino* 7-12,²¹² not only establishes a temporal bond between single happenings, it also contributes valuable knowledge in the form of relevant past activities which create a part of 'present' circumstances, all without recourse to extensive dramatization. The Cassinese author thereby husband his resources by relating them in epic fashion, opening our minds to pertinent facts none the less effectively than had he expanded his dramatization by several scenes. *BenP* manages this set of circumstances with an analogous epic inclusion, although its introduction takes place before Pilate and not a high priest.

One other instance of this technique of securing the past by epic means occurs in *BenP*, when Zacchaeus vows to repay four times over those he has defrauded. His promise, "*Domine, si quid aliquem defraudaui, reddo quadruplum*",²¹³ carries the unmistakable reference to preterite activities of the tax collector, the introduction of which provides a measure of Jesus' power and persuasiveness by indicating that old ways have been altered to accommodate a new reality.

c) Actualized Pre-history

Yet a third method of realizing pertinent data from even the most mundane and well-known incidents involves the actualization of pre-history, a particularly intense and aesthetically pleasing manner of organizing material. Some intriguing examples of this formal mastery of past events may be found in dramas of the Middle Ages, especially

those of later writing, for actualized pre-history presents supplemental scenes and characters who act out the happenings only related in epic fashion in other Passions. Actualized pre-history involves the accretion of performed material and is one of the factors which accounts for the growth of so many later Passions.

Responding to its own peculiar strengths and potential, actualized pre-history concentrates its attention upon the future; or as Pütz explains:

Das Vergangene wird weder erz^hlt noch als Zustand geschildert, sondern die dramatische Handlung schreitet von Anfang an kr^aftig fort und l^asst in ihrem Verlauf die Vorgeschichte erkennen.²¹⁴

Passion plays of a later period will employ this interesting technique in novel and artistic ways. But those of Group I show no evidence of its presence. At this time of Passion development attention is directed to those circumstances which, with few exceptions, immediately surround the Passion itself. The eyes of celebrants and spectators alike are upon the remembrance and commemoration of Jesus' sacrifice for mankind.

These few representatives of pre-history which I have just outlined are the sole indicators of the structural puissance of exposition at this early stage. I attribute this lack of development to textual, preservation on the one hand and to the possibility of authorial intent on the other. Portions missing from *Montecassino* might develop Christ's pre-history more fully. In the instance of *BenP*, this suggestion seems remote to the point of non-existence. Of much greater interest is the means to which the two texts were put. A celebrative and commemorative reenactment dwells not on the past, as represented by epic vehicles in drama, but on the very actions being remembered. Intense integration of

pre-history, as offered by these three expositional forms, is more concerned with an artistic value of structure *per se* than with commemoration. Their focus is most often upon the past as a narrated entity or a series of elements (with the later exception of actualized pre-history). Since the concentration of Group I texts is upon Christ's suffering and man's relationship to it, such a minimal application of the past as an artistic tool is not completely unexpected.

Retrieved Events Within Dramatized Time

The second major subdivision of past events to be considered here concerns the means by which a playwright integrates into his play developments which take place within the time represented on stage. This category varies from those previously considered in that it deals only with those happenings which correspond in temporal terms to represented time. Although our interest remains focused upon an activity of presented reality, an epic introduction can become an efficient method of stressing a concept, of deepening an emotional response to a 'now' event, or of dramatically defining a scene as a function of the past. For purposes of discussion of Group I manuscripts I am disregarding an obvious division of such retrieval systems known as screened occurrences („verdeckte Handlung"), which are not functional in the two earliest Passion plays. The remaining concept of *repetition* will occupy us for the duration of this section.

There exists a portion of Scripture dramatized by all Passions of reasonable preservation which involves the repetition of similar scenes and information. Both deal with the seditious plots of Jesus. The two trials, one before the high priests, and the other in the court of

Pilate, provide an example of activity repeated from represented time and form the backbone of the scriptural story. Even though this sequence is absolutely indispensable for any effective Passion dramatization, the mandated structure holds the potential of immediate recollection and evaluation of old information in reference to its timely repetition through recurring characters and circumstances.²¹⁵

The trial before Pilate and its predictable outcome is in essence little more than an elongation and intensification of Caiaphas' questioning of Jesus hours before. In general, limited amounts of unintroduced information from the past are brought to light; the old testimonies are most often repeated and intensified through this repetition.

If there were any doubt about the eventual resolution of the conflict between the Lawgiver and the authorities on the Old Law, it would seem to vanish as one nears the conclusion of Caiaphas' speech in *Montecassino*. When this intolerant leader cries, in response to the Son's revelation of His divine origin, "[B]laspheavit, cur tacemus?/quid i[am te]stibus egemus?",²¹⁶ it seems painfully evident that the second trial will function only as a formality. The priests wish Pilate to exact the penalty which their law prohibits.²¹⁷ Their decision about the Anointed's guilt and just punishment has long since been rendered. Indeed, the second set of trial circumstances is thrown into greater relief by its repetitive quality, its injustice made even more forceful.

The account of Judas' remorse from *Montecassino* communicates a certain degree of dramatic achievement by recalling to mind his harsh words of just a few hours earlier.²¹⁸ Though still in an essentially undeveloped form, Judas' repentance serves to review the agony of the betrayal and underline a central theme which courses throughout all

Passions, that of a sacrificial Innocent. The words of Judas add poignancy to a past situation, which will be seized upon and developed by later dramatists into extensive acknowledgments of genuine sorrow and despair: ". . . *heu quam graviter peccavi/tradens iustum sanguinem.*"²¹⁹

Much the same can be said of this section in *BenP*. Again Judas is noted to have realized his trespass and seeks to rectify it by returning the blood money, but to no avail.²²⁰ As was true in the century older text, *BenP* demonstrates only the first stages of dramatic growth; scant awareness of the theatrical potential of the scenes is reflected.

There is to be found, however, a possibly important repetition at the close of *BenP*. In these final moments Joseph of Arimathea casts a baleful eye on the immediate past as he requests the remains of the Crucified, and, in so doing, sums up the entire play, while reiterating fundamental religious teachings behind the presentation:

*Iesus von gotlicher art,
ein mensch an alle sunde,
der an schuld gemartret wart. . . .*
(*BenP* 274-276)

The restatement of dramatized activity has the effect of reminding the audience of the preponderance and validity of the tale they have just witnessed.²²¹

Epic Application of the Chorus

A curious phenomenon in medieval drama is the structural position occupied by the chorus. As I have written, it possesses an impressive capacity to infer the future and to alert theatergoers of *possible*

impending events. But its dramatic nature is far from adequately comprehended by a system of future references alone: behind them lies a vast domain of epic qualities which may equally be called into service by conscious authorship. Not only is the chorus capable of inferring as yet undramatized happenings, its ontological existence outside the confines of the drama enable it to report in epic fashion. It may be employed to bring a past event into sharper focus in light of subsequent revelation; the chorus may simply recall for audiences a significant occasion of the past; it may also assume the guise of narrator, reporting on the passage of activities in represented time. Most of the choral appearances in *BenP* function in this manner.

On several occasions this dramatist chooses to report the fact that many empty spaces in represented time were filled with specific activities which had been glossed over by temporal acceleration. One such instance identifies an action by the Magdalene: as she moves to make plain her contrition before her Lord by buying ointment and seeking him out, a chorus sings: "*Accessit ad pedes-*"²²² In the later context of Lazarus' resurrection a cleric proclaims: "*Et prodiit ligatis m[anibus] et p[edibus], qui f[uerat] m[ortuus].*"²²³ When the Jewish priests congregate to consider the fate of the Galilean, the chorus is again called to introduce them in epic fashion: "*Collegerunt pontifices etc.*"²²⁴ The dramatic and structural weaknesses of such statements are obvious: they seem out of place, almost redundant. Nothing is gained from their participation. These sung intermissions surely only interfere with the dramatic and logical flow of events. And yet they do not appear to be simply fortuitous, haphazard conglomerates of unproductive words. Perhaps their function lies not in their epic

framework, but in their melodic method of delivery. This suggestion reveals interesting avenues of consideration, paths which concentrate our perpension on the ancient origins of the plays.

One should always bear in mind that the early Passions were festive, commemorative, and symbolic, building upon centuries of liturgical development and practice. The liturgy had music as one of its formative elements. It is, therefore, not unexpected that even epic narration should take the guise of lyrical flight; it, too, led to God:

Als eine religiöse Weihestunde war das Ganze nicht zum Schauen und Hören von etwas Fremdem da, sondern wollte durch Gesang und Handlung die Herzen aller in einer einzigen Empfindung zusammenfassen und durch die Hülle und den Spiegel des Sinnlichen hindurch zu Gott hinwenden und erheben: darum konnte man auch mitten in der dramatischen Handlung, die sich zwischen Einzelpersonen abspielt, den Chorgesang eintreten lassen. . . Für den stimmunggebenden Charakter der Feier ist es nur Gewinn und es ist geradezu Notwendigkeit, dem Geschehen mit Gesang zu folgen, und solche Andeutung durch Worte zu verwenden ist stilgemäß (my emphasis). . . .²²⁵

Thus it is seen that these narrative elements emanated directly from Church services and festivals, which were sung for centuries. For BenP to pick them up in their liturgical form was natural.

Traditional scholarship of the ilk espoused by Hardin Craig has long made a fundamental tenet of its critical appraisal system the conception that the drama of the medieval period, preoccupied as it was with religious rather than with artistic or theatrical ideals, achieved triumphs primarily from treated subjects. According to this school of thought, most creativity could be attributed to the chance arrival of a redactor or author of some genius.²²⁶ This restrictive viewpoint further surmises that, since religious drama was possessed of "no dramatic technique or dramatic purpose, and no artistic self-awareness,"

one could not employ modern tools (including those derived from drama as a genre) to any extent.²²⁷

One will readily admit that works of art which transcend their moments of creation most often owe their 'timelessness', their charm and impressiveness to extraordinarily-talented men. But only the most marginal of literary concerns is addressed by such criticism, as its truth can be postulated for all written records of all periods. The medieval theater is surely no exception, for, just as in any epoch, one finds an extremely uneven record of achievement. The criteria one employs to arrive at a definitive conclusion as to the relative merits of each text, therefore, becomes a major factor. Though, for instance, I agree with most scholars who find in *Montecassino* a work of interesting 'dramatic' qualities, one which owes its fetching characteristics to a gifted organizer of language and dramatic arts, I am less inclined to dismiss *BenP* as so much wasted effort. The key lies in the manner of apprehension.

The analysis of two of the earliest preserved Passion plays in Western Europe refutes claims that one cannot gain valuable insights and pleasures by the application of modern critical tools and methods, for it has been shown that attention to the primordial drive of the 'dramatic', that instinct to order mimetic activity so as to continually throw reader or viewer expectation into the future, can direct perceptions into the interior workings of impelling drama, into the very heart of dramatic organization.

There can be no doubt that the reliance upon Scripture does much to establish the basic tone and presentational character of *Montecassino* and *BenP*, linked as they are to liturgical celebrations of Christ's Passion.

However, we have ascertained substantial points at which both plays individually break out of the 'restrictive' setting and demands of religious communion into the realm of significant artistic accomplishment. Although I have enumerated areas of temporal construction which inevitably surface either as a result of the exigencies of play management,²²⁸ or of biblical material offered in celebration,²²⁹ many other facets of the framework of time hint at a fascinating variety of organizational possibilities within even the most 'traditional' boundaries. Particularly those areas of *intimated occurrences* (notably those of mood and of dreams in *Montecassino*) and *expositional forms of remembrance* (especially pre-history as a present circumstance) have offered valuable insights into two distinct methods of controlling and artistically manipulating the story. Established and objectively-measurable facts relating to the tempo of succession have introduced us to a sophisticated complex of temporal congruencies in *Montecassino* and an all-pervasive anachronism of action in *BenP*, where the festive unity of player and spectator signals a profound identity with Jesus' sacrifice through the twin phenomena of interruption and suspension. We are continually reminded that the Passion was not experienced as a unique one-time event, but as 'up-dated', contemporary reality, a permanent part of medieval man's system of divine reference. In such commemoration of the 'Divine Comedy', historical and sacred time become one, as they must, according to Robert Scholes:

Inevitably a culture's concepts of history and of reality will be closely allied. Without a sacred time, eternal and beyond the power of history, there can be no reality beyond the actual. The function of ritual is to interrupt historical time and to synchronize it with sacred time. It is related to empirical actuality and to historical time insofar as it is the vehicle through which human actions are felt to

acquire significance, transcending history by identification of the human and actual with the divine and mythical.²³⁰

We have sensed the importance of the *BenP* Mary Magdalene, whose active participation lends such color, depth, and meaning to an often puzzling presentation. Her dominance or strongly-supportive role in 107 of the entire 289 verses of presentational time serves to enliven the conversion she undergoes, making it all the more theatrically noteworthy. In the sequence of the Magdalene are discovered all manner of dramatic and temporal structures quite beyond the traditional strictures of faithful Passion representation; indeed, it is in the light of the Madgalene's insinuation into the play that those brief vignettes of the Teacher's ministry take on increased formal and doctrinal preponderance and structural harmony. Both groups of encounters are set against one another, a technique establishing the artistic value of *BenP* far ahead of its religious roots. We see, for example, in the calling of the disciples and their immediate and complete obeissance the symbolic representation of Christ's power over mankind.²³¹ The concept of Jesus as *salvator et redemptor* is given further weight by the healing of the blind man, Mary's sinful life, repentance, and forgiveness, and the raising of Lazarus: His mastery over sickness, sin, and death is absolute.²³² A study of time has helped to confirm these relationships, while at once giving witness to a more profound, more compelling structure for probably the most stylistic Passion in all German letters.

And yet I have attempted to judiciously keep the two texts separate at every juncture; they can only be considered analogous, not homologous iterations on the Passion. We cannot, nor should we expect

both plays to offer identical results, based, as they seem to be, on two radically divergent approaches to similar problems of dramatization. The Cassinese author appears to have the upper hand on dramatic representation; his play shows us an interest in securing audience attention by the inclusion of "dramatic action details of a realistic and comic nature,"²³³ thereby freeing the work "from the stylized solemnity of the liturgical dramatic tradition."²³⁴ He accomplishes this by the timely and well-formulated implementation of extra-liturgical and apocryphal material (*Uxor's* dream), as well as by the critical introduction of vernacular speech at the Crucifixion.

BenP, on the other hand, fosters a highly-stylized review of the Master's Passion, and therein lies the difficulty of acceptance. It varies markedly with the *method of transmission* in *Montecassino*:

Its (*Montecassino*) objective is to recreate events in at least a semi-realistic manner in order that they become apprehensible as history to an audience and thus become grounds for devotion, while the *Benediktbeuern* play seeks to embody doctrine and does so less through realistic story telling than through selection of incidents and for the most part stylized representation within a liturgical context.²³⁵

Considered from a standpoint of dramatic interest, it must be said that *Montecassino* provides a more satisfying experience of the theatrical potential of scriptural material, though much of this text relies on symbolic representation, too. When placed beside the identical series of actions in *Montecassino*, the congregation of High Priests, for example, shows a fundamental conservatism inherent in the *BenP* author's method of relating to his material. The latter chooses a scriptural statement composed of three speeches to outline the situation:

Quid facimus, quia hic homo multa signa facit?
Si dimittimus eum, sic omnes credent in eum.
 (*BenP* 170-171)

*Expedit vobis, ut unus moriatur homo pro populo
et non tota gens pereat.
(BenP 272-273)*

*Ab ipso ergo die cogiverunt etc.
(BenP 273)*

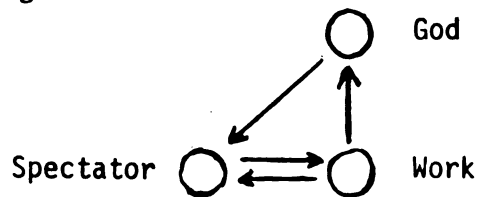
The comparison between the two accounts indicates that the result of the *BenP* episode is a rather undramatic dwelling on the facts as presented in Scripture. I have investigated the intense reaction of Caiaphas to Jesus' silence and the perceived blasphemy related in *Montecassino*.²³⁶ The comparison of the two texts reveals a certain paucity of action in *BenP*, but one which fits well into its highly-stylized and abstract character. One consideration which may enlighten us as to the reasons underlying this bleak style is not only the recognized commemorative intention of the entire performance, but also its suggested place within the liturgy itself, specifically in the ceremony of the Procession of the Palms on Palm Sunday.²³⁷

Of the theoretically available techniques for rendering time, those which find no part in Group I are inevitably those which seem to concentrate on the conscious endeavor to elicit artistic structures and lend the story broader *dramatic* acceptance. This observation leads us directly back to the peculiar commemorative nature of the plays themselves. We have noted many possible effects of the simultaneous stage and its probable orientation toward church architecture. This offers one arena of commonality with liturgical drama from whence Passions sprang. Rudick's suggestion that *BenP* may have been afforded a place in the Procession of the Palms draws clear and unmistakable lines of affiliation between Mass and Passion play -- both are commemorative. Sticca derives a similar set of suggestions, most notably that

Montecassino was probably presented within the walls of that named monastery.²³⁸ Both authors point to the central reason why Passions of this early time did not respond to all theoretical alternatives of temporal organization. We later critics may catch some of the intricacies of commemorative observances on stage by momentarily considering the possible mentality of acceptance behind such 'non-dramatic, 'simplistic' plays.

Those who first performed liturgical plays, from the first '*Quem Quaeritis*' trope, to the later and characteristically more developed *Visitatio Sepulchri*, were of monastic conviction and practice. The audiences of the primitive situations were likewise well-initiated members of a relatively homogenous group, a body of like-minded, similarly-interested believers, intimately familiar with the Bible and with contemporary exegesis. Their familiarity with liturgical forms, with tropes, psalms, antiphons, responses, and such, created in them a generally accepted compendium of acknowledgment of the Passion mysteries, of the Lord's *triumph* over death, and His unity with the Father, an idea established in response to the Arian heresy.²³⁹ For these religious men history assumed sacred proportions; it continued to be present, renewed with each Mass, *commemorated* and celebrated. The special nature of their lives presumed constant contact with God, the Originator. Thus, in plays such as those of Group I early auditors were able to see God and His Son through the work, to short-circuit the necessity for didacticism, an interest which lies at the very heart of several later enlargements designed to make the plays useful to a laity not steeped in religious teaching and practices as were the monks before them. To these latter auditor/performers the work itself called

attention to the feats of the Son, and to God, much as in the below-schematized diagram:



In its truest sense, the work was a linguistically-styled, masterfully organized reflection of the Almighty; it was merely another method of approaching God, of *commemorating* His triumph. The work possessed a small fragment of truth and reflected it back onto the spectator, who, by virtue of his intimate communication with God, had no need of paradigmatic impressions of life. The play functioned as yet another means for validly relating to eternity; both it and God cast an image back onto the spectator.

Thus are numerous techniques extending far beyond remembrance and celebration not mandated or even possible; their lack of application has nothing at all to do with a naïve, unassuming, or haphazard dramaturgy: they are simply not viable, nor desirable, nor useful alternatives.

Through the perceptions afforded by the structuring process we are able to experience the work for *ourselves*, quite apart from the expectations or demands of a medieval audience, whose impressions we can but surmise. We can, by attention to the formal tools, made available by structural analysis, partake of the transcendence of both plays in an aesthetic sense. We are called to remember Ingarden's piercing exposure of a work of art as a polyphony of experiences and embodiments, one which cannot be observed simultaneously from all sides.²⁴⁰ The minute fraction of the complete play known as the temporal structure has, however, provided us with methods and insights whereby we may more

nearly approach an objective decision as to the relative merits of the plays, for they compel us to rid ourselves of modern prejudices against things religious by exploring not always those things which set these ancient forms apart from our experience, but those phenomena which they share with all dramatic activities -- the forward-tending and anticipatory temporal reference. And the lyrical insertions into both plays, regardless of their origin and initial impetus, have again provided evidence that dramas are not exclusively organized with 'dramatic' devices. The complaints of both Maries in *BenP* invite attention to emotions and psychological perceptions which to a large degree transcend the moment, speaking to modern religious man as it might have to his medieval ancestor:

. . . es (das lyrische Subjekt) denkt diesen Gedanken, erlebt ihn zugleich und versinkt in ein ungenanntes Sinnen und stilles Fühlen. . . Aber das, was gesagt wird, konstituiert nicht . . . eine einzige, sich eben entfaltende, konkrete, erfüllte Gegenwart des menschlichen Lebens, sondern etwas, was sozusagen über allen Gegenwarten als ewiges Schicksal des Menschen schwebt. . . .²⁴¹

Such open-ended expressions of profound mental anguish provide points of entry into the deeper structure and significance of the plays in which they occur; we need only adopt adequate, objective methodology and momentarily relax our reactionary, subjective defenses to become enveloped by a meaningful experience of the mind. Attention to temporal forms can accomplish this if we so allow.

CHAPTER VI

GROUP II (1250-1340)

St. Gall, Wien, Palatinus, Autun B and R

The five texts which comprise Group II all originate from the first half of the fourteenth century. The opportunity, therefore, exists to investigate within a limited chronology the means chosen by five distinct authors or groups of redactors to relate the Passion story. We will witness the same tale of what Douglas Gray calls "the true center of medieval devotion"¹ in five unique renditions, each sharing the generalities of its origin, while providing evidence of its author's artistic control and understanding of his sources.

Before commencing our investigation it is necessary to consider for a moment the most salient features of medieval thought on the nature of Christ at this time in history, for it differs significantly from attitudes of previous centuries and has importance for the structure of fourteenth-century Passions.

Medieval drama exhibits a peculiar non-synchronous characteristic between popular spirituality and devotional practices and their theatrical representation.² Several years may elapse before a new wave of religious thought makes its way into the structure of drama; a necessary period of cultural and spiritual evolution and clarification separates the introduction of a new religious idea from its dramatic form, a circumstance shared much less in the Middle Ages with the epic or lyric genres. It is not surprising, therefore, that the emerging Christocentric piety of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries finds expression not in the Passions of the same centuries, but in those of the fourteenth.

These early Passions, like *Montecassino* and *BenP*, share a concept of Christ with doctrine much older than themselves, one which has its roots in the spiritual warfare of the formative years of the Church.

For many hundreds of years during its nascience the organized Church was burdened with the repulsion of countless heresies. Of importance for the theater was the pervasive disinterest for the Passion, the result of organized opposition to the teachings of Arianism, a doctrine which denied the divinity of Christ. Although it did not altogether eliminate consideration of the Passion of the Lord, the Church sharply deemphasized the humanity of Jesus in favor of His equality with God the Father as the second person of the Trinity. There evolved a picture of Christ triumphing over death, proving His equality and unity with His Father. Religious art provides a vivid witness to spiritual attitudes which affirm its conventional depiction of Jesus as Master of life and death; during these years the Cross is seen as the vehicle of victory.³

Church liturgy was equally affected by concentration upon the Lord of Glory as victor: the Mass became a commemoration of His death,⁴ heavily dependent upon a host of symbols. Christ's humanity continued to provoke little interest. Both liturgical and devotional practices dwelled on the Lord Triumphant, more a symbol of spiritual power than an entity to be approached as a man. We have observed the dramatic responses to these doctrinal modes of thought in Group I Passions. Iconography of the eleventh century attests to the power and persuasion of the image of victory, where the eternal veracity of the Crucifixion is locked into dogma:

In this Christ stands firm and aloof upon the Cross, kingly, heroic, and triumphant: His feet are supported by a suppedaneum and His head is adorned by a royal crown. The scene is a self-sufficient expression of a dogmatic truth, complete within itself and demanding no specific response from those who look at it.⁵

However, long before these conventions of Crucifix depiction in the eleventh century, voices were heard from various quarters which proclaimed the humanity of the Lord in tones of emotional reaction. One of the most eloquent early statements attesting to a changing view of salvation and the nature of Christ was the allegory of the Mass, written by Amalar (+ca. 850), wherein he employed the ceremonies and rites of the service to recall the earthly journey of the Christ, particularly the time of His suffering and death.⁶

As the eleventh century unwound, other spiritual leaders lent their voices and visions to the evolving Christocentric piety. Men such as St. William of Volpiano (+1031), St. Richard of Verdun (+1046), and John of Fécamp (+1078) investigated with renewed fervor some of Christ's human sufferings.⁷ But the greatest influence of medieval theology during the period for the contemplation of *Jesus the man* was exerted by the author of *Cur Deus Homo*, St. Anselm of Centerbury (+1109), primate of England and 'Father of Scholasticism'.⁸ By emphasizing the teaching that the redemptive act occurred on a human level,⁹ Anselm projected the mortal part of the Savior directly into the zenith of interest. The salvation of mankind thereby took on a new immediacy; through the insertion of a human Christ into the equation there evolved a innovative relationship between God and man, one that stressed an interest by the individual for his own salvation.¹⁰ Previous centuries had seen mankind subordinated to God and the Devil, the two antagonists who eternally contested supremacy over man's spirit and devotion.

As an entity of secondary importance, man was not strictly involved in his own salvation:

He (man) was reconciled to God, but as a result of an issue between God and the Devil: thus there were no immediate personal and emotional implications for him in the Incarnation and Passion.¹¹

Medieval theology, in marked contrast to these long-held beliefs, significantly altered man's position and value in the argument by placing emphasis upon a reconstitution of ancient bonds between God and man; the defeat of the devil now occupied a position of secondary interest.¹² There issued from this new sense of kinship with the Divine a more profound feeling of emotional participation in the Passion, a love-offering which only the Christ, a perfect man, could make,¹³ a sacrifice designed to reinstitute the primitive situation before Adam's fall.

The voice which most changed the old picture of *Christus triumphans* into *Christus patiens* in the twelfth century was that of St. Bernard of Clairvaux (+1153), founder of the Cistercian order and reluctant preacher of the Second Crusade.¹⁴ Prior to the devotions of Bernard on the humanity of the Lord, Émile Mâle observes that few sermons dedicated to the Passion can be found.¹⁵ F. Vernet is more emphatic in his opinion about the importance of Bernard for medieval spirituality: La dévotion à l'humanité du Christ 'est presque absent de la littérature chrétienne. Avec lui, elle y fait une entrée victorieuse.'¹⁶ Bernard's mystical contemplation on the mortality of his Savior, an exercise calling up in him an "unremitting love for Jesus crucified",¹⁷ formed the most significant theme of his entire life, making him one of the first theologians to investigate the emotional implications of "Carnal Love".¹⁸

Bernard's *Liber de Passione Domini* becomes one of the most precipitous works of medieval spirituality, wherein the saint's contemplation achieves literary form, underscoring in truly graphic terms the momentous sacrifice Christ made for His creation. Not a treatise on the triumphal overcoming of death, but the record of a mystic's search for contact with his Lord on an emotional level, the work dwells on the human consequences of a human Savior, suffering in pain and love to regain His prize.¹⁹

By virtue of the high esteem in which they were held in religious circles of the time, the opinions presented in Bernard's *Liber* and Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo* were universally accepted into the teachings and opinions of the medieval Church,²⁰ and with them was introduced a renewed emphasis on the mortal and finite qualities of the Christ. But other successors to the infant tradition did much to spread the doctrine throughout Europe.

A third personality soon appeared to lend the new Christocentric piety of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries a devotional and popular quality.²¹ The man was St. Francis of Assisi, founder of the Franciscans. Love for the crucified Lord fired Francis' religious imagination, as it had few before him; his compassionate response to the Savior called St. Francis to participate in Christ's struggle.²² The tribulations of the Lamb became the focal point of emerging Franciscan contemplation; a set of emotional values and responses spread throughout Europe via the vehicle of public preaching,²³ accompanying the Franciscan friars as they ventured into new territories.²⁴

St. Bonaventure (+1274), the most noteworthy Franciscan theologian of the thirteenth century and general of the order until 1273,²⁵

likewise placed the Passion at the apex of devotional exercises, stating that, to conserve and nourish the soul, one should concentrate upon the dying Christ on the Cross.²⁶

In his summary of the impact of the ideas popularized and socialized by St. Francis, developed and spread by members of the Franciscan order, Sticca concludes:

Franciscan piety provided the new and essential spirituality, with its desire to understand the abstract through the concrete, the divine through the human, and to secure a more human and dramatic visualization of the Christian mysteries.²⁷

Another work of primary concern for the discussion of medieval spirituality as it developed in the thirteenth century is the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, long attributed to Bonaventure, but now thought to originate from the hand of John of Caulibus.²⁸ The text, prepared for a religious woman of Sainte-Claire,²⁹ addresses itself, as do its predecessors, to the heart and not the intellect.³⁰ In it are found some of the most moving and poignant of all medieval descriptions of the Master's sufferings, supported by those of the Virgin. Many will find their way into increasingly graphic renditions of the Crucifixion in later Passion plays.

Renewed fervor for Passion contemplation found its way into medieval thought in various other ways, too. Iconography and religious art reacted to the changing emphasis, postulating the Lord's suffering in ways not previously witnessed. This alteration of style also does not spring fully-articulated from medieval culture; its path leads from the last half of the tenth century, where a Crucifixion scene of a psalter from England's Ramsey Abbey expresses the modification of old beliefs before they were yet formalized into doctrine, to the early

eleventh-century depiction from Weingarten, Germany. In this Crucifixion the suggestion of acute pain is strengthened with respect to the Ramsey psalter picture in a way which becomes standardized in future years: Christ is frozen into an emphatic S-bend at the apogee of suffering, His body placement indicative of the torment He endures. Further detail is added by the courseness and jaggedness of a roughly-made Cross. This vision of the Crucifixion is guided by intentions quite unlike those behind earlier art forms: ". . . it had an emotional design upon the beholder, an intention to stir him to a compassionate involvement in the scene."³¹ Group II plays similarly attempt to arouse the emotions.

The Passion assumes a critical role not only in monastic and scholarly circles, it spreads into previously unoccupied territory, such as sermon books. In England lyrics on the Passion form the dominant theme of thirteenth and fourteenth-century poetry.³² The most important collection of hortatory topics from the time is contained in John of Grimestone's manual for preachers.³³

Though somewhat belatedly, theater of the Middle Ages begins to share in the concern for a humanized Jesus. The plays were not longer experienced in the objective-sacred manner of a person in prayer, but rather in ways indicative of a subjective-psychological state of mind.³⁴ Maria Müller comments on the relationship of spectator to drama of the period by remarking:

Der Zuschauer wird von der Sorge um das eigene Seelenheil bewegt, nicht mehr von der Sorge um den Gottesdienst. Seine Aktivität ist nicht mehr theozentrisch, sondern egozentrisch ausgerichtet.³⁵

Attention to the salvation of individual spirits fostered a previously

unknown tendency to teach and edify, aided by amplified attention to Passion details. Mystery plays thus assume the function of the soul's caretaker, and the stage takes on the purpose of spanning the gap between spectator and sacred history. A new strategy of presentation is needed to instill within individuals the importance of Christ's Passion for them. The strategy is the illusion of the stage.³⁶

As might be expected, all these developments in theology and philosophy have profound repercussions for the structure of presentation. To emphasize Christ's humanity calls for greater numbers of characters and speeches than are found in basically commemorative or symbolic practices. In order to create the proper concept of *Christ the Man* on stage, historical facts must be rationalized into human forms. If Jesus' sacrifice is to assume a semblance of convincing mortality it must of necessity contain an excrescence of detail; motivation of individual characters must be ascertained, adversary relationships more carefully drawn. If the audience is to perceive His death in terms of its own humanity, it must be offered *humanized* figures who deliver intense and probable speeches. Human agony cannot be adequately transferred by *symbolic* representation. In the fourteenth century spectators are not expected to approach theatrical presentation with a cold, distant, unengaged mental attitude; participation in the Lord's trials is the key to comprehending fourteenth-century Passion plays. Even the highly liturgical overtones of *StG* do not destroy this unity of spectator and message. The meditative suggestions Aelred offered in the *Letter to his Sister*, that she envision herself actually participating in the great events of Christ's life, particularly in the Crucifixion, --

where she is remonstrated to remove herself from the women, '*quae longe stant*,' and join '*cum matre virgine et discipulo virgine accede ad crucem, et perfusum pallore vultum cominus intueri*,'--³⁷ will be taken to heart by playwrights of this time. They will attempt to so organize their religious statements that participation by the audience will be maximized. We will be able to measure their successes by direct observation of the temporal strategies they employ; for longer, more complex plays will provide unprecedented opportunities to graphically structure the Passion tale in novel ways which are often incompatible with purely commemorative and symbolic plays.

The Passion of St. Gall, which contains the largest number of liturgical remnants and is composed in pervasive liturgical tones, rather than being a completely original account, appears to rest on a much older prototype from the thirteenth century.³⁸ It further seems likely that *StG* owes its preserved form to an unknown scribe,³⁹ not to the author himself. *StG* approaches the life of Christ with an epic breadth not witnessed in other texts of the group, and requires the participation of at least fifty actors to portray eighty-five individuals and chorus members.⁴⁰ When compared to the twenty-five speakers and six groups of speakers in *BenP*,⁴¹ it becomes obvious that many structural alterations of significant proportions have been achieved. Similarly, a larger number of *loca* to afford more playing space becomes necessary. It has been suggested that as many as sixteen or seventeen locations were required to adequately stage *StG*.⁴² Those events which were only hinted in *BenP* or presented within a few verses in *Montecassino* exhibit greater structural and didactic relevance as their lines swell,

gradually developing into extensive dramatic encounters, which, in many instances, establish and motivate several inherent adversary relationships hinted in Scripture.

This tendency to increase length by accrued detail and scenes is by no means an unprecedented phenomenon. Wolfgang Michael identifies its presence in the earliest history of medieval theater, when the *Visitatio Sepulchri* becomes an Easter play. The original circumstances of the Resurrection are investigated „in allen ihren Einzelheiten (um sie) aufs Genaueste auszuführen.“⁴³ Even during the preliminary movement from ritual to aesthetically more independent theater one encounters the human desire to know the details of an event in their entirety, to experience them as they might have occurred in reality. The growth manifested by Group II texts seems to involve an inherent epic quality of man's spirit.

One particular trait of these emerging dramatizations of the fourteenth century which we will wish to note is the manner in which, as Brinkmann observed, godly persons remain quite stylized in their actions and motivations, while worldly or anti-Christian forces assume ever-widening degrees of personality differentiation, continually taking on more recognizable, if malevolent, human traits.⁴⁴ His opinion is born out by Grace Frank when she considers *Palat*:

In the *Palatine Passion* the biblical characters retain their traditional traits and yet the playwright's tenderness and sympathy for those who must suffer, his hatred of those who inflict hurt, are everywhere manifest.⁴⁵

What, for instance, began in *BenP* as a fairly lengthy episode involving only the Magdalene, the epitome of secular and godless living, spreads

to other worldly and, in most circumstances, unfriendly personalities. Much of the length, dramatic interest, and temporal structure of Group II results from enlarged representation of these persons and their situations. Heretofore unknown characters, such as Huitacelin and Cayn of *Palat* assume an ever-ascending position of importance in an attempt to bring Christ's tribulations down to levels of human cognizance. These figures, driven by animosity towards their Savior, supported by personages like Haquin and Mossé from the Crucifixion, and a servant to Caiaphas, make up some of the more interesting roles of the approximately forty persons needed to stage *Palat*.⁴⁶ A similar excrescence of simultaneous localities which the stage must suggest has also been identified.⁴⁷

In terms of age and originality, *Palat* occupies a place of great distinction in the history of French Passions, for before Greban's *Mistère de la Passion* this manuscript has the honor of being the first truly dramatic national Passion as well as the most original.⁴⁸ Although several identifiable sources for *Palat* furnish varying amounts of material -- among them the narrative *Passion des Jongleurs* (the most immediate and critical source),⁴⁹ the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and, of course, the liturgy and the Bible⁵⁰ -- in the formation of his dialogs and in the ordering of events this playwright evidences a remarkable degree of freedom from his origins, a fact which sets him apart from most other epic or dramatic restatements of sacred history.⁵¹

The fourteenth-century text commonly known as the *Passion d'Autun* consists of two related, but distinct Passion plays. *Autun B*, named for its copyist, Philippe Biard(i), a student of theology,

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was not reproduced until 1470.⁵² The text itself derives from a much earlier time, during the last years of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁵³ It reviews the last hours of Christ's life from the preparations for Passover to the *Noli me tangere* scene . Thirty individual performance parts, excluding the numerous lines offered by *Ung Juif*, have been identified,⁵⁴ making the total somewhat larger than those for *BenP. Autun R*, also distinguished from its near relative by allusion to its scribe, Antonio Romani, abridges much of the material of related texts⁵⁵ into a much less satisfying account, which, though commencing at the identical point as *Autun B*, concludes with the descent from the Cross, and gives every indication of being incomplete.⁵⁶

Though both plays share much of the same source material, each approaches the Passion facts differently. Were a comparison made between the two *Autun* versions and their most significant common relatives, the *Passion des Jongleurs* and the *Passion du Palatinus*, we would discover many scenes shared with one of the two *Autun* plays and its antecedents, but not with the other.⁵⁷ However, one major structural factor separates these versions into unlike units -- the tendency of the *Autun B* manuscript to interweave narrative elements into its presentation. In fact, the pattern of narration is so completely integrated into the fabric of *Autun B*, both metrically and dramatically, that any attempt to detach it has a debilitory effect on the entire work.

After much discussion of the problems concerning intercalation of narrative elements into *Autun B*, Fr. Schumacher concludes that the original text constituted a normal dramatic presentation and that a later person altered the structure, effectively transforming a drama into something more akin to a narrative poem.⁵⁹ Schumacher finds an

analogical development in a *Passion Notre Dame*,⁶⁰ in that its second half, originally written completely in narrative form, adopted hitherto unknown dramatic structures at the hand of a later redactor. He concludes that a reverse development for *Autun B* is equally feasible.⁶¹

Grace Frank shares these views, but goes a step further to suggest that Biard himself (or a predecessor) wished to alter the original dramatic form to favor a reading public.⁶² For several reasons Frank rejects the possibility that an actor declaimed both narrative portions and direct speeches.⁶³ While the ultimate impetus for such a drastic alteration of original structure remains clouded in mystery, its results are clear: *Autun B* is not a usual dramatic offering, as are the other plays of Group II. Its recently-acquired epic character, moreover, makes any useful discussion of such epic inclusions exceedingly difficult.

Involved is a fundamental distinction between the epic and dramatic genres. A presentation designed for the stage, as is recalled, must 'presentify' history, must create the momentary illusion of reality by the judicious use of theatrical characters and situations. It must excite spectators by throwing their attention continuously into the *future*. An epic presentation, contrarily, postulates and presents history in a framework of *past* events by virtue of its application of various preterite tenses in which the story is told. Though an epic tale may assume the trappings of the 'present' through quotation or direct address between characters, the whole temporal focus is upon things experienced, things having passed from reality. In this way a narrator is insinuated into the context to comment on and present the story from his omnipotent position above the work. *Autun B* has such a figure who filters the entire production through his own eyes in a way his most

closely-related analog, *Augustinus* of *StG* cannot. For, although the latter may comment upon dramatized material or introduce new activity into the play, he does not *relate* the Passion of Christ. The characters themselves *develop* it by their participation in live performance, offered in terms of 'present' stage time. Since I am interested in the position accorded epic remarks within a dramatic temporal context and the means by which its scope is expanded while a mandatory concentration on events at hand is maintained, an adequate analysis of this fundamentally *narrated* structure of *Autum B* lies quite outside the scope of this investigation.

TIME OF PRESENTATION AND REPRESENTED TIME

Each of the five plays, though composed within years of one another, presents a different quantity of verses to accomplish a tale of varied length. All of these plays involve a time of presentation considerably more lengthy than either of the Group I texts. But here the similarity ends. *StG* employs 1621 verses with several epic interruptions by a fresh dramatic figure known as *Augustinus* to relate the story of Christ's ministry from the Wedding at Cana through His Resurrection and appearance to Mary Magdalene (Table 5, Appendix B). Significant dwelling upon portions of the account allows one to identify dramatic and possible intentional highpoints of the presentation, for increased scenic length measurably alters the flow of time. A few moments of greater importance are developed in detail, while various cause and effect factors are investigated and critically evaluated by the author through his characters. Subjective time moves less quickly, requiring additional verses to complete its cycle, a technique which will receive attention

in following paragraphs.

Most of the individual episodes, including those newly introduced by *StG*, are expanded by speeches, often delivered by innovative characters, all more detailed than either *Montecassino* or *BenP*. This statement would demand qualification only if the percentage of presentational time and represented time were considered. The number of verses devoted to *Uxor's* dream in *Montecassino* are fifty-seven of 320. Again, it should be recalled that the *Montecassino* manuscript is imperfectly preserved. In *BenP* Mary Magdalene's speeches encompass 107 of 289 lines. *StG* allows her 157 of 1621 lines. It is obvious that the increased detail of *StG*, although affording her more speaking opportunities, does not employ her as extensively as *BenP*. Other persons and situations receive a greater emphasis and broadened specification.⁶⁴

In many respects *Wien* (Table 6; Appendix B) offers the most interesting and original rendition of all the texts of Group II, reason enough to deplore its severely truncated preservation. This incomplete manuscript preserves only 532 verses, but they hint at a construction which may also have contained scenes from the Last Judgment, making it more properly a Christian history of the world than a pure Passion play.⁶⁵ *Wien* commences dramatization with Lucifer's ,grozer h  m  t', traces his intrigue to capture Adam and Eve, and his participation through a devil surrogate in the sinful life of Mary Magdalene. The text breaks off during the Last Supper, immediately after Jesus has prophesied his betrayal.

The fact that *Wien* opens in Heaven provides insights into probable doctrinal leanings behind the text. From the inception of activity we observe a godly causality at work, one which tends to

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typify human characters rather than individualize them.⁶⁶ The struggle between God and Devil disregards the perspective of mankind and works instead with one we know as 'god-centered'.⁶⁷ The conception of the Passion in *Wien* was thus a study of the Lord's sacrifice as a redemptive mission originating beyond time.⁶⁸ An exemplary scene of such a world view, additionally one which probably most enlightened medieval people and raises our interest as well, is that of the reception of four sinners into Hell. Each person serves as the host for a multiplicity of sins, all typed in readily-recognizeable molds.

Dramatizations of the breadth of *Wien* will necessarily contain numerous massive temporal lacunae, which in themselves may serve to underscore for spectators the tightly-knit relationship between them and their Old Testament fathers.

The earliest staged French text offers a presentational time of 1996 verses and a represented time of decreased scope so common to several fourteenth-century Passions. *Palat* (Table 7, Appendix B) dramatizes the crucial period from the preparation for the Passover meal and Entry into Jerusalem to the Risen Lord's appearance to His favored convert, an interval of roughly six days. Represented time is, however, not the entire holy week, but the period from Maundy Thursday to Easter Sunday. The inclusion of Christ's triumphal ride into the city on Palm Sunday just after initial preparations for the Passover, forces represented time into a deceptively simple framework. The account does not dwell upon any of the events between Palm Sunday and Maundy Thursday. These days are merely unrecorded. Even with this lacuna in the textual chronology, the periods omitted from *Palat* are much less drastic than those deleted from *Wien*.

A multitude of scenes combining significant length with importance can be identified in the represented time of *Palat*. The observation that they commence with the outset of the trial scenes may further direct our inquiry into the relationship between structure and intent. All the mandatory sequences appear, but the trials before Pilate, the Crucifixion and attendant *Planctus Mariae*, the Harrowing of Hell, the Setting of the Guards, the related ointment purchase, and Christ's appearance to Mary Magdalene clearly receive authorial attention. These textual realities suggest a modification of the symbolic representation which guided the writers of Group I plays. A reconstruction of the temporal structure of *Palat* will aid in determining the extent of this alteration.

The necessity of concentration upon a limited number of developments in any dramatized story has previously been investigated.⁶⁹ Beginning with *Palat* and continuing through Group III Passions, we now encounter a tendency to assemble new details surrounding the sufferings of Christ, while excluding more material which has no immediate part in this singlemost important purpose of Passion writing. On the one hand manuscripts exhibit augmented length, while at the same time limiting their attention more and more to the humanity of the Lord and His trials. *Palat*, for example, excludes the foot washing, the intervention of *Uxor* on Christ's behalf, Jesus' encounter with the women of Jerusalem, and the *Noli me tangere* scene from the Resurrection.⁷⁰ But exclusions do not seriously affect the unity of presentation, for as Rolf Steinbach observes:

Die Erweiterungen sind, wie immer wieder zu Recht betont worden ist, zumeist den Leidensszenen zugute gekommen; damit haben sie gerade nicht eine die Einheit auflösende Tendenz.⁷¹

His comments, made with a view towards German Passions alone, can, by the following analysis of several portions of the French plays of Group II, be generalized to include most of the ensuing European Passion developments.

Increased concentration may be one of the factors which lead authorial attention away from Mary Magdalene, but this is by no means certain, nor, if applicable, the sole reason for her dramatic demise in French plays, as we shall see in coming paragraphs.

Although both texts of the *Autun* Passion resemble one another, often by their choice of identical words and phrases, their individual scope in represented time is quite different. *Autun B* commences with the preparation for the Passover and continues through the Resurrection and appearance of Christ to the Magdalene, making the journey of approximately seventy-two hours in 2117 verses. Several individual scenes receive increased attention in this account which admits most of the episodes of importance during the last hours of the Teacher's earthly life. Of particular interest because of their unusual length are the celebration of the Passover, the trials, the Crucifixion and *Planctus Mariae* (together constituting a quarter of the entire play), and somewhat surprisingly, Joseph of Arimathea's dialog with Pilate.

Whereas the *Autun* manuscript contains both Passions, there are numerous considerations which suggest several shared sources, but also some of which are distinctive for each.⁷² Not only do the epic inclusions of *Autun B* bespeak a varied set of circumstances from *Autun R*, the amount of time presented on stage is substantially dissimilar. The presentational scope of *Autun R* is defined by 937 verses, creating a necessary constriction of represented events.

Although the play of *Autun R* is initiated by an introduction, which is followed by the preparations for the Passover festival, as was the case in *Autun B*, the lack of an Easter play serves to concentrate action on the approximately twenty-four hour-long time span from shortly before the Last Supper to a time must after Jesus' death.⁷³ Of overriding importance to the redactor of *Autun R* seem to be the Passover and Crucifixion. This final event encompasses just under one-fourth of the entire presentational time. It is obvious that, like all its relatives, *Autun R* concentrates upon specific portions of Christ's sacrifice, presenting only selected highlights.

The presentational aspect called anachronism has, with the expanding dominance of national languages during the fourteenth century, assumed an ever-increasing position of importance in Group II Passions. There is to be found in this group an obvious tendency to presentify the holy message by incremental application of culturally contemporary dress identified in plays incidental to Group I. Along with the expansion of verse and scene come previously unknown figures representative of medieval culture, communicating in languages readily understandable to all spectators. The speeches contain numerous words, phrases, or concepts which originate in medieval cultural, social, and religious life, and their inclusion provides a specifically medieval tint to the entire history, thereby effectively calling up a 'timeless' or universal quality about Christ's life. An interest in 'presentifying' the scriptural record, in relating it through terms familiar to their constituents guides the authors of all five dramas. This state of affairs conforms with religious life and comprehension found in medieval

France and Germany.

In this second grouping of plays the incidence of anachronism can be divided into several major areas: religious concepts and values, cultural phenomena, and social life. Each group in turn reveals numerous sub-units of increasing specificity. I will mention only a few outstanding examples from each type.

One of the most significant introductions from medieval religious history found in *StG* concerns the personality of *Augustinus*, a curious commentator, preacher, and explicator, whose presence so greatly affects its temporal structure. It is indicative of a certain intent that a giant from Church history like St. Augustine was chosen to lend his name to a character who functions as the main expositor and initiator of staged activities. The weight such a personality can offer, not only to the dramatization, but also to the medieval concept of the ultimate meaning of the message can scarcely be overlooked. This Church authority from early ecclesiastical history serves to reinforce presented facts; his mere presence provides the tale with a sense of urgency and gravity possible with few other interlocutors.

Other additions to the list of characters of *StG* evidence a dissolution of the old chorus into individual dramatic figures, a fractionalization which continued from earlier years. Persons chosen for individualization are those of the Jewish community, who have already assumed several traits of medieval German Jews. They are now named Salman, Samuel, Meier, and Rufus. The seeds of cultural prejudice which will ultimately bear their bitter, ugly fruits in the form of open antagonism between Christian and contemporary Jew are sown here. *Palat* introduces the largest number of original persons of the group,

the most important of which are Cayn and Huitacelin (two medieval torturers), the blacksmith and his wife, Marques, Haquin, Mossé, and Evramin (all Jews), and the guards of the sepulchre, anachronistically called *chevaliers*.

Many concepts which the Church formulated to describe Christ's sojourn with mankind or to identify developments growing out of this encounter between man and God, codified and dogmatized in later years, are superimposed upon the original facts of the Passion. So it is that the Passover Lamb of *StG* becomes '*das osterlamp*',⁷⁴ and the time of Passover becomes '*die osterzit*',⁷⁵ in *Palat 'nostre Pasque*',⁷⁶ and '*Pasque*' in *Autun B.*⁷⁷ Apostles are sworn upon, particularly by Jews, before their religious experiences had been completed,⁷⁸ Christian martyrs are identified as saints before the fact,⁷⁹ and Mary is referred to as the Virgin or a saint before her special place in ecclesiastical history was established by dogma.⁸⁰ Furthermore, bishops are identified and addressed,⁸¹ apostles and legates discussed,⁸² cardinals and prelates evaluated,⁸³ and monks castigated.⁸⁴ Even Mahon is sworn upon,⁸⁵ a favorite of the later *Towneley* Pilate. Two instances of the elasticity of time in medieval drama merit particular attention.

In the account of *Wien*, a circumstance surfaces wherein a character is afforded insight into events not yet realized in history, a view wholly inconsistent with any human experience of time, but quite in keeping with a character of mythical stature like Adam. *Dominica persona* has just laid the curse of work upon man and Adam responds by overleaping thousands of biblical years to beg mercy:

Gnade herre Ihesu Christ!
wie wol mir waz, so we mir ist!
(*Wien* 128-129)

His insight into the second person of the Trinity is only possible in a context which allows a dual experience of primary and secondary conditions, from a time in which both events are elements of sacred history. Dramatic presentations which turn thoughts backwards for inspiration allow such a mixture of ahistorical reflection and medieval man saw no conflict between God the Father and God the Son in this form; both existed outside and beyond any human temporal reference. Kolve summarizes:

Christ exists both before His incarnation and after His crucifixion; His relationship to time is not horizontal but vertical, because of His triune nature in eternity. God is outside time and knowledge of His workings can transcend the limitations of any single historical moment.⁸⁶

Chronological history is not the most prominent consideration, rather attention is directed towards the cause and effect relationship of man's fall and Christ's redeeming sacrifice.

A case of superimposing the historical description of man's genesis onto Jesus is discovered in one of the complaints of the Magdalene of *Autun B*. Here the situation is quite reversed from that in *Wien*. A character who should have no such knowledge expresses her lament in terms which dogmatically relate Jesus to God by attributing an act of the latter to the former:

*Doulx syre, qui formaste Adam,
Une coste luy ostate
De quoy Eve vous creaste. . . .
(Autun B 153-155)*

Here Mary Magdalene recognizes the God in Christ, an enlightenment obviously inconsistent with a purely historical conception of time. Such a passage may convince modern readers of the incurable naiveté of medieval authors, but when evaluated by religious understandings

contemporary with the plays and by alternatives for representation of the period, much of the incongruity disappears, clearing the way for a less subjective experience of not only the dramatists, but also of the cultural milieu.

Group II makes ample use of contemporary medieval cultural and social phenomena to presentify its Passions, including elements from commerce,⁸⁷ class distinction,⁸⁸ and geography.⁸⁹ At numerous points the differentiation between Jew and Christian, as participants in medieval city life, heavily colors the Passion story with values and overtones suggestive of an emerging Christian distain for their theological neighbors. *Autun B* often speaks of '*des faulx Juifz*'. At the Crucifixion even the Virgin cries, "*Les mauvais Juifz vous on ce fait*",⁹⁰ as if she herself were not a Jewess but a Christian. Indeed, in the context of the plays *she is Christian*.⁹¹

The national language of each presentation dominates, particularly in the French plays. Latin and vernacular French are neither in co-operation nor contention, for, with few exceptions,⁹² the texts completely rely upon the language of the people as their communicative medium. It is evident that the transition from Latin to vernacular speech happened earlier and proceeded more quickly in France than in Germany. Retention of Latin phrases has a definite impact on the tone and structure of German Passions, much of which is absent in their French counterparts. The situation prevalent in Group I, especially in *BenP*, where Latin and German function to imply nearness to or distance from holy ideals,⁹³ has changed to one in which all characters, including Jesus, express themselves in the vernacular. This is not so for *StG*, for this text occupies a transitional state

between the purely symbolic application of Latin and the 'secularization' of Passions, with German as its voice. There can be little doubt that certain of the symbolic or emphatic qualities of Latin have been preserved in *StG* and that through them a decided stress is placed upon important events of Christ's life. But the former potency of Latin speeches identified in *StG* is manifestly weakened through the immediate expression in vernacular forms, relegating the former symbolic value of Latin to little more than a linguistic signal of the relative importance of succeeding speeches. We note, for example, that several lines spoken by John the Baptist are removed from a completely worldly framework by their Latin introductions. The antiphon, '*Qui post me venit*',⁹⁴ the responsory, '*Ecce, agnus dei*',⁹⁵ and other well-known phrases frozen into liturgical application, such as the '*Ego vox clamantis*',⁹⁶ the '*Ductus est Ihesus in desertum*',⁹⁷ and the '*Dominum deum tuum adorabis*',⁹⁸ all indicate moments of consequence by their linguistic form, but any symbolic application is undercut by their immediate expression in German. Latin inclusions seem mainly to elevate the general tenor of the entire presentation.⁹⁹

The linguistic dynamics of *Wien* are somewhat more complex than those of *StG*. While no longer completely symbolic in nature, Latin is not yet relegated to a position of mere tonal importance. Several Latin speeches remain only partially expressed in the vernacular, each language still lending its own peculiar strengths to the dialogs in question. Figures like Adam and Mary Magdalene still employ Latin texts.¹⁰⁰ Both lament their lot in Latin,¹⁰¹ and Mary speaks the '*Michi confer, venditor*',¹⁰² and the '*Mundi delectacio*',¹⁰³ both familiar from *BenP*. Dramatic parameters are still broad enough to

allow a fundamental interaction on two linguistic levels, a phenomenon soon to disappear.

SUCCESSION OF EVENTS

The numerous illustrations of events succeeding one another identified for *Montecassino* and *BenP* recur in all five texts of Group II, though their ease of identification varies widely with the completeness of supporting stage directions. Before investigating those areas suggestive of succession, I wish to direct attention to a singular method of structuring the dramatization of *StG*, one which is made obvious from rubrics.

Of all the texts in Group II, *StG* alone employs the *Silete* call of angels to indicate consecutive occurrences in time by the formal structural division of scenes. Reference to Table 5, Appendix B, will indicate the consistency with which the author articulates major units from each other by aethereal song. The Baptism of Christ, His triumph over the devil's temptations, Mary Magdalene's life, conversion, and the related adultress theme,¹⁰⁴ the Great Healer, the blind man, and the disbelieving Jews, the Priests' intrigue, the Last Supper,¹⁰⁵ Jesus' initial trial, the final decision of which resolves itself into the Crucifixion, all conceived as materially compelling occasions, are separated from their immediate surroundings by an introductory *Silete*. The only instance not accompanied by remarks of *Augustinus* is that of John the Baptist. Mary Magdalene's representation commences with her worldly activity, after which *Augustinus* makes his observations.

Boletta reviews several functions of this *Silete*. Among those which are germane to our present discussion are: angels employed to

quiet the audience¹⁰⁶ and *Silete* as a divider of scenes, analogous to the curtain of contemporary theater.¹⁰⁷ Boletta quotes Reinhold Hammerstein in summary, and in so doing, identifies the successive function of these interruptions for *StG*:

Sicher machte die Verlegung der Spiele ins Freie, der grössere Lärm und der erweiterte Umfang des Schauplatzes diesen Ruf nötig. Zugleich hatte er eine gliedernde Funktion beim Szenenwechsel, bei neuen Auftritten vor Gruppenbewegungen der Personen von einer zur anderen Station.¹⁰⁸

All appearances point to a *conscious* effort by the *StG* artist to formally create a succession of scenes and to identify the inception of precipitous material, calling attention by the intrusion of supernatural voices. Boletta comes to similar conclusions in his analysis of music in medieval Passions.¹⁰⁹

Adverbial Evidence

Succession created by the usage of adverbs of time in *StG* is so vast that only an abstract of occurrences can be offered. Our author evidences a predilection for the forms *tunc* (*et tunc*) and *Respondet* (*Respondens*, *Respondent*, *Respondeat*, *Respondeant*), turning to the former in 132 instances and to the latter 97 times. Other adverbial usages previously identified complete the evidence which suggests that a basic succession of events and dialog is, indeed, inherent in the structure of *StG*. A similar situation exists in *Wien*, but the adverbial quantity is limited by manuscript incompleteness. Since this method of organizing a drama increases geometrically with the addition of episodes and sequences in Group III, I have included an overview of all eleven Passion plays as Appendix A. Reference to it will suffice to indicate its fundamental character.

When attention is directed to *Palat* a striking dissimilarity between this play and its German analogs causes some analytical difficulty. The playwright chooses to exclude specific rubrics of any kind,¹¹⁰ normally identifying only the character who speaks. In only one case does *Palat* avail itself of adverbially-induced succession, that of BA 1235, where it is reported with "*Post Dyabolus*" that Satan enters the staging area and commences his speech after the Virgin has lamented Christ's passing. There are no inherent transitions existing outside the dialog structure, a fact which makes for some unclarity as to the exact location of events or the temporal relationships between them. One must closely scrutinize the dialogs themselves to ascertain relevant information. Only then is it possible to establish a conception of how succession may have been conceived. If we follow carefully the speeches of Jesus and Saint Peter at the outset of activity, for example, we can perceive a necessary succession from the flow of dramatized events. The Lord commands His disciples, Peter and John, to enter the city, where they will meet a man who will show them to the Passover facilities.¹¹¹ Peter replies, "*Sire, volentiers nous irons, Vostre commandement ferons.*"¹¹² The immediately ensuing speech by Peter is directed towards the host mentioned by Jesus (*Saint Pierre a l'oste*- BA 15):

*Amis, Jhesus, li nostre sire,
Nous envoie a vous pour dire
Que vous hūmais le herbergiez,
A mengier li appareilliez.
(Palat 15-18)*

Little doubt arises that a sequence of cause and effect, of command and execution is implied, but where previous texts have made the relationships between the first and second event implicit through rubrics,

one must continually scan the dialog structure for evidence of succession. This method of creating or of determining succession is, in many respects, more dramatic than the extensive application of stage directions to which the audience cannot relate, for it internalizes these affiliations into the dialog itself. The two texts of *Autun* do not follow this structural lead, reverting in most instances to the use of rubrics and to the complimentary adverbial succession.

Though rubrics carry much of the temporal succession in the plays, certain correlations are created simply by the exchange of speeches with two or more people, a situation which excludes the usual adverbial aids. One instance can be seen in *Autun B*, when Joseph of Arimathea converses with Pilate. One of the dialogs is introduced, "*Parle JOSEPH a Pilate*" (BA 1492), and its successor is labeled, "*Parle PILATE a Joseph*" (BA 1505). Clearly, the second speech replies to Joseph's words of a few sentences earlier. While adverbs of time are not absolutely necessary, the succession of events is made more transparent by their inclusion.

Temporal Linking of Events

Investigation into cause and effect relationships of scenes as structured by our five authors reveals some interesting contrasts. *StG* opens the exposition with the Wedding in Cana. This episode has been obviously moved from its scriptural position posterior to the calling of the disciples. As in many cases, the *StG* author appears to be altering biblical chronology to open his play at a more favorable dramatic junction within the basic material. Hartl quotes F.S. Mone as observing that the result of chronological reordering affords *StG* a felicitous

onset, „wenn das Wunder für das gläubige Volk, das Wunder sehen wollte, vorangestellt wurde."¹¹³ *StG* is not alone in the field of altered historical chronology; another German religious writing produced a few decades prior to *StG*, *Die Erlösung*, exhibits an identical sequence of events. It would appear that a tradition of changed sequence also plays a major role.¹¹⁴

This series of actions, of the changing of water to wine, is succeeded by an extended baptism scene, wherein John identifies himself and establishes the doctrinal link between the Old and New Testaments. John reports "*das godes riche uns nahet. . . .*"¹¹⁵ Dramatically speaking, he could not be more correct, for the scene preceding his message contains the first stirrings of the Eternal Kingdom in human form. John recalls the words of the prophet Isaiah, "*Ego vox clamantis in deserto: dirigite viam domini*", thereby indeed preparing the way of the Lord, who appears almost immediately. The necessary bridge linking the Old and New Law is established and dramatically set in motion: we have witnessed the first moments of the latter.

An excellent example of a conscious integration of several incidents which lead directly to a main occurrence follows: Jesus prevails over the three temptations of the devil; Mary Magdalene, who continues her role representative of all mankind,¹¹⁶ is introduced in her worldly glory and later converted; Christ calls His disciples; He confronts the Jews who bring the adultress and He dines with Symon the leper. These cameos, considered individually, possess no observable temporal or causal affiliation to one another. But does the forgiving of the adultress not psychologically prepare and deepen the succeeding pardon of an even greater sinner? Christ has just in recent dramatic time overcome

Lucifer, His arch adversary; now He proves Himself Master of human failings as well:

. . . durch ihre Verbindung mit der Haupthandlung werden auch sie zu einem Teil des Erdwallens Christi, der, Gott und Mensch zugleich, Welt und Ueberwelt in sich vereint.¹¹⁷

Thus it seems apparent that the artist's mind is consciously reforming and reorganizing his material within acceptable doctrinal limits to convey a meaning for the story which is quite independent of its separate parts; he is exercising no mean degree of structural freedom.¹¹⁸

The composer of *Wien* goes one step further in the exercise of relative artistic freedom by not only expanding the scope of his presentation, but also by dramatizing many ideas only epically suggested by other contemporary redactors. He chooses to stage the entire doctrinal necessity of the Passion, commencing with Lucifer's fall from grace, continuing through Adam's sin, and culminating in the sacrifice of God the Son for man.

The fall of Adam is a direct outgrowth and response to Lucifer's loss of power, a hostile reaction to his own banishment. His servant, Satan, formulates his master's drive for domination over God's creation by declaring:

*Ia, wer er in der erden,
der man müz uns werden
mit allem sime kunne.
(Wien 70-72)*

The reception into Hell of four eternally-typed sinners¹¹⁹ immediately after Adam and Eve prepares the appearance of Mary Magdalene in novel fashion and incorporates it nicely into previous developments. A careful spiritual integration of these happenings reveals the participation of a skillful artist who *consciously* structures his material to

deliver a particular message, for as Maria Müller succinctly reports:

Durch die Handlung des ersten (Teils) wird nicht bloss gezeigt, wie die Menschen in Sünde verfielen, sondern auch, wie sich die Sünden mit der Zeit sehr verschlimmert haben. Das illustrieren Beispiele: Sie bringen in dem Zuschauer den Eindruck hervor, dass alle Abhülfe geschehen muss, wenn nicht das Menschengeschlecht in all seinen Schichten ganz verkommen soll.¹²⁰

The Magdalene's sin provides a graphic illustration of the culmination of evil in the world.

The temporal flow of events out of one another in the French Passions is more difficult to establish. There seems no overwhelming necessity to begin them with Passover preparations. With the exception of acceding to biblical narrative, I find no internal chain of events which require the plays to be initiated at these points in time. Here one must search other anterior French Passions for answers, for the concept of the ascendancy of literary cause and effect, which does so much to define modern plays, is probably not at work to the degree seen in German plays of the same period.¹²¹ In the predecessor of *Palat*, the *Passion des Jongleurs*, a narrative poem from ca. 1243,¹²² from which many of the first thirty-four lines are drawn, the same point of departure is chosen.¹²³ Although both Paul Maas and Grace Frank assume a lost play between the *Passion des Jongleurs* and *Palat*,¹²⁴ it would be surprising if the unknown Passion began at another juncture without leaving traces in *Palat*.

The appearance of Mary Magdalene loses some of its doctrinal and structural intensity by being seemingly thrust into the scene of the Last Supper without any preparation. We learn little about her former life, so carefully organized and integrated into the grand scheme of things in German plays. The Magdalene is only seen in the last stages

of conversion, seeking forgiveness through acts of contrition.¹²⁵

There occurs, however, one instance whereby the cause of succession is at least hinted. This happens when Judas, deprived of his customary ten percent fee from Mary's gift, vows to recover it in the future.¹²⁶

His speech dramatically sets some retaliatory measure in motion and we, along with medieval audiences, recognize it as the betrayal of his Lord. But this speech fits more logically into the consideration of oaths and is therefore of marginal value for this analysis.

The playwrights of *Autun B* and *Autun R* include in their introductions a statement that they specifically wish to present the Passion of Christ,¹²⁷ which may account for the onset of activity around the Last Supper. Certainly, many varied means of presenting only the Passion material exist which might have altered the structure of the final plays, but, with a few notable exceptions, both texts seem to closely follow biblical sources.

The singular approaches taken by the two German writers, the careful balancing and integration of material previous to the outset of Christ's Passion, prepares one for a similar experience in the French plays. Unfortunately, a degree of disappointment may arise, for their spirits respond to dissimilar stimuli. No impelling chain of events external to the Passion linking it to prior circumstances elucidates the beginning of the plays. *Palat* opens immediately with the Master's expressed desire to partake of one last meal with His closest friends before His ordeal begins. No dramatization or specification which might indicate the necessity of the sacrifice is incorporated, save that which is incidental to the Scriptural bases of presentation. In like fashion, *Autun B* and *Autun R* commence with preparations for the final meal, but

they preface dramatic inception with a short introduction wherein is mentioned the desire to stage the Passion and Resurrection of our Lord.¹²⁸ What may be involved in the lack of any identifiable dramatization of causative factors is a possible traditional point of inception of these early French dramas, indicative of a probable intent to restrict activity to the events immediately surrounding the sacrifice, as noted in Kosch's definition of a Passion play.¹²⁹

In the French plays the figure of Mary Magdalene is not employed either as extensively nor as effectively as in *BenP*. The harlot voices her remorse and contrition while proceeding to the Upper Room. She explains her intention to anoint her newly-found Savior with oil and wash His feet.¹³⁰ The symbolic embodiment of sinful man so obvious in *BenP*, *StG*, and *Wien* is weakened considerably by an *epic* narration in the most general terms of her trespasses against God, as she reports:

*Mout ai au cuer grant repentance
De mes pechiez et remembrance. . . .*¹³¹
(*Palat* 83-83)

or

*Bien scat que quan il me vera
Mes pechies me pardonera.*
(*Autun R* 106-107)

These are indeed pale statements when compared with the *dramatized* life of Mary Magdalene in the German plays. The intensified impact of a staged circumstance contrasted with one of epic characteristics can easily be seen. The narration simply cannot provide the tension or possibility of identification with the figure inherent in a presented form.

It has been suggested that Mary Magdalene's position as a French national saint at this time constrained poets.¹³² I am more inclined

to accept Saxer's observations dealing with the general decline of the Magdalene's cult during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, initiated in France already in 1265-67 with the decreasing importance of Vezelay,¹³³ traditional objective of pilgrimages since about 1050.¹³⁴ Mary's importance is not only mirrored in medieval drama, but perhaps her eclipse is reflected as well, especially in France. Whatever the reason, it is certain that the dramatic motivation of Mary in the five texts is similar, but far from identical. The French authors do not seem interested in investigating many of the doctrinal and social aspects of her life which surround the Passion as are their German counterparts.

Spatial Movement

Movement of time initiated by movement through space forms a significant structural element in Group II, responsible for much of the temporal succession found in these plays. *StG*, relying upon rubrics to establish place changes, shows evidence similar to that of Group I texts.¹³⁵ Few exemplifications of what might be termed internal evidence of temporal succession, of dialog specifying or strongly intimating alternation of place by one or more characters, were found in Group I plays. Their appearance is normally either prepared or confirmed by stage directions. Due to the extensiveness of *StG*, several more examples of dialog-transmitted evidence can be pinpointed.

Among them are the statements by *diabolus*, „*Ich furen dich uf disen hohen berg*“, appended to the rubric, „*Tunc Diabolus apprehendens Ihesum manu ducat [eum] in montem. . .*“,¹³⁶ and the calling of the blind man's father as a witness to his son's illness, „*Samuel, kom her zu hant!*“

unser herre hat nach dir gesant" succeeded by the direction, "*Quo veniente dicat Cayphas. . .*"¹³⁷ Yet a third set of circumstances makes itself known in the *StG* text: some spatial movement, hence, temporal succession, is purely internal, the change of location manifested solely within a actor's speech. Such is the case when the Healer commands the blind man:

*Nū ganc inweg zū dirre stunt:
wasche daz abe wñ wis gesunt!
(StG 403-404)*

The very next speech by the blind man,¹³⁸ uttered in the midst of several Jewish bystanders, can only indicate a change of place and succession of action, since it is the response to a command as well as the initial event of a long didactic sequence making plain the disbelief of the Jews. The facts as related make little dramatic sense unless they occur in a place from which Christ is absent.¹³⁹

Wien relies upon rubrics and dialog supported by direction to signal its succession through spatial movement. Perhaps the most interesting application of this technique is found early in the Passion, when *dominica persona* ousts Lucifer from Heaven with the words:

*Var hin, Lucifer, in die helle
mit allen dinen geselle.
(Wien 32-33)*

There issues a praise of God by the "good angels" (*boni angeli*), which bridges the previous happening with its successor, a scene occupying an unspecified later time. According to interceding remarks, Lucifer, now appearing as a devil, is lead to his throne by his entourage.¹⁴⁰ He cries loudly, "*Wol her gesellen/alle aus der helle*",¹⁴¹ an unmistakeable declaration from his own mouth that Lucifer and his attendants are indeed in a new place, as prescribed by God and,

coincidentally, find themselves in temporal surroundings existing some-time after their encounter and banishment. Internal evidence from speeches has established not only the *locus* alternation, but also the inevitable passage of time.¹⁴²

On frequent occasions the French authors turn to internal dialog structure to signal location changes. The single exception to this rule is discovered in *Autun B* and derives from the several narrated events which define its reading adaptations. Let us first examine the normal method encountered in these Passions before considering the epic peculiarities of *Autun B*.

If it were not for internal dialog evidence, the movement through space and attendant passage from one succeeding moment to another would be difficult to comprehend and vast portions of text might appear either unmotivated or perhaps even incomprehensible, a witness of poorly-constructed theater indeed! Fortunately, we are dealing, not with incompetence, but with a novel method of structuring time and motion, of incorporating it so completely into the text itself as to demand extreme care in its analysis and attention to detail.¹⁴³

Evidence of spatial alteration internalized into the very speeches of actors obviates extensive stage directions. Attentive readers and audiences can follow the changes with ease, as the vast majority are signalled by the characters who move from one circumstance into another. In fact, this method of delineating space and time is, in many respects, dramatically superior to reliance on rubrics, for it internalizes and vocalizes the changes instead of merely reporting their occurrence; it is a play-imminent phenomenon of great value for later readers. These indicators also represent the strengths of simultaneous staging;

one need not report each and every movement supplemented by its objective duration if all *loca* are continually before the audience. A short, but definite statement that movement will or has taken place is the sole criterion. Textual succinctness compliments the intensity of the stage remarkably well.

Although several possibilities of structuring dialog exist, the prevalent pattern in *Palat* is generally tripartite in form: 1) most location changes are initiated by a command, request or suggestion; 2) the person making the journey acknowledges the undertaking (optional); 3) the same figure commences a dialog in the new place. Though no other indication that a journey was accomplished need be included, it must be assumed that movement of some duration has transpired, regardless of its degree of suggestion. Among the many incidences found throughout *Palat* where the internal dialog betrays a succession normally made clear by adverbial forms is the sequence in which Pilate tells Cayn to fetch a friend.¹⁴⁴ Cayn responds:

*Biau sire, et il me plait ainssi;
Et je irai tout maintenant
Pour faire te commandement.
(Palat 552-556)*

The next speech is identified, "*Cayn a Huitacelin*" (BA 557). Cayn hails his friend and remarks:

*Li prevoz Pilate vous prie
Et pour rien ne le laisse mie
Que ne viegues parler a lui.
(Palat 559-561)*

The return to Pilate's court is introduced by Huitacelin's reply:

*Mout tres volentiers ji irai
Et son commandement ferai.
(Palat 563-564)*

Upon Huitacelin's assent follow Cayn's words to Pilate: "*Sire, veez ci Huitacelin.*"¹⁴⁵ We see that an entire succession of events evolves through internal dialog, one without aid of extraneous directions.

In later circumstances the tendency to internalize motive signals is again exemplified. Caiaphas, receiving little satisfaction from his interrogation of Jesus, decides to deliver the Nazarene to Pilate for the penalty Jewish law forbids him.¹⁴⁶ Within a few verses Christ has been transported to Pilate's hall and Caiaphas is heard to introduce "*Un ypocrite, un tricheur, / Un desloyal, un traiteur.*"¹⁴⁷ Pilate soon shuttles the high priest off to Herod, who, it is hoped, will accomplish the judgment which Pilate also cannot as yet condone, as he says: "*A Herode puis li direz.*"¹⁴⁸ Caiaphas' immediate speech, without benefit of directions denoting movement, is addressed to Herod and it is made clear that the band now before the governor of Galilee originates from Pilate's quarter:

*Sire Herode, Dieux vous doint joie!
Li prevoz Pilate vous envoie
Jhesu que nous avons or pris.
(Palat 357-359)*

Although one may find contexts wherein passages having their genesis in other *loca* interrupt the instant completion of spatial movement, such as that found in the Garden between Christ's first command for the disciples to awake¹⁴⁹ and the second instance,¹⁵⁰ interrupted by Judas' bargaining, or the initiation of the Last Supper¹⁵¹ punctuated by Jesus' entrance into Jerusalem, reported through the eyes of children,¹⁵² the tendency in *Palat* is to place the dialog in the new location and time quite near the initial indication of movement.¹⁵³ Still other alterations of place must be extrapolated from two separate statements,

for occasionally no internal hint of spatial movement is included. These situations constitute a decided minority of the evidence, however.¹⁵⁴

Autun R manages most of its *locus* transfers in a manner similar to *Palat*, using command, acknowledgement, and fulfillment.¹⁵⁵ Few changes of place remain unmotivated.

Autun B, due to its inclusion of numerous narrated rubrics, exhibits a novel state of affairs. To be sure, the author occasionally operates within internalized dialogs and signals impending or accomplished scenic alteration. Jesus requests Peter and John to enter the city and engage the Passover room; they express their willingness and the next verses indicate an accomplished journey.¹⁵⁶ Pilate tells the Jews to take Christ to Herod.¹⁵⁷ Thereupon the text reveals an immediate change to Herod's palace,¹⁵⁸ much in keeping with the situation described for *Palat*.¹⁵⁹ However, a meaningful number of changes of locale depend on information supplied by the narrated text, which either indicates the motion entirely within itself, or confirms the activity introduced in dialog. So Mary Magdalene expresses the desire to seek out her Lord and to find someone who will allow her entrance into the Upper Room:

*Vrayment il m'y vaul aller,
Qui m'y voudra laissier entrer.
(Autun B 146-147)*

The success of her search is reported immediately thereafter by the statement:

*Incontinent par l'uyt entra,
De soubs la table se bouta.
(Autun B 148-149)*

Another example of this usage is found after Jesus expresses His need to commune with His Father,¹⁶⁰ when it is reported: "*Aprés ou jarden entra,/Piteusement son pere ora.*"¹⁶¹ The Master returns to the disciples to find them asleep, an act expressed in narration,¹⁶² but one necessary to link the previous speech with His ensuing warning.¹⁶³ One might best term these narrated conditions epic rubrics, a concept which would consider their peculiar preterite form and their analogous function to normal directions contained in other plays.¹⁶⁴

Few spatial transfers remain which exhibit incomplete definition. I was able to positively identify only one instance in both *Autun B* and *Autun R*, each occurring at identical points within the story. The example involves the return of Jesus and the disciples to the room in Jerusalem prepared for them by Peter and John. Peter first thanks the host for his gracious generosity before returning to the position occupied by the Christ. Here Peter informs the Master of the completed preparations:

*Sire, l'oste vous demande
Il fera quanti'i vous plaira,
Volentiers vous abergera
Et sa viende vous lyvrera.
(Autun B 84-87)*

The succeeding rubric, "*Or parle L'Oste a Jhesuchrist*",¹⁶⁵ compels a journey by the Lord to Jerusalem for the speech to take place. Here is one instance where temporal succession is mandated, but the motive stipulation is lacking. The identical circumstance prevails in *Autun R*. The situation was not likely to cause any spectator surprise or confoundement, for the symbolic nature of time passing on a journey between two places was readily accepted by medieval audiences. Moreover, it fit well into the concepts of simultaneous staging.

Appearance and Withdrawal of Characters

The role played by appearances and exits of individuals in temporal succession was earlier identified.¹⁶⁶ It was noted that an obligatory 'chain of figures' linking separate episodes and establishing a series of related events was mandatory for effective drama. In many respects this quality is innate in the Passion play, for the focal point of the drama is Jesus Christ. Similar to those of Group I, the texts of Group II either depict the Savior as the feature character or as a central figure to be discussed in almost every scene. I have already remarked on the succession created in *StG*, as the Lord ministers at Cana, is baptized by John, and overcomes the three temptations of the Devil. The essential figure of Christ binds these episodes into a meaningful succession identical to the manner revealed in Scripture. Additional examples may be found in *StG*, *Palat*, *Autun B*, and *Autun R*, where a core of necessary characters moves from one activity to another, others coming into view, departing the group (or the group going on to new events), then becoming active at a later time. The Crucifixion and the events leading to it provide a good example of this form of temporal succession.

The *StG* playwright places a definite indication of the eventual outcome of the mounting conflict between Jesus and the high priests into his play. Caiaphas and Annas are first introduced as the unbelieving interrogators of the man born blind.¹⁶⁷ Their absolute disbelief in the Healer's powers are contained in Annas' parting words to the healed beggar:

*Puch, du müst sin verloren,
 wan du bist in godes zorn
 un wilt uns doch alle leren:
 des müst du von uns keren
 un wis von uns geschalten,
 wilt du din leben behalten!*
 (StG 426-431)

The reader's next encounter with these characters takes place after Lazarus is raised. The high priests are seen to plot the demise of their adversary. Annas asks: "*Quid facimus, quia hic homo multa signa facit?*",¹⁶⁸ whereupon his religious confrere advises:

*Expedit nobis, ut unus moriatur homo
 pro populo, et non tota gens pereat.*
 (StG 665-666)

Their second appearance, clearly occurring sometime after the first, constitutes a heightening of suspense and anticipation of the final outcome, for we first witnessed disbelief; now malice shows itself. The third exposure of the plotters finds them making the bargain for their quarry with a traitorous Judas.¹⁶⁹ Succession and time have moved even closer to the hour of decision. The confrontation begins to develop in earnest with Jesus' arrest and presentation, first to one priest,¹⁷⁰ then to the other.¹⁷¹ Their recalcitrance and intention to rid society of this heretical menace is unyielding, as Annas' reaction to Judas' repentance shows:

*Dine rede get uns nit an!
 hast du ubel oder wol gedan,
 das wirst du hie nach wol gewar!
 wilt du andie wit, so var!*
 (StG 1025-28)

The character Rufus, first introduced at Christ's arrest,¹⁷² assumes the role of official spokesman as the trials continue. He will present the Lord to Herod at Pilate's command, return Him to the latter's jurisdiction, and demand His death. Caiaphas puts in a relatively

unimportant appearance at the trial, and his arrival cannot be exactly determined.¹⁷³ Rufus continues his antagonistic role on the way to the Skull ("*Stig uf, man müz dich henken!*").¹⁷⁴ Annas and Caiaphas join the procession, adding their sarcastic comments to the Teacher's predicament and suffering.¹⁷⁵ But their participation is not yet completed, for they also take it upon themselves to assure that the Resurrection does not occur by demanding soldiers to guard the grave.¹⁷⁶ These two characters lend a realistic quality to the Passion tale by their coming and going on stage, though it must be recognized that a goodly portion of their attendance derives from biblical sources.

The high priests of *Palat* first appear at the bargain for Jesus.¹⁷⁷ Their manifestation, too, forms a temporal succession. Entrances or reintroductions of these persons emanate from foregoing scenes. *Palat* pictures the priests as the main accusers of the Lamb. They accompany Him from His appearance before them to the Crucifixion, continually moving from one circumstance to its successor as Christ's irascible antagonists. When the dramatic spotlight moves to scenes such as the forging of the nails¹⁷⁸ or to the flagellation,¹⁷⁹ where they are ostensibly absent, their influence is still active and their reappearance at the close of these episodes is a foregone conclusion. Not for one moment do they rest their watchful eyes; they follow the Savior to His borrowed grave and then attempt to insure His destruction.

Autun B and *Autun R* exhibit similar structures. The major differences occur in the consistent presence of the priests. Here both texts chose to give much of the accusatory statements before Pilate and Herod to figures normally identified only as '*Juifz*'. An adequate temporal succession results, but it has neither the potential to create as much

suspense as *StG* or *Palat* nor to clearly indicate succession.¹⁸⁰

The temporal succession effected by the triple appearance of the angel to Mary Magdalene in *BenP* finds analogous circumstances in *StG*, where Martha's multiple repetition to her sister, separated in time by the calling of the disciples and the episode of the adultress, serves to rationalize and strengthen the Magdalene's final conversion. The careful temporal structuring of Martha's three warnings to her sinful sister, interspersed with Christ's divine ministry, not only present a dramatic contrast of character and motivation, but they also reveal a succession in time reflected in the repeated comings and goings of Mary and Martha. *Wien* reveals pressure on Mary from three different sources which culminate in her recognition of sin. Martha warns her,¹⁸¹ the messenger of Symon tells her of Christ's presence at his master's house,¹⁸² and an angel finally succeeds in opening her reluctant eyes to the evils of her life.¹⁸³ In the instance of *Wien* the temporal succession results from Mary's interaction on three separate occasions with a like number of characters, each adding to the urgency of her situation with increasing persuasiveness. Though these two plays build upon established dramatic tradition, each takes its sources one step further in the direction of diversification and intensity. The French plays, owing to the absence of a *dramatized* life of the Magdalene, lack the character definition of Mary inherent in the successive portraits of the German Passions. They substitute a rather bland portrait in which the repentance cycle has already passed the stages of confrontation, and is soon completed with Jesus' forgiveness. Little by way of temporal succession of heightened spectator interest can be found.

Succession by Dialog

The accrual of material destined for dramatic performance in Group II Passions, the process by which familiar episodes become expanded by accumulated speeches and figures, coupled with the introduction of new events into the staged reality of medieval Passions, interposes previously unexperienced problems for structural analysis of succession by dialog. Those examples from *Montecassino* and *BenP*, with the exception of the Mary Magdalene episode, *Uxor's* dream, and Joseph of Arimathea's closing remarks to Pilate,¹⁸⁴ generally constituted a dramatization of biblical material inherent in the story of the Passion; they were inevitable bits of information whose general temporal relationships to one another were specified in Scripture. As we approach Group II, there arise numerous questions as to the necessity of many speeches, and a concomitant blurring of theoretical divisions. Several dialogs, though referring to a succession of events, may only be vehicles by which the story is moved forward and required by the account. Their inclusion may assume the form of the simple past tense, or their structure may be elevated to one of epic reference to events happening within represented time, *retrieved*, but not dramatized. In either situation the information may be deemed necessary for both the faithful recapitulation of the tale and for its dramatic management. As such it provides data concerning the succession of the narrated or dramatized material and not of the dramatization itself. Hints of the dramatic structuring beyond the original source material may be discovered in circumstances involving extra-substantive material, such as the alternation and repetition by secondary characters of previous events.¹⁸⁵

StG abounds with illustrations of temporal structuring through speech succession. In each instance a certain potential for suspense results from the *repetition* of information which is basically non-essential, but whose inclusion produces a highly effective drama. One of the most potent applications is witnessed in the conversion of Mary Magdalene.

The text projects a picture of a worldly woman vain with pride. Her initial speech contains the unmistakable reference to the greatest of medieval sins, that of *vanitas*:

*Ich bin [ein] vledig iunges wip
un̄ dragen einen stolzen lip. . . .*¹⁸⁶
(*StG* 202-203)

The conversion process undergone by Mary exhibits a threefold repetition of Martha's warning to her sister, each more forceful and weighty than the last. Martha first chooses to attack the earthly stay of mankind, attempting thereby to dissuade her sinful sister from succumbing to the allures of worldly pleasure. Mary should concentrate on serving God in this life,¹⁸⁷ a message which surely was felt in the souls of medieval bystanders. Martha's second caveat assumes greater consequence and power, as she now warns Mary that her foolishness will be rewarded in Hell.¹⁸⁸ The recalcitrant wanton replies that her sister should go home and spin, a pastime more befitting an aging Martha than the younger Mary.¹⁸⁹ In a short time Martha again confronts Mary, now with a reminder that all people account for their actions after death, at the Last Judgment.¹⁹⁰ With this revelation the cloud falls from Mary's eyes and at last she senses her predicament. Mary's conversion has been initiated. Seen from a narrative standpoint, these thrice-repeated monitions contain no material which, left undramatized, would cause the

play to falter. Yet their inclusion serves not only to rationalize the character of Mary Magdalene into a more viable dramatic entity, it also serves to add structural and emotional depth to the play and heighten spectator interest. Mary is not simply converted by a heavenly visitor, her own sister responds to a perceived need, employing all the standard arguments against secular life with which medieval congregations were continually bombarded. The auspicious repetition of like scenes, designed to accomplish an identical end, provides evidence of meaningful artistic manipulation of sources, placed into an effective temporal succession by judicious application of linguistic and dramatic alternatives.

As the episode of the man born blind is developed by the *StG* writer, another instance of expressive repetition confronts the reader. When the Great Healer places mud upon the victim's eyes, He commands:

*Nū ganc inweg zū^o dirre stunt:
wasche daz abe unⁿ wis gesunt!
(StG 403-404)*

This accomplished, Annas joins the scene with his doubts; the healed man narrates the history of his miracle, first in Latin, then German. Repetition of the primary facts, this time not by the Healer, rather by the healed,¹⁹¹ intensifies the original miracle, thereby sharply contrasting the faith of the simple villager with the continuing spiritual blindness of the high priest. The healed man is called upon to repeat his tale before Caiaphas within a few lines, and he narrates the wonder exactly as he did before Annas.¹⁹² A second repetition of the healing process further underscores the division between believer and disbeliever, now isolating from salvation the alternate instigator of Christ's death. As with the repetition of material from the

Magdalene episode, this case of the healed man twice relating his profound physical experience does not involve information absolutely necessary to the tale of Christ's Passion; rather its incorporation precipitates through speech the structure of dramatization itself.¹⁹³

A further means of building temporal succession by repetition can be found when a character provides the audience with a state of affairs culminating in staged circumstances.¹⁹⁴ Normally such a statement reflects in some detail upon past events in the figure's life and integrates it into the present situation. *StG* includes a complaint by Mary Magdalene which in general terms establishes her sinful past and dependence on Jesus' mercy:

*ich han gesundet alzu vil
uber aller rechter mase zil:
daz ist mir innecliche leit.
erzeuge mir din barmherzikeit
oder ich bin umer me verlorn:
uwe daz ich ie wart geboren!
ich han grozer sunder vil gedan.
(StG 328-334)*

By this remembrance of her previous dramatized failings the Magdalene recalls earlier events and places them in succession.

At a later juncture *StG* causes a tormented Jesus to repeat in narrated form the promises of His disciples to remain faithful unto death, thus giving evidence of succession in the play. However, in this instance the formal result accomplishes much more than merely implying succession. At a point immediately prior to His prayer that the cup of bitterness might pass from Him, Jesus' words extend beyond Scripture to exhibit a pain which is more intensely felt by its specific recollection of His followers' promises:

*Mohtent ir nit wachen eine stunt
 bit mir? nu sprach doch uwer munt,
 ir wollent liden durch mich not,
 ob ez were der grimme dot!
 nu slafent ir vil suze. . . .
 (StG 839-843)*

The contrast between the original oaths, particularly by Peter, and the present situation becomes more profound with this timely repetition of previously staged material; the conflict on the part of the disciples between desire and ability to see it fulfilled, originating in Gospel accounts, is here structurally magnified.

Small units of structure in *Wien* are precipitated by repetition, but in contrast with *StG* they normally involve a restatement of already-staged events by the character at their center. Thus does Lucifer recall his lofty position among the angels prior to his fall.¹⁹⁵ This situation is contrasted with his present circumstance, one in which Lucifer recognizes his Maker's wrath.¹⁹⁶ But the evil spirit does not dwell upon his place in Hell; as is normal with such dialog-induced succession Lucifer relates these experiences to future activity. His anger is to be directed at God's special creation, man, first in the person of Adam and his family,¹⁹⁷ then to all society. Such an epic repetition of dramatized incidents and examination of its relationship to an unpleasant present state of affairs precipitates not only the next step in the story, but actually rationalizes and causes the structure of the play to develop in a remarkably artistic manner. We are again dealing not with a source-mandated sequence, but with one which has a life and time of its own; the tale reflects skillful development and authorial manipulation of individual parts to create a play independent of slavish imitation, a singular statement on man's association

with God, and a satisfying literary experience in its own right.¹⁹⁸

Palat recapitulates the events culminating in the Crucifixion, investigating it from three separate viewpoints, each repetition magnifying the original happening and fixing the sacrifice in the minds of spectators.

The initial figure to review the central incidents is Satan. He elates at the shameful death among thieves of his adversary¹⁹⁹ and narrates once again Judas' place in the conspiracy, coincidentally indicting himself by this revelation:

*Je pourchacay la treïson,
Le berat et la tricherie.
Onques si bele lecherie
Ne fit deable ne maufé.
Or est li lerres atrapé,
Mort et ocis par mon pechié.
(Palat 1256-61)*

It is finally apparent to audience and reader alike that Judas was acting under devilish influences and the destruction of the Lord seemingly accomplished, the forces of evil now glory in their ostensibly unrestricted power over mankind. This point of view lends credibility to the devils as *active* instigators of the Crucifixion, working through misguided men. As a literary device, whereby a portion of the play itself is precipitated and clarified, the dialog proves a clever and useful tool. But an even more significant reason for the repetition can be discerned: the devils ironically believe themselves victors and can discern no bonds or impediments in their path towards ultimate domination of man's spirit. They exhalt, as have their human allies. However, this exhaltation merely sets them up for the not too distant triumph of Christ and the further restriction of their power.

A judicious reiteration of dramatized scenes in epic form not only more adequately relates the character delivering the dialog to events he narrates, it furthermore provides greater personality definition and introduces circumstances upon which future staging depends.

The second point of view offered in repetition of the Crucifixion is that held by Mary Magdalene. While Satan delights in the tragedy, Mary grieves. She reviews Jesus' compassion with loving emotion:

*Vous estiez plains de si grant courtoisie
Plain de pitie et plain de grant douçour.
(Palat 1793-94)*

Somehow she knows the facts concerning Judas' treason²⁰⁰ and can only strongly and emphatically condemn it.²⁰¹ Mary recalls that no disciple defended Christ at the arrest, a judgment which reinforces the Master's prophetic talents;²⁰² the future time of arrest seen from the Last Supper became reality. Jesus proved His temporally-unbounded knowledge of events and human character. Much of Mary's lament at this point would seem to convey the official attitude of the medieval Church towards the Crucifixion and supporting data.

Yet a third epic repetition of the Crucifixion, reinforced by the specification of guilty persons, is delivered by Joseph of Arimathea.²⁰³ His naming of the conspirators, as the preparation for removing the nails still holding the suspended Lord are made, must have provided a memorable and deeply-moving recollection for spectators of the earlier Crucifixion, further etching that event and its instigators into their memories. Such a multi-leveled organization affords insight into the persuasive power and structural underscoring which may be created by the skillful application of succession by dialog.²⁰⁴

A similar recapitulation of the Savior's trial and suffering on the Cross is contained in *Autun B*, with the scene reviewed from at least two independent perspectives. Mary the mother of Jesus bemoans her Son's passing in much the same fashion as Mary Magdalene and Joseph did in *Palat*.²⁰⁵ She, too, knows all the critical facts, from those developed in the Garden to His last gift to mankind. But probably the most significant review of the final hours of the Christ's life is provided by none other than Pilate, during an extensive dialog with Joseph.²⁰⁶ The Roman expresses his regret at condemning Jesus and offers several quotations by the Jews and his supposedly conscientious but unsuccessful efforts to arbitrate the situation in the Galilean's favor. The author paints a surprisingly sympathetic portrait of this reasonable, but weak governor, placing into his mouth citations from the trial which evince his great reluctance to become involved in an unjust proceeding:

Jamais je ne m'an meslerés.
(*Autun B* 1564)

Saichés qui je n'an feray rien.
Laissés m'an paix; perdés vous temps.
(*Autun B* 1576-77)

Saichés, Juifs, qu'en se mechier
Je n'ann ay culpe n'anssy vouldroye.
(*Autun B* 1600-01)

He even injects a curious note on the Anointed's innocence into his memory of the Jewish response to his last speech:

Syre Pilate, nous voulons,
Et entre nous pourter voulons
Que le sang de celui inocens
Soye sur nous et sur nous enfens.
(*Autun B* 1603-06)

I am inclined to lay this apparent oversight squarely on the shoulders of the Passion writer as an instance indicative of how his own

prejudices and religious concepts occasionally insinuate themselves into his work. The author of *Autun B* even allows Joseph to refuse Pilate's guilt,²⁰⁷ a decision reminiscent of the apocryphal Gospel of Peter.²⁰⁸ By such a scene the Jews are further isolated as the true malefactors. There seems little doubt that this artist fundamentally saw Pilate as a victim of circumstance and, by including this epic recapitulation of the judicial process, structurally called the events again to mind to express the magistrate's relative innocence. No other text of Group II goes to such lengths to investigate Pilate's part in the history of Good Friday.

A less developed, but equally effective scene wherein repetition plays a decisive part is that of the time immediately following the arrest of Jesus.²⁰⁹ John bewails the loss of their Master to Peter, but in so doing casts a cognitive eye on a recently occurring premonition of the Lord. He remembers the words foretelling the betrayal as he agonizes:

*Helas, bien dabvons estre esmeuz!
Te souvient il quant il disir,
Quant de nous vould departir,
Que chascun de nous s'en furoyt
Aussy tost comme prist seroit?
Alous veoir que il feront
De nostre maistre que perduz avont.*
(*Autun B* 445-451)

With this remembrance comes to John a revelation of a bit of Christ's supernatural character; he now realizes that the Messiah is not bound by time as man is, that He is indeed a timeless and eternal being, and that the future is also present to Him. But John's recognition can only come after this infinite quality is proven. The artist of *Autun B* has skillfully called attention to it by the disciple's advantageous

recollection. This short scene also throws the thrice-repeated denial of Peter into perspective, for, although the denial is tale-obligated, this anterior dialog between John and Peter would now seem to indicate that Peter has still not seen its significance for his own future. He has forgotten the prophecy of his own denial. In terms of inferential revelation, John is closer to comprehension than is Peter.²¹⁰

Autun R picks up on the dialog between Pilate and Joseph, dramatizing the former's attempts to justify his action to one who, in reality, has no power over him.²¹¹ Joseph assures Pilate of his innocence, concluding:

*Sertes, il m'et bient avis
Que vous n'aves gueyre mepria.
(Autun R 920-921)*

The exchange is identical to its immediate relative, *Autun B*, save its constricted length.

Each text of Group II elicits temporal succession by the technique of *question* and *answer*. A close reading of the Passions, however, indicates that, with few exceptions, the resultant succession grows from biblical source accounts and constitutes a necessary unit of the story. Only those inquiries and retorts which aid in presenting novel material could be of significance for the deeper structure of the plays. Their potential to markedly expand spectator interest is low level and, though their presence should be acknowledged, little space need be afforded their analysis.²¹²

Plot

When our attention is focused on the succession of dramatic moments induced by plot manipulation, those categories identified in Group I are

in most instances again contained in the Passions of the second group. Due to dramatic expansion of character and incorporated activity, the quantity increases, as does their relative intensity and effectiveness.

a) Design and Realization

StG incorporates nearly all the scripturally- mandated situations wherein a plan bears a future realization. The negative side of such designs, *intrigue*, constitutes a primary structural unit upon which the redactor builds. This artist, in contrast to his forebearer in *BenP*, does not reveal all elements of the plot simultaneously. Though he employs the same scriptural models, introducing via angels the council of Jews with the "*Collegerunt ergo pontifices et Pharisaie*"²¹³ from John xi: 47-50, this dramaturge heightens the impact of his tale by evolving the plot against Jesus in several steps. He offers an initial picture of forces who oppose Jesus, but do not immediately decide His fate. Contrarily, they form a plan of attack. The next step in the intrigue finds Judas making contact with the priests, agreeing to sell Him for thirty pennies.²¹⁴ This scene is isolated from surrounding events, but is staged simultaneously with portions of the Last Supper. The third occasion shows Judas again seeking out the Jewish leaders, acting at the same time in which the Intercessor prepares to enter the Garden.²¹⁵ Finally, the unfaithful disciple identifies the signal with which he will betray his Master, but this development is not reported until we have gained a view of Jesus communing with his Father in Gethsemane.²¹⁶ These four events, although they constitute essential parts of the story, are structured in such a manner as to increase their impact, for they continually contrast with scenes from the Last

Supper. They display two opposing forces moving towards the final conflict. These events will be detailed in the discussion of tempo.

A subsequent situation finds John the apostle reporting the latest news to Mary concerning her Son's arrest.²¹⁷ In response to these unwelcome tidings, Mary expresses her intention to seek Him out, accompanied by other women.²¹⁸ The decision practically assures an episode further into the play which will include Mary's arrival at the place where her Son is held. The announced intention precipitates the structure of this particular dramatization by impelling a future scene.

Most of the remaining examples of the technique of creating temporal succession by design and realization involve strictly source-stipulated inclusions or those, such as the Longinus episode, which we have seen in Group I.²¹⁹ *StG* possesses innumerable areas which could easily have been made extremely effective by this phenomenon, but the majority are made dramatically inoperative by a force external to the represented history, the person of *Augustinus*. A single illustration of this state of affairs will suffice to clarify my contention.

Early in the play *Augustinus* interrupts the dramatization of Christ's life to report:

*Wollent ir nū [mit] zuhten gedagen,
so wil man uch nū sagen
wie des diuels schalkeit
Ihesum in der wüstenheit
versuchte in drier hande wis:
des wolt er haben grozen pris.
(StG 139-144)*

It is not difficult to imagine a relatively effective monolog for *diabolus*, wherein he might express the above information in the form of a plan or intrigue. The presence of *Augustinus*, so judicious and efficacious in other areas of consideration, destroys here a dramatic

potential of some literary value. I attribute the lack of more extensive application of plan and realization to his active participation as interlocutor, guide, and exegete. But there is ample evidence that the playwright of *StG* knew and mastered his source material and medium to a degree which can satisfy even modern readers.

The beginning sequences of *Wien*, in which Lucifer and Satan are so active, provide a useful and well-developed incidence of design and realization. Lucifer presents a plan in command form to Satan:

*wir sullen alle do nach ringen,
daz wir sie (die Menschheit) zu uns bringen.
Nu wol hin, ir chnechte min,
bringet mir Adam unt die sin!
(Wien 76-79)*

The general outlines of the plan have been discussed and agreed upon in previous lines,²²⁰ but the specific method of realization is left to Satan.

The manuscript of *Palat* opens with the wish and plan of Jesus to dine with his followers one last time before His earthly life is sacrificed.²²¹ Succeeding moments of seeking out the host and making the physical arrangements form the dramatized realization which depends on the original design for its structural rational. Mary Magdalene also announces her intention of locating her Lord and receiving forgiveness:

*Ses piez en oindra doucement
Quant bien lavé les averai
Des lermes que je plorerai,
De mes cheveux les essuierai;
Puis après si li baiseraï.
Bien sé, quant ce me vorrai faire,
Tant est preudom et debonaire,
De mes pechiez avia pardon
Et envers lui remission.
(Palat 88-96)*

These intentions reflect exactly Mary's actions and Christ's gift of divine forgiveness. A coming confrontation of sinner and Lord is made ineluctable, the structure of dramatic succession created by the two scenes working in temporal harmony.

The intrigue of the Jewish pontiffs naturally occupies a significant position in the technique of temporal succession in *Palat*, but its manipulation appears to be much less artistic or striking than that of *StG*. There is some textual evidence to suggest that Judas' betrayal happens simultaneously with the Garden scene. This probability will be pursued in future paragraphs. But the plot against Jesus and its resolution into His arrest are concentrated into one sequence, including Judas' initial contact with his co-conspirators the bargain, and the arrest.²²² There is not even so much as a hint of any temporal separation, as Judas gives the sign of betrayal to his band and Jesus is immediately aware of his nearness;²²³ this without benefit of scenic transition.²²⁴

Autun B and *Autun R* both present expected designs and realizations, indicating a close kinship to *Palat*. Again the spectator sees Mary Magdalene enroute to the place of the Passover meal, expressing her intentions to anoint her Savior,²²⁵ and Judas setting the arrest in motion,²²⁶ likewise appearing in conglomerate form as it did in *Palat*. John expresses his decision to investigate Christ's predicament at closer quarters,²²⁷ but no indication of his accomplishment can be discerned. The guards at the sepulchre again boast of their prowess, setting up the Resurrection by their vain words.²²⁸ Of the remaining illustrations, most owe their inclusion to biblical sources and seem simply unavoidable.

b) Command and Execution

As attention is turned to the application of command and execution in Group II texts, a circumstance similar to that prevailing in Group I becomes apparent; decrees and strong suggestions form a substantial part of the biblical source material and offer several 'given' situations which define the tale in representation. However, no line can be drawn between purely scriptural commands and those developed from new material. The command and its execution forms such a fundamental step of succession that its inclusion is nearly ineludible.²²⁹

One extraordinary use of command and assumed compliance involves *Augustinus* and the angels of *StG*. Both continually ask for quiet during the play, responding not only to the difficulties of open air stages, but also to a desire on the author's part to structure his work. The interruption by angels, beings from a mythical or timeless realm, serve to accentuate the importance of impending dramatization; they set the stage by insuring an attentive audience. Reference to Table 5 will indicate the consistency with which the angels are employed in *StG*. In several instances they accompany *Augustinus*, who himself stresses the events of the Passion which succeed his appearance. In *StG* we find the institution of command designed to formally organize and manage the dramatization of Christ's suffering, not merely to move the story itself forward.

c) Mention and Appearance of Characters

The dramatic function of mention and appearance of mimetic figures and the manner in which it causes temporal succession was earlier identified.²³⁰ It now remains to ascertain what application, if any, is

made of this potential in texts of Group II.

The greatest and most impressive means to introduce the reader or spectator to the central figure is to delay his entrance on stage for several scenes, while others speak of him. Aside from the introduction by *Augustinus* of the *StG* Christ, this author chooses to place his main character at the onset of dramatic activity. Jesus Himself defines some of His divine personality and attributes. One would assume that the theoretical potential for telling dramatic succession would thereby be abrogated. But, as in other circumstances, this playwright has a pleasant surprise for us. The ensuing sequence of John the Baptist provides one of the best opportunities in medieval drama to observe the structural and dramatic power of a well-prepared appearance. To be sure, this writer remains faithful to records contained in Scripture, which constructs most of the sequence of events, but he so organizes his chain of events as to achieve remarkable integrity of Old and New Testament material on stage. The alterations the author makes to the Gospel accounts are subtle, but highly effective. The biblical story of John deals at length with his ministry. Two days comprise the time directly surrounding the Christ's movement to John and His baptism.²³¹ Our artist judiciously presents the action as if it were a continuum of events within a more restricted time. He further concentrates dramatic activity of Jesus' appearance by deleting several of John's statements, such as those referring to the generation of vipers,²³² and the axe laid to the tree roots.²³³ John's remaining speeches specifically look forward to the arrival of the True Savior, much as the biblical record stipulates. He accomplishes this by quoting the Old Testament,²³⁴ by relating his own lesser position to Christ,²³⁵ and ultimately announcing

the Lord's arrival.²³⁶ The sequence moves from the general to the specific as John first warns the populace to better themselves through baptism,²³⁷ then identifies his capacity as the one who prepares Christ's path by this sacred ritual.²³⁸ The final parallels are drawn as the Baptist christens sinners in the name of Him „*der schiere nach mir kommen sal.*“²³⁹ John's introductory role is completed when he specifically identifies his Master:

*Sehent in mit augen an,
von dem ich vor gesprochen han:
er ist daz godes lamp vor war,
daz der werlte [sunden] zwar
un allen unseren schaden
hat gar uf [sich] geladen!
(StG 108-113)*

Jesus is no longer the Son of Mary who may entertain by changing water to wine; His historical place is hereby identified and His holy mission of sacrifice made explicit. The concluding step in the introductory process, from the '*Ecce agnus dei*'²⁴⁰ to the the termination of the above quote, is an artistic addition to the scriptural record of John's acquaintance with the Galilean.

The remaining four texts do not exhibit a similar succession. Some appearances of decidedly secondary figures are signaled by persons who discuss a specific need for their services, but their dramatic impact is slight, as is their importance for temporal succession.²⁴¹

Passage of Time

Before continuing with the analysis of the tempo of succession, I wish to extend this discussion of temporal succession to those entities which make their first appearances in Passions of the second chronological classification. One experience of succession in

representation involves the recognition of the passage of time.

Several figures in these plays make reference to the time of day or to the duration of an activity, sometimes expressed in truly cosmic dimensions. As a result of the identification of time and its movement forward we are able to decipher more accurately the amount of represented time actually staged and to determine the activities which do not receive dramatic life. We recognize in *StG* that approximately ninety-six hours elapse from Lazarus' initial complaint of physical discomfort²⁴² to the arrival of Jesus on the scene.²⁴³ Martha is the person who provides this evidence, when she reports to her Lord:

*Nein herre, er (Lazarus) stinket als ein hunt,
wan es ist hude der virde dag
daz er in dem grabe lag!*
(*StG* 617-619)

The text reveals that these four days are marginally filled with the annunciation to the Great Healer of Lazarus' desperate condition, return of the messenger to Mary and Martha, the Redeemer's decision to travel to Lazarus, His arrival, and Mary's twice-repeated admonition, "*Domine, si fuisses hic, /frater meus no fuisset mortuus.*"²⁴⁴ Dramatic activity focuses upon events near the advent of Lazarus' death and again towards its premature suspension. This leaves the greater portion of the journey and preparations at both ends completely unconsidered. John's Gospel reports essentially the same information, but includes the statement that Jesus remained at His *locus* for some time before undertaking the trip.²⁴⁵ Apparently what transpired during those four days was of minimal importance for the author's message (and for John's, too). As with Scripture, the predominant interest and force of the time reference is that Christ's beloved friend had been in the

grave for many days and that his body had begun the natural process of decay. Martha's graphic observation, „*er stinket als ein hunt*,“ underlines Lazarus' foulness. This miracle of divine healing, the most momentous of them all, convincingly proves the Lord's dominion over even death, a fact of central importance to Christian theology; the declaration of the passage of time potentially strengthens this idea. The Jew Malchus picks up the preponderance of the four days of Lazarus' entombment, adding at once to its dramatic impact and voicing the growing opposition to Jesus:

*Lazarus was unser genoz:
den sach ich sicherlichen dot.
der selbe als ime Ihesus gebat,
erstunt an dem vierden dage!
bit warheit ich daz sage!
das bringet die werlet gar in den sin,
daz sie gleubent alle an in!*
(StG 632-638)

Those same four days which characterized Jesus' absolute mastery over human life and death now become a real threat to those who currently wield power. The *StG* playwright skillfully shows not only the positive, but also the negative effects of the wonder. Indeed, the good deed functions as the greatest single element setting the opposition to Christ in motion; specific portions of later structure are rationalized and developed around this miracle, an excellent example of artistic mastery over form and content within the restricted scope of sources and possibilities of the epoch.

A second instance of the announced passage of time in *StG* provides an indication of the vast scope and prominence of the Passion for man. As the Savior's spirit confronts Lucifer and his subordinates in the Harrowing of Hell, time, expressed solely in human terms, becomes

inconsequential and a temporal reference of enormous proportions is substituted. Here in the mythical and timeless realm of eternal punishment, where temporal concepts approach infinity, Lucifer becomes greatly agitated at the command by *Dominus*: "*Tollite, portas*".²⁴⁶ In all his five thousand years in Hell he has never witnessed such a knocking upon his doors.²⁴⁷ Adam, who has suffered those millenia in perdition, rejoices that his seemingly infinite pain is now ended.²⁴⁸ With such a temporal assertion, the doctrinal significance and necessity of the Passion is dramatically established; original sin, which for eons has held mankind in its sway, is forgiven and humanity is relieved of its unbearable burden. Medieval man may have recognized his own temporal relationship to his Lord by the alignment of lengthy punishment with its eventual abrogation. Certainly he perceived Christ as one unbound by human time, a being who actually exerted mastery over the course of human history, indeed, one who contained the entire temporal reference of history in Himself. A seemingly inconsequential statement of temporal succession provides the key to understanding much of the doctrine of religion which constantly insinuated itself into the structure of medieval drama. *Palat* correspondingly dramatizes souls who rejoice over their freedom from Hell's grasp, a bondage reported as having endured "*mil anz et plus*".²⁴⁹

Tempo of Succession

With the larger number of scenes and characters, augmented by greatly detailed speeches, comes an alteration of the tempo of succession which contributes to the artistry and dramatic depth of Group II Passions. The playwrights of the early fourteenth century were guided

by a fundamental interest in deepening audience reaction to the Lord's sacrifice, an interest which caused them to dwell at length on particular occurrences, to develop concepts and ideas, character relationships and conflicts inherent in Scripture, and to reform them into effective religious and dramatic statements. This is not to maintain that a continuous plane of inspired or innovative construction can be established for all Passions of the period, but to identify the presence of trends in artistic manipulation of tempo which serve as a collective impetus for future writers. Each of these plays exhibits some degree of tempo acceleration and a contrasting retardation of the motion of represented time on stage. The result is often a dramatic product which possesses the capacity to incite, maintain, or increase spectator interest.

Due to the dramatization of various events from Christ's ministry, numerous temporal lacunae can be identified in *StG*, the result of an accelerated view of many months or years of activity. The initial phenomenon of acceleration appears between the Wedding at Cana and John the Baptist's message concerning Jesus and His eventual baptism. Since the preserved chronology in John, one which relates both incidents, is substantially altered, there can be no meaningful conclusion relative to the amount of represented time which may have been eliminated. It would seem that the structure of *StG* at this point is merely a function of a basic concentration. We experience therefore acceleration when the disciples receive their calling. *StG* only notes two, Peter and Andrew, who symbolize all twelve.²⁵⁰ By mentioning only two followers, and detailing in broad terms their acceptance of the call, the author

avoids dramatically unfruitful terrain, the inclusion of which would only dilute and needlessly reduce the tempo of succession.

For reasons of dramatic expediency and possibly due to the lack of any source guidance, the three-day period from Jesus' death to His Resurrection, the time spent harrowing Hell and binding the Devil, is presented in 48 verses. They naturally convey the central theme of original man's redemption, but allow one speaker, Adam, to symbolize the multitude of waiting souls. However, I wish to defer a more detailed analysis of the scene for a later time.

One of the most effective incidents of acceleration in *StG* involves Mary Magdalene. Her story assumes greater structural and aesthetic importance when coupled to a sudden retardation of tempo as she approaches realization, contrition, and forgiveness. Although the exact amount of represented time incorporated into Mary's story is unclear, the development and rationalization of her character separated into three individual units, is obviously conceived as occurring in temporal parallel with other episodes which span many days, months, or even years. These events which correspond to Mary's life are the calling of the disciples and the story of the adulteress. Both suggest that Mary's sins and Martha's vain attempts to influence her sister are protracted in time. Mary's unclean life, dramatized by recounting only its most salient features and referring to them in a great temporal duration, assumes deeper significance as she nears a personal decision. The continuance of sin, simulated by acceleration, contrasts admirably with the sudden reduction of tempo, wherein the relatively few moments of the saint's repentance, the journey to Christ's *locus*, and eventual forgiveness receive detailed dramatization. With this relaxation of

tempo comes one of the first dramatic highpoints of *StG*. Steinbach views the dramatic affiliation between the worldly activities of the sinner and the Messiah from a more traditional vantage point, but also notes a most cogent structure, designed to teach:

Der Bezug der Worte Magdalenens auf die Mahnung Jesu ist unüberhörbar. Damit ist deutlich, dass die Verknüpfung zwischen diesen beiden Szenen nicht kausal-logisch sondern ana-logisch ist. Die einzelnen Szenen gehen nicht auseinander hervor, sondern spiegeln sich ineinander und erhellen sich so gegenseitig.²⁵¹

Steinbach's comments lend further credulity to the conclusions I have reached through the study of the structuring process in *StG*.

Much of the remaining duration of scenes in *StG* may be attributed to fidelity to scriptural material. Those events, the healing of the blind man and his interrogation by the Jewish priests, the raising of Lazarus, the Last Supper, the trials of Jesus, and His Crucifixion, all lie at the heart of the Gospel accounts and reflect there a meaningful retardation.²⁵² Even the *StG* Flagellation, which in later renditions is developed to a cruel episode of uncomfortable realism, closely resembles its source. The scene is reported primarily in rubrics,²⁵³ with only the blasphemous '*Ave, rex Judaeorum*' of the torturers repeated in Latin and then in German.²⁵⁴

As I have previously mentioned, the extensiveness of *Wien* creates a tempo of succession which is extreme in its acceleration. Events in represented time range from Lucifer's banishment to a view of contemporary medieval sinners in Hell, all are dramatized within 273 verses of presented time. The lacunae which result are obvious upon even the most cursory reading. Despite such an unusual temporal structure, a remarkably pointed and convincing relationship is constructed

between the original introduction of evil into the world and the continually worsening situation just prior to the naiscence of a Savior. Temporal acceleration in this instance cuts through all matters of secondary importance to reveal an overwhelming malaise, a growth of evil demanding the sacrifice of the Son of Man. The cosmic proportions of the problem are shown by the exclusion of practically all the Old Testament and the early years of Christ's ministry. Contrary to the method of spanning great periods of historical time with a sentence or two from several distinct episodes, as we noted in the first five scenes of *BenP*, this playwright chooses to dwell at some length on four temporally successive, but associated events.²⁵⁵ He thereby momentarily introduces retardation into each. The fall of Adam and Eve, for instance, is investigated in detail, filling 111 verses. The Genesis account of original sin receives a dramatic form in keeping with Scripture. But a commensurate scene of some length is appended to the Old Testament, one which is separated from it in time by countless eons; four souls are led into the presence of Lucifer to account for their misdeeds. A medieval usurer, a monk, an enchantress, and a thief all deliver monologs, each identifying his particular sin and each receiving his just punishment.²⁵⁶ These interactions between sinner and devil occupy 90 verses in presentational time and indicate a highly effective pause inside the temporal rush towards the Passion.

The incidents which deal with Mary Magdalene also compel this author to retard his tempo to investigate her motivation in depth. He accomplishes this by picturing Mary as a worldly medieval woman, knowledgeable in the arts of courtly love and well-versed in contemporary love lyrics. Mary is introduced with her lover;²⁵⁷ then,

approaching the merchant, she speaks the celebrated '*Michi confer, venditor*'.²⁵⁸ The writer verbally expands these moments, adding definition to Mary with each new phrase. It is impossible to determine the exact amount of time presented here, but it would seem to be less than that suggested by the same scene in *StG*. The largest body of preserved text is reserved for the description of Mary's repentance and absolution, a total of 133 verses. Again, a perfectly limitable time frame for the activity cannot be established, though all evidence indicates a period of a few minutes or hours.²⁵⁹ In any case, when compared with the enormous sweep of activities depicted in earlier phases of the play, the Magdalene experience concentrates attention into a time of surprisingly short duration, providing detail by retardation of succession.

Although the main thrust of this analysis is not the investigation of probable sources for specific episodes or characters, a glance at the fund of material in circulation at the time of Group II Passion writing will aid in determining why Mary Magdalene plays such a vital role in these two German Passion plays. I shall restrict my comments to the account of *Wien*, which contains all essential developments found in *StG* as well, but goes far beyond it in intensity. It will be of value to review briefly the religious attitudes about the Magdalene which were prevalent in the first half of the fourteenth century.

Despite the acceleration of the eclipse of Magdalene piety which, it will be recalled, commenced as early as 1265-67 in Vézelay, a decline which was intensified during the second half of the fourteenth-century²⁶⁰ in France and England,²⁶¹ in Germany and Belgium her cult

continued to exert a remarkably forceful influence; the *Weiszfrauen* movement expanded into new territories "à cause de l'accélération propre au mouvement général de la ferveur madgalénienne. . . ." ²⁶² In German-speaking lands, from whence the cult may have originally been introduced into France, ²⁶³ the figure of this sinful person, the one to whom Christ chose to first appear, survived to give witness to medieval man of Christ's healing love.

Having introduced very superficially the tenor of religious thinking which surrounds these fourteenth-century texts, I would like now to investigate possible *literary* inputs which may explain the position of Mary Magdalene in German plays.

Little question can be raised concerning the particularly useful and impressive integration by the *BenP* author of Mary Magdalene. Regardless of what the initial impulses for her prominence in this early Passion might have been, ²⁶⁴ and notwithstanding the obvious borrowing from Marian laments, secular Latin songs, and vernacular love lyrics which were accomplished, the fact remains that the Magdalene of *BenP* was a stroke of dramatic near-genius; the fusion of doctrine and example was so complete that both *Wien* and *StG*, as well as plays of much later origin, contain the core character of the *BenP* Mary Magdalene supported by the means of realizing it set out by that first redactor. ²⁶⁵ Several Latin laments of *Wien* repeat verses from *BenP*. ²⁶⁶ Further, Mary Magdalene approaches the spice merchant with a repetition of the '*Michi confer*' lyrics, ²⁶⁷ and praises her worldly life in the identical manner seen in *BenP*, namely with the sensuous '*Mundi delectacio*', though it has been moved in *Wien* to a position subsequent to the visit to the merchant.

Considering these borrowings and others like them,²⁶⁸ it appears probable that *Wien* owes much of its Magdalene figure to its predecessor of one hundred or more years, or to some other unpreserved manuscript very much like it. But this observation fails to do justice to the accomplishments of the unknown artist who made the composite Magdalene his own; he borrowed a dramatically intense portrayal of the woman of Magdala, but infused her with even more dramatic life, reflecting a greater use of medieval culture and society than any creator of Mary Magdalene before him. The result is a personality possessing superior potential to express to medieval man in familiar terms the power of divine redemption. Retardation of tempo to investigate Mary's character is indicative not only of her latent dramatic puissance, but also of her status in Church doctrine and teaching. The author accomplishes this temporal concentration by 1) broadening the application of the vernacular folk song to a vain Mary²⁶⁹ and 2) expanding the vernacular development of Mary's character. These are the literary inputs which account for the lively dramatization of Mary in *Wien*.

I have indicated in a previous context how Mary's medieval qualities are extended by the placing of Middle High German love songs and secular Latin lyrics on her lips.²⁷⁰ R.M. Meyer has uncovered many parallels to *Wien* 309 and its companion verse, *Wien* 307, which are both based on *BenP* 44 („*Wertlich vreude deu ist gūt*" = „*Minne tuet eu hoech gemūt*" and „*hat gehōt mir den mūt*"), all found in contemporary²⁷¹ love lyrics of the most well-known Minnesänger from the preceding century.²⁷² An audience familiar with these songs has ample opportunity to observe Mary's sinful progress through life, presented in terms of the courtly ideal. There seems to exist a further desire on

the part of the *Wien* redactor to make Mary more comprehending of secular Latin lyrics. He achieves the goal, not by eliminating all Latin verses from the drama, but by elaborating on their essential tone and intent in the vernacular. In one instance the stagewright goes as far to note: "*In theutonico eadem sunt. . .*" This strange apparition occurs as the introduction to a *general* paraphrase of the tone of the '*Mundi delectacio*':

*Wertlich vreude deu ist güt,
 deu ist mir worden süze,
 sie hat gehoet mir den mut,
 svie och ich begöze!
 (Wien 307-310)*

The author of this Passion then continues with the '*Mantellied*', which has no Latin parallel. Although some of the traditional points of doctrinal interest are retained in their original Latin forms, the playwright most often offers at least a paraphrase of them into German.²⁷³ When dealing with Mary Magdalene, however, he exercises the linguistic possibilities of the vernacular linked with contemporary society. Mary offers pecuniary reward to the vendor (*„ich han silber unt golt, phennige, die sint swere"*)²⁷⁴ for medieval cosmetics (*„wiltu mir dor umbe iht geben rot vilzel unt wiz mel"*);²⁷⁵ she dances with a devil (*„du solt mit mir tanzen/unt hubeschlichen swanzen!"*),²⁷⁶ and even a portion of her repentance lament indicates her medieval cultural heritage:

*Owe, ich han gesundet mit prise
 und ouch mit tanzen!
 ich trug geverwet risen
 mit mangel hohem cranze!
 (Wien 411-414)*²⁷⁷

In view of these facts the conclusion seems justified that the author of *Wien* was surrounded by literary material which lent itself

admirably to the vitalization and dramatic impact of Mary Magdalene upon medieval audiences. It would be erroneous to interpret all facets of Mary's character as original with the *Wien* artist, although I believe that a great amount of artistry can also be shown by the effective borrowing and consolidation of already existing, but widely-separated attitudes and perceptions on a personage. The *Wien* author has succeeded in making the three separate Maries of the Bible his own, uniting them in his tale, not as the first literary man to deal with them, but as the one who up to and beyond his time most advantageously employed ambient energies possessed by the Magdalene, infusing her with existing literary images. This felicitous augmentation of her character, combined with the well-documented background of reverence for Saint Mary Magdalene, has given us a dynamic, vivid, and lasting stage personality.

The tempo of succession employed to organize the French representatives of Group II convey varied states of artistry, resulting primarily from their scope of dramatization. Acceleration of tempo plays a minimal role in *Palat*. Certainly, several temporal empty areas can be identified, as in all staged activities, but this author tends much more towards extension of scenic length, character number and speeches, concentrating his work on less represented time and thereby creating stressed groups of actions within the play by retarding succession. The events first introduced follow one another in episodes of approximately the same presentational length, varying from 25 verses for the Jerusalem entry to 34 for the Last Supper.²⁷⁸ Only Judas' betrayal exceeds these quantities, as his avaricious character is portrayed along with the machinations of Annas.²⁷⁹ The trials receive extensive attention,

accounting for 258 verses. A significant number of verses transpire as Herod questions Jesus. The author takes the opportunity to review epically two representative miracles, the awakening of the dead (possibly Lazarus) and the curing of the blind man, as well as to identify several other unspecified wonders.²⁸⁰ He investigates further the nature of Annas, placing harsh emotions on his lips and malice in his heart.²⁸¹ Information delineating previous unstaged activities is thus suggested and the confrontation between Christ and the high priests elevated. Contrary to several later Passions, which seem needlessly to interrupt the flow of events towards the Crucifixion with the Herod episode, this author manages to provide not only the logical series of events as recorded by Mark, but also a hint of the vehemence of the Redeemer's adversaries.

The flagellation of *Palat* provides the first extensive look into material dealing with the Christ's physical punishment at the hands of torturers.²⁸² When this activity is compared with the most immediate relative of *Palat*, the *Passion des Jongleurs*, a gradual alteration of dramatic perspective can be sensed: the physical sufferings of the Savior are treated in ever-lengthening scenes, particularly in the French plays of the period. Concentration upon the triumphant Lord of the Resurrection moves towards an investigation of the *Man of Sorrows* and His human torment.²⁸³ In contrast to *StG*, where this event was reported in rubric alone, *Palat* conveys the beating and attitudes of the torturers in detail. Pilate betrays the ferocity of the coming moments when he commands:

*A ce piler le lierés,
Et le bates d'unes courgiées
Si que bien soient ensenglentées.*

*Et sachiez, se il se veut deffendre,
De ce c'om me fait a entendre,
Car il veut vostre lay abatre.
(Palat 580-585)*

When the ownership of the Nazarene's garment is decided (a determination entailing 49 verses), Huitacelin, angered by his loss of the robe, voices the intention to exact a painful penalty from its former owner.²⁸⁴ It is not known how long the actual flagellation lasts, but a duration of some minutes can be assumed from the remarks of the torturers. Huitacelin admits to his comrade: "*Caïn, je ne puis ferir plus.*"²⁸⁵ The second evildoer replies:

*Tant le poons batre et ferir
Que plus ne sera tormenté.
(Palat 662-663)*

Three short lines pass before Caïn, too, admits that he can do no more damage:

*Compains, je sui si fort lasse
Que plus ne sera tormenté.
(Palat 666-667)*

The time narrated by Matthew xxvii: 26 ("*Iesum autem flagellatum tradidit eis*") becomes through retardation a period of severe suffering, a bitter prelude to the unfolding immolation.

The Crucifixion itself, these six hours of extreme desolation, is magnified by dialog additions designed to rationalize characters and increase 'realism'. The time Christ spends on the Cross, if the grievings of the Virgin are included,²⁸⁶ involves 373 verses, making this sequence by far the most prominent retardation of tempo. During the opening moments the author graphically portrays the preparations for the coming execution, relating the arrival of the newly-forged nails, the procurement of a ladder, the ever-present derision of the Jews,

and the crowning of Christ with thorns. Indicative of a sorrowing mother, Mary expresses deeply-felt emotional distress at the sight. Extra-biblical verses communicated by the Dying Lord aid the conceptual slackening of time; His charge to John, extended beyond all known biblical utterances,²⁸⁷ seems to be a response to His mother's stirring pleas, "*parle a moy, mon tres douz fiex*",²⁸⁸ and "*Conseille moy que je feray*".²⁸⁹ Jesus' reply to Longinus' thrust and the miracle of regained sight, an action which elicits extreme chagrin in this old knight,²⁹⁰ appears to be designed to convey the idea of all-encompassing forgiveness of sins to the truly penitent.

Mary's touching response to the last included words of Jesus, "*Consummatum est*",²⁹¹ reinforces stated affections, amplified by a condemnation of Judas and the Jews. She verbalizes medieval views on the blame and responsibility for the Crucifixion. John's attempts to ease the Virgin's discomfort, observed in their infancy in *BenP* as a diminutive utterance of four verses,²⁹² are amplified to more closely resemble human responses to such tragic moments. John, too, places blame squarely upon the Jews, casting epithets like "*He larron Juif, traï-tour!*"²⁹³ and "*Chiens enragiē*".²⁹⁴ The cumulative effect is one of intense feeling and expression, voiced within reduced tempo.

DISCOURSE ON THE VIRGIN AND HER STRUCTURAL IMPORTANCE IN THE PASSIONS OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Now that I have established the *dramatic* result of several of Mary's laments within the Crucifixion sequence, I would like to investigate the process of retardation so obvious in the mournings by way of example and recognition of the manner in which medieval artists availed themselves of contemporary literary traditions. I will concentrate on

Marian speeches and a small number delivered by Jesus or John. The series of lamentations in *Palat* was chosen to represent the entire group because it contains the most extensive development of dramatic and literary material. It is indeed strange that *StG*, which employed Mary Magdalene as such an effective stage entity, should omit so much of the lament tradition, deigning only to offer the '*Flete, fideles animae*' and only ten lines of vernacular bereaving by the Virgin under the Cross.²⁹⁵ While it is true for *StG* that Mary's participation is spread throughout the period from her Son's arrest to His descent from the Tree, her lament appears curiously formal, perhaps even somewhat cold, when compared to the often tender, but always powerful emotional reaction which swirls around the Mary of *Palat*. The final *planctus* of *StG* does conform, as Theo Meier observes, to „(eine) unmittelbare Antwort auf das miterlebte Geschehen,"²⁹⁶ and enhances Mary's dramatic impact.²⁹⁷ To this extent the *StG* realization qualifies as a step towards increased character integration and rationalization, while giving evidence of the continued movement of Passion plays away from fixed or symbolic representations, such as *BenP*.²⁹⁸ However, in view of achievements of other contemporary artists, the *planctus* section of *StG* is arrestingly dissimilar, both in tone and breadth, evidence, I believe, that it stands in conflict with normal fourteenth-century depictions of Mary's compassion.

A short digression into the major sources of Marian lament will afford insight into certain precepts of the Passion spirituality surrounding all texts of Group II, while simultaneously pointing up the vast amount of material available to redactors..

The non-synchronous nature of idea and literary expression, experienced in the development of Christ's humanity during centuries preceding its appearance in Passion plays, is prevalent in the emerging dramatic exploitation of the Virgin.²⁹⁹ In fact, the two phenomena are parallel manifestations of spiritual investigation of prior years. Émile Mâle formulated it thus: "De même que l'on dit *Christi Passio*, on commence à dire, dès le XIV^e siècle, *Mariae Compassio*: cette compassion de la Vierge c'est l'écho de la Passion dans son coeur."³⁰⁰

One of the most influential voices of the early church to take up the relationship of Mary to the Passion of her Son was St. Ambrose, in 374 Bishop of Milan. The dimensions he drew around his conception of the Virgin beneath the Cross were those of a mother piously observing her Son's wounds, fearlessly standing by Him when His own carefully chosen companions had fled. She was depicted as absolutely convinced that her Offspring possessed the keys to the salvation of mankind, even at this moment of tragedy wishing the death of Christ for the love of humanity's redemption.³⁰¹ The first visions of the Virgin directly paralleled the ancient concept of *Christus triumphans*; Christ and His mother formed a bond of belief which rested on the conviction that Jesus was Master over all forms of life and death, and that His physical demise was no more than an interlude to absolute dominion. In this scheme of the Passion no room existed for a sorrowing or doubting mother.

Preliminary exegetic suggestions of the sort which propelled Mary into such a prominent position in the later Middle Ages were already felt when Paschasius Radpertus (+860) advanced the suggestion that Mary indeed suffered a special sort of martyrdom at her Son's Crucifixion. He investigated the prophecy of Simon and found it to have become reality

in Mary's suffering; the sword of Christ's Passion pierced her heart and caused such pain because she held so much love for Him there:

*Quia spiritualiter et caro eius passa est gladio passionis Christi, plus quam martyr fuit. Unde constat quia plus omnino delexit: propterea et plus doluit.*³⁰²

The tenth century witnessed an alteration of previous opinion inasmuch as several religious essays began concretizing Mary's pain and agony by including heretofore uninvestigated details. Anselm of Canterbury commenced a new and vastly humanized involvement with Mary's dolorous state by employing language which emphasized the wells of tears shed by the Virgin and the heart-rending laments she made. As Meier formulates it:

Eine neue Auffassung der Mater dolorosa meldet sich zu Wort. Das Bild einer unbeweglich und tränenlos unter dem Kreuze stehenden Mutter konnte nicht das Marienbild einer Zeit werden, die aus lebendigem Mitgefühl heraus das Menschliche in der Gestalt der Gottesmutter aufsucht und die eigenen Empfindungen auf Maria überträgt.³⁰³

During ensuing years the compassion of the mother of God was further investigated by men like Anselm of Lucca (+1085), Eadmer (+1124), the most famous of Anselm's English students,³⁰⁴ John of Fécamp, Arnould of Bonnevalle (+1157), Richard of St. Victor (+1173), and Bridget of Sweden (+1374).³⁰⁵

Eadmer invited his readers at one point to observe Mary's suffering, not only at the foot of the Cross, but during events which proceeded the execution as well. He suggested that, while Christ remained untried, she harbored the hope that He might somehow be freed. This author seems to be one of the very first to investigate the fundamentally *dramatic* manner which the course of events culminating in Mary's compassion on Calvary might have taken.³⁰⁶ The final portrait of the

Virgin, however, still lacked definition. The time was not yet right for an inquiry into individual details:

Der Ton sachlicher, theologischer Beweisführung herrscht (bei Eadmer) vor. Die Grösze ihres Schmerzes schildert er nicht durch Aufzählung konkreter Einzelheiten, sondern begnügt sich noch mit der allgemeinen Feststellung, Marias Schmerz sei zu grosz, als dasz man ihn darstellen könne.³⁰⁷

In Amadeus of Lausanne (+1159) we find a contemporary of Eadmer who attested to the Virgin's super-human agony, and while doing so, contributed notably to the gradual accrual of specific protestations of pain. These words originate from his attempt to identify the incomprehensible dimensions of Mary's loss:

Ibi genitus, ibi singultus, ibi suspiria, ibi moreor, ibi dolor, ibi agonia, ibi aestus animi, ibi incendia, ibi mors morte durior. . . .³⁰⁸

As previously noted, the evolving interest in Christ's human Passion, which blossomed toward the middle of the twelfth century with the writings of St. Bernard, was accompanied by increased attention to His mother's compassion. The authors whose works comprise fundamental doctrine of the Savior's humanity are also those who provide more detail for the dramatized Virgin of later centuries. Of particular importance are the documents attributed to St. Bernard (*Liber de passione Christi et doloribus planctibus matris ejus*),³⁰⁹ whose influence can clearly be seen in Pseudo-Anselm (*Dialogus de passione Christi*),³¹⁰ and John of Caulibus (*Meditationes vitae Christi*). These texts are called by F.P. Pickering „das passionsgeschichtliches Gemeingut des Mittelalters."³¹¹ The primary importance of Bernard's account is not that is presented heretofore unknown or unconsidered opinions-- it is rather a compendium of various sources, among them the '*Planctus ante*

nescia! apocryphal Passion representations, motifs from several lyrics, typical formulas from epic death laments³¹²-- but that Bernard organized his vision of Mary's compassion into a form in which her words took on the aura of personal revelation.³¹³ Pseudo-Anselm's work follows this established tradition closely. It is not difficult to ascertain the potential for effective dramatization of material accepted as a direct manifestation of the Virgin's torment; once the ,passionsgeschichtliches Gemeingut' had assumed such an emotional structure and Mary herself was allowed to bespeak her woes, the stage was set for extensive exploitation of the human sufferings of Christ's mother. Indeed, Mary's stoic endurance beneath the Cross, heightened by a humanization of her character, shared with Christ the thoughts and writings of religious men from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries,³¹⁴ exerting a lasting influence on European Passion literature.

The recapitulation of the history of Marian sorrows has necessarily been brief, touching only the most significant spiritual developments within the *planctus* tradition. Without question, vast quantities of homilies, tracts, hymns, and prayers to the Blessed Virgin³¹⁵ surround the medieval stage personality of Mary and created from her a figure of singular importance, one who cannot easily be dismissed. Let us now return to the central question at hand, that of the investigation of how these individual works about the Mother of Christ are woven into the fabric of the *Palatine planctus* sequence. I will first attempt to identify the means by which *Palat* incorporates widely-known material dealing with Mary's compassion. The task remaining will then be to ascertain how the playwright fills the gaps of the lament scene, retarding temporal motion and creating spectator awareness of the activity.

Paul Mass has investigated textual correspondances between *Palat* and a host of works in the tradition of Marian compassion. These consist of sixteen Latin writings,³¹⁶ two French complaints,³¹⁷ and one Catalanian plainte.³¹⁸ Textual incidences which betoken some semantic or structural dependency upon these sources are as follows:

1) Mary asks Christ why He hangs on the Cross

*Palat 970-971 Lasse dolents! biar tres doulz fiex
 En cele croys pour quoi pens tu, Diex?*³¹⁹

2) The Virgin asks Jesus to speak to her

*Palat 972 Lasse! parle a moy, mon tres douz fiex.*³²⁰

3) Christ's commendation of Mary to John

*Palat 995-1003 Un autre fil mout bon avras:
 Veez ci Jehan, en lieu de moy,
 Sera ton fil, quar je le veil.
 Jehan, biar amis et biar frere,
 Garde la bien, veez ci ta mere.
 Tu soies de ci en avant
 Avesques lui, je te commant.*³²¹

4) Mary wonders about her fortune

*Palat 1071 Lasse, dolente, que pourrai devenir?*³²²

5) Jesus is the son and father of Mary

*Palat 1077 J'ai mon chier fil et mon pere perdu.*³²³

*Palat 1134-35 Nature mout s'esmerveilla
 Quant fille son pere porta.*³²⁴

6) Mary wishes a) to expire after her Son; b) ask death to relieve her suffering

*Palat 1089 a) Or ne quier ge jamais plus vivre*³²⁵

*Palat 1220-21 b) He mort ennuieuse! com par feustes cruere
 Quant preistes le fil et laissates la mere!*³²⁶

7) Christ named Mary's comfort

*Palat 1093 Touz mes conforz en lui avoie.*³²⁷

8) The Jews accused, their evil ways identified

*Palat 1100-01 Lasse, trop furent or cruëls
Li felon Juïs desordenës!*³²⁸

9) The Virgin's heart breaks or she desires it

*Palat 1102-3 He! cuers, tu n'es pas a moy 329
Quant tu ne pars d'entour moy.*

*Palat 1175 Cuer, que ne pars quant tu ce vois*³³⁰

10) The Prophecy of Simon

*Palat 1109-15 Je sent le glaive a costé,
Se que symon me dit,
Quar pieça le promit.
Biax douz enfant, li aguz glaives
Ce sont les douleurs et les plaes
Que je sent parmi le cors,³³¹
Fuiz, dont tu es ore mort.*

11) The pun upon Maria=marrie by John

*Palat 1200-01 Pour ce te pri, douce Marie,³³²
Que ne soies si fort marrie.*

If Maas is correct in his assignments, then 33 lines of the 198 verses which complete Mary's lament and immediately surrounding activities are directly attributable to earlier religious writings which form the body of material available for exploitation.³³³ If we assume that whatever text remains owes its specific form, specific tone, and interest to the author, though appropriation of various passages from numerous sources must be recognized,³³⁴ then perhaps it is possible to ascertain certain tendencies towards humanization of Mary. I do not wish to deny that the *general* tenor of the *planctus* section is set by its sources or by a feeling of heightened emotionalism held in common with the religious and lay communities of the day; I wish to indicate instead the manner in which the poet's cultural surroundings affected his product and influenced its dramatic delivery.

On several occasions the playwright embellishes an already-prepared theme,³³⁵ the significance of the additions being the deepening of emotional response, a humanization or dramatization of a current of pathos potentially seething under an inquiet doctrinal surface. Not merely content to blame the Jews for the proceedings against her Son, Mary is given an ahistoric perception of events and an overview of Judas' treachery; she condemns him and the Jews vehemently:

*Oho! Judas, traites, tricherie,
Ce as tu fait; li cors Dieu te maudie!
Tu as vendy mon chier fil savoureux
As faus Juifs et mis fort entre eus.
Or l'ont ocis li fel par leur envie.
Onques mais hons ne ot tel vilenie.
Qui au faus Juifs fu livré a martyre,
Il n'avoit pas ceste mort deservie.
(Palat 1080-87)*

John seizes upon the theme of spiritual blindness as he attempts to console Mary, at once increasing the dramatic breadth and the doctrinal intensity of the scene by contrasting the light of Christ with the unseeing souls of the Jews:

*Or l'ont fait li desnaturel
Juifs morir de mort cruel.
(Palat 1142-43)*

*He! Larron Juif traitour!
Pour quoi avez fait tel doulour
De celui qui ere
Du monde clarté et lumiere,
D'une mort si apre et fiere
Mourir, mauvese gent cruelere,
Chien enragié?
Avugle estes par pechié.
Or vous a il bien engigné,
Quant ainsint l'avez traveillié
Et tormenté,
Car pour sa mort toute clarté
En est mise en occulté,
Et pour ce vous a il moutré
Que il estoit
Tout lumiere qu'enluminoit
Tout ce qu'en lui fiance avoit
Sans decevance.*

*He!, Juis! com mortel mescheance!
 Pourchaciez mort sans defience
 Celui en cui vostre esperance
 Estre devoit.*

(Palat 1147-68)

The monolog of John, presented in *BenP* by a formalized four-line statement,³³⁶ and in *StG* with the singularly brief observation, "*Ecce quomodo moritur iustus!*",³³⁷ is magnified into speech of 76 verses, wherein John not only attempts to console Mary by emphasizing the futility of such deep mourning,³³⁸ but also by identifying the severity of her loss³³⁹ and mentioning the kinship of mother and Son as well.³⁴⁰

John regards the dead Christ on the Rood and mourns:

*Las, com j'ai au cuer grant destroit
 Quant je vous voy si en estroit,
 Si fort estendu et si roit,
 Sire, en la crois,
 Que vous tant de bien n'i avez
 Ou vostre chef mettre puissiez.*
 (Palat 1169-74)

However, certain of John's observations on Christ's state turn back onto that of His mother, giving voice to his vision of her own pain at the sight:

*A ses flans et a sa couleur
 Mout bien i pert.
 Dame, nun tant com vous i pert!*
 (Palat 1179-81)

In the monologs of the Blessed Virgin subtle innovative overtones are evident: to be sure, Mary directs her thoughts to her Son's condition,³⁴¹ but it seems that much of the newly-acquired accentuation is focused upon the dolorous mother. These lines suggest an interest in Mary's future:

*Conseille moy que je feray,
 Et comment je me maintenrray.
 Qui me gardera enprés toy?
 Chier fuiz, aies merci de moy!*

*En toy estoit li miens delit,
 En moy avoies ton cuer mis,
 En toy avoie m'esperence,
 En toy avoie ma fiance.
 (Palat 974-981)*

*Biax fuiz, pense de mon affiare.
 Qu'après toy porray devenir
 Et quele voie porrai je tenir?
 (Palat 987-989)*

A glance at the underlined first person pronominal forms indicates that the character of greatest interest is not the Christ, but the Virgin. Indeed, the answering speech by Jesus is the '*Mulier, ecce, filius tuus - Ecce, mater tua*' commendation of Luke xix: 26-27. Mary's questioning of Jesus provides a rather well-conceived method of rationalizing the need for the biblical statement.³⁴²

From textual evidence it is apparent that the author of *Palat* has not only relied upon generally-available sources to create his retardation of succession at the Crucifixion, he has tapped several reservoirs of dramatic power ingenerate to these sources, augmenting them by a de-symbolization of the Savior's Passion, choosing instead to show its human terms with the Virgin and John as the main theatrical catalysts. What emerges is a scene of impressive vitality and life, wherein the characters who surround the tormented Jesus relate His pain to their own needs, affording us the opportunity to observe their *human* reaction to that ignominious death by public execution. This retardation of tempo contains numerous points of doctrinal and cultural history which identify the significance for each spectator of the central truth of his life: Christ died an unjust death, and suffered as a *human being*, not as a god sent from above; and His earthly mother shared His pain, just as any *human mother* would do. The author has vastly altered the scene by

successfully integrating not only several of the fundamental religious writings of the day, but also with accretions which add rather than detract from the chief Passion theme. In coming years the compassion of Mary will become even more vibrant until it reaches its dramatic zenith during the sixteenth century in Alsfeld.

As one investigates further episodes which affect the tempo of succession, one discovers that the Harrowing of Hell likewise offers opportunity to increase detail and presentify that joyous release of bonded souls. This section also provides us with a good measurement by which we can distinguish development in the fourteenth century French and German Passions.

French authors had long before consulted vernacular sources, uncovering supplemental material for areas of Scripture which were too brief to accommodate a meaningful theme through an entire scene. They found the basis for numerous incidental episodes in legend and incorporated them into their plays.³⁴³ Incidents like the Veronica encounter and Judas' history owe their dramatic life to legend.³⁴⁴ French playwrights greatly expanded other non-biblical components which offered opportunities for character intensification. The importance of character in French Passions is one substantial factor which distinguishes them from German equivalents.³⁴⁵ A comparison of the *StG* and *Palat* Harrowings will indicate the degree of divergence between the two traditions.

The account of most traditional and sacred tone is that of *StG*. *Diabolus* of the temptation is now called only *Lucifer*; neither he nor his companions (*Angeli mali*)³⁵⁶ are humanized (Hartl- „unter [denen] mehr eine geistige Macht als eine sichtbare Gestalt verstanden werden soll".)³⁴⁷

Liturgical and festive is the atmosphere,³⁴⁸ for the day of release for tortured souls is at hand. The actor portraying the Holy Redeemer delivers the traditional speeches, like the antiphon, "*Tollite portas*", based on the last lines of Psalm xxiv, expressed in German as well as Latin.³⁴⁹ This command arouses Lucifer's anxiety. Angels answer his "*Quis est iste rex gloriae*" and vernacular rendition³⁵⁰ with the time-honored phrase, "*Dominus virtutum, ipse est rex gloriae*," and attendant German paraphrase.³⁵¹ Adam magnifies the sacred and traditional tone of the section by singing the well-known '*Advenisti, desiderabilis*', supervised by a rather close expression in the vernacular.³⁵²

Occasions which might lend themselves to dramatic exploitation appear of little significance for this author. His entrance into this arena of darkness plays no theatrical role for the story, except as it injects official doctrine into the presentation. This may be sensed by observing the lack of identifiable transition with which the sequences of guard-setting, harrowing, and appearance of the Maries are structured. After the *milites* take their posts and are struck with heavenly swords,³⁵³ they simply cease to function; no indication of their exit from stage exists. This fact lends credence to the thought that their participation in the drama is purely text-mandated. The bridge between the three Maries and the harrowing is filled only with a triple repetition of the *Silete* by angels.³⁵⁴ The dramatically fecund territory which makes up the purchase of spices by the women is completely ignored by *StG*, and Mary Magdalene indicates a lacuna of some unknown size with her report: „*Ich han eine salbe gut. . .*“³⁵⁵ Her declaration befits the circumstances if we know the story, but its application is not as dramatic as other contemporary illustrations.

Scant question can be raised concerning the availability of pertinent material dealing with the events posterior to the *descensus ad crucem*; we have the witness of the Easter play of Muri from ca. 1250, wherein the time surrounding the placing of guards and a spice merchant episode are extensively and 'realistically' portrayed.³⁵⁶ We can further expound the long tradition of merchant scenes which was in circulation from at least the latter part of the twelfth century,³⁵⁷ whose application to *BenP* has already been observed.³⁵⁸ I can formulate only conclusion: the author of *StG* not only followed an accustomed convention which operated with a liturgical and festive tone, he also chose to structure his dramatic offering in a particular way. Specifically, the artist excluded several possible episodes to concentrate his message in the period from Christ's death to the preparation for the visit to the sepulchre by the three Maries, thus focusing audience attention on the Resurrection. We have here a pertinent example of the tendency of the German Passions of the fourteenth century to embellish with liturgical material.

When the time between the Harrowing of Hell and Christ's appearance to Mary Magdalene in the French plays is investigated, the reader is rewarded with an experience owing its intensity to increased attention to dramatic detail on the part of the author, and the related manipulation of the flow of time. Though all accounts of the period traditionally believed to encompass three days of natural time are necessarily sketchy, of the five texts under consideration, *Palat* presents the most significant allotment of staged time for these hours in represented time. Again, by a pronounced attention to detail, character portrayal, and to a realization of how events in Hell might unfold (both according to

accepted doctrine and in terms of the *human* intellect allied with emotional response), this stagewright leisurely lingers over the release of souls from torment, and in so doing, not only slows the acceleration of represented time, but also presentifies into concrete terms and images the mythical realm of the underworld.

Satan gleefully calls his devils together to announce the defeat of the "*Traitour de Galilee/Qui se faisoit apeler Christ*,"³⁵⁹ this alleged son of God,

*Entre deus larrons crucefiez,
Et par les mains et par les piez,
plus vilment que nul autre lerrez.
(Palat 1245-47)*

A recapitulation of Judas' treachery, the likes of which no devil ever achieved,³⁶⁰ deludes Satan into a false sense of security, as he boasts:

*Fort est, si se redrece;
N'en a pooir, noen avons doute,
Mort est li lierres, ne voit goute,
Jamais ne nous fera moleste.
(Palat 1265-68)*

The fears of Enfers, when he remembers Christ, are brushed aside by Satan, who vaunts his "*grant talent et grant envie*,"³⁶¹ as he heaps ridicule upon the lower devil and declares the continued ascendancy of Hell so long as their malicious vices suffice:

*Je te ferai les iex sallir!
Fil a putain, je te deffie.
Nous ne verrons ja avenir
Qu'enfer perde sa seigneurie
Tant com nous porrons maintenir
Orgueil, barat et tricherie.
(Palat 1306-11)*

Enfers lists the worldly princes of power who bow to his authority, among them several religious men.³⁶² Each new addition to Hades will further strengthen the defenses of Hell, should anyone seek to overthrow

their kingdom.³⁶³ But despite his triumphs of the past, Enfers still harbors doubts concerning a possible encounter with the Lord of Hosts. He notes that souls do not come to Hell prepared for battle in iron, armed with hauberk, nor with swords of steel.³⁶⁴ His reflections prompt this spirit to ponder the outcome of a confrontation with the God-Man:

*Dites, deables, que ferons?
Et fuirons nous ou atendrons,
Ou irons nous sauver nos vies
Chacun en diverses parties?*
(Palat 1341-44)

Satan curses his confrère a second time for his doubt, tumidly promising that he will make Jesus Christ his own.³⁶⁵ An idle boast, indeed, for Enfers sees the impending destruction of infernal Hell approaching, "*Plus blanc que nule fleur de lis*,"³⁶⁶ and conveying their death in His hand.³⁶⁷ Even in the face of desertion by his compatriots, Satan vows to deal harshly with Christ:

*Se Jesucrist vert dire mot,
Je li brulerai le toupot.
Or viegne, se il cuide bien faire!*
(Palat 1383-85)

A prayer of praise for the intervening redemption by one of the waiting spirits puts Enfers to flight, and Satan is left to confront his heavenly adversary alone.

The scene, which continues with the anticipated command by Jesus, "*Ouvrez les portes infernaus*,"³⁶⁸ includes a rather comical lament by Satan about the loss of his hostages and intention to enjoy his life in other more hospitable climes:

*Or m'en irai en Lumbardie
A tous jours mais user ma vie,
En despit du roy Jesucrist.*
(Palat 1418-20)

It concludes with yet another hymn of praise to the Savior of human kind. The most striking portions, however, deal with the rationalization and humanization of Christ's adversaries. 152 verses are spent creating near-human personalities for the two devils, Satan and Enfers. Presentational time is weighed heavily in favor of non-benign beings: the devils deliver 170 lines of text compared with twenty for the Christ and twenty-five for the redeemed souls. *Palat* is the first of the Passions investigated thus far to take such pains to explore infernal entities and to afford them so great a place in the story. No real character development takes place in the Lord's personality; indeed, it is not necessary. His nature evolves into its French form from previous plays and religious teachings. Included, however, is at least a hint of the Redeemer's humanity, as he responds to the acclamation of the saved souls:

*Mi ami, mi cousin, mi frere.
Je vieng de la destre mon pere.
Pour vous sauver a mort soffert.
(Palat 1431-33)*

Though His sacrifice was dictated by His own Father, this God feels a close kinship with humanity; He responds, not as a God-Father, one distant, jealous, wrathful, but as a fellow traveller in human society. By means of this speech and later reinforcement of the idea that Christ follows God's will alone,³⁶⁹ contrasted with the detailed and strongly-articulated responsibility of Satan for Judas' crime,³⁷⁰ modern readers may observe one of the theological cornerstones which circumscribe medieval drama, that of heavenly causality.³⁷¹ Since all events in sacred history are generally motivated by divine or evil forces and not by the will of man, the final task left to medieval dramatizers

was to make this motivation comprehensible.³⁷² Thus the interest of *Palat* for devils. Their elongated speeches place them squarely in opposition to the benevolent Christ, as few Passions have done before. Through retardation of temporal succession their guilt is made clear. They have also been 'rationalized' into beings far removed from the world of symbol; devils are seen to actually meddle in human affairs, becoming real and concrete threats to the very spiritual substance of medieval man.

Matthew's record of the setting of the guards around the tomb³⁷³ is greatly augmented with concentration in represented time and dramatic detail, both of which combine to create a picture we perceive as more nearly like the manner in which true, historical, or living persons might conduct themselves. *Palat* is by no means the originator of this episode; the first play to contain a fully-developed appointment of guards is the Easter play of Klosterneuburg (1204),³⁷⁴ though other Easter plays like Benediktbeuern (ca. 1250)³⁷⁵ and Tours (thirteenth century)³⁷⁶ contain all or part of the sequence of events. The Passion fragment from Sulmona likewise investigates much of the activity,³⁷⁷ but none devotes as much time, space, or realizing energy to this subsection as does *Palat*. One is aware of the changing demands of staged presentation; a more naturalistic portrait of the possible historical situation is demanded-- and produced.

Instead of receiving epic treatment, the few minutes of central importance to the play are fleshed out with a dramatization of the entire attempt to keep the Savior in His borrowed tomb. Annas, Caiaphas, and a new personality, Evramin, a servant, set the activity in motion with an arrestingly natural sequence by their urgent consultations

on how best to prevent the Dead Man's prophecy of a return to life from becoming reality. The exchange between two of the antagonists uncovers a certain inquietude, suggestive of human doubt, which calls for an immediate solution:

[Annas]

Evramin, Evramin!

[Evramin]

Sire! Sire!

[Annas]

*Or tost, va a mon jenrre dire
Que tantost a moy parler viegne,
Que tant num besoing ne le tiegne.*

[Evramin]

*Biax sire, je irai maintenant
Et si li dirai bonement.
(Palat 1553-59)*

After Annas has welcomed Caiaphas and reminded him of the Truant's promise to come to life after three days, reinforcing the negative results of such an event for them,³⁷⁸ the newcomer agrees that they must collectively undertake to interdict even the possibility of a Resurrection.³⁷⁹ He councils approaching Pilate with the problem, a suggestion to which Annas readily assents. Matthew's account ("*Altera autem die, quae est post Parasceven, convenerunt Sacerdotum et Pharisaei ad Pilatum*"),³⁸⁰ which placed the initial remembrances of prophecy before Pilate, has been expanded backwards in time to include what appears certainly a most logical, indeed, necessary meeting of the minds of the *principes Sacerdotum et Pharisaei* anterior to their solicitation before the governor of Judea. A few more lines of text result, but more importantly, a point of historical significance which prepares the way for the Savior's triumph over His adversaries is highlighted by

concentration of presentational time. The request for soldiers from Pilate is likewise expanded in detail and flows naturally into the calling up and setting of the guards. I perceive a well-integrated dramatic tactic involving the boisterous, but nevertheless ironic speeches of the four soldiers and the succeeding Resurrection of Jesus. These men-of-arms, fanciful, would-be masters of their world, boast of their abilities and make vain threats through some forty-nine verses. Their bold words of intent lend a comical, utterly human element of bravado to the text, which is effectively turned into sheer helplessness before the power of the Divine King:

[LI PREMIERS CHEVALIERS]

*Se nus vient des larrons provez,
Gardez que vous ne les espargniez,
Mais de espees les trenchiées
En tel maniere qu'il i pere.*

[LI SECONZ CHEVALIERS]

Il dit bien, par l'ame mon pere.

[LI TIERS CHEVALIERS]

*Par Mahon, se je truis saint PO,
Je li estuierai tel cop,
Qui en soit la parte ne li gaaing.*

[LI QUARZ CHEVALIERS]

*Et se je puis tenir as mains
Son compaignon, le truant Pierre,
se il n'est plus dur que pierre,
Je li fendrai sans nul arreste
De m'espee en deus pars la teste.*

[LI PREMIERS CHEVALIERS]

*Se Symon peut cheoir en mes laz,
Et il chiee entre mes braz,
Se larme du cors ne li tray,
Ja la moie arme pardon n'ait!*

[LI SECONZ CHEVALIERS]

*Certes, honiz sont li glouton,
Se Berthelemi vient ou Matheum.*

[LI TIERZ CHEVALIERS]

*Se je Matheu, le pautonier,
Avoie ocis a ceste espee,
Bien seroit faite ma journee.*

[LI QUARZ CHEVALIERS]

*Se ci venoit Andrui ou Marc,
Je ne leroie pour cent marrs
Ne ferisse le quel que soit.*

[LI PREMIERS CHEVALIERS]

*Se truis Phelippe ne Jhean,
Je n'isse ja hors de cest an,
Se je n'essaie comment entre
M'espee en bouel ou en ventre.*

[LI SECONZ CHEVALIERS]

*Et de marie que ferons,
Se nous illueques la trouvons?*

[LI TIERZ CHEVALIERS]

*Si soit trestoute detranchiee
Pour ce qu'ele est de sa mainniee.
(Palat 1683-1715)*

Several disciples, mentioned by name, are singled out for formidable punishment should they attempt to steal Christ's remains; the pun on the French form of Peter and the word for stone (Pierre=pierre) brings a smile to our faces, for the fourth soldier boasts that if Peter is not more obdurate than stone, his head will be split; Matthew will be killed by the third soldier's sword; Phillip and John will receive a stroke from the first soldier; a punishment is even in store for Mary, should she venture near. The *Palat* playwright is certainly not the first to project such mannerisms upon these four hapless and boisterous individuals.³⁸¹ He does, however, increase the impact of the Lord's escape from their grasp by allowing each at least two occasions to swagger. Their flaunted manliness is indeed ironic, for, despite their blithe threats, their readiness to crush the disciples, all

their vaunted rhetoric is completely invalidated by the four-line call of an angel for Christ to rise,³⁸² and His four-line reply:

*Biaux pere, je me lief puis que voy que il te plait,
Ce que j'ai fait, si soit a ta volenté fait.
J'ai este en enfer, si l'ai brisié et frait;
Par covant tes amis a foison en ai trait. . . .*
(Palat 1720-23)

The driving forces behind the Resurrection, implementing the Father's will, and release of the prisoners from Hell, originate in a context beyond the power of mere mortal men. Yet the act itself is so simple. Man's vanity and foolishness is painfully evident; the surprised soldiers can only paraphrase the heavenly words they have heard, contemplate their meaning, and attempt to relate to them.³⁸³ Their decision to quickly evacuate the area is voiced by the forth soldier: "*Or tost, or tost, fuions, fuions!*"³⁸⁴ The lightening speed with which events have evaded the control of those sent to hinder the inevitable is brilliantly contrasted with the ironic threats of the guards and their sixty-two line analysis of the event they have just witnessed; it opposes vain human behavior and frailties with the consummation of the Resurrection. The author's investigation of the moments surrounding the reappearance from the grave of the Prince of Peace, from the initial apprehension of Annas to the guards' flight, creates yet another high-point within the play by exploitation of concentration and retardation of succession.

Palat caps its most significant reductions of successional tempo by observing the merchant and his encounter with the holy women, the first of the Group II Passions to do so in detail. To be sure, a long tradition of *unguentarius*, *mercator*, and *specionarius* episodes existed before the commitment of this play to written form. Since he is the

first purely secular figure to be subjoined to religious drama,³⁸⁵ the appearance of the merchant in *Palat* has numerous predecessors, like the Easter plays of Origny-Sainte-Benoîte (late thirteenth-early fourteenth century),³⁸⁶ Klosterneuburg, and especially Tours, to which both the Easter and Passion plays of *Benediktbeuern* are indebted.³⁸⁷

The spice merchant scene is in the direct line of development from the third stage of the *Visitatio*, which also includes the interlude of the guards, the *descensus ad infernos*, Christ's appearance to Mary Magdalene, and the race of Peter and John to the sepulchre.³⁸⁸ An example of the primitive use of the merchant in the German tradition is contained in a thirteenth-century play from the nun's cloister of St. George in Prague.³⁸⁹ Even though the merchant is an early amendment to the cast of characters, his dramatic freedom is severely restricted in German plays. In Klosterneuburg, for instance, de Boor attributes the assimilation of the *unguentarius* into a play of a profoundly sacred character to „der rein sakrale Tenor des (mercator) Textes,"³⁹⁰ one which permitted its non-detractive integration into a strictly liturgical relationship with the Resurrection: „Die Frauen begeben sich hier wirklich zu einer als *ungentarius* bezeichneten Person *pro accipiendis ungentis*, und von dort zum Grabe."³⁹¹ French plays allow greater freedom for realization of the merchant as a character. Here we may have a possible solution to the puzzle of *StG*, which entirely lacks a *mercator* episode.

It is in keeping with the tendency of French dramatists to interest themselves for character development earlier than their German analogs, as I noted for sections like the Crucifixion and Harrowing of Hell in *Palat*. That they should allow the merchant a greater part in the drama

is not surprising. We have before us yet another manifestation of the manner in which intention defines structure, this time a negative one. Concentration demands a decidedly lesser accent on things of purely secondary importance, or even their complete disregard. The festive Resurrection of *StG* and its liturgical understandings of scenes like the Harrowing of Hell may well abrogate the merchant's appearance.

Another fact bears on the question: the *unguentarius* scene may well have originated in France, possibly in Spain,³⁹² thus be more accessible to French writers during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in its variant forms expressing the *active participation* of the mercator.

This portion of the story originally consisted of two core activities, the lament of the holy women as they sought the tomb of their Lord and the ointment purchase itself.³⁹³ The play of Ripoll from the twelfth century is the first preserved text to evolve the second act into a believable transaction.³⁹⁴ The *Palat* story organizes both sections into a near-to-life picture of three sorrowing women who urgently desire to accomplish one last act of worship towards their lost Savior. The poet lingers over the mournful women by dramatizing one final time the heart-felt loss suffered by the three Maries, as they place blame on the Jewish instigators.³⁹⁵ All information indicates that the early stages of this encounter were expressed in terms not unlike those found in a Norman service book, which contained the three simple cries:

Prima:

*Heu, misere, cur contigit
videre mortem Saluatoris?*

Secunda:

*Heu! redemptio Israhel,
ut quid taliter agere uoluit?*

Tertia:

*Heu! consolatio nostra,
utquid mortem sustinuit.*³⁹⁶

The situation of anguish has been elongated into eighty verses, plumbing the depths of a human response to incalculable loss. There follows the introduction of the spice merchant, who is now almost indistinguishable from his medieval brother; for the first time in Passions thus far investigated the merchant has assumed a certain degree of the demeanor of a medieval businessman and a host of other related characteristics, all of which help to presentify him. The figure which, upon its introduction into religious dramas, was treated earnestly and with a high degree of propriety, is now a true medieval man of the market. To be sure, his personality has not yet reached the heights of questionable realism often found in the Passions of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Although he already does a magnificent job of hawking his wares, among them miracle herbs capable of rejuvenating old women³⁹⁷ and foretelling the exact hour of death,³⁹⁸ he is courteous to the grieving women, offering them his most prized ointment, while being certain that he receives just recompense in the amount of "*trente livres*".³⁹⁹

However, this author appears to have paid a price for his lavish detail and character development. It is strange that he fails to present the Risen Christ in conversation with the Magdalene, choosing instead to duplicate the scriptural account of ensuing events contained in Matthew xxviii, one which does not mention the meeting.

Highpoints of structural intensity in *Autun B* deceive somewhat as to their actual concentration. When one investigates the section containing preparations for the Passover and the Last Supper, a series of

events consuming 245 verses in presentational time, the discovery is made that many individual episodes occur in temporal parallel, and the stress upon the religious contents of the institution of Communion receives no more exposure than it did in *Palat*. Of the 245 lines, seventy deal with the procurement of a suitable room for the feast, Christ's appraisal by the disciples of their completed preparations, and the journey to the host's accommodation.⁴⁰⁰ Seventy-two verses are allocated to the narrative lament and journey of Mary Magdalene to the Upper Room, seemingly contemporary to some portion of the Passover meal.⁴⁰¹ The remaining 102 verses deal with Christ's prophecy of impending betrayal, the sharing of the bread and wine, Mary's reception and Judas' denouncement of the Lord's anointment, and finally Peter's oath of eternal fidelity, echoed by John.⁴⁰² The incident of Mary Magdalene is elongated in time when compared with her short twenty-four line presence in *Palat*.

Commencing with the Messiah's arrest in *Autun B*, the distinction between retarded tempo and concentration is solely a matter of quantity, not of innovative dramatics. *Autun B* builds upon similar, and in several instances identical foundations as *Palat*, injecting even more life into characters and fleshing out their surroundings with increased specificity. Let us investigate a few scenes from this time block.

In both *Palat* and *Autun B* Judas seeks to undo his crime. *Palat* depicts the attempt in a rather straightforward and unembellished manner. The misguided disciple displays accepted motivations of repentance, but his character lacks definition. *Autun B* provides the needed emotional edge by integrating all the basic remonstrations of error and treachery found in *Palat*, but lending more stress to the human

parameters of Judas' remorse. The ultimate crime is couched in terms which instill the feeling that the betrayer was also of our kind. A few seconds of represented time suggest a complete change of heart by Judas. These presentational moments also insinuate that a corresponding weighing of the consequences and a *human* decision to act have taken place outside the confines of presentational time, acts which were previously offered in formalized terms which ran the danger of congealing into quasi-mythical reflections:⁴⁰³

*Bonnes gens, laissés vostre noyse,
 Quar il n'y a que baret et trayson.
 Je suis Judas et sen rayson
 Trayson j'ay faictes trop grand
 Pour la somme d'ung petit argent.
 Bien le vous este aperceüz!
 Las, je me suis bien deceüz!
Ce que j'ay fait me demuera:
 Ill y a trucherie et barat.
 Helas, desus tous les marchant
J'ensuis le plus meschant,
 Quar j'ay vanduz trante denier
 Mon seigneur qui estoit droicturier.
 Helas, que j'ay faicte grant offande!
Pour quoy je me veul aller pandre,
Quar panduz seray sen mantir,
Et tart sera le repantir.
 Je le donna pour petit prist,
 Mon doulz maistre Jhesucrist.
 Le myen jugement en est venuz:
Partout saray par foul tenuz,
 Quar mon seigneur ay trahis.
 Toutes gens me doyve hays.
J'ay pechier trop apertement,
Jamais n'yrait a saulvement.
 (Autun B 613-637)*

Judas repeatedly cries out the magnitude of his offense, its unforgiveable immensity, while justifying his hanging and hinting at his loathful position among men of days to come.

A further humanization of Judas results from his direct address to the audience, a suspension of dramatic time, wherein he not only

despairs of receiving forgiveness for his trespass, but also announces his intention to destroy himself:

*Entendés tous qu'estes yci.
Et sen esperance de misericorde
Je me pandray a un corde,
Et pour fere mon testament
A tous les dyables je me rand.
(Autun B 641-645)*

Only a humanized character can address his audience in such a manner. Judas' personality has developed into one which is no longer a mere cog in the wheel of human redemption, but one which depicts a feeling, intensely repentant person, whose unpardonable sin is not the betrayal of his Master, but his utter despair.⁴⁰⁴

The flagellation takes on a substantially different character in *Autun B* than it had in *Palat*. Instigated by Pilate in a vain attempt to dissuade the Jews from their demands for the death penalty, the beating begins immediately and without the dramatic articulation of personality and situation found in *Palat*. Two sergeants fulfill their master's desires with alacrity, but it is impossible to ascertain its actual presentational duration. Contrary to the previous account, *Autun B* does not allude to an extended time of beating, for a soldier states only:

*Bien fraperay de ma courgie,
Saches que ne l'esparnieray mye!
(Autun B 758-759)*

To this declaration are appended the urgings of the torturer upon his companion: "*Frapont, compain, apertement, /Ja n'y aura arestement.*"⁴⁰⁵

The flagellation itself occupies only ten lines of text, although this most certainly is not indicative of its duration in actuality. Lacking in this play is the emerging sadism of the torturers which defines their final character traits in most later renditions.

The most momentous incident affixed to French Passions is the episode of the forging of the nails, one uncovered in legend.⁴⁰⁶ A spectacle of profound dramatic and presentational influence, the nail forging appears in none of the other national Passion traditions, with the single exception of the English narrative poem, *The Northern Passion*, composed early in the fourteenth century.⁴⁰⁷ *The Northern Passion* relies heavily upon an earlier French Passion composed in octasyllables from the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century.⁴⁰⁸

This French poem marks the first appearance of the smith and his wife in European Passion literature. Francis Foster surmises that a now-forgotten or lost tradition preceded its introduction.⁴⁰⁹ Although a product of uncertain origin, the forging of the nails doubtless owes its integration into Passion literature to a development other than a stroke of presentational genius by some literary personality. F.P. Pickering attributes the figure of the *smith* to medieval exegetic attempts to explain the presence of nails and hammers at the Crucifixion, and from whence they came. He points to a personality from the Old Testament, Tubalcain, whose image as a blacksmith eminently qualified him as a prime candidate for inclusion *as a type*,⁴¹⁰ but not as a correspondance for the one who ultimately created the nails, there being no "New Testament type for him to prefigure".⁴¹¹ Thus his role seemed to destine him to passivity; his main function was not to act at all.⁴¹² Aetiological considerations prohibited this figure from functioning as a smith to the evil Jews,⁴¹³ so exegetes invented a wife *ex nihilo* who would comply with their demands.⁴¹⁴ According to this theory, medieval theologians, in their attempt to come to grips with Christ's instructions

that all information pertaining to Him should be sought in the Old Testament,⁴¹⁵ forced into being a previously unknown and unreported activity to surround the Crucifixion. The integration of the nail forging into the medieval religious tradition is proven by the words of Pierre Bercheur (1290-1362), when he wrote concerning the Passion of Christ:

*Christum . . . nudum super crucem extenderunt, et ibi cum clavis grossis et male formatis et non per fatrum sed per quendam ribaldum factis conclauauerunt. Dic si vis de clavis quomodo fuerunt facti et sic cum cruce sursum erexerunt.*⁴¹⁶

The exact moment of inception of the episode remains a mystery, as does the reason for its placement in French religious literature and its absence in German as well as the majority of English writings. It is not inconceivable that the gravitation of French medieval theater towards vividness and detail may be at least partly responsible.

A Jew's journey to the smith for the purpose of commissioning him to forge the nails, wherewith the Condemned will be pinioned hand and foot to His death vehicle, shows neatly the means by which many scenes in *Autun B* are elongated in presentational time by the gradual accrual of minor syntactical or descriptive elements, a process which separates it from *Palat*:

[Marques au fevre]

*Or sus, fevre, isnelement!
Trois clos me forges maintenant
Pour maitre Jhesu clofichier
Et en la croys bien estachier.
(Palat 787-790)*

Or parle Ung Juifz au fevre.

*Or sus, fevre, ligierement,
Troys cloux forges apertement
Pour Jhesu de Nazarath crucifier
Et en la croix bien estachier.
Or sus tantost et vous levés,
Le fert et vous marteaulx prenés!
(Autun B 873-877)*

After the smith pleads his incapacity to accomplish the task, the messenger demands to see his crippled hands, threatening bodily harm if the smith's protestations of infirmity prove false:

[Marques]

*Naini, par Dieu omnipotent!
ains mais ne vi en mon vivant,
Home ne vi si mal mené.*

Or voi bien qu'aillerus m'en irai.

(*Palat* 809-812)

Adonc respongy Le Larre et disit
a celui fevre:

*Certes, en toy a grant confor!
Je t'ay bien blasmer a tort,
Je voys que fere ne poviés rien.*

Je t'excuserait tres bien.

Or m'an convient arier aler

A un aultre fevre parler.

(*Autun B* 900-905)

The additions accomplished by *Autun B* provide small hints of a human situation, but do not significantly alter the earlier account.

The most eloquent amendations made by *Autun B* to the *Palatine* rendition of the forging involves the figure of the smith's wife. *Palat* has already provided her with a decidedly disturbing and distasteful personality. She forcefully undertakes to complete that which her infirm husband cannot.⁴¹⁷ Her adversary relationship to Christ is evident:

*Ja de forgier ne serai couarde
Pour le fauz truant clofichier.*

(*Autun B* 848-849)

*Et sachiez bien que Jhesucrist
Sera mout fort si se deserre.*

(*Autun B* 852-853)

This text repeats much of the tone of the wife's participation from *Palat*, but attaches to it a biting sarcasm, a loathing of the Savior, and a zeal to be a part of His coming execution. All these attributes are new to the Passion story.

Instead of attributing the miracle of her husband's infirmity to God, she ascribes it to the Devil.⁴¹⁸ Nothing will dissuade the smith's wife from forging the nails. Her expressed pleasure is a touch of malevolence difficult to forget:

*Et je veulx tantost mes marteaulx prandre,
 Mon poinsson et mes tenailles,
 Et se je il faul, que j'ae la raige;
 Bien scay ouvrier de mon mestier,
 Le fert bien tramper et forgier.
 Le mal feu d'enfer mes mains ardes,
 Se de les forgier suis courroussade!
 (Autun B 935-941)*

This person of truly malefic proportions even rejoices in song at the impending execution:

*Saichés que bien est advenus!
 Memes grand feste, june et chamus,
 Car maintenant est pris celui
 Qui la loy vouloit amully,
 Mais en la croix sera crucifier
 De ses troys clous, piez et main percier.
 (Autun B 944-949)*

Such is the figure which possesses all the reality, loathsomeness, bombastic speech, and stage effectiveness of the most worldly of characters. She is an excellent example of the tendency mentioned by Brinkmann to investigate secular personalities in detail.⁴¹⁹

When the Crucifixion is approached in the French Passions, the strict reliance upon verse numbers to completely describe the perimeter and significance of scenes occasionally leads to questionable results. Were one to compare the 209 verses of the *Palatine* Crucifixion with the apparently more extensive 341 lines of *Autun B*, without taking into account the unusual appearances of many epic narratives, its true dramatic situation would be greatly distorted. When the epic portions are discounted, the numerical extent of the *Autun B* Crucifixion shows itself to be about forty-seven lines longer than *Palat*. Most of the verses serve to increase the humanity and participation of Longinus and to lend greater vitality to a number of Jews who crowd around the Cross, casting dispersions both before and during the administration of punishment.

As I noted in past paragraphs, *Autun B* gives great attention to the exchanges of Joseph of Arimathea and Pilate, essentially absolving the latter of responsibility for Christ's death.⁴²⁰ Seen from the standpoint of retardation, this event must be viewed as significant. None of the German Passions nor the English cycles are so categorical in their excusing of the Roman governor. This by no means makes Pilate a virtuous or forceful character, for immediately after his absolution from blame he must bend to the will of the Jewish princes a second time and summon guards for the tomb. There is little doubt that the interlude of Joseph, particularly the novel approach to his part in the events of Good Friday, is designed to show Pilate as something more than just a figure from Christian mythology and to further isolate the Jews of the story in the minds of spectators.

We need not occupy ourselves extensively with *Autun R* at this point, for its writer contributes little of value not found elsewhere in Group II French Passions. Most of the individual scenes are pared down from identical scenes in *Palat* or *Autun B*. I can observe no particular virtue nor any useful dramatic concentration to emanate from their abbreviated perspectives.

By any means of comparison it is certain that disparate intentions underlie the scenic composition of *StG* and the French Passions, especially that of the Crucifixion. Even accepting the background of shared origins, several distinguishing factors can be identified. Few digressions from the Gospel accounts are admitted by *StG*. Its plot qualities are shared with Scripture and with the liturgy; little character development is discerned. The French accounts, in contrast,

disclose in abundance the importance of individual dramatic types; devils are 'humanized', servants, not unlike the image we still have of them, often occupy center stage (Evramin, Huitacelin, Cayn, Mossé); Roman soldiers become comically more true-to-life; the smith's wife projects a chilling antagonism and dark delight in her task; even Pilate assumes a heightened degree of humanity with his attempts to explain his judgment. Clearly, increased emphasis on psychological motivation and portrayal of 'emotional reflexes' define the French accounts.⁴²¹ Goodman considers this preoccupation of French authors with 'presentified' character portrayal as the dominating motivation in their Passions and a distinguishing mark which separates them from contemporary German dramas.⁴²²

a) Temporal Parallelism

The impact and psychological depth of many passages in Group II are enhanced by presentation in parallel. Thus the scope of production is widened as events of ancillary importance are linked in time to primary happenings.

I have investigated the most salient incidence of parallel activity in *StG* in another context where the trespasses of Mary Magdalene are symbolically extended in represented time by their association with the calling of the disciples.⁴²³ This illustration represents probably the single-most effective application of the tool in texts of the fourteenth century. Particularly concerning the parallel of the Magdalene's continued worldly life, while her Savior waits in her immediate vicinity with Simon,⁴²⁴ Hartl notes: „Nun erst, nachdem das zeitliche Nebeneinander auch zur dramatischen Gleichzeitigkeit gestaltet ist, gewinnt die Bekehrung der Magdalena an innerem Leben.“⁴²⁵

Aside from its fortuitous investigation of Mary Magdalene's sin, the sequence provides us with an aesthetic experience of the structure of time; the artist is seen to shape sacred history, adding dramatic strength and dynamics in a most commendable manner. He proves his mastery over the material by forming it to more realistically portray how the tale might have happened in reality. The time structure of *StG* is drawn as a complex of simultaneous activities, all related to the didactic theme of repentance, but elevated by artistic manipulation to literary proportions far exceeding the mere performance of accepted truths. Other instances may be discovered with a careful reading of the texts. I shall present only a few examples from each play.

One of the rare occasions in *StG* where the author fails to appreciably sustain the depth inherent in a series of related events happens when he follows Judas on two occasions to the residence of the religious leaders of Jerusalem. The initial parallel is a simple dramatization of Scripture, when Judas seeks out Caiaphas, after being told by the Good Shepard of his impending crime. While Jesus institutes Holy Communion, Judas reports to the high priest. An extremely short, but pointed exchange results, during which the bargain is struck:

Post hoc Iudas vadat ad Iudaeas dicens:

*Was wollent ir mir z^o gende d^ogn,
ich geben uch Ihesum Marien sun?*

Respondet Cayphas:

*Als werlich m^ouze ich leben
wir wollen dir drizig pennige geben.*

Respondet Iudas:

*Er ist werliche wolveil,
doch geben ich in uch an ur seil!*

Quo dicto recedat ad Christum
(*StG* BA 752-BA 758)

The "*Post hoc*" of the preliminary directions do not in this instance rule out parallel activity, as is evident from the final rubric.

Judas' treason leads him away from the Last Supper, but he returns to it in time to hear the '*Mandatum novum*' sung by his Master, and to participate in the foot-washing. At some unspecified place Judas absents himself a second time, now prepared to lead the Jews to Jesus, a decision evident from stage directions:

Tunc Ihesus vadat ad montem Oliveti.

Interim IUDAS vadat ad Iudaeos et dicat (ut supra):

*Waz wollent ir mir zů gude dūn,
ich verkeufen uch Ihesum, Marien sūn?
(StG BA 817-818)*

The length of stay during each of Judas' movements is not long enough nor presented in enough detail to accomplish any true dramatization. Their simple character suggests that they were either thought necessary to the tale or that the latter journey might have only been designed to make Christ's travel to Gethsemane less static by showing a grave development in the Jews' quarter. In his investigation of *StG*, Hartl identifies the role played by parallelism as it creates animation for the play. However, I must disagree with his conclusion that Judas' bargaining for the release of his Master played contemporary with His appearance before Pilate⁴²⁶ and the dream of Pilate's wife, also staged in correspondence with her husband's negotiations,⁴²⁷ necessarily, or to any appreciable degree, „zeugt von der Erfahrung und dem Bühnengeschick des Bearbeiters."⁴²⁸ These instances have been seen in both *BenP* and *Montecassino*. There are, however, other illustrations of the author's ability to meaningfully structure his tale.

A much more judicious application of parallelism can be found at the juncture supervenient to the arrest. It involves Mary's appraisal by John of her Son's misfortune:

*Maria, mutter reine,
ich kom nu alleine
un sagen dir ubel mere,
die uns sint alzu swere:
die Juden hant den meister min.*
(StG 936-940)

To extract a character who has witnessed the seizure and dramatize his report to the mother of Christ, while He is being led towards Annas' domicile, not only fills travel time with a meaningful occasion from another quarter, it also effectively rationalizes the later entrance of Mary into the Crucifixion. This structuring binds two events into a broadened, humanized form, the second a necessary and logical outcome of the first. As a result of this brief report, Mary's presence and participation in her Son's death is amplified to more closely coincide with the real world of which she is now a part.

Perhaps the poorly preserved form of *Wien* is responsible for the almost complete absence of parallel activities. The sole incidence repeats a situation we have seen before: the moment of enlightenment for the woman of Magdala overlaps to some degree the time her Savior spends with Simon the Pharisee. In its general form, the *Wien* occurrence differs little from *BenP*. Both report Christ's invitation to dine with Simon, then interrupt this scene to concentrate on Mary. *Wien*, of course, has gone a long way towards rationalizing the character of Mary through an elongation of her story backwards from this moment of decision. *Wien* likewise adds the personality of the *nuncius Symonis*, who, while attempting to turn the sinner from her path of self-destruction, provides an unmistakeable signal of a parallel time scheme.

His disclosure to Mary offers us a definite clarification of the time sequence of *Wien*:

*O Maria Magdalena,
nova tibi nuncio:
Symonis hospicio
hic sedens/convivatur
Ihesus ille Nazarenus,
gratia virtute plenus,
qui relaxat peccata populi.*
(*Wien* 374-380)

Parallelism in the French plays shows no strengths peculiar to them alone. All three manuscripts recapitulate represented time to a small extent with the introduction of Mary Magdalene into the mainstream activity of the Passover meal,⁴²⁹ none of which approaches the effectiveness of *StG*. All equate Judas' betrayal with the time Jesus spends on Olivet,⁴³⁰ and overlay the Master's appearance before Pilate with Judas' remorse or Peter's denial.⁴³¹ In the instance of *Palat*, both events are treated in parallel.⁴³² This Passion diverges from *Montecassino* in detail only, where the triangular reflection of a single block of represented time was first viewed. Each image is now invested with a more realistic likeness instead of the symbolic form reflected by the older work.

What temporal effect the forging of the nails might have for parallelism is difficult to discern. Rather than revealing situations which enlighten an event in another location, in this instance preparations for the coming execution, the French authors momentarily abandon the main activity (the way to Golgotha), restricting further forward motion until the return of a messenger with the three implements of death. Initiating and returning statements clearly indicate the absence of any expressive development in the main theme until this interlude is accomplished.⁴³³

b) Interruption and Suspension

The investigation of the tempo of succession, as altered by interruption and suspension, must be approached in Group II with extreme care. It will be recalled that interruption dealt with the pause of temporal succession accomplished by a stage character acting *as a dramatic entity*, caused primarily by lyrical intrusions like the Marian laments. Suspension was defined as the complete abrogation by a figure of his assumed role and the concomitant momentary unification of spectator and speaker within the historical time of the audience. Since suspension forms the most elementary dramatic level of *StG*, I shall consider this phenomenon first.

The most critical distinction between suspension and interruption in *StG* must be made with the figure of *Augustinus*. Fundamental to his entire dramatic function is one question: Is *Augustinus* a personality from within the play or does he exist at some point outside the structure of represented time? A careful reading suggests to me that this apparition has no interaction with any other character from the world of sacred history. He deals with the audience and with the readers. Hartl corroborates my findings when he concludes: „Er ist mehr technische Notwendigkeit als handelnde Person.“⁴³⁴ Therefore, when *Augustinus* occupies center stage, represented time is not interrupted, but eliminated altogether! His position in presented time finds an analogy in the ‚Ausrufer‘ of Brecht's *Dreigroschen Oper*, but without the latter's occasional integration into the plot. *Augustinus'* intervention into the mainstream of representation is complex, enlightening, and innovative. At times he resembles the perceptive abilities of an audience, sifting parts of the drama, making comparisons, drawing

contrasts, identifying the significance of sacred history for medieval man. On other occasions he inaugurates impending episodes, in effect previewing them in their quintessence. Here *Augustinus* renders completely superfluous the notion of suspense through surprise. I will have more to say about these passages later.

In yet other circumstances, *Augustinus* closely resembles a medieval preacher, moralizing, teaching, warning, reminding. His appearances, often punctuated by the *Silete* of an angelic chorus (see Table 5), serve to introduce new scenes which bear upon the main theme of Christ's sacrifice, or take up anew the central message after investigation of a secondary theme. *Augustinus* in effect interrupts one dramatized event and commences another, leaving the first incomplete, to be reinvestigated at a later junction. Brinkmann christens this phenomenon „Zwischenrede" or "interlocutoire".⁴³⁵ There results an impressive broadening of represented time and the opportunity to contrast one action with another, separated in space, but not in time, or, contrarily, to unite them thematically. Suspension by *Augustinus* compliments and intensifies spatial parallelism by supplying the audience with spiritual keys by which they may unlock a structural and thematic relationship. An excellent illustration of such rhetorical scenic binding is seen in one of *Augustinus'* speeches which precede two related episodes, the first dealing with Mary Magdalene's erring ways,⁴³⁶ and the second with the introduction of Jesus and the adulteress:⁴³⁷

*Horent mit zohten vorbaz:
man wil uch irzugen daz,
wie die Juden sprachen
un̄ eine frauwen vor unsern herren brahten.
die was des ane gesprochen,*

*sie hede ir e gebrochen.
 sie dadens nit wan umbe daz,
 sit sie gein Ihesum drugen haz.
 do det er ir helpe irkant,
 dez worden die Juden wol geschant.*
 (StG 255-264)

Upon completion of the adulteress interlude, the audience rejoins Mary in all her glory, but an analogy of outcome has been established: the adulteress is saved from the pitiable death of stoning through the intervention of the Lord. An identical joy can be bestowed upon Mary if she will only repent.

Occasionally *Augustinus* suspends represented time to project the consequences of an event upon his listeners, thus, in effect, teaching bystanders with compelling and lively sermons. This didactic function stands behind *Augustinus'* intervention into the questioning of the man born blind. Caiaphas, not convinced that some manner of skullduggery does not lay behind the miracle of returned sight, calls for the father of *Caecus* to confirm his son's congenital anopsia. *Augustinus* takes issue with the disbelief evidenced by Caiaphas, and, in so doing, simultaneously casts light upon its true motivation:

*Wuszent daz dorch anders nit
 dirre man zwiueliche gith,
 wanne dorch der grozen vohte not,
 die ime der Iuden drauwen gebot:
 er hede sie es wol bescheiden baz,
 wan daz sie Christo drugen haz.*
 (StG 477-482)

The inquiry continues with a specific verification by Annas of *Augustinus'* observations („wir wüzen daz Ihesus ein sunder ist!“).⁴³⁸

In addition to all these services rendered by *Augustinus*, the author makes use of him to structurally highlight his *Passion* section.⁴³⁹ In this function *Augustinus* not only suspends represented time, but also

gives witness to the presence of the *author* behind the work, busily and actively scoring the dramatic presentation, offering, as it were, a prolog to every meaningful subsection, and especially underscoring three separate incidents. *Augustinus* signals the inception of a weighty theme prior to the convention of pontiffs and pharisees, who meet to plot Jesus' downfall. His words must have carried with it a definite omen that the reason for the play was now at hand, for it speaks to the Redeemer's impending troubles in a manner not seen previously:

*Nū horent, vrauwen uñ man,
es wil nū an den ernest gan:
die Juden gent zū rade,
wie sie nū vil gedrade
Ihesum geben in den dot.
ein christermensche bedrahte die not,
die durch uns hat geliden got!*
(StG 642-648)

Jesus' ordeal before the congregation of priests, the second step leading to His ignominious death, elicits a more pointed reference to a suggested and anticipated reaction of the audience:

*lant uch gen zū herzen
unseres herren smerzen,
den er bit willen geliden hat
vor unser aller missedat.*
(StG 926-929)

Not only has a topic of cardinal import been broached, its dramatization of Christ's sorrows should touch the hearts of all in attendance, *for it is caused by their own misdeeds!* Editorial comment, far removed from the time of representation, is the hallmark of *Augustinus'* participation.

This personality is again called upon to stress the lamentation of Mary shortly before the Christ is led to His place of execution. The interlocutor appeals to the compassion of his spectators to identify with the Virgin, who suffered a pain equal to that of her Son:

*Nu merket iegliche vrawe gude,
wie Marien were zu müde,
do sie horte un̄ sach
irs lieben kindes ungemach:
sie leit bit ime, er leit bit ir.
ir soltent des gleuben mire,
daz ime det wirs ir herzeleit
danne sin selbes arbeit!
(StG 1258-65)*

What *Augustinus* seeks to awaken is not only the physical Passion of our Lord, but an *active* spectator sympathy, a „Mit-Leiden" with the Lamb of God.⁴⁴⁰ His calls for audience identification originate in presentified history, for it is not some random accident of chronology which guides *Augustinus*, but the redemption of mankind, as vital to medieval man as if it had taken place within his own lifetime. The quotations bespeak a timeless truth of religious belief, that the sacrifice of the True Vine was accomplished for the sins of men yet unborn. Presentification is accomplished in a manner which has not been seen previously; *Augustinus'* reality, existing outside represented time, affords him immense dramatic power to bring sacred history up to date. His ability to span countless generations with simple, non-historical truths is evident from his comment on the institution of Holy Communion:

*daz er segente brot un̄ auch den win,
als es von gotlicher art
in sinen lip un̄ sin blut verwandelt wart,
als in der menscheide noch geschith.
(StG 712-715)*

The same circumstances which allow, even demand, the presence of much liturgical song enables *Augustinus* to turn to his public, addressing them as if nothing separated actor and spectator. Celebration of spiritual life through Christ's sacrifice is attended by each person individually, whether role-player or not. In fact, the actor himself

is first a liturgist; the play stands in close proximity to the celebration of the Mass.⁴⁴¹ By means of the character *Augustinus* the writer of *StG* testifies to the eternal qualities of the play in which the distance separating the world of sacred history from the world of medieval religious man becomes insignificant. Here audience and actor alike participate in a religious festival, „in der Mitwirkende und Anwesende als eine Gemeinschaft der Gläubigen die Erhebung zu Gott begehen.“⁴⁴² The speeches of *Augustinus* constitute a type of dramatic indicator by which the populace can measure what it has seen. Wolff comments:

Die Anrede der Zuschauer (bringt) . . . eine unübersehbare Festlegung auf die besondere Lage des Augenblicks und macht dadurch den Uebergang von der vorgeführten Welt zur Gegenwart der versammelten Gemeinde weit merklicher, um so stärker, je weniger diese Gegenwart im Voraufgehenden fühlbar mitgeschwungen und je entschiedener die Aufführung den Charakter der Wirklichkeitswiedergabe angenommen . . . hat.⁴⁴³

In all his remonstrances *Augustinus* seeks to project Christ's life into the physical reality of his public through „*zeichen*,“ „*heiliger lere*,“ and „*grozer sere*“.⁴⁴⁴ The extra-dramatic quality of this medieval interlocutor provides a concrete indication in fourteenth-century German Passions of the importance of audience integration into religious drama. They cannot be separated from the realization on stage; their participation, as in a religious service, is expected. *Augustinus* continually reminds them of this by his interruptions.

Structurally speaking, *Augustinus'* presence at every important juncture of the story has the function of intimating the future by the integration of events yet to come. His being is solely dramatist-inspired, an indication of one of several techniques which rely upon the author for their structure and impact on the form and aesthetic

level of the final text.

Another facet of *Augustinus'* character can be discerned, one perhaps more readily accessible to modern investigators than to medieval audiences. It deals with his structural function of binding together many varied time strata into a unity which transcends any of them individually. Through this personality three separate and distinct time modi become interwoven, resulting in the aesthetic intensification of the play. This figure, modeled on the Church father of the same name, who stands outside the actual dramatization of historical chronology, lends credibility to the performance on stage by virtue of his position in Church history as teacher and exegete. *Augustinus*, who speaks to the audience with all the power of a recognized authority on matters of religious faith, bridges in the play two widely separate times, much as he did within his own lifetime of thought and writing. The historical facts of Christ's life, first detailed by the exegesis of St. Augustine, are presentified in drama for a later audience, thus forming an intimate link between sacred history and contemporary medieval affairs. But beyond this didactic function so readily identifiable in his appearances, *Augustinus* participates in a synthesis of the three time levels in the play, of the historical facts surrounding Christ's life, of Augustine's explanation of the same, and of the time of presentation on stage, providing us with an opportunity to experience a diversity of dramatic structure far exceeding the implications of any one of the time modi which make up dramatic material. Not only does he speak to medieval man, *Augustinus'* integration into the presentation aesthetically elevates the writer's accomplishments above both the time of presentation and

historical time. Our experience may vary, as do our religious beliefs, from that of medieval audiences, but it is not necessarily inferior or less satisfying.

Music may bring audience and representation into closer proximity. Depending on the degree of integration of the individual into the religious community, he may identify with some or virtually all sung passages of the drama. But for the study of suspension I limit my discussion to those instances where liturgical material finds prominence on stage. My primary interest is to prove the *theoretical potential* for audience participation. If these liturgical remnants support this suggestion, the question as to the existence of a lesser or greater quantity of popular participation in any play is largely academic.

A probable source of greatest spectator integration through the device of sung texts, reminiscent of the liturgy or directly borrowed from it, may be most readily identified in the sections dealing with the *Visitatio*. One may attribute this observation to the dominance assumed by this series of events in liturgical services; it is the central truth which imparts joy to the weekly feast of gladness. Among several *sequences* which provide an opportunity for spectator identification is that of the *Victimae paschali* of the eleventh century,⁴⁴⁵ specifically its second part: "*Dic nobis, Maria, quid vidisti in via?*"⁴⁴⁶ None other than Peter raises the question to Mary Magdalene in *StG*, who joyfully responds: "*Sepulcrum Christi viventis et gloriam vidi resurgentis.*"⁴⁴⁷

The resultant witness, filled with Mary's fervor and conviction, offers

us a statement of faith transcending the ages as well as the apostles who deliver it:

*Scimus Christum surrexisse
a mortuis vere,
tu nobis, victor rex, miserere!*
(StG 1619-21)

Without doubt this religious creed draws the audience into the action at hand. More significantly, such an unquestioned registration of belief leaves the play with an open ending, indicative of the absolute truth of dramatized events and of the celebrative tone of the play. This view of Christian redemption closes on a timeless note; the truths presented in lively form, punctuated on various occasions by *Augustinus*, transcend time, conveying to modern religious man the same beliefs valid for medieval man, overshadowing represented time and its public as well. The past of Christ's life has been presentified; religious belief and conviction, already established by the liturgy, are rekindled in the minds of spectators from those days long ago, and for us, too. The dramatic presentation is seen to be subservient to a religious value, conveying several artistic qualities, but always intended to teach and confirm. Ludwig Wolff affirms my conclusions about *StG* when he writes: „Weil sie Gottesdienst ist, klingt die Feier aus in ein Gesang, der die Bedeutung des Tages für die Andächtigen zusammenfasst.“⁴⁴⁸

A liturgical association traditionally finding voice in the French Passions in particular is the '*Te Deum*', a form drawing matins to a close and customarily integrated into the *Visitatio* as a joyous ending.⁴⁴⁹ At the conclusion of the *Palatine Visitatio Sepulchri*, when Mary Magdalene announces the Resurrection to Peter, she utters the familiar words:

*Te Deum laudamus,
Te dominum confitemur.
(Palat 1987-88)*

Three centuries of stable theatrical tradition proceed Mary's confirmation, a hymn of gratitude for the many accomplishments God has supplied.⁴⁵⁰ Once Mary has interrupted the sequence of events, she continues her hymn, calling upon the spectators, not as a biblical or dramatic personality, but as one celebrating the Resurrection through action:

*Or deprions a Jhesucrist,
Qui pour nous se leissa mourir,
Que il nous doint tele chose faire
Qui a son douz cors puisse plaire,
Et en tiex euvres maintenir
Por quoy nous puissions touz venir
Laissus en paradis tout droit!
Dites amen, que Diex l'ottroit!
(Palat 1989-96)*

This interpretation of the presentation contains a definite signal that Mary Magdalene as a stage personality has at this point become redundant. The message is couched in forms addressing plurality; instead of communicating her individual gratitude as an actress with the 'je' pronoun, a sure indicator of interruption, the more-encompassing 'nous' forms are employed. Considering the presence of the festive '*Te Deum*', I am inclined to dismiss the possibility that Mary's speeches were intended for the edification of her fellow actors. What could be more fitting than to conclude the celebration of the *Servant's* redemption of mankind by His Passion than to invest the play with a quality of gratitude, expressed by all persons surrounding the proceedings? Their combined voices, raised in praise to the God of the Resurrection, presentifies the drama and insures a meaningful participation by spectators; sacred history lives for them in their own

time and the Christian mythology which defines medieval religious thought becomes one with its adherents. The original unity of stage and audience which defines the most ancient dramas of medieval Europe⁴⁵¹ is reintroduced. Now, as then, staged activity does not symbolize a unique chronological happening, but speaks instead to the *present* institution of redemption,⁴⁵² a living festival of ongoing spiritual conviction. The joy of redemption is repeated in every heart, as Mary Magdalene, the epitomy of sinful human kind, drops all pretense of role-playing to lead the congregation in praise of the Savior. The familiar events of Christ's sacred Passion, not intended to be seen or heard alone,⁴⁵³ become an intense experience of eternal proportions, similar to the most profound reactions to the liturgy itself. For investigators from another century such as we, spiritual integration of the populace into the performance is a certain sign of the author's intention to present living truths in which the congregation may participate, while affording an intense personal experience of God's love.

These incidents of suspension call into question the contention by Hardin Craig that medieval drama did not build on any perceivable theory of dramatization. The personality of *Augustinus* points to a definite and all-pervasive theory on the application of dramatic endeavor, namely to teach and edify. The several suspensions just detailed in French plays of Group II further attest to attitudes which convey the dimensions of an active dramatic theory, that audiences were meant to become integrated in festive remembrance into what they saw and experienced on stage. Although his investigations focus on the Corpus Christi plays of a later date, V.A. Kolve has uncovered many facts which are valid for these Passions of the fourteenth century.

He, too, takes issue with Craig's erroneous conclusions:

. . . I think we must dissent from the judgment of Hardin Craig that this drama had no 'theory', no self-awareness as a genre. The aim of the (Corpus Christi) drama was to celebrate and elucidate, never, not even temporarily, to deceive. It played action in 'game'-- not in 'erdest'-- within a world set apart, established by convention, and obeying rules of its own. A lie designed to tell the truth about reality, the drama was understood as significant play.⁴⁵⁴

Attention to the phenomenon of suspension has shown us one method by which medieval artist do, indeed, operate on a dramatic theory, one not standing for itself, but supportive of a general intent to edify and celebrate.

As we consider the technique known as interruption, other areas of dramatic skill become visible. During the *planctus Mariae* an opportunity for identification with Mary's dolorous misery is made possible by her realistic portrayal of human emotional response to a critical situation. As she approaches her Son with questions about her own future⁴⁵⁵ and attempts to understand the reasons behind the macabre sight of her Offspring, wounded and bleeding, publically shamed and ridiculed by on-lookers with scorn, her words assume an air of lyricism in *Palat*; the laments are not only applied to Mary's suffering, they could easily have been uttered by any earthly mother, including medieval women. Her laments are dissimilar from the obvious suspensions I have mentioned before inasmuch as the actress never relinquishes her role as a fictitious Mary; the dialogs with her Son and with John are surely inner-directed, striving to impart life to the emotional storms raging within her, but the actress still impersonates. In her speeches found in *Autun B* and *Autun R*, Mary never steps out of her staged role to become a speaker of simple truths; the pronominal forms do not

relate to the person behind the mask of Mary, but to the *represented* mother of Christ:

Je ne puis aydier a mon seigneur.
(Autun B 1949)

Or soit mon ame de mon corps departie!
(Autun B 1963)

Tue moy que suis en terre
Marrie et mon Marie.
(Autun R 737-738)

Dy, mes treschier filz, que feray?
(Autun R 753)

Nevertheless, there results a tone of delivery and a selection of words which lyrically lift the dialogs out of the sphere of mere play-acting into one transcending the time of representation. Since the laments lose their bonds of history through Mary's personal outpourings, opportunity for momentary unification of audience and message is possible.

Participating in the closing moments of the *StG* execution Mary Magdalene airs her grief with words whose lyrical qualities elevate them from represented and presentational time into the realm of faith, conviction, and eternal truth:

Owe der iemerlichen not!
mir ist min lieber meister dot,
der mich von sunden banden
un von der werlete schanden
bit gnaden hat inbunden.
(*StG* 1440-44)

These final verses provide a broadened statement, wherein all believers may unite; though Mary Magdalene speaks them their implication calls modern religious men to remember Jesus' sacrifice of His earthly life.

The author of *Autun B* draws his story to a close with the interruption of time as well, but in a more direct and didactic manner.

When the Magdalene, upon recognizing her lost Savior, rushes to embrace Him, He cautions against her natural urge.⁴⁵⁶ There ensues a curious monolog wherein the flux of time becomes a non-entity; the cause and effect relationship between Old Testament sin and New Testament redemption is established. The personification of Jesus Christ, God Incarnate, delivers a benediction indicative of interruption:

*La grace du Saint Esperit,
Qui procede du pere et du filz,
Tantost en vous je envoyra,
Qui tous vous pechiés laverà,
Affin que vous soyés tous nez
Pour plus tost en paradis monté.*
(Autun B 2012-17)

The pronoun 'je' supports interruption, and the sentence, "*Affin que vous soyés tous nez*", shows the timelessness of Christ's sacrifice. Ensuing speeches not only presentify sacred history, thereby imparting a thoroughly-developed heavenly response to earthly evils emanating from Adam's original sin, but also succeed in identifying the specific interest for persons at hand for what has been staged. Christ's monolog includes the phrase, "*Bonus pastor ponit animam suam, etc.*"⁴⁵⁷ Not content to leave this witness in Latin, the stagewright carefully updates it and adds an interpretation, linking its intention to his audiences:

*Les paroles que j'ay ici proposee
Son en l'euvangile trovee.
En françois vaul autant a dire
Comme: 'Le bon pasteur et le bon syre
Livra a martire son corps
Et pour vous souffrit cruelles mors.*
(Autun B 2040-45)

The imitated Christ, having dropped pretense of communicating with the Magdalene, addresses the audience directly, still veiled in the fiction of the stage, but freely identifying the dominion of sacred history and

the promise of heavenly reward:

*Entendés moy, dames et seigneur,
Pansés trestuit de bien faire,
S'arés de paradis la gloyre.
(Autun B 2054-56)*

Autun B concludes with what seems to be a recapitulation of previous circumstances during the Crucifixion, offered not by a character asking the audience to look upon the Man of Sorrows, but by the Christ Himself. This contemplative device makes several contemporary lyrics "more striking and emotive",⁴⁵⁸ as it injects them with unaccustomed dramatic power. Christ's supreme monolog, an extension and intensification of the familiar '*O vos omnes*' complaint from Lamentations i: 12, reviews the heart-rending details of His protracted labors on the Tree, continually reiterating by the device of interruption the indebtedness of medieval man to God. Each spectator is addressed individually, and in so forming his message, the artist creates moments of lyrical flight which interrupt time, delineating the meaning of the play for on-lookers, while presenting ageless truths that relate to modern men of all stations as well. Seldom in Group II Passions does lyricism combine with didacticism to build such a fitting and convincing lesson (or invest the necessity of Christ's death with such grace and compulsion) as in this monolog:

*Regard en pitie ce martyre:
Vuille [le] en ton cueur escripre,
de ma passion te remembre.
Tu voys que je n'ay sur moy membre
Qui ne soy percier en tous lyeux.
Je meurs pour toy, que suis ton Dieu,
Je meurs pour toy le chiefs enclin.
Pour moy que faiz? Pense en la fin!
Tu voys comme je meurs ici;
Bien doit avoir le cueur nerci,
Se tu panse en la douleur
Que je souffre pour toy, pecheur,*

*Pour toy hoster hors de prison
Et amander la mesprison
Que Eve [et] Adam firent premier.
(Autun B 2082-96)*

Obvious overtones of an *Imago Pietatis* can be perceived in this speech. Time is interrupted, the Man of Sorrows is "isolated from the historical sequence of the Passion,"⁴⁵⁹ becoming a figure of meditation entirely external to any temporal context.⁴⁶⁰ In no other Passion of the period can so successful an interruption be found; nowhere else in contemporary drama does the staged character of the Lord and Savior of mankind take on such earthly proportions, again and again witnessing His love for His wayward creation. His willingness to forgive is the focus of His compassion, conditioned by only one demand:

*Le pechier que tu as commys,
Je te sera pere et amys,
Et se tu as contrition,
Je te feray remission.
(Autun B 2106-9)*

In other plays Christ's readiness to forgive is dramatized by Magdalene episodes, affirmed by *Augustinus*, conveyed by the entire audience. In *Autun B* the Lord Himself confirms sacred history. Inherent lyrical power of the Word creates a situation whereby these chronological events of times long past achieve an eternal quality; the message of Christ's redemption soars to heights beyond the limits of time and space. *Autun B* provides one of the best cases for the contention that medieval writers were capable of effective, meaningful, and artistic application of religious material to stage productions. Theirs was not always a static art, devoid of aesthetic merit. When seen before the backdrop of the literary rules of the time, the various factors which may be exploited to interfere with the straightforward unrolling of time show

perhaps an unconscious, but nevertheless effective and eloquent usage of tempo-altering literary devices. Neither the plays nor the dramatists are 'inevitably naïve'.⁴⁶¹

INTEGRATION OF THE FUTURE

Proclaimed Occurrences Originating in the Text.

StG and *Autun B* give evidence of the inconsequence of dramatic surprise, for they are structured around an external expositor. *Autun B*, which would appear to contain a great potential because of its extra-representative inclusions of a narrative nature, differs substantially from *StG*, in that the external voice, which from time to time occupies an important structural position, speaks almost always in narrative modes and not in ways indicative of the future.

By virtue of their increased length, Group II plays evidence all the techniques of anticipating the future found in Group I with one exception. The reason is obvious: all Passions build upon the same contextual foundation. The degree of application is the most important variation.

a) Announced Arrivals

Little time need be spent with announced arrivals, for, with marginal exceptions, this technique of verifying the future has no place in Group II. It might be possible to analyze the introductory speeches of *Augustinus* in *StG* in this way, but the dramatic and futuristic thrust of the technique is not really employed to define the Christ's entry, rather to identify the reason for dramatization of His Passion. None of the Group II texts reveals the potential to accommodate the future before the fact like we saw in *Montecassino*.

b) *Prophecy*

I stressed earlier the notability of prophecy in Scripture, as well as the somewhat surprising lack of its utilization in Group I. I attributed the situation to the scope of the texts, preservation, or possibly to authorial intent.⁴⁶² Christ delivers all prophecies mentioned by the Gospels in *StG*,⁴⁶³ except for His warning to the women of Jerusalem. I find no intensification of the play by their presence, as they are surely traditional and almost mandatory. *Palat*, while less inclusive of prophecy, precipitates more life and verve into its intimations of the future, combining poignant, sensitive intuition with human emotion. This can best be seen by the Lord's revelation of the betrayal. The Savior does not simply offer His prophecy as a single massive illumination, but instead repeats essential qualities of it, making the final statement more forceful. Jesus initially mentions His approaching death while eating the Passover meal with His disciples:

*Jamais o vous mengerai
Devant que de mort resusciterai.
Pour vous sofferrai passion
Que n'alez a perdition.
(Palat 77-80)*

This paraphrase of Luke xxii: 15 precedes the more traditional prophecy of disloyalty, where Scripture is quoted to stress the validity of the statement. There follows a series of remarks, extended beyond any known biblical origin, wherein the relationship between the coming sacrifice, eternal bliss, and the disciples' place in the Last Judgment is established:

*Et sai bien qu'en croiz sere penduz.
Vous estes tuit li mien ami,
Et grant paine avez pour mi.*

*Je vous en rendrai guerrdeon
 En paradis, en ma maison.
 Sus les douze sieges serez
 Au Judgment et je i serai
 Qui desus touz les jugerai.
 (Palat 163-170)*

Autun B offers a similar set of prophecies by the Master, including Peter's denial,⁴⁶⁴ a like response to John,⁴⁶⁵ and a verification of His extra-terrestrial kingdom for sinners who heed the call to repentance.⁴⁶⁶ *Autun R* includes the prophecy of doom to the women of Jerusalem,⁴⁶⁷ while *Wien* reveals only one prophecy, that of the betrayal,⁴⁶⁸ a situation certainly resulting from incomplete textual preservation than from willful exclusion. A comparison of all five texts discloses that, with the exception of the additions to *Autun B*, prophecy has little to do with any significant structuring of the story. Their absence does not materially disadvantage any play; their appearances have limited dramatic value. In only one account does any meaningful recollection of Christ's prophecies occur. When John recalls his Lord's premonition that all would desert Him in *Autun B*, the event, seen first in foresight, then in hindsight, places the prophecy into dramatic perspective, adding life and causality to the tale. Here, as with no other example of the phenomenon, has the artist erected what I consider to be a sensitive and compelling association of present, past, and future events, building upon the scriptural records by inserting extra-biblical, but perfectly logical, responses to the Lord's vision of happenings not yet realized. The author's amendments to the strict prophecy show his skill and mastery of his subject matter and allows us as an audience apart to derive a satisfying experience; we can applaud not only his dramatic sensibilities, but also his talents of extending the presence of prophecy beyond mere source repetition. They are integrated into

the very fabric of the drama, lending it increased body, perception, and humanity. The figures created by the judicious application of prophecy, Christ and John, are not abstract symbols of good, but images of living men.

One innovative use of prophecy which lies beyond the normal Christ-centered visions is found in *Autun B*. In this instance it is Pilate's wife who envisions the future Crucifixion while warning her governor-husband to avoid an unjust decision in Jesus' case. In her prophecy the wife, with the aid of sight and wisdom far exceeding that of a mere mortal, succeeds in throwing the Resurrection into sharper focus by warning of the misfortunes which will historically befall the Jews in the years following Jesus' death:

*Quar tous vous serés degecter
De Jherusalem la citer,
Quar l'empereur de Romme
Et tous ses saiges homme
Cuyderont que la loy soit perdue,
Anchillee et confondue.
Couroucier en seront monlt fort
De ce que l'aiës tuer a grant tort.
Luy et sa grand chevalerie
Viendront et aussy grand compaignie.
Quant il seront lla veriter,
Trestous serés desireter.
Saiches que tous vous octiront,
Petit ne grand n'eschapperont.
Juifz ne seront pas adonc chier. . . .*
(*Autun B* 573-587)

A nod of spectator understanding or religious „Schadenfreude" may well have accompanied these lines, for it explained in no uncertain terms the cause and effect association between the Jewish rejection of Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior and the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in 70 A.D.

c) Oaths

The potential for preparing the future established by oaths finds greater expression in Group II than was observed in previous texts. *Palat* and *Autun B* deliver them most consistently, augmenting the oaths of Judas⁴⁶⁹ and Peter⁴⁷⁰ by repetition. The disciple John in *Autun B* expresses his eternal fidelity to his Master, strengthening the second promise of Peter, and setting the stage for his extra-scriptural reiteration of Jesus' prophecy in succeeding moments. The promise by Mary Magdalene to live a future free from sin⁴⁷¹ describes circumstances laying outside or beyond the play, and offer minimal opportunity for the creation of suspense. Huitacelin swears a strong oath to initiate the flagellation. Its coming ferocity is betrayed when he storms:

*La male passion l'abate,
Se je, pour ce que j'ai perdu,
Ne fais plus de mal a Jhesu!*
(*Palat* 462-464)

Satan's promise to accost Jesus, the aggressor of Hell,⁴⁷² provides by its sheer boldness an oath of action diametrically opposed to the true outcome of the encounter. With this device the author lends life to his Satan, while underscoring the devil's stupidity. The Roman guards of the Sepulchre, with whom I have previously dealt in the section on succession of tempo,⁴⁷³ are made to appear most ridiculous in their oath-making. The foolish promises they swear with abandon, punctuated by calling up 'Mahon',⁴⁷⁴ combined with the amount of stage time during which they puff themselves up, casts ridicule upon their weakness; not one of their oaths moves near completion, for, when Christ rises, He leaves them in the dust of their own impudence. Of course, the medieval audience knew the ultimate outcome, and these Romans may

have been cause for a moment of laughter. Our reaction is not unlike that; smiles are almost inevitable for us, because the fantastic vows are such a contrast with the absolute inability of the soldiers to accomplish them. I believe we have an almost exclusively dramatic and aesthetic development of this scene, which, to be sure, rests on several plays posterior to *Palat*, but which nonetheless goes far beyond them in its presentification and creative antithesis between human and divine reality. The integration of oaths casts these four knights in typically human molds, deepens our interest in them, and structures that period of time after the Crucifixion in a most persuasive manner.

Forms of Proclamation Emanating from Structure

Of the specific practices which may be brought to bear on artistic structure in Group II Passions, only two find a place in plays of the fourteenth century. The prolog, and analogously treated, the introduction of major sections within the drama, receive attention. It will be recalled that I altered the position of a second form, that of direct address to spectators, to enhance the analysis of interruption and suspension.

Perhaps the single most meaningful excrescence to the many incidences of the future witnessed by Group II texts is that of the prolog, a form of anticipation supplied by the dramatist, not by his material, whereby parts of the drama are introduced and forseen: meaningful in that their presence as well as the method of their delivery assumes a novel approach to the material, accentuating a note of didacticism and independent structuring ability beside an older commemorative attitude. With the appearance of the prolog the artist behind the play

takes on an increasingly important and visible role, for we see the introduction of a technique *completely determined by the author himself*, a means of structuring a play which is in his hands alone.

The prolog of *StG* delivered by *Augustinus*, aided by his abundant disclosures of impending performance, underscores once again the relative unimportance of surprise for the drama.⁴⁷⁵ When *Augustinus* directs attention towards the imminent miracle of water made wine at the Wedding in Cana and Christ's sanctification by John the Baptist in the River Jordan,⁴⁷⁶ the stage has been set for forthcoming events and the necessity of the entire series of sacred facts which follow abstractly established. The Savior was martyred for the sins of each person in attendance.⁴⁷⁷ The audience thus has before its eyes the compulsion for the Passion and a preview of its first scenes. There may appear little work remaining for the dramaturge to accomplish, but he must still sketch in detail the specifics of each event, a task which is the essence of theater! The audience may not be surprised at forthcoming happenings, but it may react spiritually and emotionally to the manner in which the artist draws his characters and the specific words and understandings he projects through them. *Augustinus* introduces the action, but not the particular dramatization and interrelationships between characters and events. We know that Christ will be baptized by Saint John from the prolog, but exactly how John will distinguish himself from his Messiah, how he will draw the parallels between Old Testament history and New Testament reality remains within the provenance of the writer alone. Each speech delivered by *Augustinus* reiterates the authority maintained by the dramatist over his work, for he continually provides the vague outline of plot for each significant

subsection. By this technique the playwright establishes links to the tradition from which he drew his account and identifies himself as a continuator of the same. Nevertheless, his mark will be made and the dramatization will be his own creation.

In his opening remarks, the unknown *proclamator* of *Autun B* furnishes us with a corresponding program of production,⁴⁷⁸ stressing the Mediator's indispensable response to Adam's original transgression and the participation of medieval man in the redemptive process.⁴⁷⁹ On only one other occasion does his presence extend into the realm of unrealized events. At the point of the Redeemer's expiration this curious voice informs readers:

*Et puis tout droit il descenda
Es enfers et la trova
Adam et toute sa lignie,
Aussy grande compaignie
De prophete et de christien,
Qui sa venue la actendien.
(Autun B 1308-13)*

The event to which the narrative refers lies several hundred verses into the future, although the verb tense remains the simple past. A steady, consistent sketching of coming performance cannot be found in *Autun B*, contrary to the formal circumstances of *StG*. I, therefore, assume the presence of these two interruptors to be determined by distinctive authorial style and intent. With this single exception, I find no homologous and a limited analogous relationship between the textual structures.

A second adjunct of dramatist-inspired forms of anticipation seemingly original with *StG*, an analogy to the close of acts and intimately related to the prolog, makes a strong impact on the organization of this fourteenth-century play. While not a prolog in the strictest

sense and actually at the opposite end of acts, the introduction of sections of particular importance by *Augustinus* serves notice on readers that the author is once again at work, structuring and defining his product by techniques over which he has complete control. Indeed, the circumstances I described for three weighty events⁴⁸⁰ even outstrips in formal substance the prolog which commences *StG*. I need not reiterate the comments made earlier, except to point out once again that these strictly author-initiated devices, so conspicuously absent in the two Passions of Group I, presage a gradual transformation of traditionally symbolic and commemorative presentations into greatly expanded and diversified productions of increased dramatic potential.

Intimated Occurrences Originating in the Material

Attention is now directed towards inferred or hinted events lying in the future which originate in the story to be told, i.e. phenomena whose inclusion is necessary for a faithful iteration of a tale bound to Scripture, but whose ultimate advantage depends upon a keen oversight exercised by a conscientious redactor.

a) Time Consciousness

Among the concepts which may presume the future is that of a character evincing a temporal consciousness. In the first Passion grouping I analyzed the recognition by a figure of the passage of time and the immutability which was imparted to events once they were set in motion. As an example I chose the *Montecassino* account of Judas' betrayal⁴⁸¹ and affirmed that the incident arose from biblical records. Group II presents similar circumstances. Our search for specifically *original* elements which hint temporal cognizance by a character will

inevitably fail, the direct result of medieval literary conventions. If, on the other hand, attention is directed toward circumstances whose appearance is necessary to Passion plays, but whose basic qualities are extended beyond their original structure of time recognition, like the prophecies, successful intimations of the motion of time can be discovered. The dramatic techtonics may well be directed towards other, less esoteric qualities of the work, but their presence cannot be denied.

Of the five fields of time consciousness identified by Pütz,⁴⁸² that of the incessant approach of a future incident seems to unconsciously underlie the continual references of Jesus to His impending trials and death. In the *Palatine* text prophecies originating in Scripture form the bases around which the Galilean's comments are made. The playwright, however, is not content to merely repeat biblical auguries; rather, he places in the mouths of characters suggestions which evince not only Christ's acceptance of the necessity of the Passion, but a recognition that the passage of time brings it inevitably closer. This reality is created by increasingly specific language.

The first hint of events to come is offered by the host, who, with the conviction of a true believer, affirms:

*Bien sai, sire, que estes rois,
Cil qui le monde sauverois.
(Palat 65-66)*

The future is yet couched in fairly unspecific terms; we know what is coming, but the form it will take is still undefined. There follows another prophecy derived from Scripture.⁴⁸³ This brief vision from the Gospels, one which pinpoints the shortness of time remaining to the Master and His students, is well-integrated into the scene

in which Mary blesses her Savior with oil and is reproached by Judas.

This time Jesus Himself reveals the approaching separation:

*Bien leur ferez, se vous volez.
Loignement ne m'arez vous mie.
 (Palat 114-115)*

At this point Judas leaves the room to meet the High Priests.

What follows must be interpreted in light of the simultaneous stage setting which any performance of *Palat* would probably have assumed. We know from several contemporary and anterior plays that the institution of Holy Communion was viewed in time as accompanying Judas' bargain.⁴⁸⁴ This probability of performance lends a note of urgency to the words of Christ as He details His approaching travail:

*Batus serai et laidengiez,
 Et despecie et detrenchiez.
 (Palat 177-178)*

The nearness of the climax to His earthly life elicits a more vivid insight from Jesus. If Judas is understood as actively commencing the sequence of events which will bring the Prophet's vision to reality, *within the same time frame and in a locus observable by the audience*, then the words take on a greater degree of significance, for time is, indeed, graphically slipping from Him. Jesus' specific details of coming events are no longer intended to hint at some far distant, uncritical time, but at the very future time Judas is initiating!

The scene in Gethsemane, though not particularly successful as a dramatic study in itself, does represent a natural turning point for Jesus, as mirrored by His speeches. To this point He has alluded to the Crucifixion and supporting events with a gradual semantic intensification of the trials which await Him. With the angel's appearance to Him and his assurances from above that it is His Father's will,⁴⁸⁵

Jesus, not oblivious, but acceptive of the sacrifice, meets it in the form of arrest, resigned to its descent upon Him:

De mon gré veil en la croiz pendre
(Palat 264)

La mort sofferai sans orgueil.
(Palat 268)

Language which may appear fortuitous at first glance assumes greater structural significance when viewed in light of temporal consciousness.

I do not believe that the author of the *Palatine* Passion is actively and consciously pursuing a program founded upon the knowledge of time. Such a position lacks proof and is doubtless untenable. What I am suggesting is that a technical means of invoking the future, of integrating it into the present time of the stage, by knowing what it holds for Christ and the continual diminishing of time which separates a premonition from its acutality, *is the final result* of several textual supplements quite beyond Scripture. Whether borrowed from other sources or originated by this author, the ultimate structure of the play still makes use of one method whereby distant events assume an ever-increasing degree of urgency. Christ's vision immediately prior to His confrontation by the angel serves as the logical and tectonic culmination of His prophecies.

b) Mood

Accompanying the extension of scenic length and the initiation of broader, more 'real' character portrayal comes a greater capacity for an author to introduce *pathos*,⁴⁸⁶ to investigate portraits within the drama which increase spectator sensitivity and awareness. Future events are 'felt' or 'deduced', not so much by direct knowledge of things to come, but by an uneasiness which follows in the wake of a character's

evolving mood. The onset of a *pathetic*⁴⁸⁷ eruption is already felt with the successive elevation of strong emotions. Where it may lead is yet unclear.⁴⁸⁸

While it is still inaccurate to speak of an eruption of emotion in *StG*, an embryonic image of what emotional heights will be scaled in Passions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may be found. When John shares his disconcerting tidings with the Anointed's mother („*die Juden hant den meister min*"),⁴⁸⁹ her response contains all the fear and chagrin necessary to markedly darken her mood, casting her into a state of insecurity and apprehension. Mary's words, "*owe, waz wollent sie ime dūn?*",⁴⁹⁰ evinces a fear which, though still of shadowy and undefined substance, arrogates a response laying down the future road of temporal experience. Her command to those about her, „*ir vrawen, get bit mir zū stunt*",⁴⁹¹ assures Mary's appearance in later scenes. Exactly when Mary will reappear and how she will react *in specific terms* to her Son's tribulations is left unanswered for the moment. With the alteration of mood has come a hint provided by the author of the increasing gravity of affairs. We spectators know the final outcome to which this section alludes; yet there is still a quickening of pulse as we momentarily subordinate the Savior's as yet unrealized death to Mary's anxiety. Her apprehension, still expressed in *general* terms of an expanding malaise, lacks the enumerative detail of a *hope* to avoid future pain for her Son, but the scene does reveal the effect of mood upon the integration of future events into 'present' time and a resultant suspense. The dramatist has prepared Mary's laments of a later time exceedingly well.

The mood of the Magdalene in the same play is yet another example of how a future event is made ineluctable. We have observed Mary in all her vanity, dancing and carousing with young men, oblivious of the danger in which her mortal soul stands. Her ridicule of older sister Martha places Mary outside the realm of those who merit forgiveness. When Martha succeeds in breaking through her reluctant sister's worldly defenses with warnings of doom,⁴⁹² Mary's demeanor changes, her self-confidence is shaken; she stands before the future, unsure and painfully aware of her shortcomings. Mary turns to the sister she so recently dismissed to voice her fear and doubt:

*Wer ir wil lange walten,
der wirt von gode geschalten.
awe der leiden mere,
die sint mir alzu swere!*
(StG 300-303)

Technically and dramatically, Mary's altered mood, with its vast uncertainty at the fore, cannot be left in its present state. The stagewright has brought Mary to the crossroads; she must follow one path leading to eternal damnation, or find her way to Jesus' loving presence. In either instance the occurrence of a future event is made both desirable and unavoidable. The author does not need to state such a position at all; he has *hinted* the same by skillfully manipulating mood, one of the methods whereby he may structure his play *beyond* his sources.⁴⁹³

c) Dreams

A third category of hinted occurrences, that of dreams, finds expression in *StG*, *Autun B*, and *Autun R*. These three Passions report the dream of Pilate's wife, though none with the welding of hope to fear noted for *Montecassino*. To be sure, the dream hints at consequences

yet to come, but none significantly alters the original situation of the wife's almost desperate bidding of her husband not to become involved with Jesus. *StG* depicts the Devil himself insinuating his message to the sleeping *Uxor Pilati*,⁴⁹⁴ the only one to do so. Both *Autun* manuscripts, while updating *Uxor's* message to enhance medieval understanding,⁴⁹⁵ involve no evil spirit, *Autun R* being the only text to mention a vision.⁴⁹⁶ This latter version is less effective in its placement of the entire encounter, for it reports the dream after the nails have already been forged and after Pilate has divested himself of all responsibility for the imminent execution.⁴⁹⁷ While the devil's appearance in *StG* is in keeping with the continued symbolic representation of evil, the French texts, so ready to exploit the personification of evil in the Harrowing of Hell, seem to have disregarded a perfect moment for useful investigation of motivation.

Forms of Intimation Emanating from Structure

a) Silence

In previous paragraphs the capacity of a character's willful silence to generate suspense and integrate future developments was discussed.⁴⁹⁸ At that point I stressed the attitude of Christ's ready sacrifice for His followers, and His recognition that the time for meaningful communication with His enemies was past.⁴⁹⁹ Group II plays continue Jesus' silence, as continue it they must, if they are to remain faithful to Scripture. The circumstances I described for *Montecassino* remain in effect for all Passions of the fourteenth century, *Wien* excepted.⁵⁰⁰

b) Music

All five plays eschew the use of the chorus and its capacity to hint at forthcoming events. In *StG* this function is assumed by *Augustinus*, whose directives, when aimed into the future, contain a note of 'historic' truth, effectively eliminating any possibility of a hinted occurrence. The function of the angels in the same play may seem to fit the demands of a chorus, but its messages are simply too narrowly conceived to cast audience awareness into the future. The narrative voice of *Autun B*, the only other entity related to the chorus, does not function to hint the future at all. His point of departure is invariably the *past*; he stands too distant from immediate dramatization to be of value here.

c) Reflection and Contrast

Two strategies for intimating as yet unaccomplished facts which first appear in Group II are reflection and contrast. Though each may focus attention on the future and cause suspense, both occupy opposite ends of the structural spectrum. Reflection, the repetition of likenesses, may be found in all art forms.⁵⁰¹ In literature repetition may function to more clearly define character traits.⁵⁰² It may further cause specific relationships to become understandable; lines of communion between individual figures may thus be drawn. Most importantly, even though the dramatist may remember or recall previous circumstances through reflection, his preoccupation with the future causes the eventual structure of his tale to look forward, to *intimate* that which lies ahead, for as Pütz notes: „Bereits aufgrund der einmaligen Erscheinung . . . steigt im Zuschauer die Ahnung möglicher Wiederholung auf.“⁵⁰³

Of the several methods whereby reflection may be subsumed into drama, that of reflective character is most often employed in Passion plays. The situation is a natural consequence of the central significance of the Passion. Secondary figures and events may enliven the dramatization, but they will rarely receive inordinate stress; they will always remain adjuncts to the main concern-- Christ's Passion.

Character reflection may assume either a positive or a negative form. Persons may resemble one another in good deeds, or their evil ways may create the shared bond. The *Towneley* cycle of Group III is an impressive illustration of this type of reflection. Indeed, as we shall see, it is one of the recurring elements which binds the whole cycle together: Pharoh, Herod the king, Annas, Caiaphas, and Pilate all share an evil nature, one reflective of the other, the appearance of each not only recalling its predecessor, but also looking forward to the next apparition of evil as Christ's Passion nears. Later I will have more to say about the simulacrum of evil in *Towneley*. What remains in Group II is the return of benevolent persons. Of particular interest is the manner in which the *StG* dramaturge incorporates John the Baptist into his story, that prefiguration of Christ *par excellence*.

According to the account of St. Luke, even before the birth of either John or the Messiah, an intimate bond existed between the two. Mary's visit to Elizabeth, the mother of John who had been barren for many years, caused him to move in his mother's womb. Even as an unborn child some unseen power of recognition existed within John and caused him to symbolically pay homage to his Master through Mary. John's relationship to the coming Savior was expressed in explicit terms;

*Et tu puer! Et propheta Altissimi vocaberis; praeibis enim ante faciem Domini parare vias ejus; ad dandam scientiam salutis plebi ejus, in remissionem peccatorum eorum; per viscera misericordiae Dei nostri; in quibus visitavit nos Oriens ex alto; illuminare his, qui in tenebris, et in umbra mortis sedent; ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis.*⁵⁰⁴

These words of joyous revelation, uttered by the inspired father-priest, Zechariah, placed John the Baptist at the apex of all prophets. As the last of the Old Testament visionaries, John's task in life was clear: he was to prepare the way of the Lord, as testified before him by Isaiah and Jeremiah. His role as pathfinder was identified by many medieval preachers as well and maintained by the dramatists of the Middle Ages:

*Johannis precursor et amicus, humillimus et fidelissimus servus, testis fidelis idoneus effectus, tanto maior inter natos mulierem quanto existimabatur esse quod non erat.*⁵⁰⁵

John is given his meaning, not by his heroic life, but by that which he augurs-- the coming of the Lord of Hosts.⁵⁰⁶ The function of this wandering prophet is to prepare for the New Order by giving voice to portions of the Old Record which testify to the nascent Savior: John constitutes one final bridge between Old Testament hope and New Testament reality. Honorius of Autun addressed himself to the fateful and timely appearance of John by metaphorically equating him to an arrow:

*Hic erat sagitta electa, quam Dominus abscondit in sua pharetra. Sagittas mittentes solent aliquem prae aliis reservare, per quam possint oportuno tempore certum ictum dare; sic Deus sanctum Johannem in pharetra sui secreti consilii abscondens reservavit, et cum oportuno tempore extrahens in Judaeam sagittavit, dum sibi viam ad homines veniendi praeparare mandavit. Ipse enim primus homines ad poenitentiam informavit, ipse primus regem coelorum in mundo praedicavit.*⁵⁰⁷

The interest with which this transitional personality was viewed in patristic and medieval times created an entire body of theater devoted to John, his ministry, and particularly his death. Passions

of the late Middle Ages often contain a whole play devoted to the Baptist. *StG* is the only dramatization thus far to investigate John and relate him to Christ, a probable function of its extended scope, not of ignorance or indifference by the other four writers of the group.

As with so many other techniques, the application of reflection in *StG* is but a foretaste of later developments in Passions whose presentational time encompasses three or more days. The ultimate analogy and preview of Christ's suffering and death foretold by John's own trials is lacking. Nonetheless, we, accompanied by the author and his medieval audience, recognize shared qualities between John and Jesus which are introduced by the former. A man of eminent faith and spiritual power wanders the landscape, attending to the religious needs of the people. Equally important is the understanding manner in which John identifies his inferior position relative to the approaching Messiah.⁵⁰⁸ Audiences could be counted upon to register John's affiliation with the Lord as he preached Christ's coming, and to see many characteristics of the Christ in John. However, despite the reflection of several shared qualities, John was first a faithful servant.

In terms of dramatic activity, not enough space is yet afforded by this author to thoroughly investigate John's relationship to Christ. His words, "*Ecce, agnus dei/ecce, qui tollit peccatum mundi!*", hints prophetically at the sacrificial character of the Lamb's death on Calvary,⁵⁰⁹ but the reflective quality of his own death, investigated at length by *Alsfeld*, is incomplete. We perceive only a small degree of the intimative potential of reflection. Nevertheless, it is a beginning, modest though it be, of the application of peculiarly dramatic tool to create interest and suspense. In the instance of *StG*, the

integration of John hints at a literary potential of *biblical material* rather than a conscious authorial interest in the creation of dramatic theater.

Contrast, that entity found on the reverse side of reflection, employs antithesis to create suspenseful intimation.⁵¹⁰ Its futuristic intention finds its most productive exploitation when a contrast (perhaps between two forces or figures) already exists, for our attention is then focused upon the coming *resolution* of the inherent conflict; we do not perceive the contrast as the final outcome of activity.⁵¹¹

One of the most effective methods of employing contrast is to append to staged activity an opposing set of circumstances which may stress incompatible moral values or life styles. Such a usage can be found in *StG*, when the Savior's triumphs over His arch-enemy, Satan, are contrasted with the worldly life of Mary Magdalene.⁵¹² Such a dramatization, wherein the second Adam defeats sin and the second Eve perpetuates it,⁵¹³ juxtaposes two opposites that must be reconciled. Their propitiation lies beyond the present moment, and gives rise to as yet undefined events which ultimately lead to the final resolution. That they will occur is intimated by the staged contrast itself; we are, however, still uncertain as to the exact manner in which it will be accomplished. What lies between the introduction of the contrast and its necessary resolution comprises the artist's domain, how he brings it to pass, his artistry.

Much of the contrast seen in Group II plays results from the scriptural record, which makes the friction and tension between the forces of good and evil a central theme of the Passion. The writer of *Wien*, who still operates within a typed and god-centered universe,

offers a particularly severe contrast of the two forces which vie for man's soul. For him there is no gray area of human activity. Instead, the warring factions are pictured in stark black tones for the Devil and his entourage and white images for God and His believers.

The *dramatis personae* of *Wien* are cast as types, not as individuals.⁵¹⁴ Human persons have no influence upon the development of the play; the ultimate 'reality' of *Wien* is defined by god-induced causality.⁵¹⁵ From its inception *Wien* relates the tale of Christ's Passion in contrastive terms: Lucifer seeks to usurp the power of God, thereby placing himself in direct opposition to the Creator. For his presumption the Devil is banished from the presence of God into Hell, where, accompanied by his cronies, he continues his evil attempts to undo mankind. God's own image in mortal guise. Their success in peopling Hell with all manner of evil doers, their increased domination of the Lord's creation,⁵¹⁶ elicits the Passion. A classic example of the thesis-antithesis=synthesis equation underlies the dramatic strategy of *Wien*. Two forces which vie for supremacy, each by its very nature unreconcilable to the other, cause future events to happen. Satan's advances into godly territory must be countered: we see a massive indication of man's doom if the *status quo* of the influence of evil is allowed to longer defy God. Christ's Passion was seen as the event lying in the future when evil was first introduced into the world. *Wien* incorporates the Passion into a view of sacred history which owes its persuasiveness to an initial contrast necessitating a final arbitration. The arbitrator is the God-Man of Galilee. This Christ of *Wien* does not hide His origin. Not as a teacher or healer, but as an envoy of God does the Savior walk among men; not as an equal to man, but as his Lord:

Er ist der Gesandte des Himmels, der Vermittler der göttlichen Gnade. Das Christusbild des Wiener Fragments zeigt die zweite Person der Trinität, den Gottmenschen, der vom Himmel ausgegangen ist, um für kurze Zeit Menschennatur anzunehmen. Die Passionsgeschichte trägt noch nicht das unterschiedene Schwergewicht. Leiden und Tod Christi sind mehr eine göttliche Notwendigkeit des Heilsplanes als eine irdische Erfahrung des Menschensohnes.⁵¹⁷

The picture of contrasting forces would be incomplete without a look at the French Passions of the period. We might expect a slight variation of application of the technique in plays which already tend towards increased character individuality, and, indeed, this is the case.

Along with the interest in depicting scenes more 'realistically' and a concentration upon the personification of individuals not yet found in German Passions arrive the initial stages of character contrast noted by Maria Müller for much later plays.⁵¹⁸ Instead of contrasting two forces of the God-Devil magnitude, French plays, in their efforts to concretize and humanize the Christ of tradition, turn to the inherent conflict between the established Jewish authority and the Intruder from Nazareth. The situation Müller sees working in later plays from the Tirol, namely misguided and weak men organizing their opposition against a considerably more equal and 'humanized' Jesus,⁵¹⁹ can be found in all three French Passions. Although the development is not yet complete, a thematic change which transfers dramatic emphasis from Devil-God to human Jew-more human Jesus is apparently at work in the second half of the fourteenth century. In *Autun B*, for instance, an inflamed Jew is heard to express an uncompromising contrast between the Son of Man and the remainder of the religious community:

*Nous avons droit et il a tort,
 Pour quoy ill a deservir mort.
 Il est plain de desloyaulter,
 Pour quoy le t'avons cy punter.
 (Autun B 774-777)*

There appears no Satan to misdirect or confuse; the Jewish priests and their followers act as individuals, not as types. But the theatrical and structural result is similar to *Wien*: the contrast of wills, of belief, of comprehension, approaches an impass which cannot endure. One of the participants will be eliminated by a future decision. We all realize who the sacrifice will be and how it will be accomplished. The importance of the contrast is not so much that it signals Christ's apparent defeat, but that His demise is registered in new, more compelling terms; not an evil, typed character, but human beings create the contrast, thus lending a greater feeling of immediacy, of shared responsibility to the play. To be sure, the author has drawn his scene from Gospel tradition, but he has far exceeded the mere recapitulation of recognized truths. He has at once vitalized New Testament records and created a certain structural integrity and forcefulness for his play. Later events are not simply reported as they were alleged to have happened, they are propelled, are motivated by an inner structure, a dramatic form which elevates the aesthetic level of the work far beyond its biblical origins.

INTEGRATION OF THE PAST

As has been indicated on numerous occasions, the accretion of textual material provides authors of the fourteenth century with new and original opportunities for incorporating epic expansion through narrative elements not found in *BenP* or *Montecassino*. Commencing with Group II plays the value of essentially literary and formal strategies

of presentation assume increased importance. The differences observed between the two groups suggests an evolution of religious emphasis towards realistic, concrete, and contemporary theatrical investigation of Christ's Passion. Ancient cult rituals which constituted early religious plays had changed their massive objective-liturgical modes of presentation and experience for a form which from the twelfth century onward no longer equated the play to a presentation before God, but considered it a more human expression of sacred history for the edification of a congregation of individuals.⁵²⁰ Though the vestiges of liturgical values from an earlier era linked Passion plays to their liturgical ancestors, a fact which greatly influences their presentational form, spectators of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries seem to have substituted a spiritual deportment of subjective-psychological tendencies for one of austere objective-sacred leanings.⁵²¹ Though the psychological aspect of the observer's behavior does not overshadow more ancient religious orientations, we can discern an altered spiritual behavior which resembles that of *egocentric* rather than *theocentric* activity.⁵²² The didactic tendencies so prevalent in the Passions of Group II respond to the strong demand for more 'representative' and 'real' description befitting the renewed interest in the Lord's humanity. Along with these spiritual modifications comes the increased application of dramatic structures to make the staged tale more compelling. In Group II texts, therefore, we can expect to find as yet unseen or previously underdeveloped techniques wherein the past is integrated into the staged reality, aided by a commensurate increase in their dramatic intensity, quantity, and quality.

Events Previous to the Onset of Dramatization

Several alternatives for embracing individual events which lie within a period not enveloped by represented time may be drawn into the structure of a play. Two possibilities of investing dramatized scenes with life, meaning, and intensity were active in Group I, those of remembrance and the trial. We saw that the latter entity owed its participation not to authorial originality or ingenuity, but to traditional sources.⁵²³ Whereas the dramatists once again deal with obligatory biblical outlines in Group II, they are able to present individual renditions of the judgment which may investigate old facts with new insights. Let us first, however, return to epic remembrances to ascertain their effect upon the plays in which they occur.

a) Remembrance

While remembrance was applied primarily to acts of the Great Teacher in both *Montecassino* and *BenP*, Group II plays, by virtue of their attention to supporting characters, employ a greatly expanded form of remembrance. To be sure, numerous recollections deal with Jesus, such as John the Baptist's calling to mind of Isaiah's prophecy in *StG*, '*Ego vox clamatis*', and its association with the Lord,⁵²⁴ the recollection of the destruction of the temple by Jesus, shared by *StG*, *Palat*, *Autun B*, and *Autun R*,⁵²⁵ the miracles of marvelous healing in *Palat*, *Autun B*, and *Autun R*,⁵²⁶ which are found in the trial contexts. French Passions in particular incline towards increased reliance upon epic techniques to fill gaps left by their concentration on the time in Jerusalem. One finds no direct witness of the Resurrection prophecy, but, in keeping with scriptural records, we are informed in the usual manner by Annas.⁵²⁷ But the French dramatists go well beyond these bits

of traditional data to investigate in epic fashion Christ's relationship to God.

The speech of Adam in *Autun B*, a response to the Savior's release of prisoners from Hell, reviews the progenitor's own fall through Eve,⁵²⁸ In so doing Adam recalls the original impetus for the Passion, the original sin of disobedience, laying far beyond the confines of dramatic activity, but so much a part of its motivation. Here the artist successfully interjects the ultimate reason for Christ's life among men without recourse to an entire scene concerning the Fall. He notes its ahistoric importance, existing beyond recorded time, with a few sentences containing the essence of religious thought on the sacrifice of Jesus. In His direct address to bystanders at the conclusion of *Autun B*, the Crucified also has occasion to epically remember Adam's fall,⁵²⁹ wherein He identifies His position as God the Father in Old Testament times:

*Quant il ly fit mangier du fruit
Que je luy avoes mon deffendus.
(Autun B 2022-23)*

The observation is immediately subsumed into His Passion with succeeding words:

*Pour vous ai ge esté tout deffait
Pour vous pechiés et pour vous meffait.
(Autun B 2037-38)*

Such a monolog lends a heightened sense of urgency to the story and identifies in epic terms relevant information bearing on presented action.

In *Palat* the laments of the Virgin bear a mark of humanity enhanced by recollections of John concerning the Nativity.⁵³⁰ Events of thirty years previous serve to amplify the emotion of the moment by calling to

mind the peculiar circumstances of His birth, Mary's joy in it, and its contrast with the painful sight of her Son on Calvary. All these illustrations function to extend the tale beyond the confines of the stage into a statement of profound religious proportions.

b) Trials

When the interrogations of the Lamb begin in the second Passion group, one may discern two opposing investigative techniques. We recall that Group I plays, especially *StG*, approached the judgment in a stylized and symbolic manner. *StG*, the Group II representative which builds its religious expression from a less dramatic understanding than do the others, contains little information from Christ's past which might expand its rather narrow horizons. Pilate makes few attempts to learn more from the Nazarene beyond conducting a private audience. One bit of history bearing on Jesus' judgment is the twisted report of His teaching to render unto Caesar what is his and unto God His rightful portion:

*Er hat verboten uber al,
daz nieman dem keyser sal
vorbaz sine sture geben:
dar umme hat er verwirket sin leben!
er nimmet sich auch des riches an,
den keyser also smehen kan!*⁵³¹
(*StG* 1049-54)

With the exception of this newly-introduced information and the extensive application of vernacular speech to the trial sequence, little dramatic endeavor can be found which might alter the basic liturgical and stylized climate of *StG*.

Of far greater interest are the epic inclusions made by contemporary French writers, for they provide an aesthetically more sophisticated

incorporation of Christ's immediate background and render more transparent the potential inherent in a trial situation for uncovering relevant facts. By means of the recollections of *Uns Juifs* and *Herode*, another Hebrew, the precarious circumstances in which the Lord now finds Himself are rationalized in light of previous unstaged events.

Of like interest for readers and spectators is the quality of justice dispensed at the trial. More than any other Passion of the group, *Autun B* specifies through Pilate the great travesty against truth over which he presided. In all judgment sections the Roman governor attempts to dissuade the Jews from their chosen course, but his reluctance is made most profound in *Autun B*. Not only does Pilate recognize the weakness of the adversaries' case against the Son of Man, he also seeks to convince them with his own words, when he identifies Christ's true nature:

*Seigneurs, tous grant tort avés
Quant Jhesus vous randus m'avés
Comme larront en mes prisons.
Prophete est en saint home.
(Autun B 778-781)*

*Voulés vous que je faice octire
Celuy qui sur tout est maistre et syre?
Sachés que vostre roy tuons,
Se nous Jhesus crucifons.
(Autun B 843-846)*

It is, therefore, not surprising that *this* Pilate should feel most keenly his role as accomplice in an unjust act, and seek more than any other Pilate to excuse himself from guilt to Joseph of Arimathea.

By way of Pilate's reflection on the trial, the author has heightened spectator outrage at such a legal miscarriage. We have before us not a symbolic trial, but a painfully human one, a condition which even calls forth fretful memories by a foreign administrator.

In *Autun B* we find an early indication of the multi-leveled structure of time, for the past is not only reactivated and investigated in light of known facts, there evolves a fascination with the trial procedure itself, which directs attention into the future, wherein lies the final arbitration of the case. Even though its outcome is both known and unavoidable, the attempts of the head magistrate to influence Christ's accusers, coupled with his own conviction of the Man's innocence, fosters hope in our minds that Jesus may somehow escape death: surely in light of the weak evidence and recognition of the Lord's supernatural nature, Pilate will set Him free; surely his position of authority will insulate Pilate from the unreasonable demands to sacrifice the person standing mute before him, offering only prophecy in His own defense. Despite overwhelming sentiment to the contrary, Pilate gives the Prisoner over to death, though it is evident from his exchange with Joseph that the official will long remember his folly.

Expositional Forms of Remembrance

Methods of exposition by the five writers of these fourteenth-century Passions are as diverse as the writers themselves. The manner in which these five men address themselves to causative factors which precede the Lord's sacrifice provides convincing evidence that Passions as a group are not homogenous products derived from one common source, but varied endeavors constructed by men of dissimilar gifts and dramatic competence. Nor are they dull or witless imitations of Gospel truths. Group II plays vary from the absence of any expressive incorporation of pre-history through exposition in *StG* and *Palat* to one of the most significant and impressive uses of pre-history found in the

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whole corpus of religious drama by the artist of *Wien*.

a) Narrated Pre-history

Narrated pre-history finds an introductory position in the two *Autun* manuscripts. The necessity of succeeding dramatization of the Master's sacrifice is identified by an unknown expositor with Adam's original disobedience. It is the single most relevant fact from pre-history which causes Christ to assume the guise of a man, one which places the Passion into cosmic dimensions far exceeding the hours and minutes of staged representation

*Quar nous veillons monstret l'ystoyre
De la passion Jhesucrist,
Si comme nous trouvons en escripst.
Pour le pechier du premier homme,
De Adam qui mangea la pomme,
Fust le monde lyvrer a mort,
Mais ly [sire] pour donner confort
Naisqui de la Vierge Marie
Pour nous tourner de mort a vie.
(Autun B 6-14)*

This example of narrated pre-history defines the past, relating it to the onset of dramatization, the presentation of which is initiated in both *Autun* plays upon a concluding request for silence.

b) Pre-history as a Present Circumstance

Another instance of employing pre-history to elucidate the present, this time to add individuality to a character, may be seen in *Palat*, where bits of information derived from an unidentified past time combine to presentify the portrayal of the spice merchant.⁵³² He does not simply spring from the necessities of the Maries to buy ointment, nor does he merely happen along. This vendor has a unique history, a portion of which is introduced by him, lending credibility to his represented personality. This merchant is a widely-travelled soul, a

native of Salerno, that most august center of medical learning during the Middle Ages. He has traversed the Auvergne and found many herbs which he has brought with him. These few facts, meager though they seem, admirably place the merchant in a realistic milieu, wherein he may advise the Maries with some degree of authority. The playwright includes valuable knowledge about the vendor and his trade from these few words of epic narration without unnecessarily diluting the presentation.⁵³³

c) Actualized Pre-history

The most dramatic use of pre-history, one which throws anticipation and interest far beyond its narration into the future, is found in *Wien*, where causative factors which bear on the Passion are introduced by a prepatory play in Heaven and where the interjacence of evil into the world is not *talked about*, as is the general rule for medieval theater,⁵³⁴ but actually presented on stage. The dramatized conflict between God and Lucifer, the banishment of the latter from Heaven, the inception of evil into the world via the first human parents, and the extention of Lucifer's kingdom on earth,⁵³⁵ force attention upon these elements of pre-history by their impelling and lively form: not an event narrated by a *regens ludi* or a *proclamator*, but a staged reality establishes the importance of the Passion for mankind. Lucifer recalls:

*wan ich do ze himele
waz ein engel schön unt clar,
nu bin ich verschaffen gar!*
(*Wien* 41-43)

His precipatory command to other workers of evil to recruit candidates for his kingdom prove all the more convincing because of previous

dramatization. Christ's appearance among men is made more significant to the motivational structure of the play because of actualized pre-history. We have in *Wien* a remarkable illustration of an obviously superior artistic mind who stays within dictated boundaries of tradition, but who molds and forms the tale into a representation of history far surpassing the original story itself. The effective introduction of anticipatory forms into the Passion both focuses attention on activities yet to come and provides us with an aesthetic experience of artistic formulation which surpasses the confines of medieval theater. We can approve and appreciate the poet's accomplishments, though we do not share his cultural heritage nor his religious background. The rare structure he provides the Passion exceeds all limitations of time, speaking to us with lucidity and power.

Retrieved Events Within Dramatized Time

Concentration, the watchword of dramatic structure, may be intensified when an author reaches back into some period of *represented time* to epically recall circumstances which cast an illuminatory light on the predicaments of his characters. By means of this technique the playwright expands the scope of even the most restricted plays, drawing his figures in intensified and explanatory fashion, but still preserving a necessary core of dramatic activity.

Epic narration in *Wien* which is employed to investigate the trespasses of the four souls received into the underworld can be called, by reason of the scope of the presentation, examples of screened occurrences, falling within represented time, but not dramatized. Each soul relates salient events from his past which caused his downfall. The

usurer has engaged in evil deeds in abundance, has profiteered in all manner of goods from grains to fat,⁵³⁶ and has kept company with Jews:⁵³⁷ the monk has committed a good many immoral acts with young nuns and women during confession,⁵³⁸ succumbing to the temptations of „*der eilfte vinger min*";⁵³⁹ the sorceress has brought lay women to desert their mates in favor of priests;⁵⁴⁰ the thief has belabored widows and orphans, stolen livestock from farmers, committed arson and murder for gain.⁵⁴¹ These facts, which enlighten us about the individual 'accomplishments' of the four types, depict the unharmonious situation in the world created by Adam's fall. The „*sprunghaftes Vorgehen*" identified by Froning,⁵⁴² whereby vast amounts of represented time are overleaped to concentrate attention on the gravest scenes before Christ's Passion, is an effective dramatic and structural strategy, well served by screened occurrences.⁵⁴³

Wien projects other circumstances where an unseen happening broadens mental horizons of the play without diluting it. In the process of her conversion, the Magdalene is informed by Martha that her Savior is now in the vicinity:

*genk hin zu dem heilant,
der do ist kumen in deu lant.
(Wien 339-340)*

This report is the only evidence we have that Jesus is indeed nearby. The dramatic import of the statement is to introduce the character of Jesus into the action without resorting to a marginally useful or unnecessary scene. That Jesus' entrance into the dramatic arena is not significant *of itself* can be felt by the hints contained in the message of Martha. We do not need an extra scene to account for His presence; this fact is admirably conveyed without a break in dramatization and

without the loss of structural concentration on the chain of events leading to the Passion. Through the technique of screened occurrence the relevant ideas expand the implied scope of presentation; we witness a satisfying and sophisticated method of reporting relevant, but decidedly secondary developments.

In contrast to other Passions which contain the dream of Pilate's wife, notably *Montecassino* and *BenP*, where the Devil's visit is considered dramatized in parallel with the interrogation of Jesus, *Autun B* and *Autun R* deal with it strictly as a screened occurrence. The more lengthy *Autun B* manuscript calls upon Pilate's wife herself to approach the governor with the news of her strange vision:

*Quar j'ay veuz une vision
Qui me vient a turbacion,
De quoy j'ay esté toute espentee.
(Autun B 569-571)*

There follows the warning to Pilate, narrating the forthcoming destruction of Jerusalem. *Autun R* employs the wife's servant to admonish Pilate of similar evil days which await an unjust decision, as did the two previously-mentioned texts. In both cases the result is the same: epic narration sheds light upon secondary circumstances without recourse to additional dramatization. These *Autun* plays exploit epic techniques of expanding the mental horizons of spectators, a tendency which will become more pronounced in Group III plays, as interest in marginal developments of the story increases.

Through the application of these several methods of expansion by narration, an altered arena of activity can be glimpsed. Plays of the fourteenth century appear more attuned to artistic stimuli. The development towards qualities of adroitness in theatrical presentations is by no means measured and steady. But the understanding we gain by studying

the structure of each play of Group II indicates a greater degree of aesthetic mastery of the means of presentation as well as the material. Most notably the play of *Wien* evidences a newly-discovered potential of several techniques whereby time may be manipulated. It stands as a clear beacon of changing modes of production, of increased importance for structural phenomena in support of the message of redemption.

My inquiry into the temporal and dramatic formulation of medieval Passion plays has now reached its second plateau. In the last several pages I have advanced much textual evidence indicative of a renewed interest in the Passion of Jesus Christ, of a desire to experience and visually see the sacrifice of the Lamb of God in all its emotional ramifications. The origins of this movement to concretize the *human* side of God Incarnate were seen to comprehend a large corpus of theological investigations from centuries preceding these five plays. Those found most significant for the emerging Christocentric piety of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were St. Bernard's *Liber de Passione Domini*, St. Anselm's *Dialogus beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini*, two works which dominated the European religious thought of the time, augmented and proliferated by the preaching of the Franciscan monks under St. Francis, culminating in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* of John of Caulibus. The latter work was seen to be one of the cornerstones of influence for drama and plastic arts of later centuries.⁵⁴⁴ The ever-increasing absorption with the humanity of a suffering Savior differed substantially with the concept of a triumphant Victor, the image which dominated earlier centuries. The tendency to dwell upon Jesus' mortality deeply affected both the method and tone of presentation of Group II dramas. A review of Appendix B, Tables 5-9, will reinforce

the increased emphasis upon Jesus the Man by revealing which scenes have undergone extensive elongation and specification. As one would expect, they are the episodes commencing with the Lord's arrest and interrogation by the priests of Judaism.

Instead of an all-pervasive commemorative nature like that found in Group I texts, one witnessed in Group II a capacity for extending traditional scenes and roles to accommodate the expanding horizon of edification. The long developing movement towards an insistent official attitude that the Master's sacrifice occurred on a *human* as well as a divine level led both theologians and dramatists to organize their materials into more 'realistic', more compelling representations. In Group II we observed the first substantial responses to altered religious attitudes in Passion form: each play evidenced an increased structural-formal sophistication which accompanied time-honored and sacred story lines. Maria Müller explains: „In schwachen Ansätzen zeigt sich neben den religiösen-inhaltlichen eine selbständige Bedeutung der formalen Gesichtspunkte."⁵⁴⁵ The truth of this perception was found in numerous temporal quantities from all five plays. But perhaps the single most important indication of such a formalized quantity was the character *Augustinus* of *StG*. His presence at each critical juncture of the play was shown to formally divide this Passion into specific units of dramatic investigation. His introductions of the most momentous circumstances of the Passion were seen to be consistent, a new perspective for structural organization of these dramas. Through him we were again reminded that *surprise* does not constitute an indispensable variable of effective drama, for he consciously telegraphed each and every meaningful event before it was dramatized.

In *StG* and *Wien* a symbolized duration of the Magdalene's sinful life by the coordination with various events separated in time during Christ's own life was seen to be a useful method of innovatively presenting essentially traditional material.

The monumental capacities of anachronism to update ancient truths and catch spectator awareness were documented by attention to the role of the Jews in the plot surrounding the Crucifixion, the application of linguistic signals originating in medieval life, and an overall anachronism of action. That concept of sacred history, which was found at the core of comprehension in earlier centuries, continued through the plays of the fourteenth. They occupied a position analogous to the liturgy, wherein events of times past were articulated "until the end of time".⁵⁴⁶ The process of updating was present notably in the German renditions of Mary Magdalene, but especially in *Wien*, where her entire personality assumed the trappings of a courtly medieval woman. Sacred history, the interpretation of the past by the present,⁵⁴⁷ was also underscored by the phenomenon of *suspension*, wherein the curtain of separation dividing spectator from actor was occasionally lifted to accommodate a strategic unity into a worshipful congregation. The speeches of *Augustinus* were found to didactically update biblical truths in terms designed to elicit active spectator empathy for its Lord, the One who suffered for the sins of original man *along with* his medieval co-defendants. The integration of music, of well-known and immediately recognized portions of the liturgy, especially the '*Te Deum*', such as that found upon the conclusion of *Palat*, pointed to the power of anachronism to bring deep-seated convictions to bear on the moment, to make it a period of sincere expression of religious belief. In view of the numerous instances of

anachronism in all five plays, one can but concur with Hartl's expression of its potential: „Vergangenheit und Gegenwart fließen ineinander, Fremdes wird eingedeutet, und so wird das Dargestellte für das wissende Publikum zum Ur-Erlebnis."⁵⁴⁸ These plays indeed do not deal with isolated facts from the past; all evidence suggests that they continued to look upon the events of the Savior's Passion as a portion of their own present reality. This fact represents one of the dramatic theories consciously sustained by medieval playwrights, one not recognized by Hardin Craig and his disciples.

As the list of dramatis personae was elongated to investigate Christ's human Passion in greater depth, the opportunity to travel beyond the confines of traditional play acting and writing became possible. The three French texts were particularly revealing in their methods and degrees of emendation. Choosing to ignore the literary and dramatic potential of the prostitute from Magdala, a character so well-developed and integrated into the very fiber of *StG* and *Wien*, they dwelled instead on servants of the High Priests, cavalier soldiers at the Sepulchre, who promised such calamity, but could deliver none, the smith and his wife, devils, and various courtly functionaries from the flagellation and crucifixion sequences. All reflected an emerging tendency by French authors to thoroughly develop character and motivational aspects of their material. To quote Goodman, this perception involves

the ability to seize on the picturesque and purely human aspect of reality (which) is a characteristic expression of French genius in the middle ages, while German literature of the same period is distinguished by a trend toward the crystallization of thought and substance in symbolic form.⁵⁴⁹

The symbolic form was particularly apparent in *StG*, the most liturgical in tone of all five texts. These forms were punctuated by the retention

of many Latin phrases from religious services, words taken from responses, antiphons, psalms, and the like. We also saw this sort of divergent approach in several incidents in French plays, especially in the laments of the Virgin beneath the Cross, as she sought to come to terms with her Son's tragic passing and in the *Palatine* scene of the spice merchant. That personnage, it is recalled, enjoyed the distinction of being the first purely secular addition to liturgical material. It was not the intention of early authors to individualize him,⁵⁵⁰ nor for the French artists of the fourteenth century to cause laughter by his presence.⁵⁵¹ His dramatic growth evolved from the natural potential inherent in the scene itself.⁵⁵² The early *mercator* of Group I became, nonetheless, a full-fledged member of medieval urban society, a representative of a French interest in personality, a figure "d'une part a une atmosphere de familiarité qui nous éloigne singulierement de l'austerité de l'Écriture. . . ."⁵⁵³ Despite a surge of interest in secondary characters and their motivations, the French Passions share with their German analogs, as they do with purely liturgical drama, the intent to teach, to edify.⁵⁵⁴

The authors of Group II plays have, however, gone far beyond the mere recapitulation of sacred history; they have breeched many barriers, extending the aesthetic and literary qualities of their products to heretofore unknown heights. *Palat* has fostered temporal succession by three independent views of the Crucifixion, each adding a new insight into the tragedy; *Autun B* has investigated the circumstance from the views of the Virgin and Joseph of Arimathea. A previously unwitnessed technique of temporal management, that of referring to duration or to the time of day, has been documented for *StG* and *Palat*. The tempo of

succession of each play is distinct, the most creative being the succession of *Wien*, wherein the simple non-observance of vast quantities of historical time separating the fall of Adam from the reception into Hell of four medieval sinners structurally highlighted the necessity of the Passion. It is in this play that many of the potentials of creative drama have been realized. Although *Wien* still maintains a tradition-approved character typing, which admits few of the individualizing qualities found in the three French plays, the structuring of the dramatic process is particularly effective. Müller correctly emphasizes the humanization of Christ as the driving force behind the story,⁵⁵⁵ but extends her observation to note the extreme latitude within this general orientation:

Der Kampf zwischen Gott und Satan "überschreitet menschliche Dimensionen. Er erlaubt es, die 'Handlung' an verschiedenen Punkten von Raum und Zeit aufleuchten zu lassen und gestattet zugleich, wichtige Kapitel der historischen Fabel zu "übergehen, während geschichtlich weniger bedeutende Teile ausführlich vorgeführt werden. Nicht die Darstellung der historischen Heilsgeschichte ist das Primäre, sondern die bildhafte Formgebung des ideellen Prozesses.⁵⁵⁶

It is precisely these areas of secondary theological importance which lend *Wien* its flavor and immediacy. The contrast between the Magdalene and Christ, magnified by presentation in parallel, marked one useful method of aesthetically revealing the redemptive process. The genius of *Wien* was also experienced in the analysis of actualized pre-history, the only text of Group II to employ such exposition, in which the primitive drives culminating in Jesus' Passion were dramatized. These instances revealed a competent author busily organizing his religious statement at levels transcending his sources, making absolutely clear a series of events widely separated in natural time which convinced the Father to cause His only Son to suffer mortality.

Most significantly, the ascendancy of devilish madness and domination of human kind did not cease with the advent of the time of the spectators, but continued through their own existence, symbolized by the four typed medieval sinners. Their own failings continued to impede the spread of God's earthly kingdom and bolster the power of Satan.

Along with the increased relevance of the mortal Christ in Group II came an awakening of pathos inherent in the sufferings of His mother. Through a review of Mary's position in the laments during and surrounding the Crucifixion, I traced traditional elements of her sorrows and indicated by a study of the *Palatine* Passion possible areas of emotional and dramatic character augmentation. The conclusion seems inescapable that Mary's speeches have been enhanced with sorrowful overtones designed to draw attention to her own form of martyrdom.

Consistent with an intensified desire to flesh out traditional understandings of how the Passion may have unfolded in actuality there evolved a more or less unconscious direction of dramatic and organizational skill towards phenomena solely within the manipulative domain of the author. Consideration of areas such as Forms of Proclamation and Intimation emanating from Structure were seen to assume greater importance for fourteenth-century Passion plays. I presented under the title of *prologs* evidence for proclamatory forms in *StG* and *Autun B*, wherein interlocutory personalities delivered what in essence were short, pointed sermons on the necessity of the Passion. In this context I must stress again that sermonizing prior to dramatization was hardly a completely novel or unexpected happening, for the origin of these mysteries of the medieval Church in holy sacraments, the role of the clergy in their presentation from earliest times, their place of

performance,⁵⁵⁷ all suggest an intentional tone conducive to the placement of a demi-sermon upon the outset of dramatization. What is of much greater importance is the fact that an individual writer deliberately chooses whether to preface his drama with such enlightening warnings or to disregard them. It is his own decision; what he introduces and how he linguistically structures the message bespeaks at least in part his intention. It is another manner of formally organizing his material independent of sources.

Under the rubric, *Forms of Intimation*, I introduced the twin concepts of reflection and contrast, noting their futuristic implications. It was reported that the dramatic equation of John the Baptist to Christ might be seen in *StG* in embryonic form. Reference to the medieval theologian Honorius of Autun made the relationship more obvious from a doctrinal standpoint. I also stated that French plays, probably because of their penchant for character individualization, made little use of either phenomenon to intimate the future. *Wien*, it was found, offered also in an essentially primitive state of development some incidences of contrast, particularly that of the God-Devil magnitude, that is, a contrast of wills, not of personalities.

With the close of the analysis for Group II, virtually all dramatic techniques have been introduced whereby time may structure the drama or itself be structured. Of the remaining forms which find no place in either Groups I or II, the number is exceedingly small. That is to say, medieval drama partakes of most theoretically possible methods of temporal organization. The scant few not in evidence are either not discernible from the texts alone, or simply have no validity for a religious production depicting known opinions and beliefs.

This is the place to once again reiterate that medieval drama is neither naïve, particularly simplistic, nor devoid of significant artistry.

The presented evidence overwhelmingly confirms the opinion that a substantial degree of latitude exists for authors to engage in artistically elevated dramatics within the conventional boundaries of medieval theater. Evidence further suggests that attention to the process of dramatic organization, to the structuring in time of this basic system of beliefs, can direct the investigator beyond the confining categories of subjective response into a truly objective and meaningful confrontation with each work at its own level. The rewards such an exercise holds for the patient and reasonable reader are worthy of pursuit, for, at their most challenging, they will offer suggestions intimative of the intent behind the printed words and at least a partial picture of the society whose values they reflect.

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