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

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

Volume II

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

CHAPTER VII

Group III (1340-1520)
Chester, Towneley, Grèban's Mistère, Donaueschingen, Alsfeld

Any investigation into the structure of medieval drama would be incomplete without at least a cursory glance at portions of the English cycle plays and the continental culminations of the Passion tradition of the late Middle Ages. Whereas cultural and religious attitudes have undergone substantial alteration in the centuries separating, for example, *Montecassino* from *Mistère*, we will need to expand our awareness of changes in stagecraft which accompany it. With justification more emphasis will be laid upon aesthetic considerations of performance, for, as Passion presentations move out of the realm of pure commemoration into one stressing not only intensified emotional experience but also sermonizing, the plays become not solely religious, but more profoundly aesthetic experiences.[1] They take on structures which do not always rest with traditional material; the artistic capabilities of each artist increasingly influences the final product. The reason may be found in audience reaction to the plays: they have gradually come to expect more from theatrical performances than strictly ritualistic restatements of ultimate truths. Even in the instance of *Alsfeld*, a play projecting spiritual overtones derived from tradition and ritual, spectators' demands must be accommodated. This calls for novel characters, such as humanized devils, a rationalized and believable Judas, and a Crucifixion wherein figures not only speak or remark on the incident, but participate more actively than before.[2] The investigation into motivational factors plays a dominant role in Group III, for as Froning has noted, the elongation of episodes is not only designed to accommodate

the actions of characters, but to look intensely at why they act as well.[3]

When the religious environment into which Group III fits is considered, one discovers many facts which cast light upon its structure. In most instances the salient spiritual developments can be discerned in infant form in prior Passions. The demand for greatly rationalized stage personalities, for example, was seen to define much of the dynamics of Group II plays, such as *Palat*, *Wien*, and *Autun B* and *Autun R*. Group III Passions extend this desire to a higher level and consequently increase their length and breadth. But we must look more thoroughly at the general tenor of the times to truly appreciate its organizational impact.

Attention to Christ's travails for mankind, long the subject of devotion in earlier years, becomes so profound as to assume the status of a cult. Indeed, one finds almost every detail of His torment at the focal point of canonical hours of the day or affiliated in devotional books with days of the week.[4] In English lyrics of the time even the instruments of the Lord's martyrdom assume the garb of pious devotion.[5] The *Imago Pietatis*, a popular lyrical device of the late medieval period,[6] had already been applied to drama, as seen in *Autun B*.[7] It is recalled that the monolog of Christ the Wounded, addressed in dramatic presentations directly to spectators of *medieval* times, is divested of any hint of a historical or contextual tempus, thereby adopting the force of *timelessness*. Thus freed from all temporal limitation, the image and attendant monolog assumed a meditative,[8] hence didactic quality not seen in previous Passions. In his introduction to the Third Day of playing, Grĕban addresses himself to the stage as a mirror of human activity, stressing the opportunity to learn from

theatrical performance:

> *Ainsi va son veil moderant*
> *en ce miroir considerant*
> *ou tout cueur pour son dueil mirer*
> *se doit doulcement remirer;*
> *et affin que vous y mirez*
> *et humblement la remirez,*
> *ce devost miroir pour le mieulx*
> *vous ramenons devant les yeulx*
> *sensiblement par parsonnages:*
> *mirez, vous, si serez bien sages:*
> *chacun sa forme y entrevoit;*
> *qui bien se mire, bien se voit.*
> (*Mistere* 19989-20000)

When we investigate the highly lyrical meditations on stage of Jesus, as He points to His wounds and the instruments which inflicted them, we discover a capacity to elicit irrational and lyrical experiences and emotions rather than those derived from dramatic attitudes. Such a temporal interruption occurs twice in *Towneley*: the first instance may be found at the Crucifixion,[9] while the second is encountered in the form of a 'dolorous complaint' in the Resurrection play.[10] Since both examples greatly affect the straightforward unrolling of the tale on stage, we shall benefit by a closer reading of them at a later, more appropriate time.

Yet another application of lyrical convention finds its way into Passions from poetry: the figure of Christ as knight and lover. A particularly striking usage is seen again in *Towneley*, where Jesus is told by the First Torturer:

> *Ye must Iust in tornamente*
> (*Towneley XXIII* 92),
>
> *For we shall sett the in thy saddle*
> *ffor fallyng be thou bold;*
> *I hete the wele thou bydys a shaft*
> (*Towneley XXIII* 103-5),
>
> *And we shall se how he can ryde*
> (*Towneley XXIII* 111),

Sir, commys heder and haue done,
And wyn apon youre palfray sone
(*Towneley XXIII* 113-14),

all allusions to Christ's imminent pain on the Rood.

Derived from nuptial imagery of the Old Testament where Israel became a harlot and God vowed to win her back, in Christian times reconciled by the Passion,[11] and later allied with conventional themes from medieval romance, the figure of Christ the knight-lover was a logical extention of a suffering Savior, hung bleeding on the Cross. Several images which make their way into Passion performances in the fifteenth century share a characteristic often seen in poetry of the Passion, as Woolf explains:

> The elements of shock and surprise do not . . . derive from the invention of a startling and hitherto unthought-of term of comparison, but from the choosing of some ancient and well-established similitude, and then pressing every possible detail into the comparison.[12]

With its intention defined more and more in terms of edification and didacticism, the late medieval play sought to more closely simulate the human experience than seen in Group II. This alteration becomes manifest in the suppression of symbolic meaning in favor of a contemporary will of expression,[13] a desire for still more detail, representation of every possible episode to its fullest,[14] and the penetrating investigation of purely religious scenes.[15] One can offer as examples the extensive inquiry of Grĕban into the Last Supper and the Crucifixion, and the Flagellation sequence of *Towneley*. *Alsfeld* takes the investigation a step further by including an extensive play of John the Baptist, not an uncommon story in itself, but one of even greater structural and dramatic import when allied to the Passion of Jesus Christ.

When we search medieval culture for possible explanations for what to us often appears a cruel delight in attending to detail, to portraying events like the Crucifixion, the Flagellation, and the Way of the Cross in Group III plays with a crude flair for expression and a devilish delight in revealing the darker side of man's nature, we find that some of the same religious writings we have seen before lay open for consideration: certainly the *Meditationes* of John of Caulibus, the *Dialogus S. Anselmi* of Psuedo-Anselm, with their reflections on the events at the Skull, cast their collective shadow over literary deliberations well into the fifteenth century.

With great intensity preachers of the fourteenth century addressed themselves to the Passion of Our Lord, employing language which in spirit and emotion set the tone for plays of the following century. Listen to the words of an English man of the pulpit:

> He was betun and buffetid, scorned and scourgid, that unnethis was ther left ony hoole platte of his skyn, fro the top to the too, that a man myȝte have sette in the point of a nedil. But al his bodi rane out as a strem of blood. He was crowned with a crowne of thornes for dispite. And whanne the crowne, as clerkis seien, wolde not stik fast and iust doun on his heed for the longe thornes and stronge, thei toke staves and betun it down, til the thornes thrilliden the brayne panne. He was naylyd hond and foot with scharp nailis and ruggid, for his peyne shulde be the more; and so, at the last, he sufferid most paynful deeth, hanging ful schemfulli on the cros.[16]

There may be found, however, a third, and not unimportant tradition of the medieval church in operation in these late plays. F.P. Pickering is one of the few scholars to investigate the influence of exegesis on Gothic 'realism' or the rationalization of ancient attitudes in Christian art and drama at the close of the Middle Ages. He has made some remarkable findings in the process, one of which I mentioned in the initial pages of this study. Time, the bane of all scholarship, has long ago

obscured many of the most important events culminating in details of Group III Crucifixions:

> The reality of the Crucifixion is a painfully reconstructed 'historical' reality which the Christian world owes to the *biblical* researches of the Fathers of the Church. Its only source is the Bible, but the Bible interpreted in a way which has passed more or less entirely out of use since the Reformation and Counter-Reformation.[17]

In a lengthy, elaborate, and impressively cogent presentation, Pickering depicts the most shocking and horrifying particulars of 'Gothic' crucifixions as resting on a long tradition of exegesis bent upon the task of discovering and rationalizing all events in Christ's life with Old Testament prophecies, or as reported in Luke xxiv: 44: *"Necesse est impleri omnia quae scripta sunt in lege Moyse, et prophetis, et psalmis de me."* Influential mystics lent their visions to a rapidly increasing store of "indignities and brutalities *however* described . . ."[18], for each attempted to widen the epithet 'no one can describe the sufferings of our Lord" into concrete images for devotion. In plays of the late medieval period, *Mistère* sees fit to institutionalize the elongation needed to realize these words, for as *l'acteur* reports in preparation for the third day of playing:

> *et tant de hontes y (dans la maison d'Anne) souffry*
> *qu'il n'est pas en humaine bouche*
> *que l'offence totalle touche.*
> (*Mistère* 19938-40)

Although more complicated than the statement suggests, Pickering attributes much of the iconography of the Crucifixion in late medieval times, and not incidently of the Passion plays of the same period, to two main sources, Psalms xxi and lvi (the Good Friday and Easter Psalms).[19] This is, of course, only the tip of the iceberg, and as contexts warrant and examples allow, I shall return to this scholar's remarkable suggestions.

During the course of prior decades influential voices in religious thought also tackled the problem of man in the world. Previously accepted definitions of human life, its meaning and eventual goal, did not escape scrutiny and restatement. In spite of the continued desire to experience the Passion in all its emotive power, the character of the religious body, that is, the Church, had reacted to long-building pressures. The *Corpus Christi Mysticum*, the religious group, seen for so many centuries as the mystical Body of Christ, united by the Mass, had undergone a gradual process of fractionalization, the result of which reduced the congregation to a group of individuals, each experiencing the sufferings of Christ subjectively.[20] Hartl, too, perceives an altered spectator state of mind at the core of many 'worldly' elements of late Passions. Audiences would no longer tolerate protracted hours of didactic earnestness, filled with 'painful truths', „sondern liebt es, entsprechend der innere Zerrissenheit der in keiner Gemeinschaft geborgenen Seele, den grausigen Ernst durch schranklose Ausgelassenheit zu "übertönen. . . ."[21] As this observation attests, man had in past decades also begun to react to the world in a manner unlike that which had leaned on thomistic principles of being, so long a part of medieval life. Instead man began to view the world not as a subject, but as an object, possessing merit of its own, quite apart from its place in the hierarchy which led towards eternity.[22] Mankind became torn between living in a pleasurable world and preparing himself for a final reckoning. Earlier gradualistic concepts of being, with their emphasis on the transitoriness of things earthly, with their teachings that all life was but preparation for the hereafter, lost much of their intensity.[23] Accompanying these changes in religious attitudes was an altered strategy for theatrical performance

of religious history. Something more than a desire to heighten emotional involvement in the Good Shepherd's sacrifice began to define the theater of the late Middle Ages. More emphasis was made to relate the staged reality to problems of existence in the present world. The Pilate of *Towneley* makes much more sense when seen in this light, as a vehicle for social comment on the ills of contemporary society. And his role as mouthpiece for the author, while especially well drawn and presented, is certainly not unique; Pilate has several excellent counterparts in other areas of medieval literature. Rosemarie Magnus has identified a clear intent to teach through the 'lively' sermon of *Alsfeld*;[24] Maria Müller finds similar evidence as she addresses herself to the basic deportment of later Passions: „Die Grundhaltung dieser Spiele ist eine epische. Nicht das dramatische Miterleben des Zuschauers ist ihr Ziel, sondern seine Unterweisung und Belehrung."[25] To be sure, we cannot dismiss the obvious interest for emotional reactions to the Passion in those who attend its performance; rather we must now guage the deepening rationalization of the character in the event and the subsequent alteration of form in light of both phenomena:

> Seitdem innere Struktur des Bühengeschehens nicht mehr nur eine göttliche, sondern auch eine menschliche ist, läszt sich in den wirklichkeitsnahen Darstellungen die unbewuszte Befolgung gewisser dramatischer Grundsetze erkennen. Das Prinzip der grösztmöglichen Naturwahrheit tritt in den Dienst der religiösen Erbauung.[26]

It may be said in conclusion that the spectator of a late medieval play, suspended as he was between this world and the next, vacillating between the lust for life and a sincere repentance for his acts, lived in a new world where he could not always rely upon an ancient gradualistic and theocentric order of the universe. The Christian congregation, long seen as a mystical body of true believers, had collapsed,

and in its place rose a new individualism which stressed a person's care for his own salvation.[27] The demands a spectator like this might have placed on the theater were more complicated than those of his predecessors. The response by playwrights also proved unique, though at times somewhat overworked by modern standards. The modes of dramatization to which fifteenth-century Passions fell heir and which they cultivated to a degree heretofore unknown were : 1) a subjective manner of religious experience, corresponding to personal necessity; 2) a 'humanization' of religious figures which reflected the character of contemporary devoutness; 3) a method of performance emphasizing 'rationalization' of character and event in service of a religious theater rich in illusion.[28] Let us now place the five plays of Group III into this context by first studying their external qualities.

Each play or group of plays from this group possesses a unique organization and structure, responding to different demands of performance. *Chester* presents the local understanding of the biblical tale as it existed in the last quarter of the fourteenth century in that particular area of England. Its structure supports a Passion section notably straightforward in direction.[29] However, to adequately comprehend *Chester*, we shall have to examine the phenomenon of casting, wherein one character may be portrayed by several individuals. A second factor which may bear upon its organization of time, as well as this portion of *Towneley*, is the effect upon the composition of the performance, and what structurally limiting effect staging on several small areas not always simultaneously observable might have on the temporal strategy of the plays themselves. It may be found, for instance, that much of what is reported in *Chester* or *Towneley* in the past tense, reported as having occurred, but not

dramatized, may indeed be a function of the stage employed in many cities in England, that of moveable wagons, or pageants, drawn up in a group or spaced singly at strategic places throughout the city. Again, with the two cycle plays one must be reminded that one is dealing not with a single, continuous performance, as has been the case in all plays investigated thus far, but rather with several related, but discrete and distinct staged entities, each with its own peculiar form inside the greater cycle organization. We find this formal division into specific plays reflected in the temporal structure of *Chester XIII* and *XIV*. With the exception of periods of inactivity between days of presentation in *Mistère*, *Donau*, and *Alsfeld*, each carries the action from one place to another with a minimum of temporal interruption. In *Chester* such is often not the case. Division into single plays, each with a chronology unique to it alone, enables a playwright to choose where he wishes to conclude one play and commence another. Although a necessary overall chronology of the Passion is preserved, *Chester* completes play *XIII* with Jesus' stated desire to go to Jerusalem.[30] We surmise that some undisclosed amount of time has passed between then and the Master's initial statement of *Chester XIV*:

> *Brethern, goe we to Bethany,*
> *to lazar, martha, and mary:*
> *for I loue much that company,*
> *thether now will i wend.*
> (*Chester XIV* 1-4)

Jesus has just visited the three mentioned individuals in play *XIII* to raise Lazarus. He, therefore, must have made the journey to Jerusalem prior to His opening dialog of the ensuing play. We have here an obvious amount of dead space; the two plays are neither causally nor temporally linked. Each is a separate entity with its own inception and conclusion,

Such a phenomenon in *Alsfeld* or *Donau* would surely cause a moment of disorientation, but in a cycle composed of distinct plays with distinct players and stages, the problem disappears.

Furthermore, the role exercised by medieval guilds in the presentation of the cycles will have no mean effect upon the structure of each individual play.

More than any of the three textual groupings, Group III shows wide variation in scope and content, not to mention formal organization of temporal elements. The dramatic singlemindedness of the *Chester* authors may be contrasted with Grĕban's *Mistère*, in which psychological motivation causes characters to become highly complex personalities. The desire of Grĕban to seek possible human reasons for the actions of his characters produces a play in which staged personalities become recognizeable *human beings*. But such a performance gives up the unrelenting drive towards the Crucifixion and Resurrection, so readily ascertainable for *Chester*. We are lead down many side alleys on the journey and the ensuing temporal experience of *Mistère* is substantially different from that of *Chester*. A short consideration of the history surrounding each Passion will indicate its individuality.

Glynne Wickham has determined that, contrary to popular scholarly thought, the *Chester* plays originated nearer 1377 than 1327-28.[31] Some evidence of earlier short mimetic activities on fixed stages exists in the case of *Chester*,[32] but the fact of singular importance for the organization of this cycle is that the work was preserved in a form akin to the earliest years of performance by a "stern kind of conservatism"[33] which protected it from the excesses of later centuries, particularly the undesirable influences of the fifteenth and sixteenth. This cycle will

provide us with some idea of the earliest years in English cycle development. As Table 10 indicates, I limit my observations to the plays directly dealing with the Lord's Passion.

By any measurement the account offered by the authors of *Towneley* exhibits one of the most skillful manipulations of character and structure found in all of medieval literature. There is a high degree of awareness of dramatic effect allied with the previously unwitnessed literary talent of the Wakefield Master, which all combine to produce a tale of Christ's Passion unequalled by any author before him. Indeed, one is hard pressed to find his equal before the advent of Shakespeare. It is no accident that *Towneley* provides many examples of the greatest of aesthetic pleasures which may be derived from the meaningful emendation of the traditional Passion story. One is, therefore, inevitably disturbed by the lack of historical substance needed to place *Towneley* into its proper perspective. Early in their discussions scholars of English drama recognized the indebtedness of *Towneley* to its nearest geographical neighbor, *York*. They also were able to identify the *Northern Passion* and the *Gospel of Nicodemus* as two important vernacular sources for the Passion group of both cycles.[34] The Wakefield stanza, a complicated, but intense thirteen-line device of marvelous literary puissance, called by Carey, "the most effective dramatic medium known to the Middle Ages,"[35] has likewise been catalogued throughout the plays in which it occurs. Attempts have been made to provide a history for *Towneley XXIV*, the *Processus Talentorum*, that most unconventional and penetrating of medieval approaches to the dicing for Jesus' robe.[36] But *Towneley*, more than any single phenomenon of the time, defies these scholarly attempts to categorize its achievements. Instead, the Passion

group (as well as plays antecedent to it) maintains a singular vividness and compactness of plot which make it an experience worthy of reader attention from any time. One may discover a continuity of language, character, and action which cuts through the five individual plays of the Wakefield Passion group and unites the numerous players from five different guilds into a thematic and dramatic whole;[37] for though several actors may take the part of one biblical figure, all are integrated under one concept of presentation.[38] We may be disappointed with the approximate date of completion of ca. 1450, believing perhaps that all the energy and time which has gone into scholarship concerning *Towneley* should surely have been more productive than this. However, when all the facts have been disclosed, when the last academician has had his say on the subject, there is still to be found and experienced the reality of a brilliant and intense statement on Christ and man, a reality filled with meaningful manipulation of temporal phenomena and great dramatic acumen. This will be the focus of our labor, for *Towneley*, more than any other single Passion, is a living testimony to an author of unparalleled dramatic capacities. Once again, I limit discussion, with few exceptions, to the Passion group and the Resurrection play.

Gréban's *Mistère*, an undertaking in excess of 30,000 lines and requiring four days to perform, originates within a few years of *Towneley*, or from about 1452. It has been labeled the most famous French Passion of its day and its name is the best known of the late Passions in our own.[39] Interest generated by the play within the author's lifetime may be guaged by the numerous copies of the work which survive and by records of performances in cities such as Paris, Le Mans, Amiens, and Mons.[40] Arnoul Gréban, a "bachelier en théologie"[41] in

Paris, born in Le Mans, employed for the framework of his rendition and several of its particulars *La Passion d'Arras* of Eustache Marcadé, but stamped the borrowed material with his own imprint by extending the roles of Satan[42] and the Virgin,[43] as well as by incorporating several novel personalities into his play. He further extended his mastery over traditional material by adding linguistic and dramatic touches unique to him.

Mistère gives rise to conflicting emotions in the modern reader, for, although Gréban allows his characters to assume readily-recognizable traits of human behavior, he must slow the tempo of succession in many instances to a crawl, thus raising the unpleasant spectre of severe languishment.[44] Nonetheless, this Passion exhibits a multitude of impressive manipulation, both of represented and of presentational time. Above all others, Gréban's *Mistère* seems to correspond to what is called by Thompson the *law of proportional intensity*. Stated in its briefest form, the principle may be articulated as follows: "The longer the performance, the greater the emotional intensity needed to hold an audience."[45] Despite the cruel realism of *Donau* or the extravagant attention to motivational detail by the *Alsfeld* authors, neither German text approaches the French Passion in intensity of emotional rationalization. One suspects that Helmut Niedner may be at least partly correct when he attributes such an extraordinary length to a „primitive(s) Nichtgenughabenkönnen des Volkes."[46] In any event, the three main divisions of time we have thus far observed will be greatly affected by Gréban's method of character motivation and rationalization. As the tale is of such inordinate length, I must limit analysis of this tour de force to the arena of Christ's Passion and Resurrection, a

portion containing verses 17287-29526.

The fourth member of Group III, *Donau*, like so many manuscripts of the Middle Ages, receives its title from its place of preservation rather than from its actual place of origin. A linguistic analysis points to Villingen in southwestern Germany as its probable point of genesis, and its commitment to written records as occurring around 1485.[47] Unfortunately, *Donau* shares the incompleteness of numerous medieval letters, having forfited the final six pages to an unknown fate.[48] Happily, readers need not rely on conjecture alone to reconstruct the final scenes of *Donau*, for the Passion of Luzern from 1545 resembles its earlier relative to such a degree that it provides a close approximation of the lost material.[49] I have, however, not attempted to incorporate the missing pages into this analysis.

Donau participates in the extremes of presentation which define most Passions of the late medieval times. Methods of representation, particularly those used in the trial and Crucifixion sequences, border upon the excessive, with Jews acting not only as torturers, but executioners as well. One occasionally questions whether insulting and coarse behavior to the extent delivered in *Donau* need occupy so prominent a position in the Passion. Extensive vernacular rubrics yield a detailed plan of staging extremely explicit in their intention and a reader may easily conjure up mental images of what painful forces underlie the evil surrounding the suffering Savior. The readiness of the Jews to reach for stones to hurl at the Lord on several occasions does more to establish their vehement hatred than untold quantities of words uttered after the fact. One comes away from *Donau* with a feeling of having been emotionally drained by the vividness of detail.

The situation is somewhat different in *Alsfeld*. Untrammeled character authenticity is tempered by repeated inclusions from the vast store of medieval religious writing, almost always offered in Latin. Ritual occupies a prominent position here,[50] and has lent *Alsfeld* the title, „eine feierliche Predigt".[51]

Contrary to so many medieval works, *Alsfeld* has come through the uncertainties of preservation intact. Saved at the last moment from destruction at the hands of a bookbinder to whom the manuscript had been sold in 1842,[52] the Passion now rests with the state library of Hessen in Kassel. Tracing its spiritual heritage back to *StG*, *Alsfeld* stands at the apex of development of the *Frankfurter Spielgruppe*, which includes the *Frankfurter Dirigierrolle of 1350*, and the *Frankfurter Passionsspiel of 1493*. This group of Hessian Passion plays continues with the play of *Heidelberg* (1514), whose descendents include the *Augsburger Passionsspiel* and the oldest known text of the play from *Oberammergau*. The written manuscript has an equally interesting history, being compiled by four separate hands. These have been labeled *A* (representing the play in 1501), *B* and *D* (additions for the performance of 1511, totaling 741 and 126 verses respectively),[53] and *C* (167 verses attached in 1517).[54]

We know only one author by name who labored on the text. He was Heinrich Hültscher, writer of the *B* lines. These four writers, acting in concert, make *Alsfeld* the longest preserved German Passion[55] and certainly one of the most interesting.

One curiosity of history surrounding this not insignificant town at the crossroads of important medieval commerce concerns the strange divergences of religious opinion which must have cloaked *Alsfeld* for many years. This upper Hessian city of some renoun was the first to

exercise the dangerous religious and political option of leaving the Catholic camp and accepting the Reformation in 1522,[56] only five years after the final emendations to the text had been accomplished. That is to say that right up to the outbreak of the new time in religious thought, the city of Alsfeld cultivated Passion plays of profound depth and sincerity.[57]

Before I commence the analysis of textual particulars for these last five plays, a modification in the expositional method becomes unavoidable due to the sheer volume of material under consideration. I must abandon the complete investigation of each individual text, employing all the technical possibilities of temporal management, in favor of a less inclusive, but more intensive view. Therefore, I shall concentrate my energy on presenting what I believe to be the most interesting, best manipulated, most structurally decisive and artistically conceived examples of several temporal phenomena from the group as a whole; for any one text from this late period easily supplies ample material for extensive research. I shall likewise exclude some of the fundamental, less artistic temporal categories which appear as almost inevitable consequences of theatrical endeavor, the majority of which comprise a part of the succession of events. Those categories not deliberated upon are not eliminated because they do not appear in Group III (they contrarily form a massive category of low level temporal management), but for reasons of emphasis; our time will be better spent with instances of dramatic organization which lend a peculiarly artistic or aesthetic quality to the plays in which they occur or show a greatly advanced manner of dealing with the material to be produced.[58]

Those phenomena which remain will be afforded exhibitional space for one or two of the best examples only, others being relegated to footnotes where necessary. I therefore make no attempt at exhaustive annotation.

TIME OF PRESENTATION AND REPRESENTED TIME

To take first the entity of represented time and apply it to the English plays provides us with numerous points of affinity and diversity between the two texts themselves and the whole corpus of Passion presentation. I remind the reader that only Christ's sufferings and Resurrection are treated here, with the play of the Blind Man and Lazarus' return to life added from *Chester*. Representationally, we witness only a few hours or days of the culmination of a story depicted on stage as spanning many thousands of years. And even these periods receive unique treatment from both *Chester* and *Towneley*. When we investigate the immediate surroundings of the beginning of each play grouping, it is discovered that *Chester XII* deals with the adulteress, another event from the years of the Master's holy ministry. In play *XIII Chester* offers a complete play for investigation of two doctrinally related miracles, which prove His dominion over physical infirmity and death. *Towneley*, on the other hand, procedes directly from Christ's baptism in play *XIX* to the conspiracy against His person in *Towneley XX*. The search for adequate reasons for the disparity of accounts is not an easy one, but some suggestions can be offered.

Chester, by virtue of its chronology, may have preserved a representational time frame similar to that of stationary performances, which, Salter believes, constituted its earliest theatrical form, long before *Chester* became processional.[59] This would render *Chester* more like the

several continental fixed stages in terms of material produced. It is also known that the entire cycle was not performed each year, rather those events preceding the Passion alternated with it annually. *Towneley* was probably performed in one day, albeit a lengthy one. This might lead the *Towneley* redactors towards a sort of 'economy of performance', wherein numerous secondary events were allowed to wither.

A second consideration for this question is also difficult to answer. Although I have not read of any definite developments in guild history which might suggest the elimination of some play due to the changing fortunes of the responsible guild, a possibility exists that, with its economic life adversely affected, a particular guild may have been relieved of the burden of underwriting a play between *Towneley XIX* and *XX*. We have some evidence of such an operation in reverse from *Chester*. Due to the innovation of firearms, the Bowyers, Fletchers, and Stringers could no longer support their play of the flagellation. In this instance, the cycle would have suffered grievous and unacceptable damage, so the flagellation was merged with the Crucifixion of the Ironmongers to form a single play.[60] It is general knowledge that the economic fortunes of guilds caused much emendation of plays, and to surmise that *Towneley* may have lost one just before the initiation of the Passion for this reason is not absurd. There is, however, a more intriguing and convincing argument which postulated a *willful* adaptation of traditional material by the various authors of *Towneley*, which at once seems more plausible and probable. It is the position of Pilate in the conspiracy and Crucifixion. I will return to him shortly.

Represented time in the other plays offers few innovations worthy of consideration. With the deletion of material both before and after

the Passion in *Mistère*, the concept of represented time for this work is basically compromised. I have arbitrarily defined its scope as the few hours of Maundy Thursday, when preparations for the Passover are being finalized, to a few moments after the Resurrection. Those of *Donau* and *Alsfeld* represent substantial periods from the years of ministry, *Alsfeld* returning to Christ's baptism, much as did *StG*. We have, therefore, in all accounts from the late medieval period, Passion plays which are that in name only, but which on stage are actually dramatizations of much of the Savior's life.

It should be noted that, perhaps with the exception of *Mistère* and the majority of time from *Alsfeld*, temporal lacunae are still to be encountered, particularly in the cycle plays, this despite the extensive reflection by the redactors involved in character development, rationalization of events, and tendencies to be inclusive and thorough in their investigations. These plays, especially the monolithic French Passions and only a degree less massive German plays, seem to prove that dramatists who wish to play viable theater simply cannot avoid numerous empty times within their chronology of events.

Both English cycles indicate in the macro-structure of presentational time yet another distinction unique to them, that of arranging scenes around a general topic, thus fashioning a single play from related ideas. Each play has its title, though those of *Chester* are a bit broader then *Towneley*; so with *Chester XIV*, for instance, where the Savior visits Simon the Leper, giving rise to the Magdalene's anointment of Him and to Judas' traditional reasons for betraying his Master, further investigated in the Cleansing of the Temple.

Marching to a different drummer, *Chester* assembles all the Passion material into a single play, naturally the most extensive of the six. And the individual scenes which comprise the Passion of *Chester*, the one of greatest length is, of course, the Crucifixion. Those events which culminate at the Skull allow for little investigation of particulars of either character or ancillary occasions.[61] The six episodes which antecede the Way of the Cross, so drawn out in all other members of Group III, advance rapidly towards the inevitable judgment and condemnation without so much as a momentary halt to ascertain motivation.[62] Indeed, Travis sees an aesthetic device behind this uninterrupted unfolding of physical pain and spiritual torment, with the dramatic focus always on the Lord:

> . . . by rapidly passing Christ to and fro, from Caiaphas to the buffeters to Pilate to Herod to Pilate again and then to the scourgers, Chester avoids bearing down too painfully upon any one form of humiliation.[63]

Travis finds in the dramatic principles defining *Chester* "a basic dramatic rhythm reminiscent of ritual, in formalizing the characters of evil into a collective, impersonal force . . . .",[64] which neither needs nor uses the abundant opportunities to throw the story into rational contrast. What emerges from the unswerving forward motion of represented time in the presentational reference frame of 892 verses is the tendency for *Chester* to carve faces of evil upon the detracters of Jesus which are practically undistinguishable from one another, "stylized in character, generic in nature . . . ."[65] A cycle comprehensively designed to "demonstrate the salvific power of Christian belief"[66] does not need to people its platforms with individualized malefactors. In this way *Chester* is reminiscent of the face of evil painted by *Wien*, not surprising when one remembers that only about half

a century separates them and their intentional form.

It would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast in the exposed faces of evil shown by *Chester* than those of *Towneley*, for the latter investigates exactly those manifestations which *Chester* refused to consider. This fact is born out in presentational time. Table 11 shows a concentration of presentational time on the trials and Crucifixion of some 2090 verses compared with 892 for the same period in *Chester*.[67] The greatest divergence between accounts occurs with the onset of the trials. What was handled in 128 verses by *Chester*, as Christ appeared before the High Priests, is expanded, darkened, made excruciatingly real and individual by an entire play of 450 lines in *Towneley*. Those minutes at the court of Caiaphas and Annas seem indeed to be hours, as the former, that ultimate representation of the corrupt ecclesiastical lawyer,[68] raves and inveighs against his helpless captive, desiring in his innermost being to do the Lamb violence and to see Him broken:

> *Therfor whils I am in this brethe*
> *Let me put hym to dethe.*
> (*Towneley XXI* 267-8)

> *It wold do me som good*
> *To see knyghtys knok his hoode*
> *With knokys two or thre.*
> (*Towneley XXI* 313-15)

The play called the Flagellation, *Towneley XXII*, continues that line of dramatization, with the moments surrounding Christ's appearance before Pilate investigated in unrelenting detail. And the Crucifixion itself, with those most horrible of medieval functionaries, the executioners, who gleefully and expertly carry out their hammering, pulling, racking, and elevating, a scene of 584 lines, is certainly one of the most gruesome and most 'rationalized' crucifixions of the entire group.

For the *Processus Talentorum*, however, no analog nor source has ever been established beyond reasonable doubt. It represents the final look in presentational time into Pilate's black soul, done in the context of represented time which is but a small, almost insignificant adjunct of the Crucifixion in the Bible.

As I mentioned previously, *Towneley* personifies evil by casting several of the Lord's adversaries into roles as individuals. Contrary to prior Passions, where evil forces were guided by Satan, and the ensuing struggle of primaeval forces assumed the proportions of God vs. Devil, *Towneley* organizes its malevolence into human personalities, each of which has some distinguishing characteristic about him. Presentational time of the *Towneley* micro-structure, played out on the level of total time of figures on stage and their degree of influence on the plot, is yet a further indication of the rationalization of evil and, not incidently, of a splendid concentration on Pilate.[69]

When the total time of Pilate's presence on stage is plotted against other persons in *Towneley*, as well as in the four remaining Passions of Group III, we discover the degree to which he dominates this particular presentation. Pilate himself delivers at least 476 verses prior to the traditional few granting Joseph of Arimathea the bruised body of the Lord. He absolutely commands the *Processus Talentorum* from its inception. Pilate's place in the conspiracy is as its prime mover, the one who instigates the trials, determined from the very beginning of his presence on stage to do Christ to death.[70]

We may also judge the dominance of Pilate over presentational time by noting how his person hovers over the acts of others and what they say about him.[71] The malefic governor is on the mind of Caiaphas, as

Annas suggests that Jesus be delivered to him for judgment:

> *ffor I am euer in drede, wandreth, and wo,*
> *Lest Pylate for mede let ihesus go.*
> (*Towneley XXI* 434-5)

The executioners also exhibit a fair degree of negative anticipation prior to Pilate's arrival in *Towneley XXIV*:

> *Euen this same nyght:*
> *Of me and of my felowse two*
> *with whom this garmente shall go,*
> *bot sir Pilate must go ther to,*
> *I swere you by this light.*
> *ffor whosoeuer may get thise close*
> *he ther neuer rek wher he gose*
> *ffor he semys nothyng to lose,*
> *If so be he theym were;*
> (*Towneley XXIV* 100-8)

> *Let vs Weynde to sir pilate withoutten any fabylle:*
> *Boy syres, bi my lewte, he gettys not this gowne*
> (*Towneley XXIV* 167-8),

which, of course, Pilate does, but only by reverting to threats against the winning torturer.

A glance at Table 11 will reveal the lack of a trial before Herod, one which is dutifully rendered by all Passions save *Towneley*. I agree with Arnold Williams that its absence is not mere coincidence, but rather a willful and knowing manipulation of material by the *Towneley* authors, designed to focus dramatic attention upon Pilate as the chief representative of evil which opposes the Christ. In other cycles like *Chester* and *Ludus Coventriae* Pilate lacks a strong character, partly due to competition from numerous other instigators of evil, namely Annas, Caiaphas, Judas, and Herod.[72] What remains is a figure who is "a weak, vacillating individual who has to be pushed to his decision by the Jews, the resulting character (of whom) can hardly dominate any scene, even the condemnation of Christ."[73] The Pilate of *Towneley*, on the contrary, established by the exclusion of at least

one potential dramatic rival, Herod,[74] becomes from his first appearance on stage one of the most forceful representations of evil in all of medieval drama.

Pilate's dominance over presentational time may be sensed by yet another exclusion which might have adversely affected the ferocious personality given him. The dream of Pilate's wife, wherein the Devil attempts to affect the outcome of Christ's judgment, finds no realization. This activity and the ensuing confrontation between the Roman magistrate and his wife or maid servant is out of tune with the overall atmosphere of *Towneley*, "which presents a picture of unrelieved grimness."[75]

In *Towneley*, then, we find one of the most meaningful and artistic organizations of presentational time in the entire corpus of drama, an organization which will be reflected in other temporal categories as well.

A quick reference to Table 12 will reveal that for *Mistère* presentational time is best categorized by a slow and lavishly detailed, often agonizingly rationalized motion towards the Redeemer's triumph on the Cross. We have come to expect vivid accounts of the trials, flagellation, and Crucifixion, but this incredibly minute report expands them to unheard of length, and, not surprisingly, finds enough energy to also consider countless subordinate scenes in the process. Each degree of the interrogation process stands out as a dominant event; Jesus appears before both Annas (922 verses) and Caiaphas (820 verses), each encounter punctuated by a frightful scourging (totaling 337 verses) and separated in presentational time by a break in activity; Pilate confronts Jesus in four distinct scenes (948 verses), detached from immediate surroundings by presentation in parallel or spatial movement

into another context; the Crucifixion is expanded to encompass 1617 verses, easily the most lengthy, but not necessarily the most effective scene of its type in Group III. Ancillary events indicate other areas of the story which Gréban has considered worthy of discussion. He appears preoccupied with the Last Supper (an account of some 645 verses, investigating in amazing detail the reactions and motivations of the twelve to Jesus' message of betrayal), the Way of the Cross (716 verses of anguishingly slow advancement up the mountain), and the Descent from the Cross (530 lines). As an indication of Gréban's extreme attention to detail one can cite the investigation of the part played by Joseph of Arimathea in the *descensus ad crucem* by his Jewish peers and his subsequent arrest and imprisonment for seditious acts (585 lines), a development found in no other Passion under study.

This episode concerning Joseph and the Jews is but one example of Gréban's tenacious attention to dramatic minutiae. Other particulars of this story may be observed in Gréban's many preparations for major events, such as those for the Passover meal (including preparation for the movement to the Upper Room itself), the Arrest, the Herod episode, the devils to defend their captive souls, and the setting of the guard. All are transitional scenes, apparently designed to rationalize the account into as faithful a representation of a human experience on stage as possible. Sister Mary Faith McKean also sees these built-up transitions as a concern for the greater developmental process of the play rather than an interest for only the most pivotal parts of episodes, as guided the Evangelists as they first wrote of their experiences.[76] When compared to their appearances in other plays, where these transitions are carried out within a few verses at most, their presence

seems almost too obvious. But, with *Mistère* we are dealing with the most psychological and de-mythologized account of the late Middle Ages, one in which dramatic consistency and motivation of episodes reaches a peak.

Manipulation of presentational time in *Donau* provides little in the way of highlight which might compare with *Mistère*; we will have to look to other, more subtle categories in order to discover the inner workings of this Passion.

Of the many circumstances which stand out in the presentational time of *Alsfeld*, that of John the Baptist is easily the most important and extensive, for it investigates in great detail the pivotal occasions of his life, from the baptism of Christ to John's death and punishment of Herodias and daughter for the Baptist's demise. In fact, John receives more attention than any one of the trial episodes. The group of scenes concerning the Baptist is shorter only than the Crucifixion and a classic religious dispute between *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia*. Obviously, the writers of *Alsfeld* have a particular function in mind for John. I believe it to be in the area of dramatic similarity, where John serves as an alter-ego for Christ, precursing His own unjust tribulations. But more of this in the proper context.

Alsfeld also interests itself in the ancillary events of the Passion, and, in so doing, rationalizes the entire series of events, as does *Mistère*, but without the latter's unrelenting quest for fidelity to human experience. This is not so say that *Alsfeld* pays little heed to humanization of its characters or their motivation, rather that it does so to a lesser degree than the French Passion. Indeed, the two accounts differ not so much in intent, but instead in the method of

arriving at the goal. *Alsfeld* chooses to temper its worldly character with vast inclusions from ritual and music, which often lend it a grace of presentation and tone not possessed by *Mistère*. We have in this late German Passion a tempered didacticism of sorts, a realization on stage of the idea that in the Passion of Christ much more than an earthly event is celebrated, and that event, to be placed into its proper understanding, needs not only liturgical aids, but also those of allegory and the repeated interposition of God Himself.[77]

It is difficult to adequately ascertain the dramatic positions of several stock biblical figures and to generalize chronologically from them for the third group. Many personalities whose lives were highlighted beyond scriptural sources, like the Magdalene, have a less obvious impact upon other cast members; they dominate presentational time much less than witnessed in texts of previous centuries. The place of Mary Magdalene in Group III is not pivotal as it was in *BenP* or even in *Wien*. The reason is twofold: one of the parts appears to be literary development in dramatics of the late medieval period, and the second part seems to be historical.

Mary's dramatic influence upon the *Chester* Passion section is limited to those traditional appearances we have seen before; interruption of the Passover meal without so much as the *Palat* indication of her intent to seek out her Savior (she simply appears with the ointment, lamenting former misdeeds);[78] two normal attendances on the Lord, one at His death,[79] and the other at the empty tomb,[80] both in the company of Mary Salome and Mary Jacoby. In no instance is the *Chester* Magdalene expanded beyond a very minimal and dramatically inconsequential role; she is merely one of the three women who mourn Christ's passing,

or a character who performs traditional witness to the Resurrection.[81] The text further suggests that the amalgamation of three biblical figures into the legendary personality of Mary Magdalene is not complete. The Magdalene of the Eucharist, Crucifixion, and Resurrection is clearly and consistently named *Maria Magdalena*, whereas Mary, the sister of Martha and Lazarus, is uniformly called simply *Maria*. Thus is the possible interplay of warning by a blood relative to put her sins behind her and the eventual reception back into the family unit, as was seen in *StG*, not a viable alternative for *Chester*. This traditional use of material dealing with Mary Magdalene is in keeping with the general decline of her importance in England already noticed during the thirteenth century.[82]

Towneley has even less time for the Magdalene than its earlier relative, offering her a marginal role before the Resurrection, fulfilled by a two-line lament upon hearing of the Master's plight,[83] and a warning to the first torturer of the consequences of his actions on Golgotha.[84]

Gréban's work is so massive as to swallow the saint almost entirely. Prior to her activities in response to the Resurrection, Mary Magdalene is practically lost in a crowd of mourners at the Crucifixion. Indeed, it is difficult to see her laments as being extraordinary in either frequency or duration. Mary's concerns from the onset of the Passion are vastly overshadowed by those of the Virgin. The Magdalene seems to be just another woman from the inner circle of Christ's closest friends, mourning His death and consoling His mother, both before and after the meeting out of ultimate punishment. This saint makes no interruptive entrance into the Passover room, her participation

being limited to a short consolation of the Virgin's fears of impending disaster for her Son[85] -- an ineffective attempt at that! One result of her absence from the Last Supper is the necessity for Judas' treason to be alternately motivated, a requirement accomplished by the playwright with great skill.

Of the five accounts, *Donau* and *Alsfeld* remain most faithful to Mary Magdalene's former place in the drama of the Passion. But even these two plays, by virtue of their extensive development of secondary events, tend to take some of the past glitter from Mary's personality; she is still an excellent example of Christ's saving grace, but Mary is only one instance of many. In *Alsfeld* Mary's worldly life, repentance, and forgiveness require only 348 verses. To be sure, some innovative carryings on are included, such as her carousing with devils,[86] her singing of courtly lyrics,[87] whose antecedents I discussed during the analysis of *Wien*,[88] and her liaison with a knight from Herod's court,[89] that same Herod who had John the Baptist put to death. But the turning point of Mary's life is still her argument with older sister Martha,[90] supported here by the Lord's Sermon on the Mount.[91] Although some innovative theatrics are to be found in Mary's behavior, such as heretofore unallowed erotic kisses and aggressive hugs and Mary's change of clothing subsequent to her conversion,[92] her central position in the Passion lesson has been diminished. The situation in *Alsfeld* seems to indicate not a lack of interest in St. Mary Magdalene, but a diluted impact of her personality on a play with more than 8000 verses. The difference is one of structure and stress, not of general unimportance of the saint, although the cult of Mary exerts less and less authority over the religion of medieval man as he approaches

the Renaissance.[93]

In *Donau* Mary's formal impact is diminished as it was in *Alsfeld*. She still possesses a fetching personality; as an outgoing, gregarious woman in love with the world and its pleasures, the Magdalene delights us with her waywardness, for she resembles us greatly. But her conversion is weakly motivated, more a demand of the presentation than the outgrowth of a religious awakening of conscience. Simply put, the Mary of *Donau* does not exert as much influence over this play of 4116 verses as she did in the less-inclusive accounts of *StG*, *Wien*, or *BenP*. Other persons, situations, and problems vie for the author's talents, and he places them above the ancient story of the repentant sinner.

The structural decline in the importance of the saint follows a lessened interest for her life in general. Mary's place in the church liturgy, reflected in missels, breviaries, and church calendars, traces a path of gradual, but steady decline from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century.[94] From its height in the twelfth century, when private devotion and public acknowledgment of the Magdalene's special relationship to mankind reached its peak,[95] Magdalene piety plunged to the depths during the reforms of Pius V, who left only slight traces in missels and breviaries of his time of the glory of other years, until in the liturgy of today only occasional allusions persist to Mary Magdalene,[96] once the most effective and widely-accepted symbol of mankind in a sinful and redeemed state.

Though all plays from Group III are touched to various degrees by the procedure of updating and eternalizing we know as anachronistic presentation, two accounts stand out in the exploitation of its

potential: they are *Towneley* and *Alsfeld*. Let us investigate the latter account first.

The fundamental significance of anachronism as a main building block in the medieval concept of the Passion and sacred history has been established.[97] In like fashion those cultural, social, and religious concepts which receive most usage were noted.[98] *Alsfeld* evidences all such incidences of this pervasive anachronism from the sphere of human interaction.[99] The simmering distrust of Jews of the Middle Ages and their outright condemnation first seen in the three French plays of Group II,[100] is now outwardly manifest. Jews are now creatures to be hated, scorned, ridiculed. They have been individualized since their appearance in *StG* as Primus Iudeus into *Bifus Judeus, Wengker Judeus, Friddel Judeus, Snoppenkeile Judeus, Zodebruch Rabi*, and above all, *Synagoga*, symbol for all that was thought to be Jewish and the main voice against the Christ, a character steeped in Jewish tradition and mired in the trivialities of laws long outdated. As the expulsions reached a climax in Europe and Jews poured into Germany from the West, the German population took its turn at the game of Jew-baiting and the game of blame. And they were as expert as their French counterparte had been a century before.[101] *Alsfeld* has cast Jews in a most unfriendly light, and even equated them with devils on occasion, as these stage directions attest: *"Et tunc preparant mensam, et interim Judei vel dyaboli corisant."*[102] For purposes of filling time on stage it made no difference to the author if one group of evil doers dances or if the other held center stage.

Jews are further isolated from the mainstream of society by a complete linguistic differentiation. In *Alsfeld all* personalities who

surround Christ or follow Him consider themselves Christians, not Jews. In *Autun B* it was primarily the Virgin who spoke in such terms. But now in *Alsfeld* the situation has been broadened to the disciples, the healed persons, and even Pilate.

Donau takes the ‚Verteufelung der Juden' the final step towards ultimate evil by casting the Jews not only as instigators of the deadly intrigue against their enemy, but as willing participants in the Crucifixion as well: not as sinister bystanders, but as the very executioners of the Lord.

What in previous centuries had been looked upon as a sound religious symbol in the teachings of the Church,[103] the Jew as negative example for medieval man, has in *Alsfeld* and *Donau* become a representative of old Jewish beliefs grounded in legal fanaticism,[104] subject to all the cruel depictions which the medieval playwright could conjure.

Anachronism in *Towneley* provides a mirror of medieval English society literally impossible to improve. Its level of artistry is considerable, greater perhaps than any of its counterparts. For one thing, no Jews were around at the time of the commitment to record of *Towneley* upon which the collective blame of the Crucifixion could be laid. The Wakefield Master discovered, however, a waiting personality, the character of whom could readily accept, even be enhanced by these baleful traits. I speak, naturally, of our old ranting friend, Pilate.

One need not search the texts long to find corroboration. In his first appearance before us, Pilate equates his law with what in other Passions is reported as being Jewish law:

> *He prechys the pepylle here that fature fals ihesus,*
> *That if he lyf a yere dystroy <u>oure</u> <u>law</u> must us . . .*
> (*Towneley XX* 37-8)

Bot on his bonys it shall be boght,
So shall I venge our rightys.
(*Towneley XX* 44-5)

As the governmental leaders prepare to march against the Christ, Pilate, in company with the High Priests and Judas, once again equates Roman law with the Jewish law of other plays:

To this tratoure be take
That wold dystroy oure lawe.
(*Towneley XX* 576-7)

And a fourth time Pilate identifies his interest in the law of the pontiffs, as he commands Malcus to lead the Captive to Caiaphas, who *"has the rewlle of holy kyrk":*

ffor he has wroght agans oure law.
(*Towneley XX* 744)

The amalgam of typical Jewish interests (though perhaps no longer specifically identified by spectators as such) with Pilate's singularly distasteful personality represents a stroke of dramatic genius, permitting on the one hand the inclusion of negative material for which there was no longer a carrier, and on the other for an aesthetically-conceived darkening of Pilate's spirit. It also obviates the necessity for other characters who might detract from Pilate as the prime mover of the conspiracy.

Towneley is pervaded by anachronism and by anglicization, which, working together, "furnished a critical image of moral and social life as lived in the later Middle Ages."[105] The normal references to feudal life are made,[106] as well as cultural and social values established.[107] But on a higher plane *Towneley* exhibits a quality which makes the Passion an *English* phenomenon instead of a generalized human experience. We have come to accept Jewish priests called *bischoff*,[108] the Passover

named *ostern*,[109] the meal itself an *ostern-ymsz*,[110] or any number of English and French equivalents, but *Towneley*, more than any single Passion tale, makes us feel as if England were indeed the origin of staged activity. The truth of this observation may be tested against the many geographical, cultural, historical, and linguistic references of the play, all peculiar to England. The third torturer in *Towneley XXIV* has hastened into our presence to compete for the robe, stating that he will thrash whosoever causes him grief:

> *ffor I may swere withe mikille wyn,*
> *I am the most shrew in alle myn kyn,*
> *That is from this towne unto Lyn.*
> (*Towneley XXIV* 153-5)

I have already addressed myself to many of the feudal images of the *Towneley* Crucifixion which remove it from any singularly historical frame of reference.[111] Though not to be found in the Passion section, a textual occurrence placing another part of the cycle into a peculiarly English setting can be seen in the *Secunda Pastorum*, wherein one shepherd says:

> *I haue soght with my dogys*
> *All horbery shrogys . . .*
> (*Towneley XIII* 454-5),

Horbury being a small village three miles distant from Wakefield.[112] Or we could cite a passage from the *Towneley* play of the Judgment, where three demons proceed up Watling Street to the final confrontation. As Kolve puts it: "Christ comes to Wakefield to judge."[113]

The several incidences of French words, especially exclamations, lends the account an air of medieval English times as well. Occurrences such as *bewshere*,[114] *sansfaylle*,[115] *Ma-fay*,[116] *mon senyours*,[117] all weigh in the scales of the updating process and give the Passion its

significance for medieval society: this is not distant history, played in far off Jerusalem, but a present, localized fact of medieval life.

Another equally effective method of employing anachronism in *Towneley* to update the dramatization finds realization in social criticism, a quality of the play which gives it much of its verve and compelling nature on stage. I have already considered how Caiaphas is portrayed as the ultimate corrupt ecclesiastical lawyer of medieval English society.[118] His portrait, however, pales noticeably when placed near the most repugnant of all unjust medieval judges, Pilate,[119] who at the outset of *Towneley XX*, the *Conspiracy*, tells the audience in no uncertain terms the height to which corruption in civil courts may rise:

> *ffor I am he that may make or mar a man;*
> *My self if I it say as men of cowrte now can;*
> *Support a man to day to-morn agans hym than,*
> *On both parties thus I play and fenys me to ordan*
> *The right:*
> *Bot alle fals indytars,*
> *Quest mangers and Iurers,*
> *And alle thise fals out rydars,*
> *Ar welcom to my sight.*
> (*Towneley XX* 19-27)

The Wakefield Master had ample sources from which to draw material for his Pilate. Arnold Williams points to public records from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries wherein evidence of corrupt judicial officials abounds. Pilate, as a "general symbol of oppression and tyranny",[120] is no mere accident of local politics, but is a composite of traits seen in judicial bureaucrats from almost every shire of England.[121] Or the Master could make use of the lengthy tradition of unjust officials contained in homily books of previous years,[122] collections employed by medieval preachers to lend credibility to the social critique of their own sermons. Owst finds this source behind Pilate's self-portrait

in the *Scourging*:

> *I am full of sotelty,*
> *ffalshed, gyll, and trechery:*
> *Therfor am I namyd by clergy*
> *As mali actoris.*
> (*Towneley XXII* 10-13)

And the introductory lines of the *Processus Talentorum* are saturated with impressive-sounding, but essentially meaningless Latin rhetoric,[123] "which made the law a bane for the poor and simple."[124] Owst believes the Wakefield genius to be pressing the homiletic tradition towards theatrical fulfillment in these symbols of the evils faced by ordinary persons during this epoch.[125] Whatever his intent, the dramatic accomplishment shown by the Master is indicative of the inherent power of anachronism, and the effective portrayal of character which may result from its manipulation.

When an explanation for such pervasive anachronism is sought, one arrives at a central truth of all medieval drama: the past has little value for man. Its significance is not found in the facts which may be offered concerning history, but how these events define the present. Only that which has been freed of all chronological fetters possesses value, according to Kolve:

> The interest of history resides in its reflection of the eternal, unchanging plan of God for the salvation of man, and in the moral constants of good and evil which reveal themselves in human behavior.[126]

Consequently, only those events which related to all periods of mankind excited interest in medieval man, and the greatest event seen in the context of timelessness was God's sacrifice of His only Son for that abomination called man. Indeed, just such a concept of history, employing the Seven Ages of Man, underlies most medieval historiography, with

all its factual lacunae and error.[127] Therefore, a certain amount of anachronism may result from opinions held by learned men on the importance of the past.[128] In historical writing the past was considered "an image of the present",[129] and, as the audience occupied the Sixth Age, the dramatization of mankind's salvation, to have relevance and meaning, must assume the qualities of the time in which the audience existed. One of the single most effective means available to medieval playwrights, and at once the most natural, was anachronism. Seen in this light, medieval drama owns a more complex and sophisticated convention of dramatization than might at first be apparent; and *Towneley* is doubtless the most sophisticated in this respect of all late medieval accounts.

The advances of vernacular language into territory formerly ruled by Latin, noted already in *BenP*, but most strongly developed in French Passions of Group II,[130] have become as waves in Group III, ousting the universal religious communicative medium in the late Middle Ages and relegating it to a position of secondary importance: for virtually all plays of this final group employ Latin as merely a ghostly remembrance of its former radiance. *Chester* still casts its stage directions in Latin, but occasionally hints at its application to lend a certain linguistic strength to a specific event, such as Christ's entry into Jerusalem, supported by the well-known *'Hosanna filio David!'*,[131] or a triumphant song of angels, *'Christus resurgens a mortuis'*,[132] or the *'Te Deum laudamus'* sung by the waiting spirit of Adam.[133] Latin is also the language of the rubrics in *Towneley*, but few speeches, even those traditionally associated with the Passion, such as the Seven Last Words, maintain their former spiritual power and form. Isolated Latin phrases do appear

throughout *Towneley*, but they do little to set any context apart. One obvious exception to this situation is contained in the rantings and boastings of Pilate as he commences *Towneley XXIV*, the *Talents*. This particular monolog generates the longest sustained use of Latin in *Towneley*, curiously removed from its normal liturgical or spiritual mode to serve a secular villain.[134]

Moving on to the continent we perceive a slightly altered state of linguistic affairs. It is true that Latin has lost much of its clout here as in England, but it does retain some of its former impressiveness as a signal for critical developments within the story, especially in *Mistère*. The *'Ave rex Judeorum'*, that crude attempt by the torturers to make a joke at Christ's expense, is spoken three separate times.[135] Isolated as they are within a tide of abuse in the vernacular, these phrases stand out like a beacon of accentuation. Their sudden and repeated reiteration surely must have made an impression upon spectators. Greban seems once again to be fully the master of all the dramatic, linguistic, and historical tools at his disposal. He further chooses the ancient liturgical forms of worship to portray the final syllables of a crucified Jesus. The triumphal command to the gates of Hell, *'Attolite portas'*, and their companion demands by the devils or spirits in perdition, *'Quis est iste rex glorie?'*,[136] thrice repeated, offers a linguistic signal recognized by all of the joyous entry of their Master into Hell to fulfill His message concerning the captive souls.

Although vernacular German supplies the medium for all but a few modest speeches in *Donau*, Latin is incorporated with some finesse, not only to underline particularly weighty matters of tradition, like the Jerusalem entry,[137] or the Harrowing of Hell,[138] but also to separate

heavenly entities from earthly beings and to cast an unsavory light upon the Jewish community so despised by the author. As we have come to expect from our earliest acquaintence with Passion presentations, heavenly messengers, being representatives of the Lord God, are distinctly elevated nearer the Maker by their oral medium, that of the Mass.[139] Angels' speeches vary from the marketplace-necessitated *'Silete'* of the first and second day openings to words of comfort to an agonizing Jesus in Gethsemane: *'Constans esto, fili./quia ego tecum sum!'*[140]

In at least two instances Latin supports the negative portrayal of medieval Jewry, each uniquely. The first image is integrated into a satirical look at Jewish speech. In their second speech of the play the JUDENSCHÜL sings, *'Pater noster bigenbitz, etc.'*[141] We recognize in the initial words what seem to be the introductory utterances of the Lord's Prayer; but what follows is most certainly designed to show the absurdity of Hebrew speech, much as their first song on stage, *'Gamahu formatur'*,[142] most assuredly projects in the author's mind an unintelligible bit of gibberish. It seems certain that any practicing Christian who found himself in attendance at the play would have recognized the momentary dicotomy inherent in a speech which on the one hand commences with one of the most sacred of Christian prayers, but on the other continues with apparent nonsense. Are the Jews indeed blaspheming a sacred rite or is their language just so much absurdity? Readers are left without a definitive answer, as the author of *Donau* has seen fit not to print the remainder of the song. In a later situation the application of Latin is more transparent.

Upon the miracle of regained sight and the healing of the cripple, the youngsters of the JUDENSCHÜL praise the Healer with these words:

Alpha et O,
primus et novissimus,
et stella matutina,
tu clavis David,
alleluia!
(*Donau* 472-6)

This hymn, a verification of the biblical lesson, "From the mouths of babes . . .", is employed by the author to once again indicate the incapacity of Old Testament Judaism to see the light of the New Law in Jesus. Its message is revealed in Christ's answer to SALATHIEL, who maintains that the children talk so only to ridicule the Savior:

Ich hör daz gern: sy lobent gott.
vun tun üch Juden daz ze spott,
wan von der sugenden kinden münd
sol gelobet werden alle stund.
(*Donau* 481-4)

The greatest concentration of Latin in *Donau* surrounds that portion of the biblical account which ultimately led to medieval drama, the *Visitatio Sepulchri* and adjacent ointment purchase. The songs delivered by the Maries range from the original *'Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum quaerimus'*[143] of the earliest liturgical drama to the *'Piisima sunt desideria'*[144] and the hymn *'Ihesu nostra redemptio'*.[145] All cast a serious and sacred tone on the activities of the Maries and remind readers that even *Donau*, with its howling devils, its diabolical and oftentimes comical Jews, and its frightfully vivid staging, possesses a higher intention than the 'delight to play' can alone define. The appearance of so many Latin phrases in this oldest of strata in *Donau*,[146] though relegated to the background of stage delivery, continues to suggest, even insist on the validity of sacred history for mankind.

Alsfeld makes use of Latin throughout its entire presentation. That the majority of inclusions issue from sources familiar to the authors and probably to the players as well is suggested by their incompleteness.

Normally, only the first few words are written out, much like in a director's copy-- just enough to identify the speech for the appropriate actor-- as witnessed by the Lord's decision to travel to Jerusalem:

> *Salvator cantat:*
> *Ecce ascendimus Jherosoliman-*
> (*Alsfeld* unnumbered after 1228),

Or His message in the Synagoge:

> *Quis ex vobis arguet me de peccato etc.*
> (*Alsfeld* unnumbered after 1721)

In almost all cases the Latin lines are immediately expressed in the vernacular, the latter most often amplified far beyond the general gist of their Latin introductions. Grieshammer has drawn the conclusion that the application of what has now become a foreign language to all but a few learned clerics and religious men is designed neither to express a comical intent (which would be completely at odds with the pervading sacred spirit of *Alsfeld*) nor to suggest an inability on the speaker's part to adequately convey his emotions in the mother tongue.[147] Grieshammer postulates its presence to be a matter of tone, of elevating the entire performance out of the ordinary patterns of daily communication into the realm of the serious and sacred.[148] The varied inclusions from the liturgy, the Mass, biblical sources, antiphons, responses, and hymns admirably performs such a function, continually calling the most secular of represented activities back into a context wherein the qualities of a religious celebration and sermon, not a play for its own sake, dominate. In this latest play from Group III Latin in general has little potential for interruption or suspension by its mere presence; rather it resembles a tool of moderation,

SUCCESSION OF EVENTS

Passage of Time

One of the most fundamental means of lending dramatized activities a temporal point of reference, that of stating the time of day, month, or year in which an event occurred, is in the Passion plays of the late period perhaps the one phenomenon most lacking. Aside from the normal allusions to Lazarus' time in the tomb,[149] Adam's dwelling in Hell,[150] and the devils' continual attempts to secude mankind,[151] few episodes are so described in time as to enable us to determine what amount of represented time has been completed within a certain number of verses. Of those events which so possess a definite temporal position I shall raise three for consideration.

The *Chester* author provides us with a reference for the Crucifixion by thrice noting the time of day. As Jesus is relieved of the Cross by Simon, Annas is heard to ask:

> *Takes him here bounden fast,*
> *while a whipcord here will last.*
> *pryme of the day is past,*
> *how long will you be here?*
> (*Chester XVI* 429-432)

Later on, one of the torturers identifies the time of day as that of noon.[152] In play *XVIII* Caiaphas muses on the thunder and quaking of the earth which accompanied the martyrdom of the Son, taking place *"yesterday abowt noone"*.[153] We can place a rather tight chronology on that portion of the story from *Chester XVI* 432-760 of six hours. As a result we can also ascertain that the *Chester* author paints the time between the two references with the broad strokes of an impressionist: his interest is in a very narrow span of time or a very limited number of incidents within the stated chronology. Duration of specific

activities is here unimportant; that they took place at all forms the heart of the matter.

In *Donau* the conclusion we may justifiably reach is somewhat less exact. We cannot describe the precise amount of time reflected in Mary Magdalene's conversion, but enlightenment may be had. Mary's relevation to Martha indicates that a period nearing twenty-four hours elapses between the forgiveness she receives from the Savior in lines 341-346 and the announcement of the same initiated by Martha's relentless questioning and warnings of 346-348:

> *" gester*
> *han ich von allen sünden gelan*
> *ein seligs leben an mich genam,*
> *wan mir sind all min sund vergeben!*
> (*Donau* 354-357)

What we experience is the author's quick movement through a time of relative unimportance into one of great structural significance. The playwright could easily have disregarded the chronological reference and presented all activities of the conversion and attendant reception into the family by simple succession. Whatever the reason, be it to add depth to the story, to allow time for Mary to move between two separate *loca*, or simply to make a rhyme,[154] he has created for us something more than a flat image on paper; he has given it a unique temporal dimension, not startling nor highly elevated so be sure, but nonetheless there and operative.

Mistère adds a certain degree of relief to its account of Jesus' interrogation by Annas. The entire series of events, including the Last Supper, the betrayal, and the arrest, which culminate in this confrontation, is reported by biblical sources as occurring at night.[155] In this late French play we are more clearly able to rationalize the

passage of time with the various events. After Annas has questioned the Galilean, he proposes to retire, *"tant que l'aulbe du matin viegne,"*[156] and leaves Jesus to the devices of his soldiers:

> *Veillez emprès toute la nuyt*
> *et affin qu'il ne vous ennuyt,*
> *esbatez vous a quelque jeu.*
> (*Mistère* 19776-779)

These words indicate that the following 141 lines of torture separating Annas' laying down from his rising up to the praise of Phebus, Pheton, Hesperus, and Aurora[157] to be the late hours of Good Friday morning. Again, the result is not of major import, but when coupled with the other 'unnecessary' manipulations of succession of present, past, and future happenings, these temporal allusions provide yet another concrete indication of an author carefully building his work far beyond tradition. At every turn Grébán stamps this Passion with his own peculiar brand of artistry.[158]

Succession by Dialog

I now direct the reader's attention to two possibilities of succession by dialog which occupy positions of importance in their respective plays. The temporal phenomena are: the meaningful combination of repetition with variation of speaker and argument - counter-argument (Rede-Gegenrede). They appear in *Mistère* and *Alsfeld*.

Sister McKean has identified reiteration, i.e. repetition, as one of five techniques of expansion which French Passion writers employ to give life to the Vulgate lessons. She describes repetition as a derivative of a rhetorical device known as *expolitio*, and correctly defines its emphatic qualities.[159] The incidence of repetition and variation in *Mistère* follows a series of precise and consistent patterns.

Normally a person utters a speech; some portion thereof, with few exceptions the last two verses, are singled out by a second individual and one of them repeated (though examples of the original character returning to his own words arenot uncommon); the first two lines uttered by a character are then reproduced in their exact form, usually by the same one who initiated theconversation. As Judas bargains with the High Priests, the ensuing dialog results:

JUDAS

statement I *je veil estre leur capitaine*
tout seulet pour les bien mener;
pour avoir prise plus certaine,
reiteration *je veil estre leur capitaine.*
(*Mistère* 18551-554)

statement II *je veil estre leur capitaine*
tout seulet pour les bien mener.
(*Mistère* 18557-558)

The pattern is not always completed in so few verses, as witnessed in the following exchange:

S. PIERRE

statement I *Freres, soulvons nous ou jamès:*
veez cy gent toute forcenee:
statement II *ja ne verrons aultre journee*
s'ilz nous tiennent, je vous promès.
(*Mistère* 19220-223)

S. JAQUES ZEBEDY

reiteration IA *Freres, saulvons nous ou jamès:*
veez cy gent toute forcenee.

S. SIMON

reiteration IB *Freres, saulvons nous ou jamès:*
veez cy gent tout forcenee.

S. JUDE

reiteration II *Ja ne verrons aultre journee*
s'ilz nous tiennent, je vous promès.
(*Mistère* 19232-235)

In this instance Peter's agitated speeches are repeated in the normal pattern by two additional disciples and his secondary remarks reinforced

by Saint Jude.

A third example of such repetition and alternation of speaker can be seen in the interrogation before Caiaphas, where insistent iteration of key words creates an atmosphere of tension:

JHEROBOAN
Ostez, ostez,
il est coupable de mort griefve:
contre la loy de tous costés.
(*Mistère* 20785-787)

MARDOCEUS
Ostez, ostez,
il est coupable de mort griefve?

NAASON
Ostez, ostez,
il est coupable de mort griefve:
vous voiez comment il s'elieve
contre la loy de tous costés.
(*Mistère* 20797-799)

One of the most artistically-conceived series of repetitions is that found in the scourging, where four torturers continually alternate short, staccato speeches within the larger frame of reiteration:

GRIFFON
Ça, des verges.

BROYEFFORT
Combien?

GRIFFON
Deux paire:
les myennes ne valent plus rien.

CLAQUEDENT
Broyeffort, tu nous fais bien fraire:
ça, des verges.

BROYEFFORT
Combien?

CLAQUEDENT
Deux paire.

BROYEFFORT
Haro! et tant dire!

ORILLART

Et tant faire!
nous festons cy par ton moyen
Ça, des verges.

BROYEFFORT

Combien?

ORILLART

Deux paire:
ley myennes ne valent plus rien.
(*Mistère* 22810-817)

When the question why such an application of repetition? is raised, we broach one of the fundamental considerations of temporal structure. The extensive use of the phenomenon is obviously intentional, and we further sense a desire on Gréban's part not to allow the tool to become stale; this seems the reason for its many variations.[160] If he were continually to repeat words with exactly the same divisions between figures, spectators might well anticipate their coming and merely stop listening for the duration of their stage life. But by varying the application Gréban preserves the capacity of the exchanges to instill increased dramatic stress on the few words repeated, to raise them above their contexts and give them greater relief. Their meanings thereby take on more depth and structural intensity when successively highlighted. Each individual word assumes a greater significance, not only by its position at the completion of a speech, but also by virtue of being picked up by a second, or even by a third person and made part of his communication. Each word rides a transcient wave of stress. We have in this device a purely artistic command of material, emanating from a dramatist's restructuring of the Passion, not a theologian's command of it. Such creativity serves to focus attention upon the 'how' of performance, not the 'why'; an aesthetic manipulation of structure is at work, serving the higher master of edification.

The next category of succession has numerous affinities with repetition; disputations between two persons or factions depend for their intensity and effectiveness upon a repetition of each adversary's statement, with the important difference that it is altered to some degree to fit the respondant's contention.[161] In fact, the dispute, more usefully than normal dialog, triggers in both parties reactions to the contentions of the opponent, initiating a series of successive assertions which drive the exchange forward with an energy and tenacity all its own. Argument feeds argument, counter-argument elicits counter-argument. Words, phrases, sentences roll over one another, creating motion in time towards a nebulous goal somewhere in the future. The deliveries need not be especially genteel; indeed, in the *Alsfeld* disputation between *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*,[162] the words become extremely heated, for they strike at the very core of Old Testament Judaism and at the fundamental beliefs of Christianity.

The two principles in the confrontation of religious conviction, *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* personify, to use the words of Arnold Williams,[163] several obvious and traditional abstract characteristics of the Christian and Jewish religions. The latter personification was jelled into a distinct attitude in Christian theological-linguistic usage by Church fathers to symbolize that entire complex of qualities which made the Hebrew people and their communities unique.[164] We recognize *Synagoga* in medieval art as the noble womanly figure with eyes bound, a broken staff in hand. But the role assigned to *Synagoga* in *Alsfeld* as the main speaker for Judaism has distinct tones of masculinity about it; this is true particularly for the manner in which *Synagoga* acts as one of the initiators of the conspiracy against the Heretic from Nazareth.

As two personifications of opposing beliefs, *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* are not time-bound (rather they and their argumentation occupy territory completely divorced from temporal and spatial limitations);[165] theirs is a conflict which cannot be historically categorized, but which raged for centuries in the minds of men, well into our own memories.

The disputation in which the two figures engage is likewise no recent newcomer to medieval literature. It boasts a long and revered tradition,[166] reaching far back into antiquity. In medieval times it was employed for many decades as a tool to hone the minds and tongues of students. Thomas Acquinas, in the *Summa Contra Gentiles*, had formalized most of the forms employed to teach disputations. But even before his codification, vernacular poets had successfully used arguments so prized in circles of higher learning. Students of literature are still familiar with the debate between the *Owl and the Nightengale*, composed in England ca. 1200. German readers will recognize the form as that underlaying Johannes von Saaz's *Ackermann aus Böhmen* (ca. 1400), where a simple peasant matches rhetorical skills with Death himself.

The argument advanced by *Ecclesia* follows a traditional course of attack, which may be summarized by her own warning to the medieval Jewish community of *Alsfeld*:[167]

> *Ir Judden, keret er uch nicht an mynen raid,*
> *Szo muszet er ummer sterben doit!*
> (*Alsfeld* 4639-40)

To accomplish her conversion of the intrasigent Hebrews, *Ecclesia* organizes her evidence around numerous prophets whose messages were deemed by exegetes of the early Church to have prefigured Christ's appearance on earth to one degree or another. Since their application by Pseudo-

Augustinus in his *Contra Judeos, Paganos et Arianos Sermo de Symbolo*,[168] which forms the heart of later prophet plays, the names of Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezechiel, Habbekuk, Malachai, Jonah, David, Simon, Moses, and the Sybil had lent their words to the defense of the emerging Christian church. Emanating from such a tradition, the argument advanced by *Ecclesia* is obviously antagonistic, designed, as it were, to convert, to be combative and dogmatic.[169] An example of her aggressive message is found in her ultimatum to the Jews at the close of her first speech:

> *gleubet er nicht an Jhesum Crist,*
> *der des waren gottes sone ist,*
> *szo werdet ir geschant und beschemmet;*
> *desse redde gar eben vornemmet!*
> (*Alsfeld* 4519-22)

Synagoga, for his part, seeks to undermine the strengths of his opponent's contentions by continually refering back to the Old Law:

> *mer woln nach unszer alden ee leben*
> *dis uns Moyses unszer vatter gebott!*
> *volget mer nach! das ist myn raid.*
> (*Alsfeld* 4533-35)

He further seeks to compromise her words by casting dispersions on the veracity of *Ecclesia's* argument:

> *Dyn wort als ich vorstene,*
> *als eyn spirlingk drincket usz dem Rine!*
> *du musszest dyn bucher basz ubberleszen,*
> *solde dyt alszo weszen.*
> (*Alsfeld* 4746-49)

Synagoga even resorts to threats of corporeal punishment:

> *werestu der glich myn,*
> *du mussest von mer lyden groissze pyn:*
> *ich wolde dich an dyn halsch slan,*
> *solde es mer nummer woil gegan!*
> (*Alsfeld* 4675-78)

Ecclesia, a fighter in the Christian tradition, is also not above some crass rhetoric in her attacks: *„er machet uber uwern eygen ars eyn beszen."*[170] Her teachings and illustrations are, however, doomed to

failure, and the Jews continue in their ancient blindness. But the didactic technique of investigating on stage *contemporary* Hebrew persons, though it suspends the action leading to the Crucifixion, is successful, particularly if one wants to isolate this medieval minority from the cultural mainstream of life and convince spectators of the righteousness of their own beliefs. As a didactic tool, the debate has merit, and, although its appearance confirms the educative bent of late medieval drama and adds by way of suspension a curious wrinkle to the straightforward development of Christ's ministry and sacrifice, the dispute in *Alsfeld* offers a rather one-sided, predisposed, and obviously prejudiced argument for medieval Christian beliefs. Seen, however, from the viewpoint of dramatic temporal technique, the inquiet interlude before the Way of the Cross and after the Condemnation, this strife-ridden battle between two irreconcileable forces, could well have been omitted.[171] It focuses attention on a general theme of late medieval drama in Germany, attesting more to the pedagogical force of the message than to a particularly pleasing aesthetic reconstruction of sacred history. The scene, observed in a temporal context, does give witness to the complexity and flexibility of time on the medieval stage; indeed, it may be said that the time frame of the spectator is perhaps of more value than the historical facts themselves at this point. The process of updating seems of greater interest than several individual elements of the tale. *Alsfeld* is not locked into one single temporal reference system; its stage reality, as seen through the preserved text, partakes of many systems, each giving some of its dramatic potential.[172,173]

Plot

a) Design and Realization

Of the many possibilities whereby succession may be mandated by the artist's skillful manipulation of a given plot, that of design and realization bears consideration. The inescapable repetition of an activity, once in declarative form, and a second time in actualized presentation, unmistakeably adds to the suspense of the *Towneley* succession. At the outset of the Scourging, play *XXII*, Pilate informs the audience of his intention to appear as Christ's friend, but to crucify him in the end:

> *I shall fownde to be his freynd vtward, in certayn,*
> *And shew hym fare countenance and wordys of vanyte;*
> *Bot or this day at nyght on crosse shall he be slayn.*
> (*Towneley XXII* 31-33)

Such an unusual disclosure of events yet to come does not finds its equal in other plays we have investigated. What is the dramatic effect unleashed by this dark design? Let me first state what it is not. The primary consequence of Pilate's disclosure is not the creation of surprise; he has already telegraphed his ultimate move, even going so far as to include its motivation:

> *ffor no thyng in this warld dos me more grefe*
> *Then for to here of crist and of his new lawes;*
> *To trow that he is godys son my hart wold all to-clefe*
> (*Towneley XXII* 40-42).

We can, therefore, scarcely be surprised when the realization is finally before us. The eventual outcome of the speech has two sides to it, one specifically structural and the other uniquely dramatic. Pilate's announcement that he will slay the Captive before nightfall gives rise to the scene of condemnation, mandated by the biblical story to be sure, but in *Towneley* precipitated temporally, and structurally integrated

into the very fabric of dramatization. The distinction between the episode of Christ's judgment and the internal inertia of succession brought about by the Wakefield Master via this arch-villain's monolog is a difference of aesthetic niveau. It is much more persuasive to render an act on stage as a necessary outcome of basic structural forces at work in the play than to merely tie so many events together in a less-organized and less-insistent manner, to render a faithful reproduction of accepted tradition.

The second success of the artist of *Towneley* is to insure the interest and undivided attention of every spectator in the moments which follow the unveiled intention to undo Jesus. Exactly how will Pilate's design be realized? How will he play the friend? How convincing will his masquerade be? And perhaps one final question from a modern reader: will the entire series of events be logical, convincing, compelling? These queries fill our minds as a result of Pilate's disclosure. Our attention is not focused on the factual 'what' of the story--that we know well; instead we become absorbed in the aesthetic makeup of the action in time; „Detailsspannung" increases. The playwright has again succeeded in providing Christ's Passion with some independent depth, motivation, and individuality. The material of *Towneley* belongs to sacred history, but the dramatic viability of its reality on stage rightfully belongs to a man of art.

Various other plays employ the tools of design and realization, but to a substantially lesser degree. When present these Passions tend to adopt a form similar to two situations from *Alsfeld*: a person of authority states an intention to have an action accomplished and it is immediately carried out, such as Pilate's articulated plan to have Jesus scourged

and the completion by the flagellators:

ich wel en vor uch losszen straiffen
das hie wol mochte schryen woffen,
das sijn missetad musz vorstehen!
darnach solt er en losszen gehen!
(*Alsfeld* 4238-41)

Das duncket mich gar gut!
wo ist my eny scharff rude?
(*Alsfeld* 4244-45)

In another instance the third torturer expresses his intention to pull the crown of thorns down on the Savior's head, „ *das das blut rynnet uff syn wangen.*"[174] We read in the subsequent rubrics that the realization is immediately forthcoming. Succession is created, but its temporal impact is minimal. It does not possess the enormous power to impel attention over a longer time span as the *Towneley* disclosure does.

By the very nature of the story line itself, the vast majority of designs and realizations occupy that specific sub-species known as *intrigue*. I wish to defer further discussion of these phenomena until the topic of anticipation of future events is entertained. It should be noted that Pilate's speech also would appropriately fall into the category of intrigue, but as I have defined it, intrigue spans a much greater period of presentational time and represents a long-term attempt to destroy Jesus. Design and realization are much more immediate in their causality than intrigue and deal more with temporal succession than with anticipation of the future.

b) Mention and Appearance of Characters

One device by which the increased level of aesthetic structuring in Group III plays may be measured is the manner in which any author prepares the appearance of characters. I am no longer speaking of

such Bible-induced scenes as the prophecies of John the Baptist in *Alsfeld*, like the *'Ecce agnus dei'*,[175] and all the words of preparation prior to Jesus' entrance on stage; these are vestiges of an old and well-established method derived from Scripture. Nor do I speak of situations such as occur in the beginning of *Montecassino*, where Judas gossips about Jesus before He makes His debut.[176] What is of interest are the ways in which character appearances are obligated and rationalized in a dramatically convincing manner on a level quite beyond that of traditional staging techniques. In *Donau* I find just such an instance which seems aesthetically motivated because it stands out in great relief from surrounding material. This introduction of a figure before its appearance involves Mary Magdalene, and though of short duration, the allusion to her by YESSE provides us with important information about her:

> *Wolluff, ir gesellen, wir wöllen gan,*
> *ich dar esz nit vnder wegen lan:*
> *Maria Magdalena hat mich geladen,*
> *da wend wir ein gůt convivium haben!*
> *gester was ich ouch by ir.*
> *Malchus, nim din lutten mit dir,*
> *wan sy hört vast gern saittenspil,*
> *můtwill vnd frőd hat sy vil!*
> (*Donau* 105-112)

Even if we were not acquainted with her from previous plays or religious lessons, the vague outlines of Mary's life style and mentality, as defined by this speech, become discernable: she is at home in courtly circles, her life involves 'good times', and her worldly personality is decidedly congenial and open to pleasure. When the Magdalene does take her position on stage, the audience is well prepared, not by virtue of their prior knowledge of biblical or legendary tales, but by a dramatic device made viable by the author.

Tempo of Succession

In Pütz's canon of temporal structure the concept of duration has little value. He prefers to lay stress upon the time span separating anticipation from its realization. Pütz notes with some validity the unimportance of vast amounts of time and the central dominance of the pure succession of events.[177] I have also mentioned the numerous instances where great spans of represented time are neglected,[178] but have drawn other conclusions of their import than has Pütz. As an example from medieval literature for his argument dealing with drama in general Pütz cites the *Redentiner Osterspiel*, wherein Lucifer explains to his companions how and where souls can be snared for the underworld and the first fruits of mankind's fall appear almost immediately.[179] A similar circumstance was noted in *Wien*, as medieval sinners were received into Hell upon the fall of Adam.[180] Pütz is willing to admit that the speed of succession may appear to stand still, but only when all activity and all speech ceases.[181] Here is an illustration of the way in which his observations on drama in general must be tempered to more nearly conform to the situation of medieval drama, especially of plays of the late Middle Ages. The simultaneous stage has as one of its greatest potentials the ability to avoid such dead space. It offers opportunity to shift audience interest from a point on the stage which has become static to one in which allied or new activities have commenced. In this case, as in most others, few pure illustrations of Pütz's system of acceleration can be found. Those which are present do little to affect the plays aestetically. Since a primary consideration in ascribing varying degrees of artistic manipulation in medieval drama rests with a comparison of previous traditions and methods of dealing with

accepted facts, we must relate the amount of time an artist spends with an episode or how he concentrates interest by avoiding numerous unfruitful portions of that tradition; we must talk of perceived duration, of how time seems *to us* to pass quickly or slowly, for it is folly to describe exactly how a given action was experienced by original audiences. We can conjecture, but to draw monumental conclusions may well be impossible. Only by addressing ourselves to the duration of an event can we grasp its general interest for the author and appreciate how he combines portions of the old story into meaningful scenes.

Particularly in Group III Passions is an adequate analysis of acceleration difficult, for, with the exception of *Chester* and *Towneley*, these plays deal more with increased duration and the resultant diminution of the passage of one episode into another.

It has already been suggested and supported by the *Chester* text that the formal division of cycles into distinct plays offers opportunity to omit great blocks of time.[182] I have also indicated how time is concentrated in *Towneley* by the avoidance of a Herod play, of the acceptable allusion to time passed but not dramatized, and the resultant dramatic attention to Pilate.[183] Other instances of acceleration through exclusion may be found in *Chester*, most notably the lack of a scene for the ointment purchase. The movement forward through the Crucifixion to the Resurrection is measured and steady, with few interruptions of the tempo; even the mounting of Jesus on the Cross is accomplished with dispatch, requiring only 123 verses of slight length.[184] Compared even with its neighbor, *Towneley*, the *Chester* nailing is speeded to its conclusion by virtue of attention only to the most obvious and central details. We are spared the horrific minutiae of the

nails piercing Jesus' hands and feet, of the sadistic stretching of limbs and righting of the Cross into its mortise so prevalent in the other four renditions.

There is likewise no *mercator* episode in *Towneley*, not even a hint that one was ever played. By this exclusion the *Towneley* account avoids a decidedly tangential scene, which in most other Passions, particularly in *Alsfeld*, serves the questionable purpose of comic relief. *Towneley* restricts its stage time to more weighty matters; an interlude such as that of the merchant has no place in so concentrated a presentation; an inclusion of such secondary material would merely dilute the play.

Contrary to the dearth of meaningful acceleration, the countless incidences of retardation of traditional succession makes difficult the choice of two or three truly representative occurrences for the whole group. With the exception of *Chester*, we have seen that probably the most intense reduction of temporal passage involves to some degree the Crucifixion. Let us disregard these central episodes for now and direct our attention to other portions of the Passion, for several authors of this group employ their artistic talents to manipulate secondary events as well.

Two late plays provide the majority of extra-crucifixion retardation. The dramatic results are, in my opinion, mixed, for *Mistère* often seems to become enmired in extraneous material. Much the same can be said of *Alsfeld*. Numerous passages of the latter, treated in considerably condensed form in plays of earlier centuries, serve to lengthen scenes into inordinately long statements. I think particularly of the encounter between Christ and Herod, which, temporally, dramatically, and

structurally does little to advance the plot. Perhaps it may be included in that body of mandatory acting which any faithful account would hesitate to delete. But various other methods of disposing of this fundamentally unimportant and repetitive information have been documented, namely the complete avoidance of it by an epic reference in *Towneley*. All decisive considerations of Jesus' fate either come after or antedate the *Alsfeld* Herod encounter. The Jews have long before decided upon the fate they intend for the Lamb: their unyielding enmity for this stranger is not significantly clarified nor motivated in novel ways; Herod plays no peculiar part in the proceedings, as he seeks only to witness a miracle or two[185] and to ascertain what Christ's exact relationship with his own father was.[186] In terms of plot advancement, Herod seems to be merely one more magistrate who is faced with a situation with which he cannot readily cope. His answer is to abdicate authority and to return the Prisoner to Pilate. Little of substance is accomplished: time is unnecessarily retarded and the concentration of gathering storms only postponed.

Two further instances of questionable dramatic and temporal consequence are discovered in *Alsfeld*. The first to meet the eye is the appendage of the twelve banners incident to the trial before Pialte. A product of apocryphal writings[187] the bowing of the banners becomes in *Alsfeld* a matter of primary doctrinal, but less aesthetic importance. The situation is briefly this: upon the introduction of Jesus into Pilate's hall by *Cursor*, accompanied by this functionary's warm words of praise such as he heard at the Entry to Jerusalem, twelve banners surrounding the chamber dip in homage to the Lord of Life. Many Jews in attendance protest vehemently, maintaining that the standard bearers did

not exert themselves sufficiently to hold the flags upright. To prove the contrary, twelve Hebrews take possession of the banners and Jesus is led into the hall a second time. All twelve ensigns once again lower themselves, to the chagrin of all the Sons of Abraham present. Thus is the error of their ways reinforced and the absolute dominion of the Nazarene established over both animate and inanimate objects. The authors of *Alsfeld*, not content to simply report the incident, allow each of the original twelve standard bearers to protest Pilate's conclusion:

> *Ich meyne, ire habet sye gerne gneigt*
> *und Hiesu darmit ere erzeyget!*
> (*Alsfeld* 3858-59)

The result is an unnecessarily extended denial which easily could have been accomplished by citing one or two soldiers instead of all twelve. The playwrights allow a similar elongation to occur when the Jews themselves take possession of the banners. Six men are afforded speeches, wherein they boast of their strength, or identify themselves and demand a banner.[188] When the standards inevitably bow, the remaining six malefactors are given an opportunity to protest.[189] The interlude may be interesting and somewhat comical, but it ultimately serves only as another reminder of Christ's power. Structurally, it does little to drive the play forward or to create suspense.

Much the same can be maintained of the *mercator* episode in *Alsfeld*. It will be recalled that the merchant had the distinction of being selected first from the secular world to augment the *Visitatio Sepulchri*.[190] Indeed, Brinkmann attributes the late medieval tendency to equate him with a comical figure to this very reason. His personality, freely developed outside the limits of religious convention, was naturally available for

exploitation of all manner of worldly evils.[191] But rather than be subsumed into the greater Passion sentiment of *Alsfeld*, his presence takes on a life all its own. The *unguentarius* is no longer simply a vehicle for purchasing ointment; he is now a *„magister Ypocras de gracia bovina"*,[192] a well-travelled figure, renowned in European lands from England to Russia,[193] whose entourage consists of a wife, whom he mistreats when she oversteps her bounds,[194] and a servant, who introduces the master and defends his bad manners when necessary.[195] The *mercator* of *Alsfeld* is a far cry from his predecessor, who served to underscore the gravity of Christ's death by his advice and aid to the Maries. Here he is only a crude and overbearing ingrate. Even the traditional laments of the three women, such as the *'Heu quantus est noster dolor'* and the *'Omnipotens pater altissime'*, do not completely reinstate the solemn environment of the Passion. Instead, the merchant scene becomes comic relief, serving perhaps to allow spectator emotions to rest a moment, but most probably to keep his attention towards the end of a lengthy and involved three-day play. Structurally, as interesting as the *mercator* is as an individual, as fetching a scene as his becomes in terms of medieval life, his is still a hindrance of movement towards the Resurrection, serving scant formal purpose. This episode represents the negative side of the humanization and particularization process which defines late medieval Passions. A more compelling and direct method of writing is found in *Chester*, *Towneley*, and *Donau*, who have all disregarded this decidedly secondary character.

Upon consideration of Gréban's *Mistère*, we find much of a questionable nature. From our viewpoint the Herod encounter likewise serves little purpose, for it, too, insinuates purely secondary

and unessential action into the play. By means of *conversational realism* Gréban expands his interlude to unnecessary length, interjecting a patient, sincerely questioning Herod into the traditional equation. Through extensive investigation into possible reasons for the Savior's willful silence, Gréban outlines the progression from Jesus' introduction to the final exasperated *„sergens, prenez vostre fol"*,[196] spoken by an angry governor of Galilee. It is true that Herod's character is given some depth in the scene, but nothing about the outcome of the episode is altered. Despite his patience for humanization, Gréban has still succeeded only in diminishing the succession of events to a crawl. Although we cannot with complete confidence state that medieval man was bored or even indifferent to the Herod scene, it can be said that, when compared with other plays, Gréban's humanization comes off second best to the concentration and elimination of Herod in a play like *Towneley*.[197]

A further exemplification of Gréban's tendency to fill in the unspecified points of traditional presentation and increase duration comes near the conclusion of the Crucifixion. In no other Passion have I observed the dispatch of the two thieves. Gréban elongates his Crucifixion by bringing forth a shockingly-rationalized execution of John xix: 30-31, almost devastating in its brutality.[198] Certainly this is yet another instance of the poet's desire to leave no stone unturned, no activity uncompleted.

I wish to briefly mention one final example of retardation by increased detail from *Alsfeld*. It deals with Judas' character. In a detailed dialog with the priests Judas is made into the symbol of a medieval Jewish usurer, interested only in his blood money, testing

each piece of silver for value, casting away the first because it is red,[199] another for being cut,[200] yet a third for having a hole in it,[201] and so forth. This elongation is an obvious attempt to equate Judas with the other Jews of the play who oppose Jesus and to lend both an air of disgust and malevolence. Froning reaches similar conclusions, as he remarks:

> Judas ist ein arger Geizhals; denn aus Habgier begeht er den Verrat an seinem Meister. Die Juden aber konnten sich die Alsfelder nicht anders vorstellen, als feilschend und betrügend; drum müssen sie die Forderung des Verräters herab zu schrauben und ihm einige falsche Pfennige in das Blutgeld hineinzuschmuggeln versuchen. Natürlich merkt Judas das; er ist doch ebenso gerieben wie sie.[202]

I look upon this development of Judas as a positive application of retardation, unlike the episode of the twelve banners, inasmuch as it is the only time spent by the author in defining Judas' character and motivation. The Jews of the banner encounter are the very same as have been continuously maligned and darkened at their every appearance. Their participation in the trials represent something akin to structural overkill.

With the discussion on temporal retardation I arrive at the Crucifixion sequence for a final in-depth look at this doctrinally and dramatically pivotal action. In previous contexts I have offered some observations on the manner in which medieval playwrights employ traditional laments and various liturgical and religious writings to draw out present time, particularly with reference to the Virgin's position.[203] To avoid unnecessary repetition of facts, I wish to delete consideration of the *Planctus Mariae*, recognizing that in later Passions, particularly in *Alsfeld*, these lyrical moments are responsible for much of the

extended duration of this scene. I shall, however, necessarily return to certain of Mary's complaints in the context of interruption and suspension. That upon which I desire to concentrate is the way in which, to paraphrase medieval scholars, 'late medieval realism' tends to augment the ancient story of the Crucifixion. My main interest is the dramatic and doctrinal value of such material aggrandized by a brief consideration of F.P. Pickering's views concerning their origins as both pertain to audience reception of resultant dramatization and our own evaluation of its theatrical efficacy.

DISCOURSE ON THE 'REALITY' OF THE CRUCIFIXION

Concerning the scholar's view of late medieval Passion dramatization, Walter Müller and his perceptions on *Alsfeld* may serve as a generally acceptable formulation of prevailing thought:

> In der *Alsfelder* Kreuzigungszene finden wir die Fortsetzung der Frankfurter Tradition . . . Auch hier wieder beide Seiten der Schauspielkunst: derbe Weltlichkeit und Naturalistic, andererseits fein nuancierte, psychologisch ausdrucksvolle Mittel. Die Peinigungsszene wird bis auf den Weg nach Golgatha verlängert.[204]

The general consensus of scholars lays much stress upon the illumination of events into extensive scenes, not for some artistic self-interest, but for the edification of believers and the intensification of religious experience.[205] Countless essays emphasize the inhuman treatment afforded the Christ, the vividness of his tormentors and their 'realistic' activities and language. There can be no doubt as to the truth of these remarks. But the idea that these persons and actions somehow spring exclusively from the fabric of late medieval life and thought cannot be substantiated. The duration of late Passion crucifixions is much more the product of gradual assimilation of more material linked to previous details.

I investigated at some length the 'realistic' appendage of the smith and his callous wife to the *Palatine* and *Autun B* plays. This should instill us with a certain caution to perceive a sudden explosion of interest in rationalized dramatization at the close of the Middle Ages. To understand plays such as those of Group III we must continually turn our attention to preceding centuries. The resultant image will also offer us another measurement by which to ascertain an artist's accomplishment. This is precisely Pickering's service in his investigation into the origins of late medieval 'realism', for he isolates those portions of the textual tradition which owe their often shocking resplendence to scholarly endeavors of Church fathers in ages past. Thus are we able to focus on the exact manner in which artists bend or augment existing conventions to portray their own understandings.

To appreciate the impact of exegesis on Passions of the late Middle Ages it is first necessary to identify which 'reality' interests us. A fundamental difference of opinion will be avoided if we focus on the reality which defined all medieval art, including dramatic enterprises. Our inquiry deals not with the 'true and historical' facts of crucifixion or even of the primary Crucifixion itself, but with the manner in which this "most painful of all chapters"[206] of mankind's history was conceived in the context of Old Testament prefiguration and New Testament fulfillment. The world of Christian exegesis and consequently the realm of medieval drama does not react to what we believe to be the historical facts of Jesus' punishment and death. It, contrarily, meditates upon a 'recovered reality'[207] involving centuries of patristic writing and convention. It is fairly impossible to overestimate the consequences of Pseudo-Anselm's *Dialogus*, of John of Caulibus'

Meditationes,[208] or of St. Jerome and countless others upon this process. One key to understanding late medieval dwelling upon rationalization of Scripture was the sketchiness of the evangelistic accounts.[209] Their episodic characteristics left great voids in the factual discussion of *this particular crucifixion*, which in turn provided ample opportunity for religious scholarship and dramatic presentations to fill them in from extra-biblical sources. Of central importance for early exegesis and later theatrical endeavor was Christ's admonition that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moses and in the prophets and in the Psalms concerning Him.[210] Pickering considers the result for crucifixion depiction exercised by this mandate:

> This was taken universally to be Christ's own *instruction* to study the Old Testament. This instruction, and the paradigmatic *examples* Christ had given in his own teaching of 'things' to be fulfilled, and the manner of their fulfilment . . . are the foundation of patristic Old Testament scholarship. This consists in large measure in an exhaustive search for those prophecies to which explicit reference had been made *neither* by Christ *nor* by the Evangelists. The task of scholarship was to find and recognise the *omnia* and prove their relevance . . . It is in the course of just such study that the Church evolved, *inter alia*, its mental picture of the Crucifixion.[211]

One outcome of relevance for medieval Passion plays was the necessity of accounting for the instruments of crucifixion, the hammer, the nails, and, most notable for our investigation, the ropes. Pickering notes the absolute naturalness and necessity of hammers and nails if St. Thomas were to be shown their imprint in his Lord's hands.[212] Inference was simply not enough, however; a history must be established for them. This is certainly part of the reason for the invention of the smith's wife and the discovery of her husband. I have traced in previous

paragraphs the structural impact of these characters in French Passions of Group II.[213]

To one degree or another, the tools of crucifixion[214] are included by Group III authors. They variously affect the duration of this episode. The nails and hammers add a degree of apprehension and rising suspense to all plays. No artist is content to simply bring them forth. Even *Chester* stresses their importance by a dialog between the second and third torturers:

SECOND.
anon, maister, anon;
a hammer hauv I one,
as farr as I haue gone,
there is not such an other.

THIRD.
and here are, by my pon!
neiles, very good wone,
to neyle thervpon,
though he were my Brother.
(*Chester XVI* 537-544)

The act of pinning Christ to the Cross and the fastness of the bond further intensifies the picture:

FOURTH.
Draws, for your father kynne!
whyle that I dryve in
this ilke Iron pinne,
that, I dare lay, will last.

FIRST.
As ever hauv I wynn,
his Arme is but a fynn:
how dryves on, but dyn,
and we shall draw fast.[215]
(*Chester XVI* 577-584)

Donau succeeds in broadening the intention to hurt when ISRAHEL announces:

dis nagel sind doch vil ze spitz,
ich wil sy etwas stumpffer machen:
des selb mag Ihesus nit gelachen!
(*Donau* 3242-44)

Some stage time is given to its realization, as seen from BA 3245: *„Nu nimpt Israhel die nagel und schmidet dar an. . . ."* The rest of the nailing and announcement of the presence of the nails is integrated into the boring of the holes:

Dar uff erwüscht MOSSE dem Saluator die rechten hand vnd [legt] ims vff das loch vnd spricht zů Israhel:

Israhel, bring ein nagel har
vnd nim des lochs wol eben war,
trib in mit dem grossen hamer,
das er er wirt schreyen ach vnd jamer:
des ach[t] ich nit als vmb ein har!

Nu kumpt ISRAHEL vnd bringt ein nagel vnd hamer vnd facht an schlachen vnd spricht:

Mosse, heb redlich, lieber gesell,
lůg, ob er sich rümpffen well:
die nagel sind erst worden recht.
Jesse, du bist ein fuler knecht:
setz dich an den linggen arm,
streck in, das dir werd warm,
da mit du mögest das loch erholen.
Pilatus hat vns das enpfollen!

Nu kumpt YESSE zů dem lincken arm vnd streckt den mit der hand zům loch vnd spricht:

Manasses, büt mir bald ein zangen
(ich mag das loch hie nit erlangen)
vnd bring ein seil: ich mus in strecken,
da mit die hand das loch müg decken.
so musz im Israhel ein nagel schlahen,
das in das crütz dest bas mag tragen.

Yecz kumpt MANASSES vnd bringt zangen, hamer vnd seil, wirfft die Jesse dar vnd spricht:

Ich bring dir zang vnd seil,
ob mir der büt wurd ouch ein teil.
mag ich neina komen dar zů,
da mit ich ouch ein zeichen tů
mit minem hamer? der ist grosz:
ich müsz im dennocht geben ein stosz!
(*Donau* 3279-3304)

Nu kümpt aber ISRAHEL mit dem driten nagel vnd gat hin zu den in ze schlachen vnd spricht:

Ich loben üch, ir stoltzen man,
hebent vast vnd land nit gan!
die warheit wil ich in leren gigen:
ich mein, er werd nü schwigen!
der nagel schlecht im die füsz zü rümpf:
er ist da vorman grosz vnd stumpff!
(*Donau* 3327-32)[216]

Nails and hammers are integrated with the pulling of Christ's body to pre-drilled holes in *Mistère* also.[217] This subsection, as with most others, is remarkably life-like; the speeches of Brayart, Griffon, Broyeffort, Orillart, and Claquedent contain a matter-of-factness, a certain degree of colloquial, everyday conversation not found in other accounts. It is as if these men were accustomed to executions and actually enjoyed participating in them.

Uninitiated readers and certain well-known scholars have been inclined to view the stretching of the Savior's limbs on the Tree as an original invention of late medieval dramatists. Froning, for example, assumes that such theatrical representations owe their mimetic life to exegencies of staging during the fifteenth century. Since actors could not in actuality be nailed to a cross, they were bound with ropes to simulate crucifixion. Such an invention could not be left unmotivated, and the consequence was an elaborate conspiracy to heighten the Lord's suffering.[218] While such a contention appeals to the logic of modern minds, it is in fact founded on error, for Passions of the third group exploit a tradition in which the stretching with ropes was already an integral part.[219] In response to a scholastic interpretation leading back at least as far as St. Jerome, exegetes found this exercise to be a fulfillment of the Psalmists' words, *'dinumeraverunt omnia ossa mea.'*[220] Anselm had already addressed the Crucifixion and filled in numerous

factual lacunae by placing all activities of the Crucifixion into a context of former knowledge, quoting the Psalmist as having been fulfilled.[221] Hilary of Poitiers had as early as AD 350 contended that the Savior was crucified with nails and ropes.[222] Thus may we find the inception of what is often termed 'late Gothic realism' in centuries far in advance of these plays. By nature an aetiological concern, this investigation into primary causes was neither a product of late authors nor of a single person, "but the result of the combined efforts of the Fathers of the Church from earliest times to harmonize the various prophecies of the Crucifixion in one 'historical' sequence."[223]

Two ancillary metaphors, the harp and the bow, underlie the texts to which I shall soon return. Particularly the harp was perhaps the most influential of all medieval Crucifixion symbols.[224] The appropriateness of a Christ stretched on the Cross symbolized by the strings of a harp is immediately apparent. Patristic writers early concluded that the words contained in Psalm lvi (lvii): 8, *"Exsurge cithara"*, were indeed addressed by "God, the musician who made music on the harp at the Crucifixion"[225] to Christ, His Son, and that they again constituted a portion of the *'omnia de me'* identified by the Lord. A final symbol of great artistic promise and vividness was that of the crossbow. Again, the parallels to late medieval crucifixions, where the Lamb is spanned on the Cross to match holes bored too far apart, is obvious. Just such a posture is frozen into devastating artistic reality by Mattheus Grünewald in the Isenheim Alter,[226] the epitomy of 'Gothic' realism. But an investigation of origins like the valuable ideas contributed by Pickering only puts us in the proper frame of reference.[227] We must yet turn to the texts to ascertain the final form

taken by such tradition, to ask the question, How does each play organize its own unique statement on the established truths? For this we should look at all five texts.

As I have had occasion to indicate, *Chester* deals with the Crucifixion in a less aggressive and painful manner than its later counterparts. The stretching with ropes and final fettering of Christ is accomplished in six four-line stanzas. Only the general outlines of the tugging and pulling are included.[228] The act concludes with the Fourth torturer soliciting praise for his efficiency.[229] This short, pointed nailing is certainly in keeping with the conservative theatrics which define the *Chester* tradition and is reminiscent of the ritual underlying medieval theater.[230] Concentration is not upon the wherefore of the nailing, but upon the necessity of the sacrifice.

Towneley has other intentions for its torturers, who are not mere functionaries as those in *Chester*, but grossly evil men who delight in inflicting pain. After mocking Jesus' regal position in the heirarchy of Heaven by equating Him in medieval terms to a ruler who must prove his worth by jousting in tournament,[231] the malefactors commence their dastardly deeds: Christ's arms are drawn, first to one hole, then to the other, stretching the Condemned One to the breaking point;[232] His remaining limbs are pulled to the mark, so securely and handily nailed that the Third torturer can boast: *"I trow lewde man ne clerk/ Nothynd better shuld."*[233] *Towneley* appends to the nailing a long and drawn out dramatization of the righting of the Cross, wherein the scourges of medieval life vie to outpull each other,[234] and even remove the Rood from its mortise to let it fall again into place, that Jesus may *"break ilk ionte in hym"*.[235]

Through the entire event runs a thread of distasteful smugness, of ready attention to detail, of irrepressible relish for inflicting pain upon an unjustly accused man. Jesus words from the Tree take on a plaintif quality of deep emotional proportions:

> *My folk, what haue I done to the,*
> *That thou all thus shall tormente me?*
> *Thy syn by I full sore.*
> *what haue I greuyd the? answere me.*
> (*Towneley XXIII* 244-246)

Donau continues this development, but projects more pathos into its Crucifixion by integrating Barrabas, the thief and murderer who was freed in Christ's stead. Barrabas willfully aids a soldier named Boos in the hanging of Gesmas and Dismas, the two criminals accompanying Jesus on the Skull. We witness in *Donau* the actual boring of the holes, deliberately drilled at too great a distance, making possible a painful period of stretching of the Redeemer's limbs.[236] After being denuded,[237] the Man of Sorrows is violently thrown upon a Cross laying on the ground. What follows is doubtless one of the most graphic and appalling of all late medieval renderings of the pulling of the Christ:

Hie mit loufft MALCHUS vnd knüwt zů den fussen vnd spricht:

> *Wol har, so wil ich zů den füssen,*
> *da mit wir im sin hoffart büssen:*
> *er hatz getriben lange zit!*
> *nu ist dis loch nie ouch ze wit,*
> *Mosse, nim dis lang seil,*
> *so wend wir in vss ein ander ziehen.*
> *ich mein, er mög nu nit me fliehen!*

Vff das loufft Mosse vnd Jesse beid hin zu vnd erwüschent das seil vnd ziechent fast. den facht MOSSE an vnd spricht:

> *Bis frisch, wir wellen redlich strecken*
> *vnd im sin wunden all erwecken!*
> *wir achtend nit, tůt es im we:*
> *wiltu gern, so ziechen wir me!*

ist es gnůg, so dassz das bliben:
Israhel, du solt den nagel in triben!
(*Donau* 3345-52)

Rubrics attest to the ferocity of this scene, not unlike a public execution from the contemporary world of the fifteenth century, combined with a vicious hatred, the likes of which has not an equal in plays yet investigated.

The situation in *Alsfeld* is much more subdued, the actual tensing of the limbs involving many fewer lines, and without the ghoulish excesses of *Donau*.[238] It is true that the torturers receive a certain amount of enjoyment from practicing their dubious art, but it seems more the result of a job well done than the exaggerated evil of the *Donau* Crucifixion.[239]

In similar fashion Gréban thrusts a decidedly sadistic group of torturers into the center stage of the Crucifixion. The intention of the group to inflict pain by the unmotivated extension of the Christ's body is clear from their lines:

GRIFFON
Prenez moy ces deux gros cordons
que j'ay a son poignet serrés,
et tirez tant que vous pourrez,
vous quatre, jusqu'aux nerfz desjoindre,
tant que vous faciez la main joindre
au partuis qui est fait pour elle.
(*Mistère* 24738-743)

Gréban is the sole dramaturge to visibly draw the analogy between Jesus' tensed, strained body and the murderous medieval crossbow:

GRIFFON
Autant vault:
mes que ce clou y soit soulde,
oncques arbaleste bende
ne tendit de meilleur facon.
(*Mistère* 24754-757)

Allusion to the less-prevalent image of the long bow is also made to stress the tautness and extension of the body, now finally suspended on the instrument of His martyrdom:

ORILLART
Oncques corde a arc ne tira
mieulx que font les nerfz de son corps:
ou compteroit bien par dehors
ung a ung les os qui y sont.
(*Mistère* 24802-805)

Nerves have been made as taut as any bowstring: and *'his bones can be counted one by one'*. This latter suggestion by Orillart recalls again to mind the original impetus for the pulling by ropes contained is Psalm lvi. Though Gréban is the only artist of Group III to register the old words, I believe it is not simply a coincidence that he included not only the crossbow and the longbow images, but the very allusion to the Master's body as well. At this late date Gréban may well be reflecting the conventional artistic wisdom of Christian art, but he still owes his analogies not to late 'Gothic' realism, but rather to a long tradition of learned religious scholarship.

When a modern mind approaches these collective scenes, filled as they are with what appears to be needless humiliation, sadism, and an unhealthy delight in the dark side of the human spirit, it often tunes itself out to the episode entirely or expresses disgust and astonishment at its savagery and brutality. We must temper our prejudices, sublimate our initial reactions, consequently clearing the air for a second, more realistic look. As has been amply discussed, these scenes of the Crucifixion do not render the tale solely for the sake of dramatization, nor do they seek to be only entertaining. The unrelenting drive towards presentification of sacred history, of rationalization of character

and motivation all underscore an intention to edify, to take the pain of Jesus Christ far beyond the jubilation of the Resurrection into the realm of contemporary medieval life. *Alsfeld* stresses the expected result of attendance on the Passion,[240] as do *Donau*[241] and *Mistère*.[242] These artistic manipulations of given material, which concentrate attention upon a particular section of the Passion through increased duration and slowing of succession, establish not only the independence of the writers within a tradition of long standing, but also betray a religious frame of reference vastly altered from earlier plays: the intent is not synonomous with the forces which drive Group I or even Group II. Early plays dealt with the magic of the Resurrection, whereas Group III plays stress how laboriously the victory was won.[243] The beginnings of a 'Christian' tragedy may be felt, although the Middle Ages did not yet possess the aesthetic foundation for pure tragedy.[244] Indeed, with the exception of *Chester*, the four plays just considered do approach a classical definition of at least half the understanding of tragedy, that of ‚Mitleid'. We can empathize only with creatures who resemble us in their humanity.[245] In future paragraphs the companion concept of ‚Furcht' will be introduced by devils and their punishment of persons gone astray. Thus, not an all-powerful and triumphant Christ, but a very humanized one, brought nearer to life by the pains I have described, stands ready to lend credibility to sacred history. As Maria Müller defines it: „Das spätmittelalterliche Passionsspiel stellt die Tragik eines göttlichen Menschen dar, der in sein Eigentum kam und den die Seinen nicht aufnahmen."[246]

a) Temporal Parallelism

Each author avails himself of the potential for effective presentation inherent in parallel presentation. As a group, the applications vary from a single instance in *Chester*, when Maria and Martha mourn Lazarus' passing simultaneous with Jesus' announcement that He will journey to the place where His friend lies,[247] to an integrated technique of heightening suspense illustrated by *Mistère*. I desire to look in detail at the latter and append to the discussion certain examples from *Alsfeld*; for, more than others, these two plays are raised to an aesthetic and dramatic level of literary significance.

Perhaps the most conscientious, artistic, and impelling application of temporal parallelism is practiced by Gréban, in whose hands the technique becomes a truly aesthetic device for increasing dramatic impact. On numerous occasions Gréban heightens our awareness of impending disaster or our knowledge of events of great consequence by introducing scenes which run in parallel with the central concern. We have seen in other Passions that Judas' bargain is generally played contemporaneous with the Last Supper and Gethsemane.[248] *Mistère* initiates the Eucharistic meal with Judas present. At the traditional point, after his inquiry, *"numquid tunc ego sum, raby?"*,[249] Judas takes his leave and proceeds to the domicile of the High Priests as the extended and highly-doctrinal analysis of the Last Supper continues. Upon the completion of some 258 verses, Judas joins Annas and Caiaphas to consummate the treason-- the first change of focus and a rather lengthy one at that![250] Our attention is once again directed to Jesus and His followers as they move into the Garden. This time is not only filled with the traditional sleeping disciples, but also with a moment from

Heaven, as God the Father, Justice, Misericorde, Michael, and Gabriel ponder the Son's prayer, consider how to comfort Him and His mother.[251] A third focal alteration carries us once again to the palace of priests, where the two instigators, Annas and Caiaphas, discuss the possible advance of their forces against the Blasphemer.[252] A return to the Garden finds the angel Michael comforting His Maker, as God had commanded, with words of reassurance:

> *o hault filz de Dieu glorieux,*
> *ne doubtez pas tant cest assault,*
> *que n'ayez le voulloir plus hault*
> *d'avoir l'ennemy desconfit;*
> *considerez quel grant prouffit*
> *en ensuivra par ce moyen;*
> *ce beau regne celestien*
> *sera par ce point restably:*
> *homme honoré et anobly,*
> *qui en tel noblesse venu*
> *sans fin sera vostre tenu,*
> *et du bien qu'il possedera*
> *tousjours graces vous rendera.*
> (*Mistère* 18966-978)

A final movement to the band following Judas completes the grand vision, as the two irreconcilable forces move to the ultimate confrontation.[253] Instead of simply presenting two parallel activities as those before him, Gréban formulates five distinct and separate views of the same time span, some overlapping more than others. Our interest is maintained, our experience of the Passion story intensified, our aesthetic senses gratified by this structural mastery of traditional story.

By the use of a similar tactic the author holds attention during the watch at the sepulchre. The initial scene shows the picking and placement of the guards, who are as brash as their forebearers.[254] Accompanying their bravado in another place are the emotional plaintes of the Maries, who decide to seek out an ointment merchant.[255]

The two poles of belief and non-belief are contrasted effectively by their simultaneous presentation. To these cameos are added the interrogation and punishment of Joseph of Arimathea for his unauthorized part in his Lord's burial.[256] Time continues its relentless journey into the future and we next rejoin the Maries, who have sought out the merchant.[257] In a straightforward exchange they accomplish their immediate goal and move on. At what is certainly conceived as the same time, a group of disciples bemoan the loss of their Savior, particularly St. Jaques Alphey, who cannot be consoled,[258] but who is also confident of an impending resurrection.[259] Coincidental with this lament, the playwright places Peter alone at a grave or hiding place:[260] *"Icy est S. Pierre en la fosse tout par soy."*[261] The disciple's own words indicate that his presence at the tomb has extended for some time:

> *J'ay souffert par grant pacience*
> *en ceste fosse longuement*
> *en plorant tres amerement. . . .*
> (*Mistère* 28582-584)

I assume a consciously-constructed overlap of his lamenting with much of what has preceded Peter's monolog. Nowhere is the manipulation of purely structural and theatrical considerations more observable than here, where five disconnected, but doctrinally and functionally related events share a single span of abstracted time. In *Mistère* I find a capable, religious man and a conscious and engaged dramatist at work, designing for himself a humanized statement of sacred history, closely associated not only with the multi-faceted experience of time seen from the outside, but also with what we modern readers recognize as a highly literary experience of temporal flow.

Gréban additionally gives us an inkling of what medieval stages in their multiplicity of *loca* may have been about: far from being

unsophisticated or simplistic, these presentations made advantageous use of the inherent potentials of the simultaneous stage. Nowhere are these latent capacities more apparent that in *Mistère*, where our eye is continually directed back and forth between *loca*; our spirits are constantly engaged, drawing mental parallels of action as they are offered, but not losing the thread which binds scenes together. We can greatly appreciate the accomplishments of this master from France not only on a religious level, but on an aesthetic and structural level as well.[262]

In *Alsfeld* one finds numerous events wherein a main activity is accompanied by an additional movement to a new place of focus, such as the song of *Sinagoga* and Jews contemporary with Jesus' travel to the place where He delivers the Sermon on the Mount,[263] or where *Sinagoga* sings after the release of the adulteress, while Simon prepares a table for Jesus and His disciples.[264] Such incidences of themselves serve to indicate a necessary motion in two separate *loca* on a simultaneous stage; they afford us, as it were, a picture of the breadth of presentation. However, they are not particularly artistic, nor is their presence especially inspiring. They constitute mere stage management. Of a much more profound quality are those instances when the author chooses to direct our attention to an allied development coincidental with a main event, such as the apprisal of Mary by John that her Offspring has been condemned and at that very moment awaits the finalization of plans in Pilate's hall to accomplish the movement onto Golgotha.[265] *Sinagoga* demands that Christ be forced to carry His own Cross. The natural expectation is that this act be accomplished, but instead it is held in abayence as John speaks with Mary and she decides to join Him and thereby to ascertain His situation. Only then, as Mary and John

approach the Lord (*"Et sic Maria et Johannes vadunt ad Christum"*)[266] is the Cross thrust on the Master's back after the words of Moab and Ductor (*"Et sic imponitur crux Jhesu"*).[267] Though played in succession, the two related events are considered by the author as simultaneous.[268]

b) Interruption and Suspension

The twin phenomena of interruption and suspension make their presence known in Group III much as they did in Group II plays. Naturally, several differences of application may be discerned. In Group III no analogous personality of *Augustinus* comes forth. His role has been divided among many of the characters themselves, save for his introductory remarks and setting of the stage, a function assumed by one known as *proclamator* in *Alsfeld*, and in *Mistère* by *l'acteur* and an unknown speaker who initiates the four daily presentations and reviews previous action. *Donau* prescribes introductory lines for its *proclamator*, but, like his counterpart in *Alsfeld* and *Mistère*, his participation in the play is strictly limited to external orientation of spectators. Let the *proclamator* of *Alsfeld* represent the group, for his words and their intentional content are shared by all:

> *darumb sollet ir nu ansehen*
> *mit innikeyt das schone spyell,*
> *das man hie begynnen will*
> *vonn dem lyden unsers herren!*
> *dorzu sollet er uwer hercze keren,*
> *ir man und auch er frawen!*
> *mit andacht sollet er diss schawen*
> *und in alle uwern tagen*
> *Jhesu syn crucze helffen tragen*
> *mit wiczen und synnen!*
> (*Alsfeld* 46-55)

These observations are, strictly speaking, neither interruption nor suspension, as they occur external to dramatic activity.

In these plays of the late Middle Ages several different strategies in the use of interruption may be found. Let us deal first with instances where a character addresses the audience to stress the gravity of his or her situation.

Our thoughts immediately turn to the Virgin and Mary Magdalene, who, as we have seen,[269] often bemoan their sorrow directly to spectators gathered around the playing area. Particularly in German plays do the two Maries bridge the times of representation and presentation by such observations. In *Donau* the admonitions of the Virgin, as she mournfully reflects upon her dying Son, addressed as they are especially towards the women in the crowd, recall a similar cry in *BenP*:[270]

> *o ir allerliebsten wib,*
> *sechen an den zarten lib,*
> *sechend an die blügende jugent,*
> *sechend an die edle tugent,*
> *lond üch erbarmen sin grosse not,*
> *helffent mir weinen sinen tod,*
> *den er vmb vnschuld hat müsen liden:*
> (*Donau* 3560-66)

Mary Magdalene begs the audience to join her mourning in language heavy with emotion:

> *O heliger prophet Ihesu Christ,*
> *wie kumptz, das du verurteilt bist?*
> *wil man dich engelten lan,*
> *das du der welt vil gütz hest getan?*
> *trurend mit mir, lieben frowen,*
> *helffent mir dis jamer schowen,*
> *wann er erkicket den bruder min:*
> *dar vmb ich billich sol trurig sin!*
> (*Donau* 3127-34)

Several other persons turn to the on-lookers as well. During Jesus' painful journey to Calvary, Veronica requests a *'gedechtniss'* of her Master, *„die bildung von diner angesicht"*.[271] When the Christ complies, she turns to the audience and reveals His image on the cloth, stressing its significance for all Christianity:

da mit ir gloubent zů aller frist,
das er gewarer got vnd christ
von anfang ie vnd ie ist gewessen
in der hochen trinitat zässen:
(*Donau* 3195-98)

The chagrin of Judas assumes more artistically and structurally elevated proportions as, shortly before suicide, he reviews extensively in a monolog shared with the spectators his betrayal and its faulty motivation.[272] The writer is careful to stress Judas' pride as his principal failing, opening his weak spirit to the suggestions of treason. The author uses the opportunity to once again remind his medieval comrades of the mortal danger of pride and, by spanning the gap between player and spectator, assures their attention and interest. To these appeals is appended a singularly didactic suggestion delivered by Joseph of Arimathea upon the resuscitation of ADOLESCENS:

sechent, ir frowen vnd man,
das got sin volck hie tůt schowen
an dissem jůngling vnd der frowen!
dar vmb so land vns geben got
allein die er an allen spott!
(*Donau* 816-818)

The Virgin of *Alsfeld* habitually calls the audience into the presentation by her direct hailing, once as the company begins its weary way towards Golgotha,[273] and a second time shortly thereafter, to lay blame on the Jews for her Son's pain.[274] In her lament, *„o we, o we jemmerlicher tag!"*, Mary again resorts to calling on *„ir lieben Cristenlude"* [275] to help her deplore the Man of Sorrows' execution. A final plea to her audience to remember that the sacrifice on the Cross was all for their very own sins serves to vividly remind medieval man of his dependence on God for salvation:

sint das em genommen ist syn leben,
uch syn hude vorgeben
alle uwer sunde gemeyn
(*Alsfeld* 6833-35).

The didactic overtones of Mary's interruptive remarks are painfully evident. However, she is not the only figure to exercise the right of speaking with the audience: in another instance the Magdalene turns to spectators, not to bemoan her former life, but to seek a justification of it:

Warte, her, warte!
was wel myn swester Marthe?
er klaffen ist gar umb nicht:'
wie cleyn geben ich daruff icht!
myn hercz ist myt freyden vormyst
nu viel lenger in disser frist,
mit zieren und pryssen
und mynen bolen fruntschafft bewyssen!
solde ich alszo eyn stulczes leben
umb myner swester klaffen begeben?
(*Alsfeld* 1903-14)

I have found no other example of the approach towards bystanders which corresponds to this attempt to discredit Martha and her message, i.e. to confront them with a negative value. Doubtless, the same edificatory function drives the author here, as it did above, but his technical application is interesting in its innovation. Of a more traditional bent is the message delivered to the populace of Alsfeld by *Mors*, as he strikes Lazarus down:[276] none can escape Death; rich or poor, worms will rule the grave of every man. Decidedly donnish, Death's presence and his arresting caveat enhances the intensity of the ensuing raising of Lazarus; the power of Death over men, absolute though it be, disappears when the Healer invokes the superior forces of His Father. Even *Mors* must wonder At Lazarus' reawakening:

Sage mer, du doder man,
wie darffestu alszo hie vor den luden gan?
(*Alsfeld* 2295-96)

Plainly, the salvation of medieval man lies with Him Who can overcome even Death himself.

A second manner of interrupting the plot may be found after the *Alsfeld* Crucifixion is underway. Jesus has perished; the devil seeks to gain His soul, but is thwarted by an angel with naked sword in hand.[277] As Lucifer and Satan flee, two figures, *Luna* and *Stelle* intrude on the dramatization to further underscore the implications of this unfortunate act. *Luna* reviews her creation by the Sacrificed God[278] and joins the masses who blame the Jews: *„o ir snoden judden und vordymten ridden!"*[279] In like fashion *Stelle* traces the lights of heaven from their godly origin,[280] and mourns His passing with its salvific intent:

nu vormercken mir dich, den son, den toidt lyden,
die verlorn mentscheyt von dem ewige toide zu qwiden
(*Alsfeld* 6242-43)

She, too, condemns the Jews with strong speech.[281] Here we witness a highly-lyrical eulogy by entities which can only be brought to life by the playwright. Their grief momentarily halts the flow of represented time; their presence elevates the mystery of the Passion far beyond any historical context into one of celestial magnitude. Truly, these observations on the death of the Prince of Peace are directed not towards characters on stage, but towards those surrounding it. The message of the passages seems to be this: even the Moon and the Stars are affected by the death of Christ and take cognizance of it. They further lend credibility to the contention that mankind is indeed at the centermost focus of the medieval Passion play. The sacrifice was made for him.

These last evidences of interruption were, for the most part, supported by specific directions in rubrics or by an initial sentence identifying the direction of successive lines. The authors of *Towneley* are not so transparent in their directives, but I believe their message is still designed for onlookers. Perhaps the most compelling speech which results in the interruption of time and the momentary unification of staged character and audience is the significant complaint of Jesus the Crucified in *Towneley XXIII*. Immediately after the Cross is righted *"up lyke a mast"*,[282] Christ calls upon those who pass him by to behold His agony:

> *I pray you pepyll that passe me by,*
> *That lede youre lyfe so lykandly,*
> *Heyfe vp youre hartys on hight!*
> *Behold if euer ye sagh body*
> *Buffet & bett thus blody,*
> *Or yit thus dulfully dight;*
> *In warld was neuer no wight*
> *That suffred half so sare.*
> *My mayn, my mode, my myght,*
> *Is nought bot sorow to sight,*
> *And comforth none, bot care.*
> (*Towneley XXIII* 236-243)

Though the speeches are ostensibly directed to those who pass by the Crucifixion scene in represented time, I am certain that this suggestion arises from the introduction of the *'O vos omnes'* material from Lamentations i: 12. Words like *'buffet'* and *'bett thus blody'* create a vivid picture for spectators far advanced from the Old Testament source from which His words are taken. Allied with them is a heightened reference to the Lord's special place in the history of physical torment: His position is unique, His sacrifice complete. Other references to Old Testament visions further delineate and presentify His pain, such as the *'Popule meus quid feci tibi?'* of Micah vi: 3. The latter

reference is realized in more graphic terms by a specific allusion to this particular Crucifixion:

My folk, what haue I done to the,
That thou all thus shall tormente me?
Thy syn by I full sore.
What haue I greuyd the? answere me,
That thou thus nalys me to a tre,
And all for thyn erroure;
Where shall thou seke socoure?
This mys how shall thou amende?
When that thou thy saveoure
Dryfes to this dyshonoure,
And nalys thrugh feete and hende!
(*Towneley XXIII* 244-254)

And surely Jesus' reminder that He made man in His likeness[283] is not designed to be wasted upon theatrical players. My contention is supported by Rosemary Woolf, who notes that the Latin texts quoted above, with the addition of Isaish v: 4, commonly addressed a plural audience and were present in the liturgy of Eastertide.[284] She further considers the direction of delivery and places it squarely in the realm of interruption:

> This episode is obviously another way of making the meditative tradition (on Christ's suffering) popular, for Christ's speech is not addressed to characters technically within the play, but to the audience-bystanders in the street, who are thus drawn in their own person into the action. . . .[285]

The resurrected Lord returns again to the deeper purpose of His suffering on the Tree, as He reminds each observer that his own salvation was bought on Calvary:

Thou synfull man that by me gase,
Tytt vnto me thou turne thi face;
Behold my body, in ilka place
How it was dight;
All to-rent and all to-shentt,
Man, for thy plight.
(*Towneley XXVI* 244-249)

By a most graphic recollection of the cords and ropes, the crown of thorns, the nails and the very wounds they caused, the *Towneley* Christ

instills upon bystanders the degree of sacrifice required to purchase their immortal souls.[286] The doctrinal impact such a direct delivery had upon the audience must surely have been impressive. It is further heightened by its timeless, lyrical qualities.

At the *Towneley* Resurrection a mournful Savior addresses mankind in a monolog[287] which relies for much of its forcefullness and grandeur on the *Imago Pietatis* tradition. But the ultimate direction of His message can only be those in attendance on the play: the words fall outside the confines of a historical drama represented on stage.[288] They furthermore postpone the dramatic sequence of events,[289] as do all interruptive phenomena. This fact is born out by the lack of distinction between the sorrow of the Crucifixion and the elation of the Resurrection.[290] With the 'dolorous complaint' Christ underlines one final time the price of man's redemption. He employs both linguistic and dramatic forms which lend an air of lyrical elevation and abrogation of temporal values to the plot of *Towneley*. It is another return, not to the triumph of eternal life, but to the central theme of the ultimate suffering of a God-Man for His wayward creation.[291] We modern readers, too, though not contemporary with medieval audiences in our religious orientation and literary expectations, can gain at least a taste of the power of the message when supported by the technique of interruption.

I wish to offer into evidence the rantings of Pilate from this same play as a final argument for the inclusion of this temporal form. These lines, spread throughout the entire Passion section, but concentrated in the beginning speeches of *Towneley XX*, *XXII*, *XXIII*, *XXIV*, and *XXVI* provide irrefutable proof of the unity of time shared by player and

spectator. In these speeches Pilate does not call bystanders into the time of the play as much as he momentarily steps out of represented time into their own reality. Surely one consideration originally underlaying the verses was the necessity for policing the stage area and assuring attention of onlookers after new pageants had been rolled into place, or as a new guild commenced performance. Pilate's function as policeman is in this respect analogous to *Augustinus* of *StG*. However, to describe his lines only in terms of stage management is to overlook the substantial artistry and structural intensity which has been poured into them. Pilate the scoundrel, possesses a remarkably evil personality: one loathes him from his first word. How does an artist so thoroughly imbue the dramatization with his malevolence as to create an all-pervasive malaise against which to contrast his Christ? Part of the answer has already been given-- he concentrates structural attention by making Pilate the prime mover of the conspiracy and excludes other villains. The second means to accomplish the goal is to make Pilate's words felt *outside* the confines of the play. Just as the Lord's words on the Cross cut across all temporal categories into timelessness, so, too, does the lurking and ominous oppression of this medieval son of Satan flow into the world of medieval man.

When the governor of Judea takes control of the presentation in *Towneley XX*, his first words are not directed to any theatrical entity, for he alone occupies the stage. Instead he speaks directly to the audience as he threatens to break their bones with a *'burnyshyd brand'*[292] if they do not still their voices and stand quietly. Pilate's introduction of himself has the second intent of alerting the audience to impending disaster:

Ye wote not wel, I weyn/what wat is commen to the towne,
So comly cled and cleyn/a rewler of great renowne:
In sight if I were seyn/ the granser of great mahowne,
My name pylate has beyn/was neuer kyng with crowne
More wor[thy];
My wysdom and my wytt,
In sete here as I sytt,
Was neuer more lyke it,
My dedys thus to dyscry.
(*Towneley XX* 10-18)

As a grandsir of Mahound, that unsavory knave, since the Crusades a candidate for number one bogey man of Europe,[293] Pilate's future activities can only be designed to hamper Christianity in addition to his traditional role as a vacillating and weak judge. In *Towneley XXII* Pilate again intrudes into the time of the spectator, threatening bodily harm if his commands are not heeded.[294] His threats from *Towneley XXIII* represent a marvelous view of an extra-theatrical villain who will stop at nothing to get his way, even though in this instance it is primarily the attention of bystanders:

What! peasse in the dwillys name!
Harlottys and dustardys all bedene!
On galus ye be maide full tame,
Thefys and mychers keyn!
Will ye not peasse when I bid you?
By mahownys bloode, if ye me teyn,
I shall ordan sone for you,
Paynes that neuer ere was seyn,
And that anone!
Be ye so bold beggars, I warn you,
fful boddly shall I bett you,
To hell the dwill shall draw you,
Body, bak and bone.
(*Towneley XXIII* 9-21)

In all Passion writing I have not found so effective an amalgamation of plot-induced character with extra-theatrical necessity: it is a sheer stroke of dramatic genius to instill the play with such a complete tension while simultaneously creating unanimous fear and hatred of a pivotal character. The Wakefield Master and his compatriots have

employed interruption in remarkable fashion; they deserve our admiration, not our smug indulgence.[295]

Suspension, that complimentary entity of interruption, has remarkably little place in Group III plays. I was able to identify only two positive examples along with one questionable reading. Significantly, both of the former were found in the two earliest Passions of the group, *Chester* and *Towneley*, and both took the identical form of the *'Te deum laudamus'*. *Chester* places the hymn of praise on the lips of Adam in play *XVII*, the *descensus ad inferos*. Lucifer's power has been cancelled with the extraction of souls from Hell and their joyous ascension to Paradise. Adam, in his relief and ecstasy, lauds his Savior, saying:

> *Goe we to blisse, then, owld and yonge,*
> *and worship god, alway weldinge,*
> *and Afterward, I read, we singe*
> *with great solemnity.*
> (*Chester XVII* 257-260)

The *'Te deum'* is, of course, that melody sung with great solemnity, as the following rubrics attest. In response to his removal from Hell, Ysias of *Towneley* offers his Lord all honor by also raising the old song:

> *Therfor now let vs syng*
> *to loue oure lord ihesus;*
> *Vnto his blys he will vs bring,*
> *Te deum laudamus.*
> (*Towneley XXV* 401-404)

The theoretical potential for spectator integration via music from the liturgy need not be rehearsed in its entirety. When, however, we consider the likely reaction to the inclusion of this hymn of praise, historical records indicate that the *'Te Deum'* distinctly marked a cessation of play acting and signalled a return to a mood of solemnity and majesty, removed from a theatrical context by the addition of bells or

or an organ to accompany the sacred words.[296] R.W. Ingram postulates the expectation in viewers that music would emphasize certain aspects of the presentations and their attendant moods, for music was helpful, "if only as an emotional valve" to express natural motivations upon the climax of especially moving events.[297] Ingram perceives an increased intimacy of actor with spectator evolving from this process of musical integration,[298] another manner of expressing what I have in this study labeled suspension.

Gréban indicates the possibility for meaningful suspension when he causes God to seal His Son's fate while Pilate sits in judgment. The archangel Michel is sent as holy messenger to the souls in Hell to announce the Redeemer's imminent arrival.[299] Adam and Eve, Isaiah, Ezechiel, and Jeremiah all respond with cries of anticipatory fervor, but it is David who commences the festivities,[300] whereupon we read: *"Icy doivent chanter quelque motet."*[301] The difficulty in deciding whether or not suspension occurs lies in ascertaining whether the motets were known from religious celebrations or not. The text provides no answer. Let us, therefore, grant the possibility of suspension at this point.[302]

Even if we were to include the last potential integration, the lack of examples of suspension in Group III is arresting. That all three appear in a generally similar context should give us a hint. Having considered the fundamental dissimilarities between Groups II and III, I conclude that artists who tend towards a more artistic and structurally elevated method of relating the Passion operate under a slightly varied set of literary values than those still intent upon commemoration. When a dramaturge concentrates on building up

psychological motivation and reinforcing biblical accounts at their vaguest or incomplete points, he is not particularly motivated towards suspension: time and its steady march forward work to his advantage. Absolute recognition of the liturgical origins of his materials does not take precedence over the creation of believable characters. Even *Alsfels*, elevated strictly with regard to the liturgical qualities inherent in suspension, is remarkably devoid of it.

A singular difficulty arises when one considers the role of music and possible overtones of suspension or interruption in *Alsfeld*. Melodies from the liturgy predominate, supported by epic recitatives from the four Gospels.[303] In fact, the unity which results from the cooperation of lyrical delivery and literature[304] makes it seemingly impossible to separate either from its compliment. And here the temporal categories of Pütz are not particularly useful, for they stipulate a generally spoken delivery, whereas *Alsfeld* relies heavily on sung delivery. To do justice to the total musical structure of *Alsfeld* in even the most marginal manner would entail investigation for beyond the scope of this work. I direct interested readers to the observations on the subject made by Dreimüller, Osthoff, and Boletta. A single consideration of the complexity of Passion structure may elucidate the problem.

Paul Zumthor has remarked that in medieval drama music interacts with gesticulation and vocal rhythms so as to form a polyphony of presentation, difficult to perceive from the text alone and at times devilishly impossible to elucidate, but nonetheless extant and fundamental to all religious dramatic structure.[305]

INTEGRATION OF THE FUTURE

Proclaimed Occurrences Originating in the Text

True to their species, Passions of the late Middle Ages foretell future events with structures emanating from the biblical account itself. Of the infinite examples present in Group III, I have selected certain comments which, though they originate in Scripture, owe their peculiar power and effectiveness to the artist. I first desire to investigate the category of oaths in *Mistère*.

a) Oaths

In virtually all Passions which include the Last Supper, Peter's swearing of eternal fealty occupies a prominent and probably unavoidable position of ascendency. *Mistère* is no exception; but the form given this oath is at once strengthened by repetition, as it was in *Autun B*, and combined forcefully with Jesus' quadruple repetition of His vision of the future:

S. PIERRE
Pourquoy, sire, et a quoy tendra?
allez vous si destroite voye
que suivre je ne vous pourroye?
s'a la mort vous habandonnez,
crainte pour ce ne me donnez,
car j'ay ma pensee ravye
de mettre ma mort et ma vie
pour vous, et je ne m'en desdis.

JHESUS
Et vrayement, Pierre, je te dis
qu'ains que le coq chante deux fois
ceste nuit tu m'en nyras trois,
et garde comment t'enhardis.

S. PIERRE
Sire, sauf vostre honneur, mes dis
et mon oppinion est telle
que pour porter peine mortelle
et mourir avec vous en place
ne vous regniray, que je sache;
mon intencion y est ferme.

JHESUS

Et a vous tous dis et afferme
que tous ceste nuit me lairrez
et par crainte m'esclandirez,
que disciple avec moy n'aray;
car est escript: Je frapperay
le pasteur; lors s'epanderont
les ouailles et s'en fuyront.
Mes quand je serai excité
et de la mort ressuscité,
je vous verray en Galilee.

S. PIERRE

Et se tout ceste assemblee
vous nye de cueur inconstant,
je ne vous nyrai pas pourtant,
mes me tendray de vostre accord
et suivray a vie et a mort;
je suis en ce point afferme.
(*Mistère* 18321-354)

S. PIERRE

Sire, vos ditz trop m'esbayssent:
ne vous ay je pas dit devant
que quelque homme au monde vivant
ja ne me scara seperer
de vous pour torment endurer?
je suis prest de vous secourir
soit en chartre ou soit a mourir;
j'abandonne le residu.

JHESUS

Pierre, je t'ay ja respondu
que ta force est insuffisante
et qu'avant que ceste nuit chante
le coq, si grant douleur aras
(*Mistère* 18475-490)

Once again the traditional story is reinforced: Jesus sees His demise and Peter denies it, relying upon his own strength of character, which in the end must fail him. What Gréban has accomplished, however, is to give Peter more human feet of clay, to portray the favorite disciple as an adamant follower, full of self-assurance. When Peter falls, as fall he must, the impact of his miserable failure assumes deeper meaning from the unyielding positiveness of the position given him by the dramatist.[306]

As a last exemplification of text-induced, forward-tending visions I offer three separate statements by the Christ of *Towneley*. All are afforded unique places in a traditional framework. The first message to reveal a future event is Jesus' words of comfort to His disciples:

> *And here may I no longer leynd,*
> *bot I shall go before,*
> *And yit if I before you weynd,*
> *ffor you to ordan thore,*
> *I shall com to you agane,*
> *and take you to me,*
> *That where so euer I am*
> *ye shall be with me.*
> (*Towneley XX* 440-447)

By this attempt at consolation, the Son of Man makes ineluctable His appearance at the Resurrection. A closely following speech signals the coming sorrows of the Jews from Luke xxiii: 28-30, as Jesus addresses the daughters of Jerusalem. A third prophecy finding fulfillment in *Towneley XXX*, the Judgment, is appended to the Galilean's response to Caiaphas' inquiry concerning His reputed affiliation with God the Father. Christ's words, normally elucidating His second coming external to the Passion, foretell His appearance from Heaven:

> *ffor after this shall thou se/when that I do com downe*
> *In brightnes on he/in clowdys from above.*
> (*Towneley XXI* 253-254)

Although they fall outside our immediate purview, these promises of a return to Earth cast spectator interest into the future and announce an activity which touches everyone with its importance.[307]

b) Intrigue

The intrigues of the Lord's many detractors can hardly be overlooked by any Passion author. Aside from their central doctrinal and historical relevance for the entire tale, intrigues offer profitable dramatic ground for the artist to exploit, for they possess inherently

dual temporal dimensions: intrigue continually anticipates the future by revealing that something has already been set in motion against the Savior and that traps have been set in His path.[308] The focus of the spectator, of course, is upon how the traps will be sprung. The five texts of Group III excell at motivating the death of Jesus by attention to the intrigue which accompanies it from the inception of dramatization. In *Towneley* we have already observed the manner in which Pilate initiates and incites intrigue against his arch-enemy.[309] *Chester* shows little talent for elevating the basic scriptural account of intrigue. But *Donau*, *Alsfeld*, and *Mistère* all project the traditional machinations of the Gospel into new, artistic heights. *Donau* chooses to offer the intrigue of the High Priests and Jews in bits of ever-increasing dramatic specificity. We are not confronted with a *fait accompli*, with all forces in place, all decisions reached. Instead, the dramatist allows us to relive each phase, to attend to the entire development of the plot. Our first hint of a darkening horizon accompanies the healing of the cripple. In response to news that the man has been miraculously cured by *„Ihesus Christ, gwarer gott!"*,[310] Lamecht questions the action, particularly on the Sabbath, and initiates the drive against the Blasphemer:

> *Ir heren, lond vns die sach bedencken!*
> *wend wir im disse schmacheit schencken,*
> *das er vns vnsern sabat bricht*
> *vnd so freuenlich wider vns spricht?*
> *lond vns tün zu dissen dingen!*
> *er möcht ein niwen glouben bringen!*
> (*Donau* 525-530)

Within a few lines, as the Savior has spoken on the failure of prophets to be accepted in their own land, the conspiracy is joined by Annas, who counsels trapping Him in His own words:

lond vns im hübschlich angegen gan,
ob wir in mit worten möchten fachen,
wan es ist ein seltzem ding,
daz ein söllicher jüngling
so vil lüt sol verfüren.
wirt er vns ze teil, wir wen in rüren!
sölten wir volgen sinem geschwatz,
er brech den Juden ir gesatz!
(*Donau* 579-586)

The conflict between prophet and established authority finally takes definite shape as Caiaphas raves against the Intruder, Who professes to be one with the Almighty. The prelate convenes a hastily-called diet of Jews in the temple and proclaims:

Ir heren, das ist ein listiger man,
der vil arguierens kann!
sin stim tönet als ein harpff,
er ist vns allen hie ze scharpfft!
wüss ieman wider in vor ze bringen
der tü das: wan er blibt nit da hinden!
(*Donau* 1385-90)

In less than one hundred verses, the scheme is officially underway, announced by Salomon:

Ir priester vnd schriber, blibent hie!
ratten an vnd lügen wie
ir dissem zoufferer wellen tün.
er git sich vss für gottes sün
vnd erkickt die toten vnd hilfft den blinden,
sin glichen kan man doch nit finden.
er schlicht vns nach an alle ort
vnd git vns vil der stoltzen wort:
dar vmb so lügen eben zü
wie man dissen sachen tü!
(*Donau* 1473-82)

The Jews Jacharias, Jechonias, and Josaphat lend their voices to that of Caiaphas, who proposes to sacrifice the One instead of the many.[311] Such a technique of showing the extended antipathy between two opposing forces dramatically elevates the play from the nominal repetition of scriptural history found in Groups I and II. As information on the conspiracy becomes available, the reader senses an increasing tension;

his sensibilities become more finely attuned to each activity and to the final commitment of the High Council to sacrifice the Lamb. The author has successfully piqued and held our attention by gradually revealing the motivational forces behind the conspiracy.

A similar situation is reflected by *Alsfeld*. We witness the intrigue from its inception in massive detail. But the compilors of this play choose to stress the place of devils in the plot, attempting to make the physignomy of diffused evil more transparent.[312] From the very beginning Lucifer is at work, setting his snares for Jesus, Judas, the Jews, the bishops, and Pilate. Lucifer first asks how this magician Jesus can be caught, an extremely arduous task, *„want hie ist alsze gar swynde/myt synen listigen fynden!"*[313] Satan responds by promising to tempt Judas, *„das hie synen meynster sail vorradden/und sal den Judden syn blut vorkeuffen!"*[314] For his part Bone promises to entice the Jews to buy Jesus' death for thirty pennies,[315] while Natyr agrees to influence *Sinagoga*.[316] When Rosenkrancz undertakes to misguide Pilate[317] the conspiracy commences at its most elemental level. To a very real extent we find ourselves back in the motivational realm of God vs. the Devil. From the inception of the tale stress is laid not only upon what characters do in the future, but why they act.[318] From a structural-temporal standpoint the convention of devils and their stated intentions throw attention into a time not yet realized, when their boasts will bear their bitter fruit. But why begin the drama with a devils' council? The answer may have to do with dramatic fine tuning. In placing such a fundamental view of intrigue which dominates *Alsfeld* at the opening curtain the dramatists have succeeded in creating tension and suspense which will hold throughout the play. Rudwin concludes:

> Im Alsfelder Passionsspiel steht diese Szene deshalb zu Anfang des Dramas, weil sie von den Anschlägen der Hölle gegen Christum handelt und vielleicht auch, um zuerst den gefährlichsten Feind des Menschen zu zeigen, bevor sein gröster Freund, sein Erlöser vorgeführt wird.[319]

The first incident and a milestone in the presentational strategy in *Alsfeld* of active interference in human affairs by devils is seen when Sathanas approaches Herodias, unholy wife of Herod, with a plan to rid her of a constant detractor, John the Baptist:

> *Szo volget mer, fraw! ich wel uch leren!*
> *ir sollet uch machen an uwern herren:*
> *den konigk Herodes sollet ir bidden*
> *mit schrynden augen nach wibes sidden*
> *und sollet em uffin uwer leyt!*
> *szo weisz ich, wole, hie wirt bereyt,*
> *das hie thut alle uwern wyllen:*
> *uwer schrynde augen wirt hie stillen,*
> *und wesz er dan von em begert,*
> *das sijt [er] alles sammet gewert!*
> *hie enlesszet uch yn keynen noden,*
> *und solde hie den selben man losszen töden,*
> *der uch szo leyde hot gethaynn!*
> (*Alsfeld* 712-724)

These suggestions follow a gathering of devils, which has decided that John poses a intolerable threat to them, a threat which must be eliminated.[320] As was the case in *Donau*, the intrigue against John does not surface in final form within a few lines. We first accompany him in his early ministry, his baptism of the Living Lord, and finally his confrontation of Herod concerning the latter's marriage to the wife of his brother. It is this incident which gives rise to Satan's visit to and eventual domination of Herodias and her daughter, the biblical Salome. A skillful interplay of intrigue and motivation renders more artistic and impressive the already profound story of John the Baptist. The personal hate of Lucifer for John[321] serves as an effective introduction to his attempts to capture Christ.

Mistère elucidates the plot against the Master by also convening a devils' council. After an extensive recitation of the dangers posed by *'ce Jhesus'*, Sathan draws attention to one disciple, Judas, who is blinded by avarice.[322] The decision is made to tempt this weak link in Christ's armour and to further entice the High Priests, who, Sathan assures his master, are in severe conflict with the ideas of the Teacher.[323] Although no definite appearance to the conspirators is acted out, rubrics categorically signal the extended interference by the forces of darkness: *"Icy s'en va Berich aux pharisiens et Sathan poursuit Judas."*[324]

The double scene which follows the council of devils places the intrigue squarely in the arena of human existence; the two main spokesmen for Judaism, the High Priests, are joined in deliberation by four lesser functionaries, Naason, Nathan, Jheroboan, and Mardoceus. In concert these six representatives of the Old Law conclude the pact which closes the Lord's earthly fate. In a separate location Judas, in a uncommonly base and realistic monolog, decides to act against his Savior regardless of the consequences:

> *Je pers cy mon temps, bien le voy;*
> *je n'ai drap ne robe qui vaille,*
> *je jeune toute four et baille*
> *et sans souldees recevoir:*
> (*Mistère* 17507-510)
>
> *je braisserai un tel meschef*
> *que mes despens seront recoux*
> *mes ce sera bien aux chers coustz*
> *de mon maistre: et vienne qui peult!*
> (*Mistère* 17519-522)

Obviously the traitor has weighed the betrayal carefully: his speech constitutes only the final formality of decision,

Judas then joins the other plotters and they quickly reach an accord, the specifics of which we have experienced before. However, Gréban takes the treason one dramatic step further by investigating in novel tones the motivation and means by which Judas accomplishes his crime. Through the artistry of Gréban the *how* of the intrigue assumes truly graphic and intense proportions, for the artist makes Judas a parody of his Master. At the Passover feast Judas feigns an interest in the Lord's burden, flattering and boasting:

> *Cher maistre, trop vous travailliez;*
> *laissez moy servir le couvent:*
> *c'est a moy, je le fais souvent,*
> *sans vous donner si grand ensonne.*
> (*Mistère* 17917-920)

> *Jamès ne suis las de servir;*
> *puisque je sens mon maistre assis*
> *je prens plus de peine que sis*
> *et suis bien content de jeuner*
> *pour luy son mes bien ordonner.*
> (*Mistère* 17923-927)

Urion correctly sees the honor of service bestowed on Judas, but also cautions the wayward disciple:

> *Il vous a fait honneur tres grant:*
> *gardez que n'en soiez ingrat!*
> (*Mistère* 17939-940)

Judas' very act of service places his previously-devised treason in a tragically-flawed light: not only does he betray, Judas heightens the deed by pretending to cherish the role he greatly loathes. The intrigue of *Mistère* evinces a cutting edge of malice of forethought coupled with downright deceit.

By a final stroke of brilliance which etches Judas and his plots in our memories, Gréban contrasts a vain and callous eleventh disciple with Peter. Jesus kneels to wash the feet of His followers, the supreme

act of service in a hot and dusty land. Judas steps up to be the first:

> *Ce qui vous plaist me doit bien plaire;*
> *sire, je n'y contredis pas.*
> (*Mistère* 18005-006)

Thomas takes immediate exception ot Judas' boldness and voices a deep sense of dumbfoundedness, as we might:

> *Vela bien ung merveilleux cas*
> *et de grant admiracion.*
> *N'est ce pas grant presumpcion*
> *a Judas de vouloir souffrir*
> *que son maistre se viengne offrir*
> *devant luy pour tel chose faire?*
> (*Mistère* 18007-012)

Peter now proclaims his famous injunction,[325] making the comparison complete. The curtain will soon descend on Judas, but the way in which Gréban has realized his intrigue and the betrayer's words to Annas (*"Et je m'en voy executer/mon fait par soubtille coutelle"*)[326] leaves a radiant and lasting impression: the author has significantly structured his message in an arresting human form; he has fulfilled the future by a marvelous bit of stagecraft and characterization owing its impact to the traditional intrigue of Scripture, but artistically extended far beyond its confines. Whereas Gréban lays initial motivation on devils, he is quick to exploit the weakness of the human soul: devils may suggest, but men are soon persuaded in their sin to partake of the greater guilt of action.

Forms of Proclamation Emanating from Structure

Of the structural forms of anticipation provided solely by the author, those of the monolog, prolog, statement upon the close of acts, and asides merit special consideration. I have previously underscored the importance of the prolog for medieval Passion plays, noting in

Group II the abundance of future-oriented material and the almost formal declaration of intention of dramatization which acccompanies it.[327] To address each of these prolog characteristics would serve a questionable purpose and only further lengthen an already cumbersome text. I think it, therefore, reasonable to state in passing, that, with the exceptions of *Chester* and *Towneley*, which have no identifiable prologs to their Passion sections, all other Group III plays function vis-à-vis future events and intentional explanation in a way analogous to Group II, but particularly to *StG*.

With the advent of more lengthy presentations, artists of the late medieval period show increased willingness to investigate their characters and events by the use of monologs. These times of domination by the speech of one person accomplish a variety of functions: monologs may return to prior happenings, thereby drawing the threads of dramatic exposition tighter; they may summarize previous events, provide opportunities to ponder them, and allow insights into the soul of the speaker.[328] In most instances such reflection gives rise to decisions whose fruits will be realized in future time. Such a monolog is delivered by John the Baptist in *Alsfeld*. John first tells of his intention to preach the Word, to speak the truth and to attack sinners.[329] Placed upon the conclusion of a heated confrontation with Herod over the latter's lack of sexual responsibility, John's monolog actually portends his arrest and death, those future events laying at the end of his ministerial road. John further looks back upon his encounter with the Nazarene and places it in the context of Christian heritage as seen from a time previous to its codification. His words provide a ringing announcement of the inception of a new order, which is the core

subject matter of ensuing dramatization:

> *des sollen alle die erfrawet werden,*
> *die en entphan dan myt ere,*
> *er leben nach sym gebode keren!*
> *hie wirt gar gudde gebodde begen*
> *und leren uns eyn buszende leben:*
> *das hymmelrich wirt he unsz geloben*
> *und alle syn frunde damidde begoiben!*
> (*Alsfeld* 593-599)

The monolog of Mary Magdalene, as she laments her past, initiates a change in her demeanor as well as in her outlook on life. We first hear all the trespasses of her former existence, a long litany of courtly sins making her unworthy of being carried by the earth.[330] The real structural impact of the monolog, however, is not the lament of times and actions past, but her forward-looking resolve to make amends.[331] It is this characteristic look to the future which causes spectators to pay attention, for they do not yet know the specifics of how the playwright will resolve Mary's dilemma. They know only that he must and that his play will return at some point to the Magdalene.

A somewhat dissimilar instance of monolog exploitation is found in *Donau*, when Judas bewails his miserable crime. He, too, casts a doleful eye upon the immediate past:

> *O ir menschen, vermänd min clag,*
> *die ich vff dissen hütigen tag*
> *vor aller welt clagen müsz:*
> *o wee der schweren herten büsz,*
> *die ich müss liden mit pin vnd leid!*
> *dat tůt min grosse bosheit,*
> *die ich an gott begangen han,*
> *das ich verriet den säligen man!*
> (*Donau* 2438-45)

In complete mental disarray and despair, Judas cries out for devils to attend his pain,[332] and to help him end a treacherous life.[333] In this example the future event results immediately, and Belzebock

springs to the traitor's side to assist in the final task. Though the time which separates announced intention from actuality is inconsequential, this monolog still focuses attention on a time not present. Here we discover a meaningful unification of all three temporal strata, the dramatic past (in epic narration), the dramatic present, and the as yet unfulfilled future.

There occur situations wherein he who delivers the monolog may not seem in control of events, nor need he be. He may offer a completely passive attitude and still announce the future. The *Towneley* Jesus does exactly this. In a monolog laced with dogma and religious conviction Jesus presages a union of Master and disciple laying outside the scope of the cycle:

> *I shall com eft to you agayn:*
> *this warld shall me not se,*
> *Bot ye shall se me well certan,*
> *and lyfand shall I be.*
> *And ye shall lyf in heuen;*
> *Then shall he knaw, Iwys,*
> *That I am in my fader euen,*
> *and my fader in me is.*
> (*Towneley XX* 456-463)

Although Jesus perceives unrealized events which will culminate in His death, He is, as far as the dramatic advancement of the plot is concerned, rather like a clairvoyant victim Whose life appears to lie in the hands of His enemies. This vision of an eventual unity in Heaven, peering far into the future, shows that He is, contrarily, in complete control of events, *choosing* to allow them to engulf Him as a necessary prelude to victory.

When the portention of the future contained in the closing statements of acts is approached, another qualification of Pütz's categories

nails piercing Jesus' hands and feet, of the sadistic stretching of limbs and righting of the Cross into its mortise so prevalent in the other four renditions.

There is likewise no *mercator* episode in *Towneley*, not even a hint that one was ever played. By this exclusion the *Towneley* account avoids a decidedly tangential scene, which in most other Passions, particularly in *Alsfeld*, serves the questionable purpose of comic relief. *Towneley* restricts its stage time to more weighty matters; an interlude such as that of the merchant has no place in so concentrated a presentation; an inclusion of such secondary material would merely dilute the play.

Contrary to the dearth of meaningful acceleration, the countless incidences of retardation of traditional succession makes difficult the choice of two or three truly representative occurrences for the whole group. With the exception of *Chester*, we have seen that probably the most intense reduction of temporal passage involves to some degree the Crucifixion. Let us disregard these central episodes for now and direct our attention to other portions of the Passion, for several authors of this group employ their artistic talents to manipulate secondary events as well.

Two late plays provide the majority of extra-crucifixion retardation. The dramatic results are, in my opinion, mixed, for *Mistère* often seems to become enmired in extraneous material. Much the same can be said of *Alsfeld*. Numerous passages of the latter, treated in considerably condensed form in plays of earlier centuries, serve to lengthen scenes into inordinately long statements. I think particularly of the encounter between Christ and Herod, which, temporally, dramatically, and

becomes unavoidable. The major stress of his comments, reinforced by several useful observations upon the future intention of concluding statements to keep suspense alive, that audiences may not lose the scheme of presentation,[334] seem designed to deal with the realities of plays significantly less 'ambitious' than medieval Passions, whose scope often extends to performance over several minutes or hours instead of days. Therefore, most of Pütz's ideas concern themselves with *internalized* future structures, with grammatical forms, forward-pressing threats, commands, and the like, delivered by characters of the play.[335] In medieval drama we have found that personalities external to the staged or represented time most frequently pursue events in prolog form. In the three multiple-day continental Passions, they also step forward to comment upon previous dramatization and to refer to coming events when the action is terminated for the day. An indication of the performance highlights of the next day offers the onlooker an idea of what he should expect, and such a technique may well pique his natural inquisitiveness. Surely what he witnesses on the morrow will not be a surprise, as is apparent from the statement of the *proclamator* of *Donau*:

> *Ihesus ist verkoufft vmb gelt!*
> *nu hörent zühie, alle welt:*
> *morn so werden ir fürer sehen,*
> *was wünders an im ist geschechen*
> *vnd wie in die Juden gemarteret hand,*
> *des sy kamen in grosse schand.*
> *dar vmb so land üch nit belangen:*
> *morn so wirt es angefangen,*
> *da es den hüt gelassen ist,*
> *als ich uch künd zů disser frist.*
> (*Donau* 1719-28)

The *how* of performance, that category of vital artistry, must still be seen, but its announcement as such assumes no greatly elevated form.

The closing statements take on an air of necessity, not designed to entice and hold spectator interest for a short break in staged activity, but to solicit their return on succeeding days. There can be no real bridging of such a massive time gap by announcing the future with a wrap-up sentence. Indeed, the concept of ‚Aktschlusz', as employed by Pütz, is essentially a useless idea for medieval Passions, for those points at which closing remarks are made constitute nothing more than a convenient place at which to draw the performance to a close. Surely medieval authors chose advantageous junctures at which to divide their stories, but the projected span of audience interest obviously played no mean part in determining where the divisions occurred. Thus, this *medieval* phenomenon of portraying certain future events is basically non-artistic. Spectators receive some information about unfolding actions, but such deliveries comprise a conventional way of breaking up plays.[336]

The phenomenon of the *aside* plays a role which in medieval drama may be disputed. If we assume the normal definition of an aside to pertain here-- that is a character surrounded by his dramatic compatriots turns to the audience, oblivious for the moment to their presence, to offer a comment which in some way deals with what he plans to do, either immediately or later-- it is impossible to categorically state that medieval authors consciously employed them at all. I have found only one possible instance of the aside in *Alsfeld*, but its appearance seems more an accident of circumstance than of intent.

During Martha's vain travail to convert her wayward sister, Mary Magdalene, the latter turns from those surrounding her to call to spectators, asking what her pious sister can possibly want from her.[337]

She subsequently apostrophizes grave consequences for Martha if the elder sister of Lazarus does not leave her in peace:

> *ich wel er schyer eyn boden*
> *schigken, der sie sere sail slan,*
> *wel sie mich nit mit freydden lan*
> *und losszen mich yn disser wysze faren!*
> (*Alsfeld* 1915-19)

A certain stipulated intention to continue her life of luxury and sin concludes the address.[338] The confrontation resumes with another warning by Martha,[339] and a sarcastic reply by Mary that she desist.[340]

The above situation, arrestingly isolated in its appearance, while conforming to all the theoretical and technical requirements of an aside, constitutes the single example I was able to glean from the ample corpus of Group III plays, and certainly should not be overstressed. To a small degree, possible future circumstances are revealed, but never fulfilled.

Intimated Occurrences Originating in the Material

a) Time Consciousness

Of the numerous techniques by which an author may hint future happenings from stipulated textual material, the category of time consciousness offers one of the most potent means to artistically render any tale. In light of the decided elevation of the general literary level of Group III, it is quite surprising that this phenomenon receives so little attention. In fact, one must thoroughly search these plays to uncover even the hint of temporal consciousness as defined by Pütz. That category which seems to constitute a logical outcome of the Passion play, a character's recognition of the irrepressible advance of the future upon him, is the only one of the five

temporal recognitions which makes a meaningful appearance.[341] Of course, we immediately and almost intuitively seek out that scene of Gethsemane reported in Matthew xxvi: 42, where Jesus voices His apprehension of coming trials. The accounts vary from the *Chester*, *"My hart is in great mislyking/for death that is to me cominge"*,[342] to the somewhat elongated perception of the *Mistère* Christ:

> *dessus la passion amere*
> *que je sens moult fort approchant;*
> (*Mistère* 18677-678)
>
> *Ce calice m'est durement amer;*
> *pere piteux, s'il te samble possible*
> *oste le moy qui tant me veulz amer*[343]
> (*Mistère* 18709-711)

None has the added touch of suspense noted for *Palat*, and their impact on it is minimal.

One might in like fashion confine John the Baptist's announcement of Jesus' impending arrival,[344] first proclaimed, then almost immediately realized at the Master's sanctification, to the arena of extant, but non-critical categories. It probably is another 'given' of John's message, accompanying him as a matter of course and even defining his dramatic presence.

b) Mood

Of much more literary prominence is the casting of mood by these plays. I wish to remark on the most effective and adroit manipulation by Greban of its inherent capacity to create and hold interest.

By the singularly effective technique of changing dramatic focus on center stage from one situation to another Gréban creates the opportunity of investigating an already arresting tale with one which causes or has the potential to cause spectator agitation. The mood of the

Virgin, as she calls out to her absent Son during the Passover meal, hints at coming events by revealing her uneasiness:

> *Filz, je ne te puis oublier;*
> *mon cher filz, de mes biens le mieulx,*
> *las! ou es tu? consente Dieux*
> *que briefment puisse avoir copie*
> *de ta presence deguerpie*
> *a ma doleur tres singuliere,*
> *et d'evye ton adversiere*
> *te veille soulver et garder!*
> (*Mistère* 17977-984)

Even before the conspiracy reaches the level of arrest, Mary intuits a grave consequence for her Lord, lying somewhere beyond her actual experience. Mary's increasingly darkening mood draws attention for a brief moment away from the dramatic present in the form of the Eucharistic meal and initiates an apprehension for what lies beyond. Her deepest fears are shortly realized, as St. John reports the arrest to her.[345] By placing the fears of Mary at this unexpected juncture, Grĕban reminds us that the bargain for Christ's body we have witnessed in a few previous lines is not complete, that the most eventful hours of the spiritual history of mankind will shortly be written. For this Grĕban needs no lengthy monolog or extended rationalization; with these few sentences Mary displays her concern for what may lie ahead and we spectators sense it as well. This dramatic hint structurally reinforces the prophetic words of the Master. The difference is one of vision-- He sees and His mother feels. Both, however, cast our awareness beyond the now of the stage.

c) Unconsciousness

A category of hinted occurrence which has not yet been given prominence in previous Passions, finds an extended place on the stages of Group III. Though not all plays choose to depict a loss of mental

contact with reality by one or more characters, those that do call into being an entire set of theoretical potentials which variously lift attention from the present into the future. A myriad of questions arise as the result of a person's faint: when will she regain her faculties?; will the person be somehow altered and how?; does the experience have a curative or purgative effect or does it bring with it new dangers?[346] In medieval Passions there exists only one real opportunity for authors to investigate this phenomenon. It is not strange that the late plays would be more responsive to the inherent chord of pathos than were earlier works. I speak, naturally, of the Virgin Mary and her reaction to her Son's demise.

We do not find Mary's fainting in either of the English cycle plays; there exists the possibility to read such an emotional response into *Alsfeld*; the presence of the faint is made absolute by *Mistère*[347] and *Donau*.[348] In both these late contexts, and particularly in *Mistère* lengthy plaintes precede her faltering. Her emotions frayed to the breaking point, Mary has no other manner by which to respond to her hurt. In the late medieval lexicon of deepest emotional involvement with the Crucifixion, Mary's loss of consciousness relays the ultimate in human behavior-- the inability to withstand the psychological pressure of the moment. Pütz remarks that such periods of a character's forced repose may contrarily create times of highest mental exertion in bystanders:

> Die dramatis personae sind auf dem Gipfel einer Erlebnissteigerung angelangt; die beschleunigte Sukzession schlägt plötzlich in scheinbare Ruhe um, die vom Publikum jedoch als spannungssteigernd empfunden wird.[349]

Our texts do not exactly correspond to the stated ideal, for the actual fainting has a limited duration of only a few verses. We hardly have time to abstractly ask the pertinent questions concerning Mary's condition. The technique *may* integrate a small portion of future interest into the present stage reality, but it is the reality of an immediately impending moment. The phenomenon is not, therefore, of great significance. Its efficacy and reception must, furthermore, be analyzed in light of late medieval religious fervor, which thought no representation too emotional or irrational for the boards.

When the question is pondered, why the unconsciousness of Mary in the continental plays and not in the cycles?, two divergent views on the Virgin and her sorrows are encountered. Brother Cornelius Luke has ascertained that the *planctus* in English cycles is not designed to elicit reaction for Mary, but is Christocentric in focus.[350] Much of that presented is indicative of "motherly emotion", but it is always subsumed into a deeply human reaction to the Savior's suffering.[351] Mary truly grieves, but her pain does not evolve for its own sake:

> . . . her anguish is pictured naturally and simply, without any effort at higher pathos, and assuredly without producing anything like a maudlin or hysterical effect.[352]

To maintain that the same were true of continental plays would be a gross error. We may not see a hysterical Mary laboring at the foot of the Tree, but the figure which does confront us is designed not only to stress the sacrifice before her, but also her profound reaction to it as a grief-stricken mother. The *planctus* of each continental Passion is neither low-keyed nor particularly restrained. It is true that all five texts of Group III employ traditional language and images reflective of a heightened emotional state. But in the *Alsfeld* section we find Mary

going so far as to kiss the Savior's wounds after He is taken from the Cross.[353] Such an action seems designed not to belabor Christ's Passion, but His mother's overwhelming sorrow, the sorrow of one *human being* for another. Walther Müller posits a definite and conscious effort on the part of late medieval poets to take the scene to its highest emotional and dramatic level, as he contrasts them with earlier representations of the Pietà:

> Hier aber finden wir im Gegenteil eine stark leidenschaftliche gestisch höchst lebhaft klagende Maria sowohl im 15. (*Eger, Frankfurt, Donaueschingen*) als auch im beginnenden 16. Jahrhundert (*Alsfeld*). Die Verfasser der Passionen konnten sich diese wirkungsvolle Szene der Klage am Kreuze nicht entgehen lassen, um sie schauspielerisch und dramatisch vertiefend auszuwerten.[354]

I believe the presence of Mary's loss of consciousness to be the logical outcome of such a dramatic interest in elevating the traditional words of lament.

Forms of Intimation Emanating From Structure

For concluding remarks about integration of eventual realities into the present time of the stage I return one last time to those structural entities which, for the most part, owe their theatrical life and operational intensity to the cunning manipulation or intention of the dramatist.

a) Meaningful Noises

In the chapters dealing with authorial proclamation, those dramatic categories of interest consisted of primarily linguistic, of spoken phenomena such as monologs and prologs, in which persons expressed themselves in futuristic terms.[355] Several techniques which rely on non-verbal communication to amplify and portend the future constitute

a subtle, but often critical area of dramatic awareness. Meaningful noises may introduce grave affairs laying just ahead. Those introductions of inquietude, where the originator of the sound remains hidden from view, produce situations pregnant with foreboding. In such instances a dramatis persona perceives, ponders, and reacts to the unseen and unspoken signal.[356] But I must introduce another qualifying remark here. In order to find a pure set of circumstances wherein this method of forming the text may be functional, one must postulate a discrete stage with areas inaccessible to the eye. Medieval simultaneous staging does not always or even normally offer this opportunity to produce stress on the bystander. Nonetheless, the interposition of future events is not entirely negated: figures will still sense with uneasiness the origin of the noises, will relate them to their own fears, and in some manner respond to them. The most potent application of sounds creates in the Virgin of *Donau* a profound fear of what they mean for her Son. In prior verses Pilate has commanded his soldiers to announce the commencement of Jesus' Crucifixion by blowing their horns.[357] Subsequent to discussion of the directive, two men thrice sound their instruments. Mary, occupying a separate place on stage, hears the thunderous peels and is immediately thrown into mental disarray and anguish.[358] Her response to these forbidding, threatening voices from the court gives rise to Mary's sudden fear:

Owe, Johannes, was ist das?
ich spüren yetz der Juden hass
an Ihesu, minem lieben sün.
wie wil ich betrüpte müter tün?
küm, ich will in suchen bald!
owe, das ich ye wart so alt,
müss ich verlieren min liebsten schatz!
owe, kind, dins güten ratz,
den ich von dir entpfangen han!

owe, kind, müss dich lan,
so wirt zerbrechen mir min hertz
vor leid vnd pin vnd grossem smertz!
(*Donau* 3095-3106)

Mary knows that the trumpets annunciate a future event of momentous evil. The resolve to go to the place of origin constitutes her reaction. *Donau* skillfully mandates Mary's attendance on the Crucifixion by this aesthetically elevated manipulation of the Passion presentation.[359]

A companion phemonenon, that of gestures, plays a role which is most evasive and perplexing. In most late plays one is either left without any specific indication of gestures which accompany speeches or one must rely upon general indications of the same. Since it is practically impossible to ascertain which kinds of gesticulation at which points derive from tradition without a long and involved peripheral investigation, I have chosen to omit them from this work.

b) Reflection and Contrast

Our attention is now given to the twin phenomena of reflection and contrast and the manner in which their integration translates potential suspense into theatrical reality. For the discussion of reflection, I have selected two plays which stand apart in their artistic application of latent dramatic capacities. *Alsfeld* and its account of John the Baptist will represent the positive side of reflection. Its negative aspect will be assumed by the *Towneley* Pilate and a host of extra-Passion villains.[360]

In past pages I have dealt with the religious bases for a close affiliation between John and Jesus Christ.[361] It was stressed that John, occupying that final and pivotal spot before his Master, took on

increased significance for medieval theologians and dramatists alike.[362] It is not until the texts of Group III that we encounter what appears to be a well-conceived and detailed *theatrical* affiliation between the two figures. Although many of the parallels may have been suggested by Scripture and by other source accounts, the authors of *Alsfeld* have expanded and augmented traditional materials to enhance their own dramatic statements.

As with the earlier *StG* Passion, John's place as *precursor et amicus dei* is preserved by several recognized biblical inclusions: the *'Vox clamantis in deserto'* and the *'Ecce agnus dei'* add their confirmatory and solemn notes to the tone of John's encounter with the King of Kings. But behind these expected words may be unearthed a system of reflective parallels wherein the fate of the Baptist forecasts in formal terms the doom of the Lord. From its inception *Alsfeld* deals with the unavoidable sacrifice of Jesus. The congregation of devils initially considers how this Stranger may be undone.[363] A similar concern of the devils is raised subsequent to John's introduction, the baptism of his Creator, and his fateful confrontation with Herod. A second prophet, *„der saget gar wonderliche mere"*,[364] threatens to likewise turn the people from their erring ways.

As with the intrigue against the Christ, John's eventual downfall relies on the willing participation of an insider. In the instance of John, the wife of Herod's brother, Herodias, having lately taken abed with her in-law, provides the all-important carte d'entré for evil. By means of a clever disguise Sathanas ingratiates himself to the woman, playing on her fear of forfiture of station and riches. She

responds by approaching her husband *„mit schrynden augen"*, begging for John's arrest. Herodias' daughter, reacting to the proddings of the same Sathanas, succeeds in beguiling Herod into slaying the Baptist. His death, dramatically worked out by the devils' intrigue and the cooperation of a weak insider, structurally prefigures Jesus' coming death by similar circumstances.

Other notable affinities between John and Jesus are exploited. As John roams about Palestine, condemning the sin he sees, chastizing evil-doers wherever he finds them without regard for his own safety, he runs afoul of established authority in the person of Herod. His expressed sense of moral outrage precipitates his arrest and eventual death. In like fashion Christ later ignores His own physical well-being to minister to the masses, to preach the True Word, and to suffer the ultimate consequences. John's life on stage not only precurses that of his Lord, his unjust death formally prepares that of Christ. The paths they travel in life run in parallel towards their martyrdom. One good man's journey prepares that of another.

Two ancillary circumstances seem to further identify the future events for the audience. When the final evil has been perpetrated against John, a vengeful Sathanas rises immediately from his disguise as a prioress[365] to claim his newly-won prizes-- the immortal souls of Herodias and daughter. Similarly, when Judas in his despair cries for the devils to attend his end, they appear immediately, Sathanas gleefully carrying the rope, and delivering Judas' soul to Hell, accompanied by other devils *„cum magnu strepitu"*.[366] In both instances retribution for sin is quick and merciless.

When the Savior exhales His last mortal breath, Sathanas is once again there to snatch the soul as it departs. But this instance proves contrary to earlier experiences; an angel of the Lord drives Sathanas away *„cum gladio evaginato"*.[367] The ease with which the souls of mortal beings were captured is not repeated a third time, though the attempt has been suggested by previous circumstances wherein devils literally queued up behind their victims.

Some may raise the criticism that such subtle preparatory phenomena have little validity if not recognized by spectators. The critic may be answered with two arguments: medieval people in all probability did perceive the parallels by virtue of their religious education;[368] and even if they did not see them, the fact of an intentional structural exertion to make the reflections cannot be denied by imperception. Pütz comments:

> In Wirklichkeit ist die Spannung objektiv im Drama angelegt, und sie existiert unabhängig davon, ob ein Publikum die Spiegelung zur rechten Zeit bemerkt oder nicht.[369]

From a standpoint of pure perception, Meyers finds a well cultivated and finely-tuned capacity in medieval man to seize upon the types of similarities I here call reflection.[370] In a cogent and provoking argument, he creates a sound case for the presence of typology in *Towneley*, a method of analyzing and interpreting sacred history by the recurrence of similar figures. Meyers explains several plays antecedent to the Passion as attempts to link men like Noah, Abraham, Jacob, and David into prefigurations of the Savior.[371] It is Meyers' contention that a parallel 'profane typology', uniting characters like Pharaoh, Herod, and Pilate is also at work in *Towneley*: the process of seeing prefigurations of Christ employed to clarify in dramatic terms the long line of satanical forces

against which Jesus struggles.

By an analysis of the sin of *Superbia*, Meyers places Pilate squarely at the apex of generations of evil-doers.[372] The malevolent governor of Judea is further linked to his sinister cohorts of ages past by his ready use of expressions connoting might, as they had boasted before him:

> *I am a lord that mekill is of myghy;*[373]
>
> *Atrox armipotens/most myghty callyd in ylk place;*[374]
>
> *As I am man of myghtys most.*[375]

But Pilate not only commits the sin of pride, he boasts of his knowing perversion of justice[376] and delights in crediting himself with the Crucifixion.[377] Little doubt can be voiced in the presence of such an abundance of evidence that the authors of *Towneley* deliberately sought at once to form a band of evil surrounding the Man of Sorrows and to contrast it with a similar grouping of benevolent personalities, both placed at critical positions throughout the entire cycle. Meyers concludes:

> These verbal similarities and sinful congruences are present in speeches of all the tyrants to emphasize their unity in sins, following their archetype Lucifer, as dwellers of the proud city, culminating in Pilate. This typology is set over against the patriarchs and prophets united in their love for God, dwellers of the humble city, culminating in Christ.[378]

The long list of reflections of good and evil carefully prepares the future by looking forward to the two ultimate representatives, to Christ and to Pilate.

In very real terms, the discussion of reflection in *Towneley* brings us to its counterpart, contrast. The authors have worked out in perhaps the most cogent manner of all late medieval Passions the resolution of conflict between two suspense-creating forces, whose unavoidable clash

of wills finally defines the dramatic future of the play.

As we saw, the sin of pride links all diabolical types in *Towneley*. It seems impossible to imagine a more effective or telling contrast to these personalities than that extended family of distinguished patriarchs of Old Testament Judaism, from Noah through John the Baptist, who as types of Christ exhibit a very real and basic humility.[379] When the Supreme Lawgiver enters the drama, bystanders had already sensed and probably reacted to the groups of opposites, whose continuing conflict had formed much of the suspense of earlier plays. With the appearance of Christ and His arch-rival for man's allegiance, the Devil in the guise of Pilate, the filaments of contrastive connections were complete, the die between pride and humility cast.

Such is the elemental focus of all Passions of the group. Though they may not represent evil with such vigor nor with such intensity as *Towneley*, the contrast between representatives of the City of God and the City of Man truly define the underlying suspense of each presentation. The conflict of *Chester* is least developed, relying upon the innate power of the biblical story for much of its pathos.

Contrasts were also created by visual images. During this time and probably long before it, the custom existed for characters representative of secular life, notably Jewish bishops and profane rulers, to wear the garb of religious rulers of the day. Steinbach supposes the differentiation between Jew and Christian in German plays to have been particularly striking when fantastic and exotic robes were allied with an unintelligible Jewish ‚Kauderwelsch' and a propensity for dance.[380] The simple flowing robes of Christ and His subdued

linguistic deliveries serve as a skillful foil to the depredations of His worldly enemies. *Donau* takes such contrasts one step further in its Crucifixion. Here one sees the subtle power of visual and theatrical differentiation to elicit spectator sympathy and create a genuine feeling of uneasiness.

Commencing long before the trial with Pilate, Jews have continually proven themselves to be inhuman sadists, eager to humiliate a silent Christ.[381] He has already elicited their wrath on several occasions and they have often tried to stone Him.[382] The treatment He receives from His captors on the way to Golgotha, their jerking of His hair when the Master falls under the weight of the Cross,[383] contrasts greatly with the solemn, almost desperate questions of the accompanying Magdalene. Veronica, intent upon revealing Jesus' face on her cloth, is rudely shoved away by Malchus, who gleefully heaps scorn upon a suffering Savior.[384] The shock of her Son's mischance causes the Virgin to physically collapse amid great outcries of anguish.[385] But the feinds from the City of Man seem to carry the day, as they continue their obscene pleasures. I doubt that a more graphic contrast between good and evil is possible, that the emotional sensibilities of the audience can be whipped to any greater heights than by this juxtaposition of human anguish and delight in pain.

In *Alsfeld* at least one other means of contrasting two events may be uncovered. It deals with what appears to be an intentional amplification and musical adornment of the Entry into Jerusalem.[386] Drawing upon the ritual of Palm Sunday with all its pomp and joyous celebration of a victorious Christ returned to His capital, *Alsfeld* decorates the festive atmosphere with the brilliant *'hic est, qui*

venturus est in salutem populi',[387] and the complementary *'Hic est salus nostra et redemptio'*.[388] Several Jewish bystanders lend their voices in praise and reverence. The suggestion that an intentional elevation of the Entry was made to contrast Jesus' 'ignominious treatment' in later episodes, and that the parallel "dénoument of the Holy Week services ending with the *Missa Praesanctificorum* on Good Friday",[389] prepared audiences and perhaps even heightened their sensitivity to their Lord's Passion seems accurate.

INTEGRATION OF THE PAST

The concluding section in this extensive evidentiary offering of temporal structures from medieval Passions deals with the manner in which the past is employed in Group III plays and the aesthetic appreciation which may be gained by recognition of their presence. I have omitted any allusion to the phenomenon of the trial as an epic device, believing it to have been adequately investigated in earlier paragraphs. As with other deliberations, I have selected only a minute number of examples to represent the great mass of active epic inclusions.

Events Previous to the Onset of Dramatization

Remembrance, the dwelling upon specific moments from the past by a character, designed to expand upon a mood or event, forms one of the most extensively-employed phenomena of epic integration. Every play of Group III applies it with varying degrees of intensity and accomplishment. During her complaint in *Chester*, the Virgin Mary recalls in agonyzing tones the birth of her Son, much as she did as early as *Montecassino*,[390] but in more specific terms, adding to the poignancy and pain of the moment:

Thinke an my freut! I fosterd thee,
and gaue the suck vpon my knee;
vpon my payne haue thou pitty!
thee fayles no power.
(*Chester XVI* 629-632)

Sith thou me to thy moder chose,
and of my body borne thou was,
as I conceived thee wemlesse,
thou graunt me some legiaunce![391]
(*Chester XVI* 645-648)

Alsfeld places the memory of Lucifer's previous position of trust and responsibility onto the tongues of all his cohorts.[392] The Prince of Darkness does much to clarify his base inspiration of the impending Passion by recalling his unity with God:

hye vor was ich eyn engel clar,
ny byn ich vorstoissen gar!
geheysszen was ich Lucifer,
ich was in dem obersten thron eyn licht-treiger!
des erhub ich mich alszo sere:
ich wol myn stull seczen uber mym scheppere
und wol mich em glichen
in den fronen hymmelrich!
darusz wart ich verstoisszen
myt allen mynen genoisszen
viel tieff in der helle grunt!
darumb werde ich nummer gesunt!
(*Alsfeld* 151-162)

Yesse, a soldier of Pilate from *Donau*, remembers an earlier visit with the courtly Mary Magdalene,[393] and in so doing affixes a small, but pertinent conceptualization of the mood and circumstance in which this assemblage of characters finds itself. *Mistère* reports through the memory of one Phares, a prosecution witness against the Lord, that he and a half-dozen others saw this Prophet cure the ill on the Sabbath.[394] Rabanus reminds by-standers that in more than ten places Jesus claimed to be descended from heaven, that He was one with the Father.[395] Certain of the Master's divine qualities are thus epically revealed and their memory employed to build a case against Him. Mood is effectively

blackened, the threats to His life made more telling by the concentration which results. The past is seen to be an active and continuing force at work to define the future.[391]

Expositional Forms of Remembrance

The three expositional methods of incorporating significant data into theater without sacrificing too great a degree of dramatic concentration lend their strengths to Group III plays, with one notable exception. That exception involves actualized pre-history, which, in light of the extensive extra-Passion inclusions of these texts, renders superfluous such a concept of pre-history. It will be recalled that I defined pre-history as any portion of time which preceded the Jerusalem Entry. For Groups I and II the definition applied and aided the elucidation of expositional possibilities. In the arena of the late fifteenth century on the continent and in light of the phenomenon of English cycle productions of earlier years, the term becomes essentially useless. One would have to investigate all the plays of *Chester* and *Towneley* which antedate those of the Passion section as actualized pre-history. And the late medieval French and German Passions present an analytical problem only slightly less confusing because of their massive retrograde growth from the Passion. The term actualized pre-history thus loses its specific connotation in the mass of material presented; its ability to enlighten is severely compromised.

a) Narrated Pre-History

As I have noted on several occasions, the formal structure of *Towneley* exhibits a remarkable degree of sophistication and artistry. Its aesthetic standing is further enhanced by its author's exceptional

application of epic forms of exposition. Such inclusions enable them to concentrate dramatic attention upon relatively few scenes of primary doctrinal and theatrical distinction. *Towneley XX*, the Conspiracy, contains one illustration of the intrinsic potential of epic narration. With few exceptions, all medieval drama of the late period dramatizes the confrontation between Mary Magdalene, Jesus, Simon the Leper, and Judas, that situation in which Mary annoints her Master. Instead of resorting to the traditional pattern, *Towneley* allows Judas to relate the encounter to Pilate and the two priests.[397] In like manner *Towneley* retains a high degree of concentration on the moment by avoiding any representation of Christ's miracles, another series of beloved encounters employed particularly by German redactors to stress Jesus' superiority over physical infirmity. In *Towneley XXII*, the Scourging, four of the Healer's many deeds are singled out for narration by three torturers as they prepare to administer Pilate's command.[398] These two narrated passages serve to remind onlookers that the events indeed did occur at a time previous to the outset of performance. And precisely their exclusion from represented time enables the authors to heighten spectator interest and suspense in the moment. They further tend to keep the plays moving by recounting only in passing these peripheral and dramatically rather unproductive concerns. Such a method of coming to terms with pertinent, though secondary matters, is a welcome artistic elevation when compared to the near relatives of *Towneley*. It is also indicative of the altered patterns of character interest: not the deeds done by the Lord are expounded, but the deeds done *unto* Him occupy our attention.

The Christ of *Alsfeld* casts His weary eyes far back into Old Testament history when He reveals himself as the very Being Who freed the Children of Israel from slavery and led them through the wilderness:

> *ich fort dich usz Egipten lant*
> *und host das jude nyt erkant,*
> *das du dynem schepper eyn crucz host bereyt*
> *zu synem tode und zu synem groisszen leyt!*
>
> *Ich fort dich durch die wustenung breyt*
> *vierczigk jare in suszikeyt!*
> *ich deilet myt das himmelbroitt!*
> *ich halff dir von Pharo usz der noit!*
> *ich fort dich yn das lant lustlich,*
> *da der floisz honig und milch*
> (*Alsfeld* 5500-09)

These narratives differ both in tone and direction from those of *Towneley*, for they reiterate the divine nature of the Christ, His oneness with the Almighty. Not designed to bridge gaps in represented time, they contrarily deliberately widen the scope of dramatization untold generations into the past.[399]

In contrast to Group II texts which introduced pre-history in a prolog form, these later versions fail to conform to earlier techniques. *Donau* and *Alsfeld* both provide introductory remarks in a prolog, but they direct attention to the future. Those of *Mistère* originate solely in the time of dramatization and are designed only to bring events of past performance again to mind, with the aid of occasional anticipatory forms indicative of the reason for performance.

b) Pre-History as a Present Circumstance

This manner of establishing the relationship of ancient events to present realities makes appearances in all five Passions. Three accounts call forth the prophets in purgatory to voice their old wisdom, which signals the impending Harrowing of Hell. They are, in effect prophet plays in reverse, clarifying the present instead of the future.

However, they still make ample use of the past. In *Chester* Isaiah identifies the light which precedes Christ as that which he prophesied, adding that his vision is now fulfilled;[400] Simon Iustus relates his encounter with the baby Jesus in the temple[401] and its importance for His imminent arrival; John the Baptist narrates the visitation of his Lord, showing its relevance for the present;[402] Seth and David deliberate the past and inject it into the 'now' of presentation.[403,404] We find similar usages in the *Towneley* Deliverance of Souls[405] and in *Alsfeld* at the same juncture.[406] All exploit admirably the capacities for concentration inherent in epic integration of past happenings.

There can be little question that the most artistic and structurally captivating experience of pre-history belongs to *Towneley*, for in it a compact and highly effective formulation of secondary events is incorporated into a drama of considerable suspense and sophistication. By the clever review of undramatized events culminating in the conspiracy, the playwrights of *Towneley* significantly augment the scope of the Passion without recourse to peripheral matters. Pilate's initial lines from *Towneley XX* dwell momentarily upon the Outsider from Galilee, giving us an inkling of the situation the governor perceives:

A prophete is he prasyd,
And great vnright has rasyd,
Bot be me banys her blasid,
his deth is dight no dowtt.

He prechys the pepyll here/that fature fals ihesus,
That if he lyf a yere/dystroy oure law must vs;
And yit I stand in fere/so wyde he wyrkys vertus,
No fawt can on hum bere/no lyfand leyde tyll us.
Bot sleyghtys
Agans hym shall be soght,
That all this wo has wroght;
Bot on his bonys it shall be botht,
So shall I venge oure rightys.

That fatoure says that thre/shuld euer dwell in oone
godhed,
That euer was and shall be/Sothfast in man hede;
He says of a madyn born was he/that neuer toke mans
sede,
And that his self shall dy on tre/and mans sawll out of
preson lede.
(*Towneley XX* 33-50)

Though he addresses pre-history which finds no position in previous plays, Pilate still occupies the point of dramatic focus. The present tense assures us that not the past, but the present is the time of greatest significance. Caiaphas reports that this Jesus turns people from the old ways,[407] that He has done a thousand wonders and enveighed against their law,[408] that He breaks the Sabbath,[409] while Annas frets over His miracles and disregard for authority.[410] Two of the miracles are introduced by the torturers of *Towneley XXI*,[411] and reinforced by allusions to the Lamb's messages on the destruction of the Temple,[412] religious man's responsiblity to established authority,[413] and the adulteress woman.[414] A final insertion of pre-history displayed by this remarkable cycle occupies a critical station in the Garden scene.

As happens in countless plays, Jesus prays alone, quite apart from His followers, that *"this passyon thou put fro me away"*.[415] The supervening angelic communication from the Father, common to most Passion tales, organizes the pre-history of Adam's fall and Jesus' own early childhood into a highly-elevated statement of sacrificial necessity:

My comforte, son, I shall the tell,
of thyngys that fell by reson;
As lucyfer, for syn that fell,
betrayd eue with his fals treson,
Adam assent his wyfe vntyll;
the wekyd goost then askyd a bond
which has hurt mankynde full yll;
this was the wordys he askyd soyn:

To that a chyld myght be borne
of a madyn, and she wemles,
As cleyn as that she was beforne,
as puryd syluer or shynand glas;

To tyme that childe to deth were dight,
and rasyd hym self apon the thryd day,
And stenen to heuen thrugh his awne myght.
who may do that bot god veray?

Sen thou art man, and nedys must dee,
and go to hell as othere done,
Bot that were wrong, withoutten lee,
that godys son there shuld won

In payn with his vnder-lowte;
wytt ye well withoutten weyn,
When oone is borod, all shall owtt,
and borod be from teyn.
(*Towneley XX* 528-555)

The final lines delineate in specific language why the Father cannot honor His own Son's agonyzing request for relief. Other plays merely provide the Savior with words of consolation, doing little to interpret those preceding events in light of present requisites.[416]

When the theoretical availability for useful manipulation of pre-history in Group III is considered, the relative paucity of epic inclusions is surprising. One would assume that such massive declarations of faith, with a more finely-tuned aesthetic and artistic sense, would provide more instances of this phenomenon. Upon further consideration, however, it becomes apparent that their very scope and impulse to increase character detail and investigate in greater thoroughness many more events neutralizes much epic energy. Playwrights like Greban and the three artists of *Alsfeld*, who consistently *dramatize* events, have scant interest in employing the concentrational techniques offered by epic narration. *Mistère* is particularly revealing in its 'deficiency'. This monumental transfiguration of biblical suggestion and circumstance barely articulated in sacred history into theatrical

enterprise, caught up in the demands of the staged 'now', literally has a scarcity of unstaged events from which to draw. When likened to such a prevailing conscience of dramatization, the truly exceptional and elevated qualities of the *Towneley* narrations become most arresting, and the accruing concentration, linked with a novel method of dispensing with structurally unproductive or irrelevant substance, fairly insists on objective regard, if not a willing and considered intellectual respect. A great genius has produced by the vehicle of extensive epic narration a remarkably tight structure; though he may have only intuited the intensity which could potentially be brought to bear on his story, his accomplishments cannot be denied; the text stands as the supreme witness for any who care to investigate these forms with objective tools and attitudes.

Retrieved Events Within Dramatized Time

It was earlier stipulated that certain events which coincided with represented time were often employed to illuminate situations of dramatic personalities.[417] These screened occurrences respond to the limitations of technical staging capacities introduced by the very act of mimetic presentation.[418] They simultaneously provide sensitive artists with the means to overcome them, while strengthening tension in an audience which anxiously anticipates the final certainty or report of that event.[419] This last argument, while germane to much drama from the classic to the modern stage, is probably slightly exaggerated for the plays under study. There can be no question, however, that such methods of presentational mastery do not adversely affect the play as a whole. Indeed, they function admirably in Passions to augment

representation with material from Scripture which cannot adequately be staged.

Donau attempts to dramatize the momentous occasion surrounding Christ's death, as we read in stage directions:

> *Vnd hie mie henck[t]der Saluator das hopt uff die rechten siten, vnd falt das tůch in tempel, vnd erstand die toten, vnd schůst man mit der bůchsen, als ob es tonderte, vnd gat sun vnd mon, die dar zů geornet sind, hinder sich . . . .*[420]

At least two impressional shortcomings are obvious: firearms *simulate* thunder and two bodies *simulate* an eclipse. In its attempt to direct presentification to an extreme, *Donau* relies upon simulation of natural forces which literally defy the attempt. Audiences must accept a symbolic interpretation of divine power and displeasure. *Mistère*, too, bids to dramatize these marvels, although the technical means of achievement cannot be deduced. One character, Ruben, narrates the sensations of tremors under his feet;[421] St. Denis and Empedocles remark on the significance of the eclipse they experience.[422] But even such a minute accounting of the phenomena as Gréban gives relies on recognized symbolic form. How much more impressive, suggestive, and powerful in their simplicity are the accounts of the same events in other plays. Here they are reported in straightforward, unembellished epic language. The degree of concentration which results from the report of the *Alsfeld* Centurion to Pilate,[423] or the more elevated description of the same figure to the *Towneley* Pilate, carries the main theme forward and at once injects vivid images into play watchers; their mental horizons are extended and enhanced, all by the judicious application of narrative description:

heuen it shoke abone,
Of shynyng blan both son and moyne,
And dede men also rose vp sone,
Outt of thare graf:
And stones in wall anone
In sonder brast and clafe.
(*Towneley XXVI* 51-56)

ffowlys in the ayer and fish in floode,
That day changid thare mode,
when that he was rent on rode,
That lord veray;
fful well thay vnderstode
That he was slayn that day.
(*Towneley XXVI* 63-68)

The son for wo it waxed all wan
The moyn and starnes of shynyng blan,
And erth it tremlyd as a man
Began to speke;
The stone, that neuer was styrrd or than,
In sonder brast and breke
(*Towneley XXVI* 116-121).

When compared to an account like *Mistère*, the dramatic expediency and even inspired artistry of the *Towneley* inclusions can be sensed.

Two other components of retrieved events from dramatized time, the methodical reintroduction of previous personalities or situations[424] and the transformation of a prior event into an unexpected feasible future alternative,[425] have scant validity for medieval theater. One obvious reason rests on the focus of the plays-- the Christ-- and the tendency for the plays to continue, albeit at varying speeds, towards the Resurrection. Religious tradition prevents any truly meaningful incorporation of past events, with the exception perhaps of the three trial sequences. But therein the artist had no significant latitude due to their essential qualities. There exist likewise few notable possibilities for the introduction of transformation. Mary Magdalene was one of the few figures to even approach such character options.

Two factors which from the commencement of Group III analysis have made their importance felt comprehend the fundamental approach employed throughout this thesis: these theatrical entities of the final two centuries of the European Middle Ages offer dramatic, structural, and aesthetic experiences vastly dissimilar from their predecessors: each play is a unique literary and scenic substance, reacting to varying traditions and inputs. Although the methodology has focused attention upon the theoretical and temporal units which are shared by all plays, I have endeavored to expose many of the specifics which make each Passion an individual phenomenon, worthy of appreciation on its own level. A definitive and final statement accounting for all similarities and differences, unfortunately, cannot be formulated; the texts, as do all worthy artistic endeavors, refuse total quantification. One cannot hope to equate the straightforward temporal movement of *Chester* with a more detailed and alternately-motivated *Mistère*; the two forms, though they treat basically shared beliefs, are simply not homologous. They can at best be considered analogous, parallel experiences. And, as I have constantly reiterated, a critical view of theater which presupposes such a unity carries the tools for its own destruction. Although I cannot hope to highlight all phenomena which deserve special mention in Group III plays, a few central concerns should be emphasized.

The foremost perception of importance for late medieval drama was the idea that the 'realism' of this period did not originate with contemporary authors, but rather found its genesis in centuries of previous scholastic investigation. I am thus inclined to temper the criticism of Froning, who postulates a general acceptance of Passions of the fifteenth century, but sees a distinct aversion to those of later

years.[426] His criticism once again errs by placing tastes and preferences of 'modern' minds above those for whom the plays were intended; he declines to consider the context into which each piece fits, that not only of confirmation, but of edification as well.

In the plays of the late Middle Ages we have discovered the fruits of other ideas, traditions, conventions, and sentiments sown in past centuries. The visions of a human Lord suggested during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have flowered in these Passions into excruciatingly visual images of a wounded and dying Christ; lyrical devices like the *Imago Pietatis*, hinted first in dramatic form in *Autun B*, are in these late plays extended to intense audience interrogations by the Lamb. They serve to break down the barriers which might exist between audience and actor in a singularly effective manner, enhancing the humanity of this sacrificed god-man.

It has been shown that the restructuring of time brought about by anachronism performs admirably to update sacred history, to lend an immediate and vital quality to Scripture. We saw in the study of reflection and contrast that the typology of *Towneley*, which linked not only Jesus to a long line of venerated biblical characters, but also created a parallel list of profane and tyrannical images, culminating in Pilate, served to unify each group into a 'present' dramatic vision of good vs. evil, and infused *Towneley* with a vibrant undercurrent of represented activity. The effect of this typological view of history upon the structuring of time is clarified by Meyers:

> Once given the typological way of looking at history, the usual barriers of time become meaningless, and from this view of history flows the idea that all ages are spiritually contemporary. There is no need then for a strict historical separation of the 'accidents' of human existence: habits of

> speech, dress, etc. These are elements which are not essential and can be changed at the discretion of the playwright.[427]

If we, as participants from an 'alien' society, with inadequate comprehension of the religious reality of medieval life, will condescend to investigate the written records of mystery production in the cold and impartial light of temporal structure, we will of necessity come into contact with this continuous and generic reformulation of history. When we grant the existence of this method of enlivening and specifying sacred history, with its expression of the past as a true and vital portion of the present reality of the world, many of the apparent structural and operational anomolies of medieval drama disappear.

As we have considered the vast amount of textual evidence from these Passion plays, it has become obvious at every point that behind these extensive statements on Christ's sacrifice stands an attempt to produce visual images on stage of the process of divine redemption which conform as nearly as possible to the mental images possessed by men relative to the probable flow of original events in history.[428] This has led to the expansion of secondary concerns into scenes of questionable dramatic consequence, such as the Herod and spice merchant episodes. This process is responsible for an occasional oppressive length of presentation like that found in *Mistère*, *Alsfeld*, or *York*. Investigation has confirmed Steinbach's conclusion that most of the additions have been accomplished on material from Jesus' suffering.[429] One finds *Mistère* to be peopled with numerous secondary characters from this sequence, like the Centurion, servants, Roman soldiers, all augmented by the roles of Pilate, the thieves, and various devils. All serve notice of an artist's interest for the psychological motivation of

his tale.[430] It is precisely this manner of relating to presented material which makes *Towneley* unique, for it avoids these marginal concerns, doing away with Herod to concentrate interest on Pilate. The Wakefield Master likewise avoids Judas' suicide and any participation by the merchant, normally by means of epic remembrances or by application of pre-history as a present circumstance. We find this usage in Pilate's opening monolog of *Towneley XX* and *XXII*. Attention to the duration of a character's presence on stage has also shown Pilate to be the product of a finely-tuned perspective of the dramatic; his domination of large quantities of stage time appears to be a conscious effort, quoting Meyers, "to enhance his conflict with Christ."[431] This becomes particularly apparent with Pilate's presence in *Towneley XXIV*, the *Processus Talentorum*. In it the Master places the final touches on his anti-type to Christ, while structurally setting off the entire sequence from that which antedates and postdates it. Williams identifies these formal-structural consequences of the play when he observes:

> It (*Towneley XXIV*) is preceded by the death on the cross and followed by the harrowing of hell, in both of which Christ is the dominating figure. Thus, a play about Pilate sandwiched between provides a contrast between the love, mercy, and all-embracing goodness of Jesus and the selfishness, pettiness, and tyranny of Pilate.[432]

It is precisely this kind of artistic restructuring of the biblical tale which lends *Towneley* much of its verve and appeal. It is also a profound example of the dramatic heights to which drama founded upon an accepted plot may grow. The perceptions by Williams, combined with my own findings concerning Pilate's dominion over the conspiracy and his place in the temporal framework of *Towneley*, cause me to agree with McNeir, who summarizes:

> Such a handling of the situation means that these dramatists, in creating the epic sweep of the cycles, occasionally found an opportunity to sharpen individual scenes. They never lost control of the central action, and they were able at the same time to strengthen its internal supports.[433]

The structural lengths to which the Wakefield Master has gone to make Pilate the principal antagonist of Jesus and the ensuing elevation of both the dramatic and aesthetic level of *Towneley* offers solid evidence for the contention that medieval dramatists were capable of overcoming their 'confining' material and its long tradition, that they were, indeed, capable of inspired dramatics.

I interject a caveat at this point, lest readers misunderstand the textual evidence contained in *Towneley*. As dramatically interesting as Pilate becomes, he and his cohorts do not detract from the Christo-centric nature of the entire undertaking. Though the character of Pilate possesses enormous energies for evil, though he seems the all-powerful and determinate factor in the motivation of the Passion section, this mortal being cannot alter Christ's eventual triumph; even the most powerful of secular and medieval rulers remains powerless against God's will. Such a strong and superbly-drawn figure of the anti-Christ serves to throw the victory won in the humiliation of crucifixion into sharper focus.

Particularly in *Towneley* does the 'how' of presentation take on added significance. With the study of design and realization as a function of succession and intrigue as a fulfillment of the future it was found that Pilate structurally telegraphed his moves far in advance. Yet despite the knowledge he offers us as spectators, *Towneley* holds our attention more intensely than other Passions: we strive to intuit how the governor's promises will be accomplished. The experience

of the biblical tale takes on an intensity far above those original scriptural explanations.

I have found in continental plays a similar attempt to produce the reality of God by means of stage illusion, to instill in medieval audiences an empathy for their Savior and an urgency about their own salvation.[434] In *Donau* the emphasis was upon the role played by medieval Jewry in Christ's demise; in *Alsfeld* the statement possessed not only humanized elements like a repentant Mary Magdalene, a sorrowful Judas, or an emotionally battered Virgin, but an additional tone of festive celebration, punctuated by an abundance of music, the joyous participation of ritual and liturgical verses delivered in Latin, and numerous opportunities for spectators to be integrated through suspension and interruption. It would be difficult to underestimate the importance of music for *Alsfeld*, for it is completely absorbed into the very fabric of dramatization. But its phenomenological and structural impact can be identified only with the greatest patience and insight.

In *Alsfeld* was also found a conspiracy initiated by creatures from Hell, devils who were given human personalities. They made the evil confronting Christ and His followers prominent by their intrigues against John the Baptist and their readiness to punish sinful souls like Herodias and her daughter, and Judas. They were instrumental in the integration of the future: by their swearings to seduce Judas, the Jews, Herodias, Pilate, and the Priests they prepared following activity. But above all, structural stress was laid upon them inasmuch as they were chosen to commence dramatization, a fact believed by Rudwin designed to contrast the greatest enemy of mankind with his greatest friend.[435] As in other instances, the original impetus for the participation of

denizens of the underworld, that is, to explain the origin of evil in the world as related by sacred writ, assumes a dramatic and aesthetic value quite apart from tradition. Surely, much of the current of evil in *Alsfeld* recalls a similar circumstance in *Wien*, where the God-Devil altercation defined the need for a Passion, but by its placement and usage of devils as *active participants* in medieval life, their impact and importance has been magnified.

Among the speeches of Lucifer was found one which allowed audience attention to be focused on the present circumstance while simultaneously looking far beyond the horizon of the stage to a time when the malefactor was united with God. This was an illustration of how meaningful explanations and motivational factors could be integrated without the loss of dramatic concentration.[436] One recalls the words of Ingarden, as he discusses time and structure in literature:

> "Vorgänge, die sich in langen Zeitperioden abwickeln, die ihrer Natur nach sehr kompliziert sind und viele mannigfaltige Phasen in sich enthalten, werden nicht in ihrem vollen Verlauf, Phase für Phase und von dem Gesichtspunkt der betreffenden Zeitphase aus beschrieben, sondern nur sehr ‚summarisch' und in einer undifferenzierten Einheit (Ganzheit) dargestellt."[437]

The history of devilish involvement in the affairs of men is, indeed, a complicated and lengthy process, extended in time far beyond the 'now' of presentation. But the authors of *Alsfeld* have managed to offer the essence of the disagreement which ultimately lies behind the necessity of the Passion with a relatively short epic remembrance of things past. The concentration on the present remains, while motivation is enhanced.

As has been seen, motivation is perhaps the most important concept for analysis of *Mistère*, for Grèban has gone to great lengths to prepare his characters for their assigned roles by investigating the

cerebral processes which culminate in specified activities on stage. Many techniques of temporal significance sprang from this desire to seek out possible reasons for character action. It was found, for example, that, whereas Judas' treason grew from traditional biblical materials, it was expanded by techniques controlled by the dramatist into a psychological study of motivation. By use of the monolog Gréban brought us into contact with a human Judas, a sadly misled soul to be sure, but no abstract or mythical evildoer.

Despite the shortcomings I have perceived in the rationalization of *Mistère*, the often overly-indulgent development of secondary characters and events, this late French Passion exhibits in several instances a fine sense of structural and temporal integrity. I have elucidated one of these phenomena under the theme *succession by dialog*, wherein I studied the artistic and structural effects of repetition. It was reported that numerous events were lifted above their linguistic surroundings by the conscious and insistent reiteration of key words and phrases. The actions which they accompanied were thereby underscored and marked in the minds of auditors, for this manner of structuring a story is more consistent with the lively experience of a staged event than with a reading text.

The scope of *Mistère* in particular has caused critics to label it and others of its kind 'sprawling', 'overgrown', 'chaotic', and 'trivial'.[438] There may be some justification for these observations and, as I have not dealt with the complete mystery, I hesitate to condemn them outright. What insights I have gained from this analysis, however, caution against the uncritical acceptance of such subjective accusations. It may be that *Mistère* offers on occasion extremely

questionable and uneven dramatization *by our standards*. But this may well be a failing on our part, for we have encountered similar arguments throughout this study, ones which maintained that medieval people, hence the dramas themselves, were naïve. These epithets thrown at *Mistère* smack of a modern literary prejudice at once blind to the alternatives open to late medieval dramatists and also to the fundamental structural qualities of all drama. I believe that my analysis of portions of *Mistère* refutes the criticism that it is 'trivial' or 'chaotic'. I leave others more acquainted with the entire manuscript to defend against the remaining critiques.

As pertains to the dramatic and temporal structure of *Mistère*, after having pondered long and thoroughly investigated the Passion section, I believe with Sister McKean that the approach to Scripture exercised by Gréban is one emphasizing not the essential truth or meaningfulness of the story, but one indicative of *process*.[439] In *Mistère* we deal not so much with the individual events of Christ's life and martyrdom, but with the entire mechanism of the Passion, with the development of events in the hearts and minds of men which culminate in the Crucifixion, rather than with the betrayal, the Passover meal, or even the interrogations as quantified units of dramatization. As the Evangelists wrote of witness and not of chronology, they allowed considerable ambivalence of succession to stand in their accounts. Writers of mysteries, and here Gréban is surely no exception, felt a desire to make transitions from one episode to another as smooth as possible,[440] to portray a consistent and continuous process. By investigating the areas of expansion, conversational realism, explicitation, reiteration, and the objectivation of subjective notions, Sister McKean makes a strong case

for Gréban as a capable artist and author. My study of the temporal structure of *Mistère* has reinforced many of her contentions.

In the continental plays a predilection for sermonizing on the Passion, on its necessity and on the spiritual efficacy of mimetic performance, was noted through attention to the phenomenon of the prolog, a technique solely within the domain of the dramaturge. *Mistère* was particularly adamant in its defense of didacticism through staged activity,[441] although similar observations were made by the *proklamator* of *Alsfeld* and of *Donau*. These mini-sermons provided irrefutable evidence of a tendency for popular preaching as well as a fundamental reason for being of late Passions. Textual witnesses indicate to the careful reader that these plays, far from being designed to please crowds, considered as one of their main functions the teaching and reinforcement of existing religious attitudes in the community of believers. Whatever comic components were found in the plays possessed a value not for themselves, but for the greater idea of edification.

Donau and *Alsfeld* offered illustrations of the emotional heights sustained in continental plays by exploiting opportunities for the Virgin to fall unconscious at the foot of the Cross. It was observed that this as yet unwitnessed form of modifying the flow of time to underscore Mary's human suffering, seemed indigenous particularly to German Passions, a trait not shared with English cycles, where her laments were seen to always reflect Christocentric attitudes.

When epic narrations were considered, a surprising lack of application was found in the group as a whole. I attributed this to the tendency to elongate incidents which were of secondary importance into

bona fide dramatic encounters with a 'present' stage life of their own. The difficulty with such a method involves control of the augmentation process; the point at which it ceases to be valuable is certainly not fixed, but it can unequivocally be stated that epic narrations, when employed to integrate the past or to bring screened occurrences into the story, have a decided advantage for maintaining a brisk dramatic pace, and for evoking useful concentration. When we compare *Towneley* with *Alsfeld* or *Mistère*, the technical implications become apparent: *Alsfeld* becomes involved with all manner of miracles; *Towneley* alludes to them in epic passing; *Mistère* goes to extensive lengths to dramatize the eclipse of the sun accompanying Christ's death; *Towneley* handles the same with a epic narration by the centurion. An uncommon degree of artistry, of awareness of sound and efficaceous dramatic technique, seems to lie beneath the textual evidence of this singular English cycle.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

In antecedent chapters I have presented evidence from Passion plays of analogous, yet diverse form, evidence originating within the textual records of *Montecassino*, *BenP* (Group I), *StG*, *Wien*, *Palat*, *Autun B* and *Autun R* (Group II), *Chester*, *Towneley*, *Mystère*, *Alsfeld*, and *Donau* (Group III). Their structurally regenerative temporal organization suggests the uniqueness of each play within the subgenre of the medieval Passion. Each drama directs its succession of events, its integration of past and future activities into the 'present' time of the stage, in a manner consistent with several analyzed tendencies of the dramatic genre. It was thus seen that an underlying current of *anticipation* linked the most 'primitive' structures and orientations of these ancient theatrical records with dramas of varied ages and presentational patterns. In the case of dramas from the Middle Ages the specific techniques employed by each author or group of redactors originated within the highly-dramatic history of Christianity contained in Scripture, legend, apocrypha, and exegesis as well as within the cultural-sociological backgrounds of each epoch investigated. These facts compelled us to consider the formal artistic alternatives available to the three textual groupings mentioned above. A high degree of correlation was discovered between the transmuting perceptions on the *Christus triumphans* of the early Middle Ages and Jesus the suffering human being of later centuries and the structural techniques employed to investigate this complex of ideas on stage. This is an expected result of the methodology, as the study of form infers the study of evolving ideas. The temporal structure of each play therefore reflects a gradual philosophical reorientation of

the plays themselves. Intention manifests itself in form. The temporal structure of Group I was permeated with an emphasis on commemoration. Techniques which most adequately presented known and celebrated facts were found in abundance. I noted a paucity of proclaimed occurrences and intimations originating in structure. Few of these manipulative devices compliment a faithful, traditional, and commemorative repetition of the Savior's triumph over death; they find no place in the corpus of possible alternatives of production. Group II gradually redefined and amplified its material to more fully investigate Christ's human Passion and several attendant moments of human grief of the Virgin. So profound were the emerging images and techniques, so powerful in their capacity to elicit empathy that these reconsiderations of Jesus' fundamental nature were destined to attach themselves to a theater manifesting distinctively didactic characteristics. Their temporal formations set the stage for the ambitious and greatly augmented religious lessons of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Group III employed dramatic temporal tactics to instruct, to moralize, and to preach. The incorporation of all manner of secondary characters, from devils to purely medieval torturers, not only signalled a transformed set of literary alternatives, but immensely affected the character and structure of these late plays as well. The process of dramatization became an all-important consideration; not merely the facts of the Passion received consideration, but the entire conglomerate of events leading to and issuing from the sacrifice of a mortal Christ took theatrical precedence. Though discernible in all plays of the time, the process revealed in *Mystère* was the most highly developed. There resulted an expanded and often chilling rationalization of character,

act, and succession, a new 'realism' of presentation. But even this significant concretization of scene, especially of the Crucifixion, did not spring fully-developed from late medieval theater, but rather were the final expressions of a long line of exegetical investigation into the history of the Passion. These conclusions render any simplistic equation of one play with another quite impossible. To attempt to read *Montecassino* or *BenP* with the same mental orientation as one reads *Mystère*, *Alsfeld*, or *Towneley* is to invite misunderstanding.

On the face of it, a Passion play, bound as it is to established traditions and conventions, seems to restrict the degree of artistry which may be brought to bear on the New Testament story. But medieval dramatists and their accomplishments, as the analysis has adequately shown, cannot be so lightly dismissed. Structural data supports the contention that these largely unknown men of medieval letters not only exploited inherent theatrical potentials of the Gospels, but went well beyond them by omitting, expanding, altering the generally-approved succession of events to enhance dramatization and to create a new conception of the Passion. The capacity of medieval playwrights to generate original personalities at certain junctures of the stage history, characters occasionally suggested by Holy Writ but largely undefined, is also indicative of a degree of inherent artistic freedom. In its earliest forms the German Passion instills Mary Magdalene with a verve, intensity, and excitement far advanced from any biblical suggestions; the smith and his wife from fourteenth-century French plays orient their section of the productions to themes and images quite apart from traditional records; the greatest medieval tyrant of all, the *Towneley* Pilate, owes his ferocity and veracity as a stage personality to a series of

brilliant manipulations of Scripture, temporal strategies, and contemporary medieval cultural values and perceptions.

The reorganization of sacred history into a statement of 'present', i.e. medieval significance by anachronistic language, costume, gesture, character, and action, a 'theory of dramatization' not recognized by scholars like Hardin Craig and A.P. Rossiter, exerts a marked influence on the structure of all Passions. Though present primarily in linguistic form in Group I, especially in the speeches of the Virgin and Mary Magdalene, their prevalence insinuates an early orientation towards audience/participants, towards enlivening the sacred record with expressive vitality. Of especial conseqence for the appreciation and reception of *BenP* is the role played by the Magdalene and her 'presentified' pattern of communication representative of her original distance from salvation. The alternation of vernacular German with liturgical and traditional Latin speeches as Mary seeks forgiveness and her lamentations in the voice of the people gives rise to a greatly-varied and intensified experience of the facts of the Passion. By means of a complete updating of historical facts, plays from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries reveal a desire to integrate bystanders into the Passion, not only through readily-recognizeable visual and linguistic signals, but through direct address, a phenomenon of temporal/theoretical significance for the formation of the succession of time. Calls by the Virgin for audience participation in the tragedy of the Crucifixion, spectator integration via sung liturgical texts like the *Te Deum*, laments by Judas, the Magdalene, and even Christ Himself all bespeak the tendency for actor and observer to become united into a contemporary act of faith, worship, and education, to participate in the *reality* of the Passion.

Application of interruption and suspension supported these observations, lending theoretical weight to figures such as *Augustinus* as he sought to direct spectator awareness to the most significant properties and activities of the presentation. He and commentators like him were found to stand outside the plays, to originate from a medieval religious and social context.

Medieval drama may not evidence all the accomplished potentials of temporal management consistent with modern theater, but its capabilities for meaningful commentary on this body of religious belief and artistic structuring are profound and enlightening. We are not dealing with the drama of an underdeveloped or unappreciative society, but rather with unfamiliar conventions and traditions. One great strength of the structural method and its attention to textual detail is the availability of objective tools whereby the vast differences of the ages may be partially set aside and the process of instilling a compelling message with a more insistent form may be more adequately observed and evaluated. Seen in the arena of form and intent, the Passion plays of medieval Europe, their core material, their unique history of evolving images, and their consciously or unconsciously chosen temporal structures call attention not only to their affinities with all dramatic entities, but to their own distinctive alternatives of formation.

In this study one may speak of a broad correlation of form and intent, and effectively employ structural criteria to illuminate the general religious characteristics which define an age, but substantial difficulty is encountered when one seeks to establish an absolute intention, be it dramatic or didactic or celebrative, of specific techtonic and temporal devices. Other bodies of knowledge such as religion, cultural,

intellectual, and theatrical history must be consulted to minimize the possibility of interpretive error. One cannot approach medieval drama solely from structure and arrive at a definitive conclusion as to exact historical reasons for particular forms. The formal method of criticism employed herein functions admirably to elucidate the process of ideological formulation. But when called upon to establish precise intent, by virtue of the textual record upon which it relies for its strength, it may accentuate techniques beyond their original significance. Such is the precise difficulty in establishing the phenomenological or intentional impact of music on Passion audiences. As a technique for dramatic anticipation Pütz considers cantillation to be a productive element. But how does one express its psychological, theatrical, or structural impact within a pattern of musical delivery which defines several of the investigated Passions?

These considerations constitute, of course, only half the equation of temporal structure and the value of the interpretive method employed here. One is not compelled to view the formal side of these Passions only with a desire to establish a harmony of *medieval* theatrical devices with a *medieval* intent for contemporary audiences, one may experience the same Passions as viable dramatic enterprises, a purely aesthetic and intellectual encounter with the texts and their originators on their own terms. Temporal structure has opened the plays to such perceptions by not only focusing attention upon the changing strategies of production, but by illuminating the presence of masterful manipulations of prescribed material as well. *Montecassino* can be encountered on a plane quite above that of commemoration of sacred facts; we can applaud the poetic form of delivery of these truths, a well-developed and elevated

pattern of alternating rhyme and rhythm. We can derive intellectual pleasure from the successful and efficient succession of events and the manner in which Jesus' appearance is prepared. The Magdalenes of *BenP* and *Wien* convey not only medieval religious values, but an exciting theatrical life as well, brought into final form by inspired borrowings from conventional love poetry and condensed biblical understandings. The appearances of *Augustinus* do more than sublineate for medieval bystanders important sections of the *StG* Passion history, the inquiry into his temporal essence and dramatic application also enables us to get behind the formulation process into the mind of the unknown author or authors who created him. The French plays of the fourteenth century direct our curiosity to evolving psychological motivations of character. Through them we are brought in touch with a formal evolution of character and action, with an unfolding genius for humanization highlighted by the tempo of succession, elongated to investigate the Virgin, devils, and boisterous soldiers. We can follow the modification of pre-existing formulations of the lament tradition, often subtle alternations of previous representations of character, which in the end provide these plays with an essentially different quality of presentation than those upon which they build. The mechanism of the *Donau* conspiracy, as it intensifies from a level of broad disagreement between Jesus and Jew to open plotting, admits a great appreciation for the gradual accumulation of suspense and anticipation quite apart from its mandatory presentation. One may experience the liveliness of character and action, the intense occupation of the *Alsfeld* authors with medieval life, with contemporary cultural phenomena. Further, the integration of vast numbers of liturcigal phrases, music from the Psalms, antiphons, responses, and so forth

suggests to the careful reader a level of development far beyond the mere theatrical presentation of history. One may derive an intense aesthetic pleasure from the tone and festive nature of *Alsfeld* as they are reflected in temporal form without a complete reconstruction of all musical appearances. *Mystère*, in its attention to the detail of the Passion, with its penchant for exploration of secondary matters, affords an undeniable logic of construction to be praised for its thoroughness, though its length at times becomes oppressive. But the most profound intellectual experience is surely that issuing from the Wakefield Master's artful and impelling reconstitution of the Passion section of the *Towneley* cycle to concentrate interest on Pilate. To bestow this image of evil with the title of prime mover of the conspiracy against Jesus has entailed several deep and far-reaching manipulations of both biblical and traditional sources. When this medieval genius of the dramatic focuses our attention on Pilate, he must make all manner of adjustments to his tone of presentation, to his succession of events, and to his integration of past and future events. One can look with pleasure at his complex alterations to material and medium. To follow the machinations of the evil governor and his co-conspirators provides an opportunity to become intensely involved with the restructuring process itself, to feel the beat of artistic life coursing through the body of the production. Attendance upon formal structure provides one of the most acute dramatic and aesthetic experiences not only of the medieval drama, but of all drama of all time!

The ultimate value of this investigation lies not with the method alone, but with the acknowledgement of the artistic capacities of the Middle Ages as revealed by the method. It continues the steady progression towards the reaffirmation of Passion plays as living, vibrant, often

skillful, occasionally inspired commentaries upon the most significant days and years in the course of human time, each related to its namesakes before and after by a body of accepted knowledge, sharing with all dramatic endeavors numerous techniques of formation, while simultaneously standing apart, individual beacons of understanding building on acknowledged faith, but responding to the human intellect which renders each into a form transcending its moment of writing and production.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

Table 2. Adverbial Evidence of Succession

	ALSFELD	BEN P	CHESTER	MISTÈRE*	MONTECASSINO	PALAT*	ST G	TOWNELEY	WIEN
Ablative Absolute	72	16	3		2		16		7
Ad hec					20				
Autem	1								
(et) Cum(hoc)	2		1						
Deinde	43	4					7		1
Dum hec					2				
Inde	1								
Iterato		1							
Iterum (item)	23	28			3		34		3
Post hec (postea, post, postquam)	38	10	2		10	1	9		2
Quod (Qui)							3		
Respondent (-eat,it,-ens, -eant, -ent)	110	16			19		96		12
(et) Sic	90								
Subiungit	25								4
Subinfert	1								
Subsequenter					1				
Tunc	79	29	84		1		135	8	
Usque	1								

*No (other) external evidence: *Mistère* employs Icy 89 times, Affin once.

Table 2. (Cont'd.)

	DONAU		AUTUN B	AUTUN R
ab dissen Worten	1	Adonc (adon, adont)	17	
dar nach	4	Affin (que)	1	
dar uber	1	Aprés	9	
dar uff	82	Or	19	143
Hie mit (by)	26	(Et) puis	30	
mit dissem (disse red)	14	Respont (-dit, -da, -ent,-dir,-d)	64	
nach dem	11			
nach dissem	10			
(So) Nu	143			
Uf die frag	3			
uff das (diesen, etc.)	85			
und da mit	2			
Yetz (Yeca, Yetzund)	7			
zu dissen	2			

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

Table 3. The Scenic Structure of *Montecassino*

Scene	Verses	Total
Judas' Bargain	1-33	33
Judas' Betrayal	34-51	18
Peter and Malchus	52-69	18 36
Jesus before Caiaphas	70-102	33
Peter's Denial	103-26	24 57
Judas' Repentance	127-38	12
Jesus before Pilate (I)	138-71	33
Dream of Pilate's Wife	172-228	57 90
Jesus before Pilate (II)	229-73	45
The Flagellation	274-91	18
The Crucifixion	292-320	29

Table 4. The Scenic Structure of *BenP*

Scene	Verses	Total
Choral Introduction	1	1
Calling Peter and Andrew	2-3	2
Healing the Blind Man	4-7	4
Visit with Zacchaeus	8-10	3
Entry into Jerusalem	11-14	4
Repast with a Pharisee	15-18	4
Mary Magdalene's Sinful Life	19-72	54
Repentance and Forgiveness	73-105	53
		107
Raising of Lazarus	126-30	5
Judas' Bargain	131-43	13
Agony in the Garden	144-53	10
Judas' Betrayal and Peter's Denial	154-68	15
Jesus before the High Priest	169-73	5
Jesus before Pilate (I)	174-77	4
Jesus before Herod	178-9	2
Jesus before Pilate (II)	180-9	10
The Flagellation	190-1	2
The Condemnation	192-203	12
Judas' Remorse	204-11	8
The Way to Golgotha	212	1
The Crucifixion	213-73	61
The Plea for Christ's Body	274-89	16

Table 5. The Scenic Structure of *StG*

Scene	Verses	Total
Introduction (*Augustinus*)	1-16	16
Wedding at Cana	17-43	27
Angels- *Silete*	44	1
John the Baptist	45-105	61
Baptism of Christ	106-37	38
Angels- *Silete*	138	1
Augustinus	139-44	6
Temptation of Christ	145-99	55
Angels- *Silete*	200	1
Mary Magdalene in gaudio (I)	201-20	20
Calling the Disciples	221-33	23
Angels- *Silete*	234	1
Mary Magdalene (II)	235-54	20
Augustinus	255-64	10
The Adulteress (I)	265-75	11
Augustinus	276-79	4
Mary Magdalene's Repentance	290-372	83
Angels- *Silete*	373	1
Augustinus	374-79	6
Healing the Blind Man	380-408	21
The Blind Man before the High Priests	409-532	124
Augustinus	533-42	10
Raising of Lazarus	543-640	98
Angels- *Silete*	641	1

Table 5 (cont'd)

Scene	Verses	Total
Augustinus	642-8	7
Intrigue of the High Priests	649-72	24
The Entry into Jerusalem	673-84	12
Preparation for the Passover	685-707	23
Angels- *Silete*	708	1
Augustinus	709-26	18
The Last Supper (I)	727-51	25
Judas' Bargain	752-7	6
The Last Supper (II)	758-815	58
The Garden	816-55	40
Judas' Betrayal	856-916	61
Angels- *Silete*	917	1
Augustinus	918-35	18
Mary Apprised by John	936-55	20
Jesus before the High Priests (incl. Peter's Denial and Remorse)	956-1028	73
Augustinus	1029-36	8
Jesus before Pilate (I)	1037-89	53
The Flagellation	1090-1	2
Angels- *Exivit ergo Ihesus*	1092-5	4
Jesus before Pilate (II)	1096-1118	23
Jesus before Herod	1119-58	40
Angels- *Silete*	1159	1
Augustinus	1160-8	9
Jesus before Pilate (III) (incl. Dream of Pilate's Wife)	1169-1257	89

Table 5 (cont'd.)

Scene	Verses	Total
The Crucifixion	1258-1450	193
Setting of the Guards	1451-82	32
The Harrowing of Hell	1483-1530	48
The Resurrection and Appearance to Mary Magdalene	1531-1621	91

Table 6. The Scenic Structure of *Wien*

Scene	Verses	Total
Intruduction (Pueri)	1-5	5
Lucifer's Sin and Fall	6-35	30
The Devils' Intrigue	36-79	44
The Fall of Adam and Eve	80-188	111
Souls in Hell	189-278	90
Mary Magdalene in gaudio	279-348	70
Jesus and Symon	349-73	25
Mary Magdalene's Repentance	374-506	133
Preparations for the Last Supper and the Passover Meal	507-32	26

Table 7. The Scenic Structure of *Palat*

Scene	Verses	Total
Preparation for the Passover	1-34	34
Entry into Jerusalem	35-59	25
The Last Supper (incl. Mary Magdalene)	60-195	36
Judas' Bargain	196-230	35
Judas' Betrayal	231-84	54
Jesus before the High Priests	285-318	34
Jesus before Pilate (I)	319-56	39
Jesus before Herod	357-477	91
Jesus before Pilate (II)	448-55	8
Judas' Remorse; St. John and St. Peter	456-544	89
Jesus before Pilate (III)	545-85	11
The Flagellation	586-669	84
Jesus before Pilate (IV)	670-786	117
Forging the Nails	787-861	85
The Crucifixion	862-1070	209
Planctus Mariae	1071-1234	164
The Harrowing of Hell	1235-1450	216
Joseph of Arimathea	1451-1553	103
Setting the Guards and the Resurrection	1554-1784	231
Purchase of the Ointment and the Appearance to Mary Magdalene	1785-1996	211

Table 8. The Scenic Structure of *Autun B*

Scene	Verses	Total
Introduction	1-40	40
Preparation for the Last Supper and the Passover Meal (incl. Mary Magdalene)	41-285	245
The Garden	286-99	14
Judas' Bargain	300-58	59
The Betrayal	359-99	41
Jesus before the High Priests	400-536	137
Jesus before Pilate (I)	537-602	66
Judas' Remorse	603-47	45
Jesus before Pilate (II)	648-63	16
Jesus before Herod	664-728	65
Jesus before Pilate (III) (incl. the Flagellation)	729-864	136
Forging the Nails	865-972	108
The Crucifixion	972-1313	341
Planctus Mariae	1314-1472	159
Joseph of Arimathea	1473-1678	206
Setting the Guard	1679-1850	172
The Harrowing of Hell	1851-1913	63
The Soldiers discover the Empty Tomb	1914-47	34
Resurrection and Appearance to Mary Magdalene	1948-2117	140

Table 9. The Scenic Structure of *Autun R*

Scene	Verses	Total
Introduction	1-38	38
Preparation for the Last Supper and the Passover Meal (incl. Mary Magdalene)	39-180	142
Judas' Bargain	181-217	37
The Garden	218-46	29
Judas' Betrayal	247-76	30
Jesus before the High Priests (incl. St. John and St. Peter)	277-353	87
Judas' Remorse	354-90	37
Jesue before Pilate (I)	391-407	17
Jesus before Herod	408-437	30
Jesue before Pilate (II)	438-99	62
Forging the Nails	500-47	48
The Crucifixion	548-794	247
Planctus Mariae	795-865	71
Joseph of Arimathea	866-937	72

Table 10. The Scenic Structure of *Chester*

Scene	Verses	Total
Play XIII- de chelidonio ceco et de resurrectione Lazari		
Healing the Blind Man	1-288	288
Lazarus' Resurrection	289-489	201
Play XIV- de Iesu intrante domum Simonis Leprosi et de aliis rebus		
The Visit to Simon the Leper	1-136	136
The Entry into Jerusalem	137-224	88
Cleansing the Temple	225-304	88
Intrigue of the High Priests and Judas' Bargain	305 432	128
Play XV- de caena domini et de eius prodicione		
Preparation for the Passover	1-60	60
The Last Supper	61-264	204
Gethsamene	265-304	40
The Arrest	305-68	64
Play XVI- de passione Iesu Christi		
Christ before the High Priests	1-128	128
Christ before Pilate (I)	129-68	40
Christ before Herod	169-216	48
Christ before Pilate (II)	217-312	96
The Flagellation	313-60	48
Christ Sentenced	361-84	64
The Way of the Cross	385-448	64
The Crucifixion (incl. dicing for Christ's garments [451-560]	449-804	356
Descent from the Cross	805-92	88
Play XVII- de Descensu Christi ad Inferos		
All verses deal with Christ's descent into Hell and the Harrowing	1-320	320
Play XVIII- de Resurrectione Iesu Christi		
The Setting of the Guards	1-153	153
The Resurrection	154-85	32
The Discovery of the Empty Tomb and Report to Pilate	186-308	123
Visitatio Sepulchri	309-68	60
Report to the Disciples	369-85	17
John and Peter at the Tomb	386-420	35
Christ's Appearance to Mary Magdalene	421-55	35

Table 10 (cont'd.)

Scene	Verses	Total
Mary Jacoby and Mary Salome	456-87	32
Christ's Appearance to Peter	488-527	40

Table 11. The Scenic Structure of *Towneley*

Scene	Verses	Total
Play XX- Conspiracio et Capcio		
Introduction by Pilate; Council of Pilate, Annas, and Caiaphas	1-173	173
Judas' Betrayal	174-313	140
Preparations for the Passover	314-51	38
The Last Supper	352-488	137
The Mount of Olives	489-559	71
Christ's Arrest	560-755	196
Play XXI- Coliphizacio		
Jesus brought before the High Priests by Torturers	1-44	44
Christ before the High Priests (I)	45-342	297
The Buffeting	343-415	73
Christ before the High Priests (II)	416-50	35
Play XXII- Flagellacio		
Pilate's Boasting and Preparations for Christ's Trial	1-111	111
Jesus before Pilate (I)	112-33	22
The Flagellation	134-87	54
Jesus before Pilate (II)	188-223	36
The Torturers Mock Christ	224-59	36
The Apostle John and the Maries	260-315	56
Christ's Way to Golgotha	316-416	101
Play XXIII- Processus Crucis		
Pilate's Boasting	1-28	28
The Crucifixion (incl. Mary's Lament)	29-612	584
Joseph of Arimathea	612-66	54
Play XXIV- Processus Talentorum		
The entire play, although composed of numerous small scenes, focuses upon the gaming for Christ's clothes		

Table 12. The Scenic Structure of Grĕban's *Mystère de la Passion*

Scene	Verses	Total
Jesus with the Virgin, Martha and the Disciples	17284-322	36
Intrigue of the Devils	17323-464	142
The High Priests and Judas	17465-598	134
Preparations for the Last Supper	17599-734	136
The High Priests	17735-98	64
Preparations for Movement to the Passover Room	17799-886	88
The Eucharistic Meal	17887-18532	645
Preparations for the Arrest	18533-672	140
Gethsemane (incl. God, Justice, Misericorde, Michel, Gabriel); discussion about the arresting party by Annas and Caiaphas	18673-19015 [18928-19015]	343 [88]
The Arrest	19016-377	362
Christ before Annas (incl. the Flagellation I)	19378-20299 [19720-920]	922 [201]
THE THIRD DAY		
Prelude to the Third Day	19947-20144	103
Christ before Caiaphas (incl. the Flagellation II)	20300-21119 [20858-993]	820 [136]
Judas' Remorse (I)	21120-181	62
John's Report to Mary	21181-307	126
Jesus before Pilate (I)	21308-539	232
Preparations to send Jesus to Herod	21540-607	68
Judas' Remorse (II)	21608-22029	422
Mary's Lament	22030-65	36

Table 12 (cont'd.)

Scene	Verses	Total
Judas' Reception into Hell	22066-176	111
Jesus before Herod	22177-427	251
Mary's Lament	22428-55	18
Jesus before Pilate (II)	22446-731	286
The Flagellation (III)	22732-23009	278
Jesus before Pilate (III)	23010-179	70
Souls in Hell (incl. devils' preparations to defend their captives)	23180-408	229
The Dream of Pilate's Wife	23409-85	78
Jesus before Pilate (IV)	23486-845	360
(incl. fetching thieves,	[23656-85]	
the carpenter, and smith)	[23754-845]	
Calvary's Way	23846-24561	716
(incl. Filii Jerusalem,	[23996-24109]	
God, the Father,	[24450-79]	
the Congregation of devils	[24480-529]	
Archangel Michel comforts Christ	24530-61	32
The Crucifixion	24562-26233	1617
(incl. Planctus	[24630-84]	[55]
	[24774-97]	[24]
	[25308-502]	[115]
	[25978-93]	[18]
		222
Satan's Plainte,	[25026-65]	
The Torturer and Satan,	[25700-817]	
St. Denis and Empedocles discuss the eclipse,	[26074-139]	
Plainte of the Angels)	[26140-223]	
The Harrowing of Hell	26244-425	202
Death of the Thieves and Longinus Episode	26426-707	282

Table 12 (cont'd)

Scene	Verses	Total
Descent from the Cross (incl. Planctus)	26708-27237 [26972-27017] [27034-237]	530 [46] [104]
Preparations for and Setting of the Guard	27238-429	192
Close of the Third Day	27430-51	22
THE FOURTH DAY		
Prolog to the Fourth Day	27452-630	179
Guarding the Sepulchre (I)	27631-737	107
Discussion of Joseph of Arimathea's Punishment	27738-28054	317
The Mourning Maries	28055-121	67
The Arrest of Joseph	28122-389	268
The Ointment Purchase	28390-465	76
Distress of the Disciples	28466-781	316
Guarding the Sepulchre (II)	28782-867	86
The Council of Devils	28868-986	119
The Council of God and the Angels	28987-29085	99
The Resurrection (incl. Christ's Appearance to the Virgin)	29086-526 [29112-80]	441 [69]

Table 13. The Scenic Structure of *Donau*

Scene	Verses	Total
FIRST DAY		
Introduction	1-82	82
Mary Magdalene in gaudio (I)	83-130	48
Christ and Simon	131-50	20
Mary Magdalene (II) (incl. repentance, forgiveness, and reception into her family)	151-392	215
The Temptation of Christ	292-329	47
The Miracles of Healing	440-547	135
An Attempt to Trick Christ	575-654	80
The Samaritan Woman	655-774	120
Healing the Young Man	775-819	45
Jesus and the Pharisees (I)	820-74	55
The Adulteress	875-954	80
Healing the Blind Man	955-78	24
The Blind Man and the Pharisees	979-1140	162
Cleansing the Temple	1141-90	50
Raising Lazarus	1191-350	160
Jesus and the Pharisees (II)	1351-1472	122
The Intrigue of the High Priests	1473-1504	32
Christ with Lazarus' Family	1505-44	40
The Entry into Jerusalem	1545-1660	116
Judas' Bargain	1661-1729	69
SECOND DAY		
Introduction	1730-40	11
(incl. Angels- *Silete*)	[1730]	[1]
Proclamator	[1731-40]	[10]

Table 13 (cont'd)

Scene	Verses	Total
Preparations for the Last Supper	1741-86	46
The Passover Meal (I)	1787-1870	84
Judas' Betrayal	1871-82	12
The Passover Meal (II)	1883-1999	117
The Garden	2000-96	97
The Arrest	2097-2182	86
Jesus before the High Priests (incl. the Flagellation I)	2183-2387	205
Peter's Denial	2388-2421	34
Judas' Remorse	2422-2539	118
Jesus before Pilate (I)	2540-2629	90
Jesus before Herod	2630-2763	134
Jesus before Pilate (II)	2764-2841	78
The Flagellation (II)	2842-2925	84
Jesus before Pilate (III) (incl. Dream of Pilate's Wife)	2926-3050	125
The Way of the Cross	3041-3246	196
The Crucifixion (incl. Planctus)	3247-3577 [3547-77]	331 [31]
The Debate between Christiana and Iudaea (I)	3578-3631	54
The Descent from the Cross (incl. Planctus)	3632-99 [3664-87]	68 [24]
The Debate between Christiana and Iudaea (II)	3700-3809	110
Setting the Guards	3810-93	84

Table 13 (cont'd.)

Scene	Verses	Total
The Resurrection	3894-3907	14
The Harrowing of Hell	3908-4048	141
Discovery of the Empty Tomb	4049-90	42
The Ointment Purchase and Visitatio Sepulchri	4091-4177	87

Table 14. The Scenic Structure of *Alsfeld**

Scene	Verses	Total
FIRST DAY		
Prolog	1-132	132
Council of Devils	133-463	331
John Baptizes Jesus	464-535	72
John and Herod	536-619	84
Council of Devils against John	620-97	78
The Arrest of John (incl. John's Disciples with Jesus)	698-831	134
Death of John	878-1039	162
Punishment of Herodias and Daughter	1040-1137	98
The Temptation of Christ	1138-97	60
Calling the Disciples	1198-1252	55
Introduction of Herod and Pilate	1253-88	38
Jesus Reveals Future Suffering	1289-98	10
Jesus and the Samaritan Woman	1299-1412	114
Healing the Blind Man	1413-1647	235
The Canaanite Woman	1648-1721	74
Jesus in the Synagoge	1722-69	48
Mary Magdalene in gaudio	1770-1937	168
Mary Converted	1938-2058	121
		289
Healing the Rich Man's Son	2059-2118	60
The Raising of Lazarus	2119-2332	214
Council of Jews on Seeing Lazarus Resurrected	2333-2400	68

*This synopsis of major scenes taken from Froning, pp. 562-6.

Table 14 (cont'd)

Scene	Verses	Total
Preparations for Journey to Jerusalem	2401-24	24
Council of Jews	2425-81	57
The Entry into Jerusalem	2482-2649	168
Cleansing of the Temple	2640-77	28
The Adulteress	2678-2723	46
The Visit with Simon	2724-2909	186
Proclamator's Closing Remarks	2910-29	20
SECOND DAY		
Introduction	2930-3013	84
The Last Supper (incl. Judas' Bargain)	3014-3297	284
The Mount of Olives and Christ's Arrest	3298-3445	148
Christ before Annas	3446-3513	68
Peter's Denial (I)	3514-29	16
Christ before Caiaphas (incl. Peter's Denial II, and Judas' Repentance)	3530-3669 [3581-3601] [3606-69]	140
Christ before Pilate (I) (incl. the Twelve Banners)	3670-4023	354
Jesus before Herod	4024-4149	123
Jesus before Pilate (II) (incl. Dream of Pilate's Wife)	4150-4479	330
Disputation between Ecclesia and Synagoga	4480-5263	784
Proclamator's Closing Remarks- noted only		

Table 14 (cont'd)

Scene	Verses	Total
THIRD DAY		
The Way of the Cross	5264-5565	302
The Crucifixion (incl. Planctus, Longinus)	5566-6522	957
The Descent from the Cross	6523-6838	316
Preparation for and Placement of the Guards	6839-7026	188
The Resurrection	7027-76	50
The Harrowing of Hell	7077-7298	222
The Guards before Pilate and the Jews	7299-7482	184
The Ointment Purchase	7483-7631	149
Visitatio Sepulchri	7632065	34
The Apostles and Women at the Grave	7666-7709	44
Jesus Appears to Mary and Peter	7710-35	26
Jesus Appears to Mary Magdalene	7736-63	28
Mary Magdalene's Report to the Disciples	7764-85	52
Christ Appears to Disciples and Ascends to Heaven	7786-7937	152
Pentecost	7938-97	60
The Division of the Disciples	7998-8069	72
Closing Remarks of Proclamator	8070-95	26

FOOTNOTES

FOOTNOTES
Preface- xi-xiv

[1]Barbara Tuchman, "Hazards on the way to the Middle Ages," *The Atlantic Monthly*, 236, #6 (Dec. 1975), 72-8, deals with numerous difficulties in the study of medieval culture.

[2]Frederich P. Pickering, *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1970), pp. 5-7, offers many astute observations concerning scholarly interpretation of medieval literature. His statement on formulations substituted for fact by modern interpretation should be enough to caution us all that regardless of the methodology we choose, we ourselves project a picture of a literary work which is far from the original: "They are therefore not medieval, nor are they modern, but historical, for at the same time as they appeal to us they refer the poet, or his treatment of his subject . . . to the Middle Ages as they are seen by the expounder" (p. 7).

[3]V.A Kolve, *The Play Called Corpus Christi* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), p. 8.

CHAPTER I- Introduction
pages 1-22

[1]Hans Meyerhoff, *Time in Literature* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: Univsity of California Press, 1960), p. 1.

[2]The term 'medieval *religious* drama' will be implied throughout this study whenever the words 'medieval drama' appear. Though medieval religious drama is by no means the sole representative of the dramatic genre of the Middle Ages, it is recognized as the most important and pervasive form. The medieval Passion play is a specific sub-grouping under the general heading 'medieval drama', having to do with a fixed type of material. In the context of this paper, 'medieval drama' will not intend validity of any observation for Saints' plays, Christmas plays, or Moralities.

[3]Georges Poulet, "The Course of Human Time," trans. Elliot Coleman, *The Hopkins Review*, Spring-Summer (1953), p. 7.

[4]*Loc. cit.*

[5]Hardin Craig,*The English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 16.

[6]Poulet, p. 9.

[7]Kolve, p. 117.

[8]*Loc, cit.*

[9]Roman Ingarden, *Vom Erkennen des Literarischen Kunstwerks* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1968), pp. 119-120.

[10]Sarah Appleton Weber, "The Theology of Sacred History," *Theology and Poetry in the Middle English Lyric* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1969), p. 3.

[11]*Loc.cit.*

[12]Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L.A. Manyon (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 74.

[13]Robert Scholes and Robert Kellogg, *The Nature of Narrative* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 134.

[14]Weber, p. 8.

[15]*Ibid.*, p. 9.

[16]*Loc. cit.*

[17]*Ibid.*, p. 12.

[18]*Ibid.*, p. 11.

[19]*Ibid.*, p. 10.

[20]St. Augustine, *Confessionum* 11.31: *PL* 32.822: *"nam si et varie corpus aliquando movetur, aliquande stat, non solum motum eius, sed etiam statim tempore metimur et cicimus: 'tantum stetit, quantum motum est' aut: 'duplo vel triplo stetit ad id quod motum est' et si quid aliud nostra dimensio sive conprehenderit sive existimaverit, ut dici solet plus minum. non ergo tempus corporis motus."*

[21]*PL* 32. 816-817.

[22]*PL* 32. 818-819. This fact is recognized by literary theoreticians of our own day. Ingarden expresses this necessity of objects passing through a process of presentness, of being 'in actu esse', before they can be described as past. In like manner a future object or event can only be so described as one which has not yet seen reality in the present. Without the present phase of 'in actu esse', there can logically be no past or future; Ingarden, *Das Literarische Kunstwerk* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1965), pp. 248-249.

[23]*PL* 32. 819.

[24]Paul Böckmann, *Formgeschichte der Deutschen Dichtung*, 3. Auflage (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, 1967), I, p. 8.

[25]*Ibid.*, p. 9.

[26]Ingarden, *DLK* , pp. 309-310.

[27]Böckmann, p. 13.

[28]*Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

[29]Maria Müller, *Tragische Elemente im Passionsspiel des Mittelalters* (diss: Göttingen, 1952), p. 11.

[30]*Alsfeld* 76-79. Throughout the ensuing analysis, all texts quoted from Passion plays will be identified by an abbreviation of the relevant Passion accompanied by verses noted in Arabic numerals. In the case of unnumbered rubrics, the footnote will include an abbreviation of the Passion play, followed by the letters BA (Bühnenanweisung), and the number of the verse immediately *following* the stage direction.

[31]Böckmann, p. 20.

[32]Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stage: 1300-1600* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959), I, p. 121. All quotes taken from Volume I.

[33]*Ibid.*, p. 120; see also F.M. Salter, *Medieval Drama in Chester* (1955; rpt, New York: Russell and Russell, 1968), p. 53.

[34]Wickham, *EES*, p. 122.

[35]It should be remembered that guilds were not only work-centered organizations, but bands of religious people as well (one can point to the patron saint revered by each guild as evidence of the religious bent of guilds). Additionally, it is recalled that in France religious guilds called *Puys* or *Confréries* existed solely for the performance of the mysteries, such as the *Confrérie de la Passion* of Paris, which, it appears, was actively performing mysteries before 1380: Grace Frank, *The Medieval French Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), pp. 145-147.

[36]Alan Reynolds Thompson, *The Anatomy of Drama* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946), p. x. Although Thompson places too much significance on bibliographic fact as the fundamental consideration for works of art, he recognizes the necessity of researching beyond the text to ascertain cultural forces which enter into the artistic equation. He does not specifically state that this involves the *intention* of the work, but his ideas corroborate those of Ingarden and other phenomenologists on the subject.

[37]Eberhard Lämmert, *Bauformen des Erzählens*, 5. Auflage (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1972), p. 250.

[38]Lämmert, p. 250.

[39]*Ibid.*, p. 249

[40]Marius Sepet, *Le Drame Religieux au Moyen Age*, 3e édition (Paris: Librarie Bloud & Cie., 1908), p. 42; also Harold C. Gardiner, *Mysteries End: An Investigation of the Last Days of the Medieval Religious Stage* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946), p. 94.

[41]Ingarden, *DLK*, p. 338.

[42]As the title of his work indicates, Pütz is primarily interested in techniques by which authors create suspense and anticipation. Sharing in this dissertation are the various other temporal aspects developed from structural analysis which investigate such entities as represented time and length (time) of presentation, parallel actions, psycho-intellectual moments, and temporal foreshortening. In developing the structure of medieval Passions, Pütz's work offers a substantial, but nevertheless partial statement on their temporal reality. To adequately understand the artistry of medieval drama one must also give attention to these other temporal phenomena.

[43]Craig, p. 9.

[44]Boletta, p. 172.

[45]Alan E. Knight, "The Medieval Theater of the Absurd," *PMLA*, 86 (1971), p. 184.

[46]Wickham, *EES*, p. xxv;

[47]Wickham, *EES*, pp. 4-5.

[48]Waldo F. McNeir, "Corpus Christi Passion Plays as Dramatic Art," *Studies in Philology*, 48 (1951), p. 602. Wickham, *EES*, xxxiv-xxxvii, makes convincing the case that Shakespeare's theater is the heir to countless dramatic strategies and staging conventions perfected in the mystery plays of preceding centuries.

[49]Maria Müller, *Elemente*, p. 16; also Hennig Brinkmann, "Die Eigenform des mittelalterlichen Dramas in Deutschland," *GRM* 18 (1930), 20-21.

[50]Kolve, pp. 57-58; Eleanor Prosser, *Drama and Religion in the English Mystery Plays*, Stanford Studies in Language and Literature Nr. 23 (Stanford:Stanford University Press, 1961), pp. 16-17, 23-24.

[51]Maria Müller, *Elemente*, p. 87.

[52]*Loc. cit.*

[53]Dieter Hasselbaltt, *Zauber und Logik: Eine Kafka-Studie* (Köln: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1964), pp. 37-45.

[54]Wilhelm Kosch, *Deutsches Literaturlexikon*, 2. Auflage (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1956), III. 1985.

[55]Those Passions most nearly approaching the strict description offered by Kosch are *Montecassino, Palat, Autun B* and *R.*

[56]Among the countless investigations into the origins of medieval drama in the liturgy of Eastertide, the outline offered by Wolfgang Michael, „Deutsche Literatur bis 1500: Drama", *Kurzer Grundrisz der Germanischen Philologie Bis 1500*. Ed. Ludwig Erich Schmitt. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1971. II, 573-84, is particularly cogent.

[57]Early scholars like de Julleville in France, Creizenach and Wechssler in Germany, and Karl Young and Edward Chambers in England all placed the *planctus Mariae* at the center of Passion development. Sandro Sticca's conclusions, as presented in *The Latin Passion Play: Its Origins and Development* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1970), provides a more satisfying and plausible answer by attributing the Passion play to "the Christocentric mysticism and piety of the eleventh and twelfth centuries . . ." (p. 125). Sticca's work with the history and text of *Montecassino* calls into question the fundamental thesis of earlier scholars that all existing Passions contained a *planctus*, that these were suitable for dramatic use, and that they were occasionally spoken by impersonators, by showing a Passion which pre-dates all known dramatizations of its kind in Western Europe and contains a dimunitive three-line *planctus* within the structure of a fully-developed and highly dramatic presentation of the trials of Christ before the Crucifixion. See also Wolfgang Michael, *Das Deutsche Drama des Mittelalters* (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1971), pp. 34-35; Émile Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIV^e au XVI^e Siècle*, Revue Bourguignonne (Dijon: L'Université de Dijon, 1903-94), Tome XIII, p. 6*.

[58]Michael, *Deutsche Drama*, p. 35.

[59]Hardin Craig mentions the existence of true Passion plays in southern England which resembled their nominal counterparts on the continent in form. London is believed to have been one of the centers of English Passion production (p. 153). Most recently Alan Nelson has taken issue with Craig in *The Medieval Stage* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1974), pp. 172ff.

[60]I refer to Walter Meyers, *A Figure Given: Typology in the Wakefield Plays* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1970); also Kolve, pp. 57-100.

[61]Of the many investigations into drama on moveable platforms, that offered by Salter, pp. 54-82, for the city of Chester, is especially informative and thought-provoking.

[62]Prosser, p. 55

[63]Prosser, p. 55.

[64]*Loc. cit.*

[65]The date of *Montecassino* is based upon metrical analysis of the *versus tripartitus caudatus*, which occurs frequently throughout the text, and its application by Adam of St. Victor in sequences of the twelfth century necessarily predating our play; Sticca, *Passion*, pp. 60-61.

[66]Rolf Bergmann, *Studien zu Entstehung und Geschichte der Deutschen Passionsspiele des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1972), pp. 47-48. Bergmann postulates the copying of the codex of which the text is a portion at ca. 1250 and assigns its origin somewhat earlier in the thirteenth century. A paleographic analysis places the homeland of *BenP* in Bavaria, probably Tyrol or Kärnten.

[67]Bergmann first applies paleographic evidence of a Gothic script which closely resembles that current in the first half of the fourteenth century, and assigns the date of origin based upon linguistic evidence. The text appears to originate in the region around Mainz and Worms. Its name derives from its resting place in the monastic library of St. Gall; see also Hugo Stopp, *Untersuchungen zum St. Galler Passionsspiel* (Diss. Saarbrücken, 1959), pp. 117, 121.

[68]The edition by Eduard Hartl, the only one readily available to me, is not without its critics. For a discussion of critical shortcomings see Stopp, pp. 18-21; Ferdnand Mossé, *Chronique des Livres: Études germaniques*, 8e année, 1953, p. 285; Wolfgang F. Michael, *GR*, XXVIII (1953), pp. 157-158. Despite several problems with the edition, Hartl does not transpose scenes or events, a consideration of primary importance for any structural analysis. My design is not compromised in the same way a metrical or linguistic analysis might be.

[69]*Wien* is placed into the first half of the fourteenth century by Wilfried Werner, *Studien zu den Passions- und Osterspielen des deutschen Mittelalters in ihrem Uebergang vom Latein zur Volkssprache* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1963), p. 48. He believes the actual production to emanate from a time shortly after *BenP*, in the thirteenth century.

[70]Dated by Grace Frank, *La Passion du Palatinus: Mystère du XIV Siècle*, CFMA (Paris: Champion, 1922), p.

[71]Dated by Grace Frank, *La Passion D'Autun* (Paris: SATF, 1934), pp. 28-29. Her chronology rests on analysis of linguistic evidence. The *Autun* Passion is actually two related texts, *La Passion de Biard* and *La Passion de Roman*, the respective scribes of the manuscripts. Textual evidence seems to suggest that the Biard Passion was more likely intended to be read than performed. Although it is not, strictly speaking, a purely dramatic text, its development of the Passion material is interesting enough to warrant inclusion. It represents a peculiar combination of dramatic and epic possibilities.

[72]Although Craig believes the plays to have been ready for performance by about 1328 (pp. 169-170), the text as preserved dates from several years later. He also points to a stern conservatism in the city of Chester which aided the preservation of much of the original spirit from early performances (p. 195); also Wickham, *EES*, pp. 133-142.

[73]Dated by Martin Stevens, "The Composition of the Towneley Talents Play: A linguistic Examination," *JEGP*, LVIII (1959), p. 426. He bases his decision on linguistic analysis. The various attempts to date *Towneley* by studying its relationship to *York*, its often confusing alternation of meter and rhyme, its curious omission of standard biblical plays and substitution of non-Scriptural material forms one of the most interesting and extensive sidelights of medieval textual research. The reader is directed to the bibliography for several examples of such studies. See also John Gardner, *The Construction of the Wakefield Cycle* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1974), p. 140.

[74]Gréban, *Le Mistère de la Passion*, ed. Gaston Paris & Gaston Raynauld (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1878), p. II. Dating rests on the history of numerous manuscripts, especially that found by M.P. Paris in 1855.

[75]Dated by Rolf Steinbach, *Die Deutschen Oster- und Passionsspiele des Mittelalters*, Kölner Germanistische Studien, Band 4 (Köln/Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1970), p. 215.

[76]Dated By Richard Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters* (1891/92; rpt. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964), pp. 554-555.

Chapter II- Traditional Scholarship
pages 23-32

[1]Wilhelm Creizenach, *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas* (1911; rpt. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1965), 2 vols; Marius Sepet, *Le Drame Religieux au Moyen Ages*, 3e édition (Paris: Librarie Bloud & Cie., 1908); L. Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères* (Paris: Librarie Hachette & Cie., 1880), 2 vols; E.K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (London: Oxford University Press, 1903). For additional information attention is directed to the general bibliography.

[2]Mendel Frampton, in his study, "The Processus Talentorum (Towneley XXIV)," *PMLA*, LIX, (1944), 645-655, attempted to prove that this odd play was an old Millers' play from *York* taken over into about 1425. This idea has not withstood subsequent scrutiny. The exact date of composition remains unknown and we are left to extrapolate its origin from the date of ca. 1450. Further discussion of the textual anomolies and problems of *Towneley* can be found in the Stevens article.

[3]Marie C. Lyle, *The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles*, Studies in Language and Literature Nr. 6 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1919).

[4]Three of the innumerable examples are Frank Cady, "The Passion Group in Towneley," *Modern Philology*, 10 (1912-13), 487-600; Millicent Carey, "The Wakefield Group in the Towneley Cycle," *Hesperia: Schriften zur Englischen Philologie*, Erganzungsreihe 11. Heft (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1930); Frank Cady, "The Wakefield Group in Towneley," *JEGP*, 11 (1912), 244-263.

[5]Gustav Cohen, *Histoire de la Mise en Scéne dans le Théâtre Religieux Français du Moyen Age* (Paris: Champion, 1951).

[6]Wickham, *EES*, p. 172.

[7]Alan H. Nelson, "Some Configurations of Staging in Medieval English Drama," *Medieval English Drama*, Jerome Taylor and Alan H. Nelson, ed. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 129.

[8]Nelson, *The Medieval English Stage: Corpus Christi Pageants and Plays* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1974).

[9]Nelson, *Configurations*, 116-122; Wickham, *EES*, pp. 168-174.

[10]Among the numerous representatives of research into origin and development are: Paul E. Kretzmann, *The Liturgical Element in the Earliest Forms of the Medieval Drama with Special Reference to the English and German Plays*, Studies in Language and Literature, Nr. 4 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1916); Sticca, *Passion*,

[11]Prosser, p. 7.

[12]*Ibid.*, p. 12.

[13]McNeir, p. 602.

[14]That medieval English dramas were extremely proficuous constructs of medieval religious thought and that they were so well received prior to the reign of Henry VIII appears to have sealed their eventual doom at the hands of zealous Protestant reformers. Wickham and Gardner both find sufficient evidence in historical records of the period to trace a fear and loathing among Protestant leaders and beaurocrats which explains the unnatural death of the miracle plays in England.

[15]Prosser, p. 56. These three arguments are not raised solely in criticism of English drama. One encounters them in various form throughout secondary literature. I believe her rebuttals can be also generalized to include the other three cultural/linguistic groupings treated in this study. This analysis does not concentrate on any particular *cultural variation* of medieval drama, but rather on the generic relationship of medieval drama to mimetic presentation. This approach seems justified in light of the general literary unity of continental

Europe and England throughout much of the Middle Ages and the significant literary cross-fertilization which conveyed that unity. When the medieval drama is viewed as a dramatic entity, without specific reference to a linguistic grouping, it will be interpreted as referring to all medieval religious drama. One of the basic assumptions I make is that, although there be cultural and linguistic distinction in final theatrical products, and although each Passion is a singular literary entity, the origin of the material in the Church liturgy and application of Scripture to flesh out the dramatic framework, coupled with the position of the Church in medieval life, lead to similar results--similar but not identical. One of the reasons is certainly the didactic intent of all medieval drama. Hence, many critics will approach these dramas from a linguistic context, plays from the English, French, German, or Latin Middle Ages. They essentially criticize a specific cultural representative of the whole genre, but they often present argument of general interest and validity.

[16]Prosser, p. 57.

[17]Cf. below, p. 29, f. 1.

[18]Prosser, p. 185.

[19]*Ibid.*, p. 189.

[20]Brinkmann, *Eigenform*, p. 16-37; 81-98; also „Das religiöse Drama im Mittelalter: Arten und Stufen," *Wirkendes Wort*, IX (1959), 257-74.

[21]Brinkmann, *Eigenform*, p. 16.

[22]*Ibid.*, p. 21.

[23]*Ibid.*, p. 86.

[24]Ludwig Wolff, „Die Verschmelzung des Dargestellten mit der Gegenwartswirklichkeit im geistlichen Drama des deutschen Mittelalters," *DVjS*, VII (1929), 267-304. As was noted with Prosser, the context of Wolff's article is culturally/linguistically oriented. Inasmuch as he identifies a basic factor in all medieval drama, his observations contain validity for many of the non-German plays investigated herein.

[25]Wickham, *EES*, pp. 156-158; Kolve, pp. 101-123.

[26]Wickham, *EES*, p. 157.

[27]Kolve, p. 103.

[28]Examples of such studies are: Theo Meyer, *Die Gestalt Marias im Geistlichen Schauspiel des Deutschen Mittelalters* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1959); Brother Cornelius Luke, *The Rôle of the Virgin Mary in the Coventry, York, Chester and Towneley Cycles* (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1933); Maximilian Rudwin, *Der Teufel in den Deutschen Geistlichen Spielen des Mittelalters* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1915).

Hans Carl Holdschmidt, *Der Jude auf dem Theater des Deutschen Mittelalters*, Die Schaubühne: Quellen und Forschungen zur Theatergeschichte, Nr. 12 (Emsdetten: Heinrich Leichte, 1935). The latter must be approached with extreme care, as it appeared at an unfortunate period of German letters. Holdschmidt suffers, as does his scholarship, from a deeply-ingrained National-Socialist bias against Judaism. When employed purely for historical purposes, such as the identification of possible living namesakes for Jews found in late German Passions, this work is valuable. Holdschmidt's reasoning on the motives for negative character portrayal is, however, suspect.

[29]Arnold Williams, *The Characterization of Pilate in the Towneley Plays* (East Lansing: Michigan Stage College Press. 1950).

Chapter III- Methodology
pages 33-62

[1]We know that much of Schiller's later aesthetic attitudes concerning form in literature were the result of his study of Kant's *Kritik der Urteilskraft* (1790), wherein Kant maintained that „in aller schönen Kunst besteht das Wesentliche in der Form . . . nicht in der Materie der Empfindung" (paragraph 52); quoted from Böckmann, *Formgeschichte*, p. 12.

[2]Böckmann presents an excellent review of the development of a form consciousness in German literature and discussion of several German authors whose ideas contributed to its study (pp. 7-20).

[3]Dilthey's development towards phenomenology can clearly be seen in his works; *Die Einbildungskraft des Dichters* (1887), *Das Wesen der Philosophie* (1907), and *Die Typen der Weltanschauung* (1911).

[4]Among the works of Husserl most useful for the development of several tenets of phenomenology are the articles: „Ideen zu einer reinen Phänomenologie" (1913), „Vorlesungen zur Phaenomenologie des inneren Zeitbewusztseins" (edited by Heidegger, 1928), and his two-volume work, *Logische Untersuchungen* (1900/01).

[5]Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit* (1927).

[6]Ingarden, *Erkennen*, p. 12.

[7]Böckmann, *Formgeschichte*, pp. 21-22.

[8]*Loc. cit.*

[9]*Ibid.*, p. 27.

[10]Ingarden, *Erkennen*, p. 12.

[11]For an excellent discussion of the joys of 'active' reading, see Ingarden, *Erkennen*, pp. 35-40, 57-58.

[12]Ingarden, *DLK*, p. 25.

[13]*Loc. cit.*

[14]*Loc. cit.*

[15]The terms „Sinneinheit" (unity of sense) and „Bedeutungseinheit" (unity of meaning) must be considered separately, for in their literary application as aspects of formal structure, they are not synonomous. „Bedeutungseinheit" deals with the meaning of individual sounds and combinations of sounds and words and the mutations they may undergo. „Sinneinheit" explains the unity of sense communicated by the interplay of several levels functioning together. It stands above individual semantic meanings and is more closely related to the 'idea' expressed through particular structures manipulated and altered by the artist.

[16]Ingarden, *DLK*, p. 25.

[17]*Ibid.*, p. 26.

[18]*Ibid.*, p. 11.

[19]*Ibid.*, pp. 30-61.

[20]*Ibid.*, p. 44.

[21]Ingarden insists that some sort of rhythmical quality is inherent in all literary texts, the only observable variation occurring in its impressiveness and force (*DLK*, p. 46).

[22]*Ibid.*, pp. 61-229.

[23]For a discussion of words in context and related linguistic phenomena specifically applied to medieval literature, see Pickering, *Lit and Art*, pp. 75-83, 117-18.

[24]Ingarden, *DLK*, pp. 121-33.

[25]*Ibid.*, pp. 131-33.

[26]*Ibid.*, pp. 133-52.

[27]*Ibid.*, pp. 152-61.

[28]Although the evidence set forth provides convincing proof of the author's awareness of creative skills during the literary process, of the dependence of the work and its structure on conscious mental decisions, it would be incorrect to assume an all-encompassing knowledge and cognition by the writer of the deeper, more subtle results of his creation. Certainly much of the basic structure is deliberately formed according to an overall intention, but the specific artistic and aesthetic elements may also be unconscious products of the fundamental objective. Much of the time structure of medieval Passions indicate, I believe, just such consequences.

[29]Ingarden, *DLK*, p. 223.

[30]But only to a point; for as has been mentioned, excessive recapitulation or the excessive assailing of emotions can lead to deadened perception and a concomitant loss of attention. The exact point of diminishing returns seems to depend on the social, cultural, and religious context of the time. That which tires modern readers is not necessarily that which caused a similar reaction in medieval minds. This may very well be another instance of the divergence of medieval and modern religious thought. Such an example is provided by Helmut Niedner when he discusses the question of production length of French and German plays: *Die Deutschen und Franzosischen Osterspiele bis zum 15. Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur Theatergeschichte des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Ebering, 1932), pp. 122-23.

[31]Such is the case with *Montecassino*. Its structure appears relatively simple and unassuming. But a complete phenomenological analysis of this play would also consider the high degree of mastery and skill purveying the verse form and the individual strengths of the Latin words. An in-depth examination would present a play evincing careful metrical and stylistic management, a skill also to be valued in literary creation. *Montecassino* in fact possesses a linguistic structure far more impressive than most of the Passion plays which postdate it. There is a satisfying unity of language and metrical form not possible in vernacular German, French, of English.

[32]Ingarden, *DLK*, pp. 229-70.

[33]*Ibid.*, p. 229.

[34]*Loc. cit.*

[35]These problems of literature may be as varied as human experience itself. The metaphoric of a work may be composed of questions of love, hate, war, society, nature, religion, or perhaps a combination of two or more basic categories. To adequately describe the metaphoric of medieval drama might entail consideration of problems such as transcendent love, fallible human society, and universal Catholic religion.

[36]Much of Ingarden's analysis involves the careful definition of the peculiar ontological structure of the objects occupying this third level. To investigate each of them adequately would lead us too far from our main topic. Suffice it to say that he carefully preserves the boundaries between 'real' characters, places, times, and happenings and their literary counterparts by identifying the peculiar psychic phenomena which comprise the reading or personal experience of literature. Ingarden's conclusion that concepts such as represented time and place have a specific relationship to the intentional manipulation by the writer of the tale are of paramount interest and importance, for they provide yet another confirmation of the conscious nature of literary structure predicated upon specific ideas.

[37]Ingarden, *DLK*, p. 247.

[38]Ingarden, *DLK*, p. 282.

[39]*Ibid.*, p. 281.

[40]*Ibid.*, pp. 281, 283-4.

[41]*Ibid.*, p.287.

[42]Wickham, *EES*, p. 118.

[43]Though primary emphasis is placed on the written record of Passion performances, it is recognized that the resultant study can only reconstitute a portion of their staged realities. Omer Jodogne, "Le théâtre français du moyen âge: recherches sur l'aspect dramatique des textes," *The Medieval Drama*, ed. Sandro Sticca (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972), p. 1, has correctly marked the incompleteness of a theatrical representation relegated to textual form by observing that the director of a play can directly influence the manner in which the text is enlivened by actors and accepted by spectators. He accomplishes this by imposing his own elements of stage technique, tone of the actor's delivery, and his own personal understanding and relationship to textual material. Hennig Brinkmann, *Eigenform*, p. 95, also sees difficulty in relying only on texts, for the plays themselves have no independent literary-historical being. According to Brinkmann, the text exists only for the playing, which receives life only upon presentation. While this is irrefutable, the written word is our only reliable connection to the mimetic rites themselves and the form they probably adopted. The text is of interest inasmuch as it represents the form employed to convey attitudes and teachings. Since the plays evince necessary movement in time, several temporal relationships found in the texts must be assumed to have been present in the staged forms as well. Without this basic assumption, any attempt to reconstruct possible implications for the material becomes impossible, as does any correlation between text and stage. For further discussion of presentational techniques and their interaction with the text, see Paul Zumthor, *Essai de Poétique Médiévale* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1972), p. 41; also Wickham, *EES*, p. xxvi.

[44]Helena M. Gamer, "Mimes, Musicians, and the Origin of the Medieval Religious Play," *Deutsche Beiträge zur Geistlichen Ueberlieferung*, V (1965), 9-28, provides a succinct review of the unity of word and music. Substantial application of musical forms in the Passions emanating from the Mass, other liturgical forms, and early liturgical drama are known to have been effected. Sandro Sticca, "Drama and Spirituality in the Middle Ages," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, New Series Nr. 4 (1973), pp. 70-73, provides insights into the role of music in the liturgy and in early dramatic performances which were germinal for its application in later Passion and Mystery plays. For additional information consult William L. Smoldon, "The Melodies of Medieval Church-Drama and Their Significance," *Comparative Drama*, II (1968), 185-209; R. Molitor, „Passionsspiel und Passionsliturgie," *Bekediktinische Monatsschrift*, V (1923), 105-116; Karl Dreimüller, „Die Musik im geistlichen Spiel des spaten deutschen Mittelalters," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, XXIV (1950), 27-34;

Helmuth Osterhoff, „Die Musik im Drama des deutschen Mittelalters," *Deutsche Musikkultur*, VIII (1943), 29-40.

[45]For a representative consideration of the importance and reception of gesticulation, see Walther Müller, *Der Schauspielerische Stil im Passionsspiel des Mittelalters* (Leipzig: Hermann Eichblatt Verlag, 1927).

[46]In the instance of *BenP*, one cannot completely rely even on textual evidence to ascertain which phrases were spoken and which were sung. Ernst Schuler, *Die Musik der Osterfeieren, Osterspiele, und Passionen des Mittelalters* (Kassel und Basel: Bärenreiter, 1951), p. 31, remarks that the linguistic separation of *cantat* and *dicat* were not always observed, as the latter occasionally infered musical as well as declamatory delivery; also Friedrich-Otto Knoll, *Die Rolle der Maria Magdalena im geistlichen Spiel des Mittelalters: Ein Beitrag zur Kultur- und Theatergeschichte Deutschlands*, Germanisch und Deutsch: Studien zur Sprache und Kultur, 8. Heft (Berlin und Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1934), p. 91.

[47]Wolfgang Kayser, *Das Sprachliche Kunstwerk*, 12. Auflage (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1967), pp. 335-6.

[48]Ingarden, *DLK* , p. 327. The author carefully avoids any implication that the work of art itself is temporally extended in any fashion. The text as such exists as a totality, the first page just as the last, all at the same time: „Auch müszte man im Sinne dieser Auffassung zugeben, dasz manche Teile des literarischen Werkes, ‚früher' als die anderen sind und dasz sie im Moment, wo die ‚späteren' Teile gelesen werden, nicht mehr existieren... während es doch in Bezug auf das Werk selbst evident ist, dasz es, nachdem es einmal entstanden ist, in allen seinen Teilen zugleich existiert und keiner seiner Teile in diesem zeitlichen Sinne ‚früher' bzw. ‚später' ist" (p. 327). The experience an audience has is the temporal extention of the concretization (Konkretisation) of the work, an *intellectual* encounter. One recalls again Augustine's remarks concerning the individual subjective experience of the three time modi.

[49]Ingarden, *Erkennen*, p. 331.

[50]*Loc. cit.*

[51]This very technique is often applied in the modern theater of the absurd, where conventional experiences of time are intentionally distorted or dissolved. Friedrich Dürrenmatt's *Die Ehe des Herrn Mississippi* employs such a device by attending the main character's execution preceding its motivation. This incongruity must subsequently be interpreted for the audience by the figure himself.

[52]Ingarden, *DLK*, pp. 332-3.

[53]*Loc. cit.*

[54] These are attempts to render the German terms, „Spielzeit" and „Gespielte Zeit", two derivatives from phenomenological understandings of epic literature. They relate generically to the „Erzählzeit" and „Erzählte Zeit" of narration, as formulated by Günther Müller in „Erzaehlzeit und erzählte Zeit," *Festschrift für Paul Kluckhohn und Hermann Schneider* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1948), pp. 195-212. Lämmert discusses the two terms at length; Ingarden refers to the fundamental differences as „die Zeit der realen Welt" and „dargestellte Zeit", Petsch as „Spielzeit" and „Handlungszeit". The application of the basic terminology takes cognizance of the peculiarities of theatrical performance and its mimetic, imitative, and representational nature.

[55] Pütz, p. 52.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

[57] Wolff, *Verschmelzung*, p. 267.

[58] Kolve, pp. 8-32.

[59] Robert Petsch, *Wesen und Formen des Dramas* (Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1945), p. 223.

[60] *Loc. cit.*

[61] Ingarden, *DLK*, pp. 241-242.

[62] *Loc. cit.* Although he bases his discussion specifically on a textual communication with literature, Ingarden's observations certainly are equally valid for the physical, immediate experience of lively presentation. Similar observations are made by J.B. Priestley, *Man and Time* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1964), pp. 118-21.

[63] Ingarden, *Erkennen*, p. 108.

[64] *Loc. cit.*

[65] Emil Staiger, *Grundbegriffe der Poetik*, 2. Auflage (München: DTV, 1972), p. 118.

[66] Petsch, p. 224.

[67] See below, pp.

[68] "*Erat autem hora tertia: et crucifixerunt eum...*" (Mark xv:25-26); "*Et hora nona exclamavit Jesus voce magna,...*" (Mark xv: 34-35); "*...Jesus autem emissa voce magna exspiravit.*" (Mark xv: 37-38); also Honorius of Autun: "*Tertia hora est flagellatus,... Sexta hora est crucifixus... Nona hora mortuus est*" (172, 633-634).

[69] The *planctus* of *Alsfeld* is extended by several repetitive phrases. Christ thrice cries: "*Hely, hely, lamazabathani,*" each supported by a slight variation ("*...hoc est: deus meus, deus meus, utquid*

derelequisti me?"- BA 6159; *"...Ach herre vatter myn,/ nu liden ich alszo groisse pyn!"*- 6198-6199; *"Isz musz an mer vollengan,/ das die propheten vor gesworen hon!"*- 6216-6217). Mary immediately responds after each speech: *"O we, o we, ich horte eynen ruff!* (6172-617, 6201, 6217). The latter two examples are shortened in the text to the initial lament, with an appended *"ut supra"*. Shortly thereafter Mary complains: *"Hercze brich! swert nu stich unnd loisz mich myt em sterben/ader ich musz hie under eme szo jemmerlichen vorterben etc."* (6442-6443), indicating a portion of the lament presented, but not included in the manuscript. This notation would appear to betray a generally familiar complaint, the remaining words being superfluous for the actress, subsequent players, director, and perhaps the audience as well. With this in mind, there appears little logical or dramatic necessity for two further repetitions of identical sentiments (6478, 6488). The result is an undramatic, retarding extension of Mary's lament, serving questionable documentary, lyrical, or emotional purpose.

[70]Cf. below, Appendix B. The play of *Montecassino* rarely interrupts the ritualistic and sketchy dramatization to dwell on specific developments or characters, a fact of considerable importance for the reconstruction of possible intentions behind the work, and the spirituality inherent in the acceptance of such a presentation. *Autun B* and *Autun R* fill stage time with the generally accepted outline of events culminating in the Betrayal, Judgement, and Crucifixion. There occur few interruptions of 'historical' chronology, save the forging of the nails common to most French Passions. With the period under consideration between five and six 'historical' days, it is immediately apparent that significant portions of the basic Scriptural account have been severely foreshortened, curtailed, or totally eliminated. *Palat* likewise reflects substantial foreshortening.

[71]*BenP*, although it comprises only 289 verses, relates the extensive period from the Calling of the Disciples to Joseph's request for the Savior's human remains. Represented time covers months, perhaps years. The skeletal character of represented time and its relationship to the message of *BenP* has been the subject of several inquiries, the latest being Michael Rudick's article, "Theme, Structure, and Sacred Context in the Benediktbeuern 'Passion' Play," *Speculum*, 49 (1974), 267-86. Rudick has offered several plausible premises for such a sweep of action within a narrow presentational time. Since *Montecassino* exhibits a much more pointed time of representation several years prior to the writing of *BenP*, we will wish to carefully study the time structure of the latter to ascertain possible reasons for its heavily-contoured form. *StG* evidences representative trends which culminate in the great German Passions of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. A substantial amount of artistic culling and intensification has been accomplished; previously unknown characters like *Augustinus*, several named pharisees, and a host of individualized Jews are introduced into represented time. All these make for more technically dynamic and artistically varied presentation. *StG* clearly indicates the inherent energy of the Passion beginning to surface in works of the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Poets seem motivated by factors other than pure ritualism. The increased complexity of represented

time mirrors this development. Represented time of *Donau* undergoes several mutations, both forward and backward, with many complete dissolutions of represented time into the actual temporal surroundings of the audience. A *Proclamator* introduces the play, a character named *Christiana* intensifies and interprets the represented facts for spectators. Devils initiate a represented time which is best seen as a mythical time frame, thereby adding a novel dimension to the artistic management of time.

[72]The active participation of the terms here called acceleration and retardation were distinguished midway into the last century. In 1912 Mable Buland, *Presentation of Time in the Elizabethan Drama* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1912), pp. 2-14, reported that two Shakespeare scholars, Nicholas Holpin and John Wilson, had discussed the phenomena in print during early 1849. Miss Buland refered to the terms as "double time".

[73]Henri Bergson, *Time and Free Will* (New York: Harper, 1960), pp. 75-132, investigates the intricate interrelationships of time, space, consciousness, and their psychological measurement. He notes the subjective nature of temporal experience as others, but analyzes the philosophical ramifications in greater detail. Bergson's work constitutes an interesting chapter culminating in the phenomenological study of literature.

[74]Pütz, p. 54.

[75]*Loc. cit.*

[76]Slawinska, "Les problèmes de la structure du drame," *Stil- und Formprobleme in der Literatur* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1961), p. 110. Careful distinction, however, must be drawn between scenes which are elongated in Scripture and those which become lengthened by additional material. In either instance, episodes of substantial length appear to possess attitudes and concepts which help define the work, its probable intent, and effect on audiences.

[77]Froning, pp. 257-61. Several scholars have investigated the process of accretion in Passion plays. I cite only a few of the representative works. Sticca identifies early tendencies towards increased realism in *Montecassino* (*Passion*, pp. 139-40); Brinkmann notices increased detail and resultant lengthening by the individualization of worldly and anti-Christian figures (*Eigenform*, p. 27); Grace Frank provides insights into the early situation of scenic elongation exhibited by *Palat* (*Drama*, p. 238); Arnold Williams, *The Drama of Medieval England* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1961), pp. 38-54, addresses himself to the 'secularization' process in the English plays.

[78]It is obvious from textual evidence that some scenes were either staged with minimum dramatic intensity or perhaps not at all. *Montecassino* reports the flagellation only in rubrics. The scene is regarded as taking place simultaneously with the Devil's appearance to Pilate's wife, thereby lessening its dramatic impact ("*dum uxor eius dormit et ligatur ad columpnam et flagellatur et tamdiu stet Iesus ligatus quo*

usque ancilla redierit a Pilato"- BA 171). Judas' suicide is also intimated, but left undramatized, for it coincides with another, more important episode of Christ led to Pilate (*"Et Iudas exit et suspendit se. Interim loricati ducant Iesum ligatum coram Pilato dicentes. . ."*- BA 138). The skeletal presentation of several scenes from *BenP* can be seen by reference to Table 2.

[79]Although these early accounts are generally brief and sketchy, one can already observe areas of later embellishment and intensification. Sticca, *Passion*, pp. 139-140, sees the inclusion of a vernacular three-line *planctus* in *Montecassino* as evidencing a desire to secure greater audience participation in the Passion. He also documents the increased dramatization of Mary Magdalene's role in *BenP* and notes the coincidence of this more detailed scene with that period of greatest development of the Magdalene cult in Germany (p. 138). Theo Meier, in tracing the rising veneration of the Virgin, presents convincing evidence that devotion to Mary played an important part in the emerging literature of the twelfth century. He places particular importance on the treatises of Bernard (*Liber de Passione*) and Pseudo-Anselm (*Dialogus Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini*). It is not surprising, then, that two of the first instances of scenic elongation would be centered around the two Maries, the Magdalene in her sinful life and the Mother of Christ at the Crucifixion.

[80]Cf. below, pp. 390-4. As will be seen in subsequent analysis, all the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Passions, *Towneley* excepted, indicate a disruptive lack of temporal dynamics in the handling of the trial before Herod. The scene serves only to arbitrarily lengthen already broadened statements.

[81]Meyers, *Figure*, p. 19.

[82]*Ibid.*, p. 20.

[83]Pütz (pp. 47-48) describes interruption of plot („abgebrochene Handlung") as a possible quality of succession. I have shifted the emphasis from the seriate character of drama to one which more adequately explicates the traditional and doctrinal intention of medieval drama. As the discussion of temporal *suspension* directs attention to formal, didactic, and philosophical peculiarities of medieval Passions, consideration of interruption as a dramatic tool is best compared with aspects of tempo and not succession.

[84]That medieval spectators recognized and consciously considered the theoretical results of this extensive application of anachronism is extremely doubtful. Their presence, however, does define the peculiarly up-to-date manner of presentation for readers not contemporary with the plays themselves. Anachronism constitutes a useful quality by which to study the way in which history is made reality. It is another characteristic whose appearance is immediately obvious to later readers, but probably in no way contrary to medieval man's religious life.

[85]Pütz, p. 11.

[86]Thompson, p. 145.

[87]Pütz, p. 11.

[88]*Loc. cit.*

[89]Schreiber, "L'Univers compartimenté du théâtre médiévale," *French Review*, XLI (1968), p. 473.

[90]Thompson, *loc. cit.*

[91]Schreiber, *loc. cit.*

[92]Pütz, *loc. cit.*

[93]Schreiber, *loc. cit.*

[94]*Loc. cit.*

[95]Thompson, pp. 146-147. In like fashion Eugen Gerlötei, „Die Vorausdeutung in der Dichtung: Keime einer Anschauung vom Leben der Dichtung," *Helikon*, 2 (1939), p. 64, observes: „Die Vorausdeutung beglückt selten, erschüttert meist den Leser in seinem vorgreifenden Hinlauschen im voraus, ermöglicht ihm ein zielgerichtetes volleres Verständnis der kommenden nahen und fernen Phaseninhalte, löst und vertieft seine Spannung auf das ferne Ziel hin, läszt aber die Partie der Dichtung völlig unbekannt, die von ihr zu den vorgedeuteten Ereignissen führt."

[96]Prosser, p. 123.

[97]Attention is drawn to Pütz's excellent analysis of „Spannung" for other types of anticipation and suspense of lesser value here, especially pp. 11-17.

[98]*Ibid.*, p. 147.

[99]*Alsfeld* unnumbered after 3311, 3327, and 3335.

[100]*Alsfeld* 3312, 3328-9, 3336-7.

[101]Indeed, these continuous prophecies of ultimate suffering, contrasted with Christ's heart-felt human longing to put aside His pain, form a juxtaposition of the two souls in His breast, a juxtaposition of great potential for suspense creation. Several of the later playwrights successfully integrate the two into a scene (albeit of short duration) of highly-effective drama.

[102]„Gefühls-Spannung" is closely related to the psycho-intellectual moments discussed earlier.

Chapter IV- Formal Consideration of Drama and the Dramatic
pages 63-73

[1]Kayser, p. 332.

[2]Robert Edwards, "Techniques of Transcendence in Medieval Drama," *Comparative Drama*, VIII (1974), p. 159.

[3]Staiger, *Grundbegriffe*, p. 45.

[4]Staiger, quoted in Kayser, p. 333.

[5]Staiger, p. 155.

[6]Petsch, p. 7.

[7]Brinkmann, *Drama*, p. 257.

[8]Staiger, p. 119.

[9]Young, *DMC*, I, 80-81. All notes taken from vol. I.

[10]O.B. Hardison, Jr. *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), p. 31.

[11]*Loc. cit.*

[12]Weber, p. 7.

[13]Benjamin Hunningher, *The Origin of the Theater* (Amsterdam and The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1955). p. 51.

[14]Sepet also recognized the mimetic instinct of mankind and said of it: "L'instinct dramatique est naturel à l'homme; il suffit, pour n'en pas douter, de considerer les jeux des enfants" (p. 7). Hunningher investigates the instinct and comes to interesting conclusions (pp. 46-47).

[15]Cf. above, pp. 9-10.

[16]Young, *DMC*, pp. 412-414, investigates the ties between Church and liturgical drama; John Gardiner, pp. 1-19, provides convincing evidence that ecclesiastical injunctions until the latter quarter of the sixteenth century were directed more against clerical participation in and attendance upon *spectacula*. There also appears condemnation of the *Feast of Fools* rather than general prohibition against religious *miracula*. See also Sticca, *Passion*, pp. 168-169.

[17]Hunningher, p. 117.

[18]*Ibid.*, pp. 71-93.

[19]Gamer, *Mimes*, pp. 11-21, disputes Hunningher's evidence of mimes in the famous liturgical manuscript, Paris (B.N. lat 1118), and attacks his suggestion that mimes performed the tropes; Sticca, *Passion*, pp. 7-11, questions the place of the mime in early liturgical drama and Hunningher's contention that secular drama was superior to religious drama of the time; Michael, *Deutsche Drama*, p. 6, takes strong exception to the suggestion that a popular pagan drama, specifically „Kultspielen der Germanen", must have led towards early drama in services of medieval churches.

[20]A cautionary note should be inserted here. In no way do I wish to imply that pagan or pre-Christian religious rites, wherein man attempted to wrest sustenance and life from his gods, and medieval commemorative or liturgical drama, or even the celebration of the Mass itself, are identically motivated; the quintessence of the mimetic instinct, the desire to 'dramatize', to give life to the conflicts of human experience, is contained in both, though dedicated to divergent ends.

[21]A.P. Rossiter, *English Drama from Early Times to the Elizabethans: Its Background, Origins and Development*, 3rd. ed. (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1958), pp. 15-27, investigates mimetic instinct in the form of ritual, documenting several ancient, medieval, and modern analogies which seem to indicate a primordial drive towards dramatization quite apart from chronology or literary 'periods'.

[22]Several introductions to medieval drama have as their point of departure the discontinuity of dramatic development from ancient to medieval times. Among the many discussions, three well-written and informative accounts can be found in Frank, *Drama*, pp. 1-17; Sticca, *Passion*, pp. 3-27; Rossiter, pp. 29-41. I must again caution against wide application of the latter. Rossiter's observations are generated by a primary interest in Elizabethan drama, a fact which has severe repurcussions for his study of medieval theater. He posits a reading audience more interested in "cultural continuities which exist within and behind the stage for which Shakespeare, Jonson, Chapman, and Middleton wrote" (p. 7), and believes to identify a greater interest in Elizabethan theater than in medieval stage (p. 8). Rossiter mistakenly measures medieval plays against later English theater and finds it much linguistic labor for little reward (p. 8). The lack of linguistic and metric development similar to the rest of fourteench-century English literature is blamed on the clergy (p. 54). The primary defect of the older drama seems to be that it is not Chaucer, that its "strange juxtapositions, its twists of tone and mood, its harsh and nerve-jarring contrasts" prevent any possible development "to the edge and poignancy of comparable clashes in the Elizabethan dramatists" (p. 54). The underlying assumption of this work relies on the accepted superiority of Shakespearean theater, yet another example of the application of tools foreign to the literary and structural alternatives of medieval drama.

[23]Julius Schwietering, „Der liturgische Ursprung des geistlichen Spiels," *Philologische Schriften* (Munchen: Wilhelm Fink, 1969), p. 268.

[24]Hunningher theorizes similar points of contact between music and drama in Dionysian revels of ancient Greece (pp. 32, 39,44).

[25]The Mass has long been held to function as a dramatic form. Hardison relates Honorius of Autun's ideas concerning the Mass to mimetic instinct: ". . . he understood the Mass as a living dramatic form. The contrast between his views and those found in discussions of secular literature could hardly be more pronounced. The conclusion seems inescapable that the 'dramatic instinct' of European man did not 'die out' during the earlier Middle Ages, as historians of drama have asserted" (p. 41). See also Henri Ghéon, *The Art of the Theater* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961), pp. 21-22. One of Hardison's most severe critics is Wolfgang Michael, who takes great exception to the understanding Honorius had of drama, and thus the validity of Hardison's application of him (see *Deutsche Drama*, pp. 4-5).

[26]Edwards, p. 158.

[27]Western man has no monopoly on the mimetic instinct. The Japanese Nō (Noh) theater possesses a mythical impetus similar to that postulated for Greek drama. Although the intentional stylization of the communication process, the habit of understating, of employing as few words as possible during the presentation, the inclusion of highly-developed dance styles all serve to complicate accurate analysis of 'dramatic' development Nō clearly indicates a response to specific stimuli of human experience. Nō differs from Western drama inasmuch as it responds to particularly Eastern cultural influences and experiences. Despite the variation of final forms, both Japanese drama, as represented by Nō, and Western drama share the human response. Attention is directed to P.B. O'Neill, *A Guide to Nō* (Toyko and Kyoto: Hinoki Shoten, 1953); Fabion Bowers, *Japanese Theater*, 2nd edition (New York: Hermitage House, 1954), esp. pp. 3-31; Earle Ernst, *The Kabuki Theater* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).

[28]Schwietering, p. 256.

[29]Thompson, p. xi.

[30]Eduard Hartl, quoted in Hans Rost, *Die Bibel im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Bibliographie der Bibel* (Augsburg: Kommissions-Verlag M. Seitz, 1939), p. 305.

[31]Petsch, p. 8.

[32]Cf. above, p. 65.

[33]Sticca, *Passion*, p. 169.

[34]Brinkmann, *Eigenform*, p. 21.

[35]Evidence of the 'artistic freedom' exercised by medieval authors within the general religious, social, and cultural guidelines established by the period can be cited in numerous works. Such is the case with the *Northern Passion*, a narrative designed to instruct the laity from about 1350. For a discussion of the specific means employed by the artist to create a fresh tale of Christ's Passion, see Frances A. Foster, *The Northern Passion: French Text, Variants and Fragments, Etc.*, EETS #147 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1916), p. 2. Neidner (p. 53) also calls attention to „eine gewisse Souveränität", an ability to introduce or eliminate scenes not mandated by Scripture in the plays of Eastertide.

[36]Thompson, p. xv.

Chapter V- Group I
pages 74-159

[1]Roy, p. 4*. Sticca mentions that attempts were made during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries to portray the humanity of Christ, but that they "lack(ed) sensitive human accents" (*Spirituality*, p. 79).

[2]Michael, *DL: 1500*, p. 581.

[3]*"Sedente autem illo pro tribunali, misit ad illum uxor eius, dicens: nihil tibi, et iusto illi: multa enim passa sum hodie per uisum propter eum."* Magnification of these lines projects the wife's aggrieved reaction to the dream itself, the handmaiden's request of Pilate to deal justly with Jesus, accompanied by a retelling of the dream and his wife's state of mind, and a report by the servant to her mistress indicating that all is firmly in control and that Pilate will preside over a fair solution.

[4]Fletcher Collins, Jr., *The Production of Medieval Church Music-Drama* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972), p. 79.

[5]*Loc. cit.*

[6]Eduard Hartl, „Das Drama des Mittelalters,"*Deutsche Philologie im Aufrisz*, ed. W. Stammler, 2. Auflage (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1960), II, 1981.

[7]*Montecassino* BA 31.

[8]*Montecassino* BA 33.

[9]*Montecassino* BA 70.

[10]Other examples of his care in ordering scenes are: *Montecassino* BA 76, BA 145, BA 211, BA 244, BA 268, BA 274, BA 291, BA 293. The Cassinese author is remarkably consistent with his temporal division of scenes; questions concerning temporal incidence seldom arise.

[11]*BenP* BA 52.

[12]*BenP* BA 190. Several indications of temporal sequencing occur throughout the play. Adverbs employed to affect the structure are again: *respondent (respondet, respondeant)* (17), *item* (23), *deinde* (4), *iterum* (7), *postea* (8), *tunc* (27), and various ablative absolute constructions (7). The number of such temporal elements appearing in plays containing viable rubrics is in most instances so great that a complete listing of them serves no purpose. For each Passion wherein they are found a synopsis or total number of examples based upon the adverbs identified above will be included. Such linguistic devices, fundamental to the visualization of the succession of events, while useful in defining the temporal catenation of the several scenes chosen for presentation or miming, are almost unavoidable when an author includes stage directions as part of his text. Their value should be recognized, but not overestimated.

[13]Nelson, *Configurations*, pp. 116-17 .

[14]Kolve, p. 23.

[15]*Loc. cit.*

[16]Hartl, *Drama*, 1964.

[17]*Montecassino* BA 274.

[18]*Montecassino* BA 292.

[19]*Montecassino* BA 31, BA 33, BA 52, BA 70, BA 121, BA 126, BA 127, BA 139, BA 172, BA 184, BA 211, BA 229. It should be noted that much of the spatial transfer is simply unavoidable, an inherent quality of the Passion story. Of greater interest is the degree to which authors specify their own conception of the event-location relationship and how they alter the general story line to create dramatic effects and indicate control of their material.

[20]*BenP* BA 91.

[21]*BenP* BA 178.

[22]*BenP* BA 180.

[23]*BenP* BA 180.

[24]*BenP* BA 180.

[25]For additional examples of spatially-induced temporal movement see: *BenP* BA 2, BA 4, BA 8, BA 27, BA 52, BA 71, BA 81, BA 126, BA 145, BA 146, BA 147, BA 148, BA 150, BA 169, BA 172, BA 190, BA 192, BA 204. Wolfgang Michael, in *Die Geistlichen Prozessionsspiele in Deutschland* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1947), p. 71, goes so far as to explain the compactness and effectiveness of simultaneous staging by the addition of more *loca* to the original *Visitatio Sepulchri* of the Easter play:

> Ort- und *Zeitwechsel* (my emphasis) im Passionsspiel liesz sich ausdrücken durch den Abstand von einem Bühnen*ort* zum anderen, eine Reise wurde durch den Umzug auf dieser beschränkten Bühne genügend dargestellt. Dasz aber diese *Orte* im Passionsspiel dicht beieinander lagen, hat ebenso seine wirkliche Bedeutung wie die Art ihrer Anordnung.

Of greatest structural significance for medieval drama is the manner in which historical motion is symbolized without unnecessarily halting the succession of events. We know that time has passed between the two events held in separate *loca*; how much is really uninteresting. Our attention is still focused on the facts of presentation.

[26]Hartl, *Drama*, p. 1964.

[27]Pütz, p. 27.

[28]*Montecassino* BA 28.

[29]*BenP* 21-51.

[30]Such as Mary's opening statement, *"Mundi delectatio"*... .(*BenP* 19-26).

[31]Like Mary's request of the merchant, *„Chramer gip die varwe mier"*, which in its successive strophes contains unmistakeable lyrical overtones borrowed from Middle High German love poetry. For a discussion of the similarities *BenP* 44 and several masters of the vernacular *Minnelieder* see Marie Bath, *Untersuchung des Johannesspiels, der Blindenheilungs- und der Maria-Magdalenenscenen in den deutschen mittelalterlichen Passionsspielen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Beziehungen zu den französischen Mysterien* (Diss. Marburg, 1919), p. 99.

[32]Bath says of this conversion sequence: „Ungeschickt ist auch die Ausführung der Bekehrung; wichtig ist, dasz sie durch einen Engel vollzogen wird" (p. 100). The conversion by an angel is important inasmuch as it suggests to medieval man his absolute dependence upon energies and entities beyond his own control: eternity and the beings which inhabit it hold the keys to the salvation of mankind.

[33]*BenP* 52-6.

[34]*BenP* 58-70.

[35]The text contains only the initial words, *"O Maria Magdalena-"* (*BenP* 71). Such a shortened notation normally signifies a repetition of previous material, in this case the message contained in lines 52-6.

[36]Again in repetition of anterior phrases, initiated by the *"Mundi delectatio-"*, as in lines 19-26 and 57.

[37]*BenP* 73-6.

[38]Pütz, p. 29.

[39]*BenP* 59-63. Bath (p. 100) speculates that the author meant to have the devil accompany Mary Magdalene from her first entrance (or perhaps as an integral part of her initial *locus*) up to this point as a personification of evil surrounding her. This would make the eventual renunciation of things worldly even more dramatic.

[40]*BenP* 73-6.

[41]*BenP* BA 82.

[42]*BenP* 77.

[43]Pütz, pp, 33-4.

[44]*Ibid.*, pp. 34-5.

[45]*Ibid.*, p. 35.

[46]Of the four Gospels only two, Mark and John, mention the preaching in the temple and the subsequent reference to it as Christ is arrested. Dramatically speaking, the Cassinese author is able to insinuate the former without presenting it. The incident, as reported, is not original, but the concentration of action emanating from the juxtaposition of armed arrest by night and missed opportunities during daylight creates an effective artistic manipulation of the material.

[47]*BenP* BA 131.

[48]*BenP* 170-1

[49]*BenP* 173.

[50]The statement by Pilate, *"Quod scripsi, scripsi"* (*BenP* 215), provides another example of the necessary succession of statements (hence time) referring to immediately preceding events. Succession creates the sense of the line, subsuming the latter sentence into a former circumstance. As a certain logic relating sentences and phrases to each other is mandated in human communication, the temporal succession which results from these elementary examples is not of exceptional import for the dramatic analysis presented in this thesis.

[51]Pütz, p. 39.

[52]*Loc. cit.*

[53]Pütz refers to this form of presentation as screened plot (verdeckte Handlung), pp. 212-18.

[54]I believe this fact to relate intimately to the cultural surroundings of the two plays, their position vis-à-vis the liturgy, and their place in the remembrance of the events of Holy Week. The intention seems not so much to indicate a desire to produce a dramatic text for its own sake, but to remember the Passion. Whatever the reason, several techniques creating a succession of activities are identifiable and aid in the communication between author and audience.

[55]*Montecassino* BA 32: *"et Iudas dicat alta voce inclinans se ei et osculans eum Iesum. . . ."*

[56]*Montecassino* 290-1.

[57]*Montecassino* BA 292.

[58]Matthew xxvi: 14-16; Mark xiv: 10-11; Luke xxii: 3-6; John xvii: 2.

[59]Matthew xxvi: 48; Mark xiv: 44.

[60]Mark xv: 20.

[61]*BenP* 8.

[62]*BenP* 9.

[63]*BenP* 264-5.

[64]*BenP* BA 264.

[65]*BenP* 61.

[66]*BenP* 64, repeated from 35-8.

[67]*BenP* 65.

[68]*BenP* 99-100.

[69]*BenP* 116.

[70]*Montecassino* 26.

[71]*Montecassino* BA 28 and 28-30.

[72]*Montecassino* 45.

[73]*Montecassino* 46.

[74]*Montecassino* 166, 259.

[75]*Montecassino* BA 292. Several additional occurrences of the command and attendant execution are noteworthy: *Montecassino* 5 (execution 7-18), 31 (execution BA 52), 59-60 (execution not stated), 100-101 (execution not stated), 208 (execution 211-222), 214 (execution 233), 226-227 (execution not stated), 301 (execution not stated), 312 (execution 315-316).

[76]*BenP* 2 (execution 3), 7 (no stated execution), 8 (execution 9), 116 (execution 111-112), 129 (execution 130), 144 (no stated execution), 148 (no stated execution), 150 (execution hindered by Judas' appearance).

[77]Some of the remaining enjoinders originate with new material concerning Mary Magdalene, but represent rather insignificant dramatic qualities. They are: *BenP* 27, 35, 39, 46, and 64, 82-83 (execution 86-87), and 116 (execution BA 117).

[78]Certainly figures of little dramatic importance can be introduced by this method, but in the texts considered, the overwhelming number of such preparations concern Christ.

[79]*Montecassino* BA 31 and BA 33.

[80]*Montecassino* 7-11.

[81]I do not assume that our playwright *necessarily* organized his text to effect this juxtaposition; it may well be the result of unconscious application of dramatic considerations to the basic material. The tardy appearance of Jesus may simply denote a lacuna at the onset of the manuscript, but until this is proven, I prefer to allow the author his due and suppose the observed phenomenon to be intentional.

[82]The succession of events mitigates against this possibility. Contrary to later accounts, the Pilate of *Montecassino* passes judgement prior to the Flagellation. In subsequent Passions he attempts to satisfy Christ's accusors by flagellation during the proceedings. In *Montecassino* the Flagellation seems to stand as a scene for itself, between the judgement and the way to Golgotha, not as a vain attempt to influence Jesus' detractors.

[83]The synoptic Gospels report the trial sequence in varying length, Matthew in sixteen (xxvii: 11-26), Mark in fourteen (xv: 2-15), Luke in twenty-five (xxiii: 1-25), and John in twenty-eight (xviii:29-40 and xix: 1-16).

[84]The retarding effect is, of course, completely relative in this play, for the sequence of Mary Magdalene covers little more than the most dramatic incidences of a period of decision extracted from her entire life.

[85]Ferdinand Junghans, *Die Zeit im Drama* (Berlin: Otto Eisner Verlagsgesellschaft, 1931), p. 4.

[86]*BenP* 216-255. Were the actual texts of the *Planctus ante nescia* and the repetition of the lament commencing, *"Mi Johannes, planctum move"* (246-253), of line 255 to be included, the importance of these lyrical inclusions would be even more apparent. In such instances the manuscript deceives somewhat.

[87]Brinkmann, *Eigenform*, p. 86.

[88]Any other explanation of *Montecassino* BA 103 creates dramatic incongruity: *"Dum hec suprascripta fiunt* (BA 97- *percutiant eum et expuant in faciem*) *scilicit dum falsi test*[*es accus*]*ant Iesum coram Caypha, ancilla clamet contra Petrum. . . ."* For Peter to be in the same room as Jesus would seem too unwieldy for even the simultaneous stage. More effective would be the viewing of both actions at the same time, but somewhat apart from each other. A visible juxtaposition of Peter's denial and Christ's humble acceptance might well create a powerful dramatic impact.

[89]*Montecassino* BA 121.

[90]This scene is the only instance from Group I I have found of a temporal parallel in three separate locations: *". . . et Petrus lamentetur et eat ad discipules qui stant in absco*[*ndito. . .*]*"* (BA 121); *"Inter hec tollatur Iesus a presentia Cayphe et ducant eum ligatum ante Pilatum. . . "* (BA 127); *"Item dum Petrus lamentatur Iudas reportet denarios et proiciat in mensa coram Caypha clamans. . . "* (BA 127). This is made possible on stage by the probable device of leading Christ about the stage until the other two events are completed. In later plays, *Palat* evidences a similar approach to the dramatization (*Palat* 448-54).

[91]Numerous examples of parallelism are found in *Montecassino*. Among them are BA 139,and 172 (three related situations suggesting that the Lord's beating during His first appearance before Pilate was either reported only in stage directions (*"dum uxor eius (Pilati) dormit et ligatur ad columpnam et flagellatur"*) or was mimed and not fully dramatized, unfolding while *diabolus* appeared to *Uxor* and continuing during the time her servant pleaded Christ's case with Pilate. I can see no other satisfactory reading which takes BA 229 into account.

[92]*BenP* 19.

[93]*BenP* 53.

[94]*BenP* 82-5.

[95]*BenP* 104.

[96]*BenP* 106.

[97]*BenP* 126-30.

[98]*BenP* BA 131.

[99]*BenP* 131-38.

[100]*BenP* BA 144.

[101]*Montecassino* 318-20.

[102]Sticca, *Passion*, p. 104.

[103]Other persons who speak in the vernacular are the merchant, Longinus, Joseph of Arimathea and Pilate. Their dramatic impact is minimal. Michael Rudick observes that neither Karl Young nor Bernard Bischoff, both editors of the *BenP* manuscript, considered the exchange between Joseph and Pilate as parts of the play (p. 269). Longinus' words are an elementary combination of voiced intent (p. 264-5) and witness (268-70). Part of his last speech includes words normally given to the centurion.

[104]Sticca, *Passion*, pp. 139-40.

[105]*BenP* 19-34; 57 (repetition of 19-26); 71 (second repetition of 19-26).

[106]*BenP* 35-51, 58-63, and 64 (repetition of 35-51).

[107]*BenP* 73-4.

[108]*BenP* 95-8.

[109]*BenP* 117-24.

[110]Steinbach, p. 110.

[111]This observation is valid, of course, primarily for the modern mind benefited by hindsight and distance not available to medieval audiences. We must continually call to mind that, at least during the early phases of Passion development, a complete separation of represented history and spectator time is not as neatly defined in theory as they are now. Indeed, it is the approximation of identification which affords these earliest Passions their unique semi-liturgical character.

[112]Wilfried Werner, *Studien zu den Passions- und Osterspielen des deutschen Mittelalters in ihren Uebergang vom Latein zur Volkssprache* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1963), pp. 38-9. Ruprecht Wimmer, in his *Deutsch und Latein im Osterspiel: Untersuchungen zu den Volkssprachlichen Entsprechungstexten der Lateinischen Strophenlieder* (München: C.H. Beck, 1974), p. 17, makes the following argument against Werner's conclusions:

„Die Arbeit (Werners) ist dadurch recht einseitig, dasz sie die traditionallen Aspekte auszer acht läszt und die deutschen Spieltexte in einer Weise betrachtet, wie sie nur Individualschöpfung angemessen erscheint. Die Spiele entziehen sich dem Zugriff durch ein solches Verfahren: man kann sie nicht als direktes Ergebnis einer strukturellen und inhaltlichen Konzeption sehen und darauf ‚Stellenwert'-Argumentation basieren lassen."

[113]Michael, *Deutsche Drama*, p. 93.

[114]*BenP* 216-20.

[115]The second Latin *planctus*, *"Mi Iohannes, planctum move"* (*BenP* 246-53), is a double strophe from the *'Flete fideles anime'* sequence.

[116]*BenP* 254.

[117]Eduard Hartl, „Die Entwicklung des Benediktbeurer Passionsspiels," *Euphorion*, XLVI (1952), p. 136.

[118]Hadassah P. Goodman, "Original Elements in French and German Passion Plays," Diss. Bryn Mawr, 1944, p. 104. Another indication of suspension through address to spectators finds voice immediately after Mary Magdalene has received forgiveness. She exits the scene, still lamenting her former life (*BenP* 117). The dramatic situation seems to preclude Mary from speaking to actors within the play when she emotionally observes: *„wol uf, ir güeten man unde wip,/got wil richten sele unde leip!* (*BenP* 123-4).

[119]*BenP* 266.

[120]Fr. Schumacher, "Les Éléments narratifs de la Passion D'Autun," *Romania*, 37 (1908), p. 592.

[121]Among those speeches which appear misplaced because of simple scribal copying of sources are the *"Dic tu nobis, mercator iuvenis"*, inserted upon the *individual* encounter of Mary Magdalene with the spice merchant (*BenP* 82), and her vernacular lament, *"Âwe, âwe, daz ich ie wart geborn!"* (*BenP* 117-21). For a discussion of these passages and the possible reasons for their presence, see Froning, pp. 279 and 281.

[122]One of the keys to understanding the entire phrase, *"Eli, Eli, lamma sabacthani"*, involves the recognition that the biblical paraphrase of the words is an attempt to clarify strange Aramic words for Greek readers of the New Testament, in which it was first written. Even the Jews appear to have misunderstood their true implication, believing that Jesus was calling upon Elijah (Matthew xxvii: 47 and Mark xv: 35).

[123]For a survey of several Church fathers who investigated the exegetical, symbolic, and allegorical nature of the Magdalene, see Victor Saxer, *Le Culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident: des Origines à la Fin du Moyen Age* (Auxerre and Paris: Chevreuil, 1959), pp. 326-50.

[124]Bath, pp. 95-6; also Saxer, p. 325.

[125]Bath, p. 96.

[126]*Loc. cit.*

[127]*Ibid.*, p. 95.

[128]Saxer, p. 9.

[129]*Ibid.*, p. 10.

[130]*Loc. cit.*

[131]*Ibid.*, p. 7.

[132]*Ibid.*, p. 153.

[133]*Ibid.*, p. 163.

[134]*Ibid.*, p. 81.

[135]*Ibid.*, p. 184.

[136]*Ibid.*, p. 222.

[137]*Ibid.*, p. 185.

[138]*Ibid.*, p. 224.

[139]*Ibid.*, p. 328.

[140]Pütz, pp. 62-3.

[141]*Loc. cit.*

[142]*Ibid.*, p. 64.

[143]A problem of serious proportions concerning the habit of simultaneous staging contrasted with single set presentation arises here. Certainly, the impact of the announcement of a figure's entry onto the stage followed by that person joining a group of people already on stage is greater than in the situation where several figures belonging to independent settings are present from the outset. Although the dramatic suspense lessens with simultaneous staging, the opportunity to integrate a future event into the play of the 'present' persists.

[144]An indication that the intimate relationship between Caiaphas' and Judas' discussion of the Savior and His immediate apprearance may be fortuitous or a natural outcome of the biblical tale in hinted at by examining a similar set of circumstances later in the drama. Given the dramatic importance of Pilate, one would assume a consistent playwright to carefully prepare his arrival also. This is not the case, for the

text reports: *"Inter hec* (Peter's lament to the disciples) *tollatur Iesus a presentia Cayphe et ducant eum ligatum ante Pilatum dicentes: Iesum strictum religatum etc. (perducamus ad Pilatum/iudeorum presidem"* (*Montecassino* BA 127 and 127). The nature of the presentation and its cultural surroundings may well obviate such preparation. Indeed, to expect a consistency of dramatic preparation in *Montecassino* is to misunderstand the intent of the play and the literary alternatives of the time. *Montecassino* (as well as other Passion presentations) should not be considered only in light of dramatic technique. Their true meaning lies somewhere beyond mere facility of delivery. Thus, it is completely in keeping with a play designed to commemorate Christ's sacrifice and triumph on the Cross that much dramatic activity well understood by spectators be left unprepared or unadorned. The focus is not on the process by which the event is formed, rather on the fact that is occured at all.

[145] *BenP* BA 169.

[146] *BenP* BA 1.

[147] *"Uerum tamen dico vobis, a modo uidebitis Filium hominis sedentem a dextris uirtutis, et uenientem in nubibus caeli."*

[148] *"Et statim iterum gallus cantauit, Et recordatus est Petrus uerbi quod dixerat ei Ihesus: Prius quam gallus cantet bis, ter me negabis"* (Mark xiv: 72).

[149] Pütz, p. 71.

[150] See above, pp.

[151] See above, p. 88.

[152] *BenP* 131-43.

[153] Mark xiv: 31.

[154] *BenP* BA 145.

[155] Other indications of the technique do not completely satisfy all requirements of an oath; they are not oathes in the sense that Judas' words are. They tend rather toward descriptive promises which, though similar to oaths, lack their resolve and character. Pilate's expressed intention in *Montecassino*, *"quod non ipsum cogam mori/nec effundam sanguinem"* (*Montecassino* 209-10), is the sole representative and weak at best. *BenP* offers a larger quantity of such forms, but their effectiveness is open to question also. Their inclusion seems to result from fidelity to Scripture (*BenP* 2 and 9), or a logical extention of a dramatic speech (Mary Magdalene's promise not to move from Christ's feet until He frees her from sin[*BenP* 99-100]).

[156] Pütz, p. 83.

[157]*BenP* 123-4.

[158]*BenP* 221-4.

[159]Cf. p. 12.

[160]Pütz, p. 96.

[161]*Ibid.*, p. 97.

[162]*Montecassino* BA 129, 129-31.

[163]Pütz, p. 102.

[164]*BenP* 73.

[165]Cf. above, p. 86.

[166]*BenP* BA 82.

[167]*BenP* 79.

[168]*BenP* 85. The *noster* of these lines provides a clue as to the borrowing technique employed by this redactor, in this instance a reproduction of a strophe from a well-known *planctus* from material normally reserved for the Easter section, such as the *Ludus Paschalis* of Benediktbeuern, preserved in the same *Carmina Burana* manuscript of which this Passion is a part. See Young, *DMC*, p. 432, and text quoted on p. 435. Marie Bath presents an interesting discussion of this scene and the purchase of rouge from earlier in the play: „Zum Beweis ihres Sinneswandels und ihrer Verehrung will Maria Magdalena wie in den Osterspielen den toten so hier den lebendigen Christus salben. Dadurch lag es nahe, eine Scene aus den Osterspielen einzufügen: den Kauf der Salben für Christus. Hier ist der Ausgangspunkt für die vorher erwähnte Schminkekaufscene, die sich als eine Doppelung und Umbiegung dieses Motiv erklärt. Der Verfasser nahm die Strophe so gedankenlos aus dem Osterspiel herüber, dasz er nicht einmal den Numerus des ‚*Dic nobis*' änderte, das sich in dem Osterspiel auf die drei Marien bezieht" (p. 100).

[169]*BenP* 116-17.

[170]Pütz, p. 104.

[171]*BenP* 55-6.

[172]*BenP* 53-4.

[173]Collins, p. 17.

[174]The music-dramas which Collins studies include, among others, the *Visitatio Sepulchri, Planctus Mariae, Peregrinus, Officium Pastorum, Ordo ad Representandum Herodem* and *Ad Interfectionem Puerorum, Ordo Prophetarum, Resuscitatio Lazari,* and *In Annunciatione Beatae Mariae*

Virginis Representatio; that is to say that Collins investigates some of the themes most central to the medieval Church, whose tone and qualities mitigated against application of 'unsuitable' gesture and movement.

[175]Collins, p. 17.

[176]Rosemarie Magnus, *Die Christusgestalt im Passionsspiel des Deutschen Mittelalters*, Diss. Frankfurt/Main, 1965, p. 63. Wolfgang Michael disagrees with this conclusion: see *Das Deutsche Drama*, p. 37.

[177]Pütz, p. 137.

[178]Matthew xxvi: 63 and Mark xv: 61 = *Montecassino* BA 82; Matthew xxviii: 14 and Mark xv: 5 = *Montecassino* BA 172.

[179]*BenP* BA 187.

[180]*BenP* BA 198.

[181]Luke xxiii: 9 = *BenP* BA 179 and BA 180.

[182]Although directions are not as specific in *BenP* to spell out Jesus' appearance before Pilate, from other contemporary dramas wherein soldiers play a prominent role one can imagine a din of voices confusing the scene; the Jews are most active, as they cry, *"Crucifigatur"* (*BenP* 188), and *"Crucifige, crucifige eum!"* (*BenP* 193). *Montecassino* surrounds Him with guards clamoring His guilt (*Montecassino* 76-81), and Caiaphas badgering Him in a loud voice (*Montecassino* 82-7). The juxtaposition of silence and noise exemplifies the vast gulf of misunderstanding which lies between the Master and His persecutors.

[183]An interest in creating effective contrast between Christ and His detractors is not a new idea. Creizenach sees such a desire in operation in the growth of Christmas cycles from rather simple rituals into more inclusive dramatic endeavors. But more importantly, he sees this phenomenon as a key to the unfolding of Easter plays during the twelfth century: „Aber auch hier ist vom 12. Jh. an das Bestreben erkennbar, etwas vom reicheren dramatischen Leben einzuführen. . . Dies geschah, indem man mit der Osterfeier die Ereignisse in Verbindung brachte, die sich in der Zeit vor dem Ostermorgen abspielten." (p. 81). For a textual history of this growth, see Young, *DMC*, I, 239-410.

[184]Pütz, p. 137.

[185]Magnus, p. 72.

[186]*"Etait illis: Si vobis dixero, non credetis mihi; si autem et interrogavero, non respondebitis mihi neque dimittetis."*

[187]Pütz, p. 139.

[188]See above, p. 108.

[189]Pütz, p. 142.

[190]Strictly speaking, every quotation of a preterite tense has the potential to integrate meaningful information from outside the immediate dramatic context. Of particular interest for this investigation, therefore, is not a quantitative evaluation of occurrences, but an investigation into the quality of epic inclusion and the manner in which redactors of medieval drama artistically manipulate the past within the exegencies of their messages.

[191]Pütz, p. 55.

[192]*Loc. cit.*

[193]*Ibid.*, p. 156.

[194]*Loc. cit.*

[195]Discussion of the value placed upon preceding moments is based on Pütz, p. 157.

[196]*Montecassino* 10-11.

[197]*Montecassino* 82-4.

[198]*Montecassino* 85-7.

[199]*Montecassino* BA 94.

[200]Of the other illustrations of remembrance, the most prominent are *Montecassino* 157-9 and 318-20. The latter instance, that of Mary's lament, recalls the pre-Nativity time when she carried her Son and Lord, an example which will be seized by later dramatists, greatly enlarged and intensified to shape a substantial portion of Mary's remembrances of her Son through lament.

[201]*BenP* 173.

[202]Pütz, p. 163.

[203]*Ibid.*, p. 164.

[204]*Ibid.*, p. 165.

[205]*Montecassino* 163-5 and 238-43.

[206]*Montecassino* 157.

[207]*Montecassino* 58-9. The account of Christ's message concerning the destruction of the temple occurs in the presence of Caiaphas, which might be called pre-trial interrogation.

[208]Magnus, p. 88.

[209]Cf. above p. 92.

[210]For purposes of this presentation I have divested the word *pre-history* of all its geological, social, cultural, and purely historical overtones. *Pre-history* in this sense is more closely related to the literary concept *story*, to a specific tale to be told. For the Passions, pre-history deals with any activity, dramatized or not, which traditionally happens prior to Christ's first appearance on stage. Thus, due to the scope of the individual plays, the period of pre-history available for exploitation by the authors of *StG* and *Palat*, for example, are not the same. However, to afford analytical clarity, I shall in most instances equate pre-history with any time previous to the Entry into Jerusalem (since this episode officially commences the Passion of our Lord).

[211]Pütz, p. 194.

[212]Cf. above, p. 88.

[213]*BenP* 9.

[214]Pütz, p. 195.

[215]Pütz, p. 218.

[216]*Montecassino* 94-5.

[217]*BenP* 176-7.

[218]*Montecassino* 128-30.

[219]*Loc. cit.*

[220]*BenP* 204-6.

[221]An additional repetition, but one of questionable dramatic or structural value surfaces during the conversion of Mary Magdalene, as discussed on pp. 128-9 above.

[222]*BenP* 90.

[223]*BenP* 130.

[224]*BenP* 172.

[225]Wolff, *Verschmelzung*, p. 271.

[226]Craig, p. 29.

[227]*Ibid.*, p. 5.

[228]Such as adverbial organization in time.

[229]Like the entire area of succession by dialog, plot, prophecies, oaths, remembrance, and trials.

[230]Scholes, pp. 134-5.

[231]Rudick, p. 285.

[232]Magnus, p. 64.

[233]Sticca, *Passion*, p. 171.

[234]*Loc. cit.*

[235]Rudick, p. 285.

[236]Cf. above pp. 137-8.

[237]Rudick, p. 272.

[238]Sticca, *Passion*, p. 106.

[239]See below, p. 161 .

[240]Ingarden, *DLK*, p. 150.

[241]*Ibid.*, p. 140.

Chapter VI- Group II
pages 160-331

[1]Douglas Gray, *Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyric* (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 122.

[2]Sticca, *Spirituality*, p. 70; Paul Maas, *Étude sur les Sources de la Passion du Palatinus*, Diss. Tiel 1942 (Tiel: St. Maarten), p.79.

[3]Meier, p. 145.

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 146.

[5]Woolf, p. 21. Discussion of medieval Crucifixion iconography is based on this source, unless otherwise stated.

[6]Meier, p. 146.

[7]Sticca, *Spirituality*, p. 80.

[8]Étienne Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, 8th edition (New York and Toronto: Random House, 1955), p. 130.

[9] Sticca, *Spirituality*, p. 80.

[10]Woolf, p. 21.

[11]*Loc. cit.*

[12]*Loc. cit.*

[13]*Loc. cit.*

[14]Sticca, *Spirituality*, p. 80.

[15]Quoted in Maas, p. 59.

[16]F. Vernet, *La spiritualité médiévale* (Paris: 1928), p. 79; quoted from Maas, p. 60.

[17]Sticca, *Loc. cit.*

[18]Woolf, p. 22.

[19]For another perspective on the importance of Bernard for medieval spirituality and drama see Müller, *Elemente*, p. 13.

[20]Sticca, *Loc. cit.*; Maas, p. 61.

[21]Sticca, *Spirituality*, p. 78.

[22]Maas, pp. 61-2.

[23]Sticca, *Spirituality*, pp. 78-9.

[24]*Loc. cit.*

[25]Maas, p. 62.

[26]*Loc. cit.*

[27]Sticca, *Spirituality*, p. 78.

[28]Text in A.C. Peltier, *St. Bonaventurae, Opera Omnia* (Paris: 1868), XII, 509-10. Maas, (p. 62) provides the historic personality of John of Caulibus, placing the work in the thirteenth century and identifying its inspiration as the writings of St. Bernard. See also Don Denny, "Notes on the Avignon Pietà," *Speculum*, XLIV (1969), pp. 215-6; Sticca, *Spirituality*, p. 82. Pickering disputes the authorship of Johannes de Caulibus (*Lit and Art*, p. 238).

[29]É. Mâle, p. 92.

[30]*Loc. cit.*

[31]Woolf, p. 22.

[32]*Ibid*, p. 20.

[33]Woolf, p. 20.

[34]Müller, *Elemente*, p. 12.

[35]*Loc. cit.*

[36]*Ibid.*, p. 15.

[37]Quoted from Woolf, p. 30.

[38]Eduard Hartl, *Das Benediktbeurer Passionsspiel.* - *Das St. Galler Passionsspiel*, ATB 41 (Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1952), p. 49; Magnus, p. 93. Hugo Stopp (p. 118) disputes Hartl's conclusions, maintaining that they rest on extremely insecure linguistic arguments.

[39]Stopp, p. 118.

[40]Eduard Hartl, „Untersuchungen zum St. Galler Passionsspiel," *Festschrift für Wolfgang Stammler* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1953), p. 109.

[41]The six groups of speakers are the *pueri* of Jerusalem, an extra-biblical *chorus* which narrates and comments on dramatic activities, the *discipules, pontifices, judei,* who also double as torturers, and the *mulieres* of Jerusalem. It is conceivable that several of the individual and group roles were doubled, thus further reducing player numbers.

[42]Hartl, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

[43]Wolfgang Michael, *DL 1500*, p. 582.

[44]Brinkmann, *Eigenform*, p. 27.

[45]Frank, *The Medieval French Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 128.

[46]Karl Christ, „Das altfranzösische Passionsspiel der Palatina," *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XL (1920), p. 409.

[47]Frank, *French Drama*, pp. 128-9.

[48]*Ibid.*, p. 126.

[49]Christ, p. 410; also the analyses of several scenes of *Palat* by Maas. One disturbing tendency of Maas is to equate the 'proper' unfolding of events of *Palat* with that of its probable sources. He thus overlooks the possibility that the author may have intentionally altered the accepted chain of events, as we will observe in other Passions of the group. Maas maintains that the position of Judas' suicide in *Palat*, when compared to the same scene in the *Passion des Jongleurs*, is obviously in error: "*Conformément à l'Évangile* (my emphasis) J(ongleurs) place la scène aprés les vers dans lesquels son auteur décrit comment Jesus est conduit devant Pilate . . . tandis que P(alat), en faisant précéder le désespoire de Judas par l'interrogatoire devant Hèrode, commet une

nouvelle erreur (p. 51)." I hope to show that a portion of the freedom an artist exercises over his material enables him to amend biblical or other source chronology when it benefits his dramatic intention. I fail to see in the instance cited any disadvantage to the position of Judas' death. It does not seem critical, except as it fails to conform to the letter of established tradition. For other 'errors' by the author of *Palat*, see pp. 55 and 64.

[50]Maas, p. 19.

[51]Christ, p. 19.

[52]Émile Roy, p. 45*

[53]*Loc. cit.*

[54]Frank, *La Passion d'Autun*, p. 16.

[55]Frank, *French Drama*, p. 130; also *La Passion d'Autun*, p. 9.

[56]Frank, *La Passion d'Autun*, p. 9.

[57]*Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

[58]*Ibid.*, p. 13.

[59]Fr. Schumacher, p. 592.

[60]A work now thought to be a remodeling of the *Pelerinage de l'âme* by Guillaume de Digulleville (Schumacher, p. 593); also Jeanroy, "La Passion Nostre Dame et le 'Pelerinage de l'âme'," *Romania*, XXXVI (1907), pp. 361-8.

[61]Schumacher, pp. 592-3.

[62]Frank, *La Passion d'Autun*, p. 17.

[63]*Ibid.*, p. 16.

[64]Even *Augustinus*, with his didactic, historical, and doctrinal observations upon activities just witnessed or yet to come is afforded 117 verses.

[65]From the introductory remarks we know that *Wien* originally contained a section about Christ's Passion: *"Ad materie reductionem de passione domini. Incipit ludus pascales* (*Wien* BA 1).

[66]Müller, *Elemente*, p. 30.

[67]*Loc. cit.*

[68]*Ibid.*, p. 56.

[69]Cf. above, pp. 49-50.

[70]Christ, p. 408.

[71]Steinbach, p. 151.

[72]Paul Maas (pp. 44-5) suggests that the sequence of Judas' treason and Malchus' ear, for instance, do not rest on the same source, but perhaps on two separate origins which themselves shared a common parent.

[73]*Autun R* ends abruptly after Joseph of Arimathea has received permission from Pilate to remove Christ's body from Golgotha. His parting words, *"Nichodemus, s'i vous plet,/Rigarde la grant doleur./Quam je voir pandus mon segnieurs,/Monlt suis en grant doleur./James ne meneray joye ne vie"* (*Autun R* 933-37), indicates that the Passion broke off even before the Lord's body had been removed from the Tree. The following statement by the author, *"Explicit. Ista passio est michi Anthonio Romani,"* seems to signal a definite conclusion. Perhaps he had at one time intended to complete the tale, but we have no way to tell. Whatever the reason, the conclusion of *Autun R* remains rather dissatisfying; the theme of Christ's triumph over the grave is lacking. To end with such a lament by Joseph is highly extraordinary and unfulfilling. This final observation does not compare dramatically nor structurally with that of the Joseph of *BenP*. There the audience had the benefit of a review of the Lord's Passion; here one experiences only another lament.

[74]*StG* 572, 582, 614.

[75]*StG* 577, 986 1152.

[76]*Palat* 722.

[77]*Autun B* 831.

[78]*Palat* 771-2

[79]*Palat* 936, 1925; *Autun B* 1816-17.

[80]*Palat* 1909, 1969; *Autun B* 55, 60, 1367, 1387, 1449, 1484.

[81]*StG* 560; *Palat* 281.

[82]*Palat* 1315.

[83]*Palat* 1315.

[84]*Wien* 244-5; *Palat* 1317.

[85]*Palat* 1688.

[86]Kolve, p. 121.

[87]Most hints of medieval commercial life assume the form of discussion of various monetary units. *StG* and *Wien* deal in *pennige* (*StG* 351, 755, 1473, 1482; *Wien* 288 and 475), *mark* (*StG* 1083 and 1144), *punt* (*StG* 1477), and *schillinge* (*StG* 476), whereas *Palat*, *Autun B* and *Autun R* employ *marrs* (*Palat* 1661, 1706), *livres* (*Palat* 1927), *denier* (*Autun B* 200, 204, 331, 336, 624, 931; *Autun R* 120, 308, 213, 359, 385 527, 574), and *soulx* (*Autun B* 1790). *Wien* provides one of the few examples of medieval cosmetics. When Mary Magdalene approaches the *institor* she requests *"Rot vilzel unt wiz mel . . . das . . . schön mache mir min vel"* (*Wien* 289-90).

[88]As might be expected, the noble or warrior class receives most exposure along with its particular vocabulary and values, though noble attributes are often afforded Christ by his friends and followers. A *miles* of *StG* addresses a comrade as *drutgeselle* (*StG* 1273) during the Crucifixion (they also play an unfamiliar game, *'Rudel uf dem steine'*- *StG* 1278-89). Caiaphas calls the *milites* of the grave watch *ir stolzen ritter* (*StG* 1467), indicating their social level. The French texts make greater use of nouns and adjectives to update their characters' dialogs: *preudom* (*Palat* 94, 329, 747, 1069, 1554, 1770, 1837; *Autun B* 1037, 1123, 1616, 1995), *chevaliers* (*Palat* 1639, 1646, 1664; *Autun B* 1123, 1729, 1761, 1769, 1774, 1807, 1832), *serjanz* (*Palat* 1639, 1960), *biaus douz amis* (*Palat* 259, 409), *biaus douz seigneur* (*Palat* 328), *prevoz* (*Palat* 346, 358; *Autun R* 3), *barons* (*Autun R* 218, 458, 488), *grand chevalrie* (*Autun B* 582; *Autun R* 468), *courtoisie* (*Palat* 1793), *debonaire* (*Palat* 94; *Autun B* 190, 1271; *Autun R* 108), *cortois et preuz* (*Palat* 173), and *vaillant et cortois* (*Palat* 874) give these texts an unmistakable medieval flavor. Mary Magdalene further supports this character by expressing her hoy of living in a contemporary Minnesang which has come to be known as the *'Mantelliet'* (*Wien* 311-14, 316-19).

[89]Sathanas of *Palat*, as he reacts to Jesus' spirit, mentions an area of France well established in medieval European history: *"Or m'en irai en Lumbardie"* (*Palat* 1418), and the spice merchant originates from *'Salerne'*, travelling by way of the Auvergne (*Palat* 1864-5).

[90]*Autun B* 1191.

[91]The prejudical overtones of national reaction to the Jewish presence in medieval culture permeates Group II Passions. A pattern which follows pogroms instituted against Jews seems to anticipate in its degree of severity the ousting or severe social repression of Jewish culture. The tones established in the two German plays are quite mild (see *StG* 610, 644, 865, 873, 1081, 1257, 1535, and *Wien* 205) when compared with the emotionally-charged outcries of the French texts. Though certain speeches reveal only a general condescention to Jews or their exclusion from the mainstream of social life (*Autun B* 248, 256, 565, 587, 671, 963, 1193, 1327, 1502, 1517, 1600; *Autun R* 573, 735, 914), others obviously betray ill will by the addition of the adjectives *'faulz'*, *'mauvais'*, or *'felon'* to *Juif* (*Palat* 1101; *Autun B* 21, BA 392, 1463, 1504, 1652, 1950, 1974; *Autun R* 620, 733, 868). It will be recalled that Jews were driven from France before their troubles began in earnest in Germany, their trials increasing from general repression during the First and

Second Crusades. In 1183 Jews were forced from Paris by King Phillip Auguste (Saxer, p. 141); the Talmud was burned in the same city in 1242; a general anathema and purge of Jews in France took place in 1306 and after an interlude of reacceptance in 1315 (due to monetary difficulties experienced by the Crown), they were again expelled in 1394, shortly after the period covered by Group II texts (*Brockhaus Enzyklopädie*, 1970, 9, 511). For an informative and compelling discussion of the probable historical relationship between Jesus, Pilate, and the Sanhedron, see Max I. Dimont, *Jews, God and History* (New York: New American Library, 1962), pp. 127-44. The account exemplifies the peculiar religious turnabout which occurred with Jew and Roman in Christianity, often making Pilate a quasi-saint in our plays and creating inhuman, selfish, unfeeling bigots of the Jewish authorities.

[92]The representatives of Latin vestiges in *Palat* are the *'Te Deum laudamus'* from Mary Magdalene's final speech (*Palat* 1987-8), the incantation by Jesus (*Palat* 123-4), a benediction prior to the Magdalene's departure (*Palat* unnumbered after 122), three of the most traditional phrases from the Crucifixion (*Palat* 1006, after 118, 1070), and a prayer by the souls in Hell (*Palat* 1429). *Autun B* and *Autun R* include a mere handful of Latin words and phrases (*Autun B* 152, 233, 1048, 1299, 1306-7, 2039; *Autun R* BA 6, 49, 793).

[93]Cf. above, p. 108

[94]*StB* 66-68.

[95]*StG* 106-7.

[96]*StG* 89-91.

[97]*StG* 145-54. This is one of the few instances in which a translation is not offered.

[98]*StG* 184-5.

[99]Other circumstances stressed by a Latin introduction are: 221-2, 229, 272-3, 280-4, 343, 358-62, 393-4, 421-5, 440-4, 501-4, 570-1, 583-7, 606-7, 626, 649-66, 665-6, 673-7, 743-5, 758-61, 766-7, 770-1, 776-7, 782, 790-4, 821-3, 828-31, 387-8, 847-50, 856-7, 862, 905-10, 1018, 1057-8, 1089, 1100-1, 1313-14, 1354, 1362-4, 1366-1402 (*'Flete, fideles animae'*), 1450, 1486-8, 1491, 1498-9, 1509-16 (*'Adveniisti desiderabilis'*), 1523-5, 1530, 1571-3, 1575, 1579-81, 1588, 1593-7, 1603-4, 1615-21. In all but a small percentage of exchanges, speeches by angels are untranslated. Most translations appear within the Easter portion, particularly that initiated by the *'Quem quaerites'* trope. In practically all instances where Latin is expressed in German, rubrics carefully differentiate between *cantat* and *dicat*, consistently employing the former for Latin phrases, the latter for German dialog. The invariability of the usage of the words can hardly be attributed to chance and probably indicates a second means of stressing these textual patterns.

[100]Though this be true, we shall discover in forthcoming paragraphs that the playwright of *Wien* made an obvious attempt to include more vernacular speeches and to paraphrase several Latin speeches.

[101]Adam- *Wien* 124-7, 136-47 (*"Ve nobis"*); Mary Magdalene - 403-6 (*"Heu vita preterita"*), 415-22 (*"Hinc ornatus seculi"*), 429-31 (*"O magister opeime"*), 437-44 (*"Peccatrici prebeas . . . O vos condiscipuli"*). In addition to Jesus, to whom the largest number of Latin verses is given, Judas (*Wien* 437, 525) and Simon the Pharisee (*Wien* 457, 466, 479) briefly express themselves in the language of the Mass.

[102]*Wien* 279-86.

[103]*Wien* 295-306.

[104]Boletta attributes a particular dramatic significance to this *silete* of the angels, as it is thrice repeated before Mary's suit for forgiveness (*StG* 326-41), and anterior to Christ's response, *"Dimissa sunt peccata tua!"*(*StG* 343). Of the angelic song he concludes: "It does . . . heighten the significance of the moment which ends Magdalene's life of sin. Here is the most wanton of sinners begging forgiveness. Her repentance demonstrates to the audience that even the most persistent of sinners can repent, and Christ's words of forgiveness are another manifestation of His infinite mercy granted to all who shun the sinful life. The *silete* provides a certain dramatic tension. . . ." (pp. 127-8).

[105]In this introduction by the messengers of Heaven Boletta sees an attempt to underscore the importance of the ensuing activity: "Not only do the events of the Last Supper have sacramental significance in the institution of the Holy Eucharist, they also mark the beginning of Christ's Passion" (p. 128).

[106]Opinions attributed to Creizenach (I,220), and Mone.

[107]Schuler, p. 46. Boletta lists eight of the twelve occurrences of *silete* in *StG* which divide scenes as : *StG* 16, 138, 373, 532, 641, 708, 917, and 1159 (p. 126).

[108]Reinhold Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel* (Bern und München, 1962), pp. 79-80; quoted in Boletta, p. 27.

[109]Boletta, p. 129.

[110]The application of rubrics is yet another area of disunity between medieval and modern texts. Schumacher reminds us of the significant differences: "La *rubrique* enfin ne fut d'abord qu'une sorte de titre. Elle était écrite en encre rouge, de la son nom. Il se trouve dans presque tous les mystères et miracles de véritables rubriques. On ne connaissâit pas encore la division du drame en actes et en scènes, mais pour le lecture comme pour l'emploi des manuscripts aux repetitions et représentations, on avait besoin de points de repère pour se retourner ou s'arrêter dans les longes 'journées'" (pp. 581-2).

[111]*Palat* 5-12.

[112]*Palat* 13-14.

[113]Hartl, *Untersuchung StG*, p. 111. He perceives a similar impetus for the degree of dramatization of the Blind man's sequence.

[114]Steinbach, p. 134.

[115]*StG* 47.

[116]Bath, p. 102.

[117]Hartl, *Untersuchung StG*, p. 116.

[118]This is essentially the conclusion reached by F.S. Mone in *Schauepiels des Mittelalters*(Karlsruhe, 1846), I, p. 56, where he sees Christ triumphing over evil and Mary Magdalene succombing to it. Steinbach (pp. 136-7) also finds a prefuguration of the Magdalene in the adulteress. The account, as presented by *StG*, does not agree with biblical chronology, as does *'Die Erlösung'*, the most important source for the Magdalene episodes. There seems little doubt that the *StG* author alters the source material to accomplish a specific artistic task, that of contrasting Mary Magdalene to Jesus and gradually preparing her conversion.

[119]Froning, p. 303.

[120]Müller, *Elemente*, p. 30.

[121]That is can be active I think is born out by the discussion of *Montecassino*, *BenP*, and especially *Wien*, all in intriguing fashion.

[122]E. Roy, p. 11.

[123]Maas, p. 20.

[124]*Ibid.*, p. 183; Frank, *La Passion du Palatinus*, pp. v-vi.

[125]*Palat* 83-8.

[126]*Palat* 107-10.

[127]*Autun B* 28-9; *Autun R* 6-7.

[128]*Autun B* 27-9; *Autun R* 28-30.

[129]Cf. above, p. 17.

[130]*Palat* 89-92; *Autun B* 135-9; *Autun R* 104-8.

[131]Similar words are employed in *Autun B*.

[132]Knoll, p. 62. Unfortunately, this author engages in some questionable rhetoric when attributing this constraint to „dem Unvermögen dieser Nation, tiefe Reue zu empfinden und darzustellen." One suspects that a certain degree of Germanic 'superiority' enters into such a generalized statement.

[133]Saxer, p. 185.

[134]*Ibid.*, p. 60.

[135]The careful and consistent temporal ordering of succession by spatial motion, where at least one person of a group is directed to alter his location, can be found throughout *StG*: BA 23, BA 234, BA 556, BA 604, BA 673, BA 696, BA 706, BA 708, BA 752, Ba 817, BA 837, BA 847, BA 917, BA 1055, BA 1069, BA 1089, BA 1092, BA 1160 , BA 1258, BA1266, BA 1483, BA 1486, BA 1561, BA 1611, BA 1615 (all these examples build upon verbs of motion).

[136]*StG* 180 and BA 180.

[137]*StG* BA 465 and BA 469. Other references taking this form are: *StG* 433 and BA 434, 55105 and BA 556, 582 and BA 483, 1014 and BA 1018, 1112, 1118 and BA 1119, 1130-4 and BA 1135, 1208, 1213-14, BA 1215, 1255 and BA 1266.

[138]*StG* 405-8.

[139]A further application of internalized motive signals can be seen in *StG* 325 and following verses.

[140]*Wien* BA 36.

[141]*Wien* 36-7.

[142]Other evidence of spatially-induced succession may be seen in *Wien* BA 80, BA 110, BA 295, BA 361 (evidence of rubrics only) and *Wien* 186-8 and BA 189, 511 and BA 515 (dialog sutstantiated by stage directions.).

[143]Christ, p. 409. Ensuing discussion which stresses the dramatic quality of internalized structuring convinces me that such is not necessarily the case. Se below, p. 196.

[144]*Palat* 545-51.

[145]*Palat* 567.

[146]*Palat* 312.

[147]*Palat* 322-3.

[148]*Palat* 352.

[149]*Palat* 179-80.

[150]*Palat* 231.

[151]*Palat* 60-8.

[152]*Palat* 35-59.

[153]Situations like these occur throughout the text: *Palat* 443-4 (completion 448), 553-4 (completion 567), 781 and 785 (completion 787), 862, 1463 (completion 1467-8), 1618-19 (completion 1620), and 1862-3 (completion 1908-50).

[154]Changes between *Palat* 699 and 670, 1553 and 1554 (possibly parallel in time) are not introduced, merely effected.

[155]*Autun R* 39-44, 45 and 49 (completion 50-3), 400 and 404-5 (completion 408-13), 431 and 435 (completion 500), and 880 (completion 883-5).

[156]*Autun B* 41-54.

[157]*Autun B* 656.

[158]*Autun B* 664-72.

[159]For additional illustrations of spatial movement without supporting rubrics, see *Autun B* 79-83 (completion 84-5), 717 (completion 729), 745 (completion 749-59), 865-6 (completion 873-8), 973, 1748-9 (completion 1749-54).

[160]*Autun B* 285.

[161]*Autun B* 286-7.

[162]*Autun B* 296.

[163]*Autun B* 297-9.

[164]Indications of their use abound in *Autun B*: 511, 1473-6, and 1615-18. It will be noted that these narrated forms most often occur in conjunction with a temporal adverb, thereby unmistakably creating a succession of events.

[165]*Autun B* BA 87.

[166]Cf. above, p. 84.

[167]*StG* 438-9, 451-4, 457-8, 461-4, 469-70.

[168]*StG* 651-2.

[169]*StG* 756-7.

[170]*StG* 956-90.

[171]*StG* 1012-17.

[172]*StG* 915.

[173]The text makes clear that both Annas and Caiaphas remain behind when Jesus is taken to Pilate (*StG* BA 1018: *"Deinde ducant Ihesum ad Pilatum. Anna et Chaypha remanentibus . . . ."*). The logical place for his reintroduction is upon the return from Herod's interrogation.

[174]*StG* 1266.

[175]*StG* 1290-8 and 1299-1304.

[176]*StG* 1451-62.

[177]*Palat* 200.

[178]*Palat* 787-867. Herode, one of the Jews, even states to one of his henchmen, *"Or les (clos) portez a Cayfas"* (*Palat* 866), at whose instigation the forging was undertaken (774-80). The intervening action may have its own dramatic focal point, but this is always subsumed into the structure of the Crucifixion. Such a scene adds medieval realism to the play, but in no way detracts from succession. Indeed, temporal succession is enhanced by its inclusion.

[179]*Palat* 600-69.

[180]*Autun B* and *Autun R* exhibit a carry over of figures from one location to another, which causes succession. In the Passover preparation, Christ's location and that of the host are temporally linked by Peter and John, who move on command from the first position to the second, make the necessary contacts with the host, return to their original place, report their activity and lead the group to the host's facilities (*Autun B* 41-111; *AutunR*39-90). Without a concept of succession behind them, these individual events show little correspondence to reality and make no dramatic sense.

[181]*Wien* 333-6.

[182]*Wien* 374-82.

[183]*Wien* 391-6.

[184]Cf. above, p. 149.

[185]Pütz, p. 33.

[186]*StG* 202-3.

[187]*StG* 209-14.

[188]*StG* 242-3.

[189]*StG* 251-4.

[190]*StG* 294-9.

[191]*StG* 421-31.

[192]*StG* 440-50.

[193]Still other examples of such temporal succession employing change of character and repetition from the new viewpoint are: *StG* 631-6 (narration by an eyewitness of Lazarus' raising), 839-46 (Jesus' reminder to the disciples that they vowed unyielding fidelity), and 1440-4 (Mary Magdalene's remembrance at the Crucifixion of Christ's forgiveness). A scene which shows no alternation of speaker, but of statement, placing several previous utterances into temporal succession is the word of John the Baptist, *„Sehent in mit augen an,/von dem ich vor gesprochen han"* (108), which postdates several prophecies repeated from the Old Testament. The dramatic quality of this entrance of the Lamb of God after He has been identified by the proper scriptural passages is a stroke of dramatic enlightenment which speaks well of this author's artistic capacities.

[194]Occasional questions arise wherein textual evidence may at first appear to represent a possible succession by dialog, such as the instance of Mary Magdalene's review of her previous life, or a simple narration of pre-history. The distinction between the two will be made in this analysis by evidence of prior dramatization of lack thereof. Succession by dialog involving a report of circumstance will always involve the epic repetition of dramatized events, whereas narration of pre-history will designate the involvement of material not staged.

[195]*Wien* 41-8.

[196]*Wien* 49.

[197]*Wien* 75-9.

[198]Adam and Eve epically relive their recent fall from grace, much as did Ludifer (*Wien* 154-67 and 173-88). Their corruption and entry into Hell provide a vivid example of the increasing power of Lucifer and his cohorts, as well as a dramatic sequel to the devils' stated intentions. The entry of four medieval souls into the realm of darkness brings the announced design even closer to contemporary audiences, creating a greater urgency for Christ's journey into the world and continued relevance for medieval believers.

[199]*Palat* 1244-7.

[200]One suspects this to be a medieval intrusion, seen in hindsight, for, unless Mary had spoken at length with the disciples sometime after the arrest, she would have no way of knowing such particulars

[201]*Palat* 1801-4.

[202]Another example of the medieval interest in the play, for Mary could not have such perfect knowledge of the situation unless she had engaged in extensive conversation with the disciples or had herself been present at the arrest.

[203]*Palat* 1519-31.

[204]At least two other instances of this technique can be found at *Palat* 529-32 (Marques narration of his physical discomfort caused by Peter), and *Palat* 1726-8 (a repetition of the earlier command by the angel to Christ: *"Lieve toy de ci."*

[205]*Autun B* 1420-30.

[206]*Autun B* 1505-1608.

[207]*Autun B* 1609-14.

[208]Arnold Williams, *Pilate*, p. 2.

[209]*Autun B* 442-51.

[210]Judas reviews the betrayal from his particularly remorseful viewpoint (*Autun B* 613-45). His character assumes more life and significance as the realization of his deeds, dramatically amplified from the earlier *"Heu quam graviter peccavi"* of *Montecassino*, are elongated and specified in thirty-three lines of text. Mary Magdalene's repentance achieves credibility by repetition of her remembrances of sin (*Autun B* 128-9, 169-70, and 182-3).

[211]*Autun R* 887-919.

[212]Among the more interesting and structurally important instances of temporal succession by question and answer are the following: *StG* 81-3 and 89-92, 380-3 and 386-8, 409-11 and 413-14, 456-7 and 459-60, 493-6 and 497-500; *Palat* 288-96 and 297-302, 1341, 1344 and 1346-8; *Autun B* 591-2 and 597-600, 751-2, and 753.

[213]*StG* 649-50.

[214]*StG* 752-7.

[215]*StG* 817-8.

[216]*StG* 847-55.

[217]*StG* 936-45.

[218]*StG* 953-5.

[219]*StG* 1403-7. See also discussion on the Longinus of *BenP*, p. 95.

[220]*Wien* 55-8.

[221]*Palat* 1-4.

[222]*Palat* 196-230.

[223]*Palat* 236.

[224]In other examples we find Longinus' plan to spear the Suffering One, though not as specific as other indications in other plays (*Palat* 1050-1), Joseph's intent to secure Pilate's permission to take Christ's body (*Palat* 1459-64), the continuous and ironic boasting of the soldiers who watch the grave and their vows to deliver frightful blows to anyone who dares near the tomb (*Palat* 1683-6, 1688-90, 1691-5, 1696-9), the only instance where the realization is lacking. Indeed, this failure to accomplish the stated results adds definition to the Resurrection. Even these boastful men-of-arms are powerless to alter the heavenly and foreordained triumph over death. Mary Magdalene gives voice to the desire of all three Maries to buy precious ointment and to proceed to the sepulchre to annoint their deceased Master (*Palat* 1856-60), a suggestion readily accepted by them and immediately realized.

[225]*Autun B* 131-5; *Autun R* 103-5.

[226]*Autun B* 300-12; *Autun R* 201-4. Both make it clear from the onset that the Jews will be satisfied with nothing short of Christ's death.

[227]*Autun B* 461-7.

[228]*Autun B* 1791-2 and 1812-51.

[229]*StG* employs at least forty-six commands, most immediately executed, *Wien* nine, *Palat* thirty, *Autun B* twenty-four, and *Autun R* twenty-nine.

[230]Cf. above, pp. 97-8,

[231]See John ii, 28-29.

[232]Matthew iii: 7-9.

[233]Matthew iii: 10.

[234]*StG* 89-91.

[235]*StG* 63-4 and 67-80.

[236]*StG* 106-13.

[237]*StG* 49-54.

[238]*StG* 91-7.

[239]*StG* 104.

[240]*StG* 106-7.

[241]Such is the case with the introduction of Huitacelin (*Palat* 545-56), the smith to forge the Crucifixion nails (*Palat* 780-4, *Autun B* 865-72, and *Autun R* 494-9), and the spice merchant (*Palat* 1856-60). All are responses to commands or strong suggestions.

[242]*StG* 543-8.

[243]*StG* 604-5.

[244]*StG* 583-4 and 606-7.

[245]John xi: 6.

[246]*StG* 1486-90.

[247]*StG* 1494-7.

[248]*StG* 1517-22.

[249]*Palat* 1447.

[250]Hartl, *Untersuchung StG*, p. 117.

[251]Steinbach, p. 137.

[252]Biblical sources for the episodes are: John ix:1-38 (the blind man), John xi: 1-34 (Lazarus), Matthew xxvi: 17-29, Mark xiv: 12-25, Luke xxii: 7-24 (the Last Supper), Matthew xxvi: 54-75 and xxvii: 1-26, Mark xv: 53-72 and xvi: 1-15, Luke xxii: 54-71 and xxiii: 1-25, John xviii: 13-40 and xix: 1-16(the trials), Matthew xxvii: 32-56, Mark xv: 21-41, Luke xxiii: 26-49, John xix: 17-37 (the Crucifixion).

[253]*StG* BA 1089.

[254]*StG* 1089-91.

[255]They are: Lucifer's sin and fall, the devils; intrigue, the fall of the first couple, and the medieval souls in Hell.

[256]Curiously, the damned monk is not directed to Hell; Lucifer does not trust him with his mother (*Wien* 233-8), an amusing reflection of the popular opinion of many clergymen during the Middle Ages.

[257]*Wien* BA 279.

[258]*Wien* 279-86.

[259]As has been seen in prior Passions, *Wien* creates a strict temporal parallel between Jesus at Simon's house and Mary's spiritual reawakening.

[260]Saxer, p. 228.

[261]Attributed by Saxer (p. 247) to the rise of Saint-Maximin in the Provence-- a fact which resulted from the 'invention' of the saint's burial place in that location in 1279--, the open conflict with Vezelay, and a general climate of neglect in monastic institutions, particularly in the pilgrimage center of Vezelay, commencing already in the thirteenth century: "Les luttes du XII^{e} siècle avaient donné aux abbés et aux moines de facheuses habitudes; non-residence, voilà pour les premiers; désunion, voilà pour les seconds; relachement de la discipline, dissipation des biens, incontinence et simonie" (p. 226).

[262]*Ibid.*, p. 257.

[263]The gateway to France for the Magdalene cult was probably Verdun. Of the possible events culminating in the establishment of the cult in France Saxer says: "Ermenfroi, le fondateur de la Madeleine mosane, était, on s'en souvient, d'origine germanique. L'année qui suivit son arrivée à Verdun, il y introduisit le culte de sainte Marie Madeleine. On peut penser qu'il l'avait importé d'allemagne" (p. 85-6).

[264]Bath quotes a theory offered by W. Meyer-Speyer that Mary Magdalene of *Wien* was a product of another play which concentrated upon her sinful career and conversion, later simply taken bodily over into *Wien* (p. 98).

[265]This has prompted Bath to posit at least a common Latin Magdalene scene from a Passion from which both *Wien* and *BenP* originate. She qualifies the suggestion by noting the fragmentary preservation of *Wien* and raises the possibility of a Latin Magdalene drama (p. 98).

[266]*Wien* 403-6 = *BenP* 73-6; *Wien* 415-22 = *BenP* 78-81 and 91-2.

[267]*Wien* 278-86 = *BenP* 27-34.

[268]Werner offers a comparison between *Wien* and *BenP* which shows that non only a prodigious number of Latin strophes were taken over directly by the latter, but also that numerous portions of the Magdalene scenes were incorporated according to the *content* first presented by *BenP*(p. 52). He further lists those verses of this sequence of events not borrowed by *Wien* (p. 52), those Latin verses which newly appear in *Wien*, and German extensions and paraphrases of Latin verses (p. 53).

[269]Bath, p. 103.

[270]Cf. above, p. 85.

[271]Contemporary not in the sense of the date of writing, but in the sense of enjoying 'currency' and extensive appreciation.

[272]Quoted in Bath, p. 101.

[273]Those speeches which present an apparently parallel and generally faithful expression of Latin Verses are: *Wien* 353-8 (expressing the *"Doctor legis, Ihesu bone"* of 349-52), 368-83 (expressing the *"Ite, citi famuli"* of 361-7), 383-90 (expressing the *"O Maria Magdalena"* of 374-82), 453-6 (expressing Christ's message, *"Bonum opus mulier hec est operata"* in 449-52), 461-4 (relating the pharisee's feelings on the situation, *"Si peritus arte hic esset prophecie"*of 457-60), 463-8 (dealing with the parable of the two debtors of 467-72), 480-1, 483-4, and 491-6 (concluding the discussion of Mary's act of contrition and her forgiveness, related in 479-82 and 485-90 respectively). It is interesting to note that all these examples stem from a single scene of the story. Even the Latin speeches, though reminiscent of the same sequence of action in *BenP*, represent the scene in much fuller detail. The more common manner of relating Latin verse to its German parallels can be seen in Mary's response to her Lord's gift of salvation:

Ego, que peccamine fueram gravata,
Christi consolamine iam sum consolata.
nichil ergo proderint verba pharisey,
nam remisso crimine famula sum dei.
(*Wien* 497-500)

Mit sunden waz min armer lip
also sere besezzen,
daz ich sundegerez wip
het mins gotez vergessen.
den hat mir sin gotcheit also gar verlazen
do von wil ich vurbas sunden mich erlazen.
(*Wien* 501-6)

For this portion of the play Werner has established a similar opposition of Latin-sacred to German- worldly which was originally noted for *BenP*. Of it he writes: „. . . die rein lateinischen (Texte sind) alle durch die Gestalt Christi oder des Engels auf den sakralen Bereich bezogen, die ausschlieszlich deutschen dagegen zur weltlich-sündhaften Sphäre gehören. . ." (p. 51). He reminds us at the same time, however, that one should not expect a completely logical and consistent application of either language from medieval drama. The two speeches present *similar*, but not identical statements concerning Mary's observations on her former life. Particularly obvious is the lack of any reference to the validity of the words of Simon in German.

[274]*Wien* 288.

[275]*Wien* 289.

[276]*Wien* 327-8.

[277]This lament is, again, independent of the Latin lines which immediately precede its first strophe, *"Heu, vita preterita"* (*Wien* 403-6).

[278]In the episode of the Last Supper, only the most noteworthy incidents are dramatized; the foot washing receives no form.

[279]*Palat* 196-230.

[280]*Palat* 375-8.

[281]In response to Herod's question of what should be done with Jesus, Annas suggests that he be returned to Pilate, *"Que ce truant que ci veëz/Face occirre et decopper* (*Palat* 413-14), and calls Him a *"truant pelart"* and a *"papelart"*.

[282]Maas concludes that the flagellation has no dependence upon its immediate ancestor, the *Passion des Jongleurs*, and represents either original composition or is heavily indebted to an unknown model (pp. 58-9).

[283]Maas, p. 59.

[284]*Palat* 642-7.

[285]*Palat* 658.

[286]The total number of verses uttered by Mary is ninety (*Palat* 970-89, 1071-1115, and 1210-34). She plays no part during the descent from the Cross. The remaining *planctus* verses are spoken by John.

[287]*Palat* 990-1001.

[288]*Palat* 972.

[289]*Palat* 974.

[290]*Palat* 1064-9.

[291]*Palat* 1070.

[292]*Palat* 256-9; cf. below, p. 244, f. 336.

[293]*Palat* 1147.

[294]*Palat* 1153. Pickering, in the study, „Das gotische Christusbild, Zu den Quellen mittelalterlichen Passionsdarstellung," *Euphorion*, 47 (1953), pp. 20-1, draws particular attention to the application of "wild dogs" as synonomous with the Jews. He notes that the epithet 'dogs' proceeds from Psalms xxii: 17 (*"Quoniam circumdederunt me canes multi"*), and its accompanying adjective, 'wild' or 'mad', originates from verse 13 of the same Psalm, or is derived from Psalms xxvi/xxiv: 16 (*"frenduerunt super me dentibus suis"*). Pickering sees textual history, not medieval anti-semitism, as the primary factor supporting such outbursts. These historical developments of texts will be important when the Crucifixion is taken up.

[295]I can only conjecture that *StG* at this point prefers a somber, formal complaint structure to accompany Jesus' death.

[296]Meier, p. 181.

[297]Meier, who is inclined to consider Mary's first complaint as occurring even before the trial, identifies a theatrical motivation of her forthcoming activity, initiated as a response to previously dramatized scenes: „Ihre erste Klage . . . ist die Reaktion auf die Schreckensnachricht des Johannes" (p. 181). This represents a interlinking of activity absent in *BenP* from the appearances of the Virgin.

[298]Cf. Meier, pp. 179-80.

[299]Maas, p. 79.

[300]Émile Mâle, *L'art Religieux du XII^e au XVIII^e Siècle*, 2^e éd. (Paris: Colin, 1916), p. 109.

[301]Meier, p. 148. I am indebted to Meier's cogent, enlightening, and well-written study of the Virgin for most of the historical facts concerning her place in the Passion, and unless so indicated, base this portion of the investigation on his work.

[302]Quoted in Meier, p. 149.

[303]*Ibid.*, p. 150.

[304]Sticca, *Spirituality*, p. 83.

[305]*Loc. cit.*

[306]Meier, pp. 150-1.

[307]*Ibid.*, p. 151.

[308]Quoted in Meier, p. 151.

[309]Text in Migne, *PL*, 159. 271-290.

[310]Text in Migne, *PL* 182. 1133-1134. Woolf, *Medieval English Lyric*, p. 247, notes the extreme popularity of Bernard's thought by citing at least twenty-three manuscripts of the work translated into English alone. Meier states that almost the entire corpus of medieval Passion literature rests on Bernard's tractat (p. 161).

[311]Pickering, *Christusbild*, p. 18.

[312]Meier, pp. 162-3.

[313]*Ibid.*, p. 163. See also Meier, pp. 161-8 for details on the religious impact of Bernard and Pseudo-Anselm.

[314]Müller, *Elemente*, p. 14.

[315]Woolf, pp. 115-38.

[316]The Latin Texts, in order of presentation by Maas, are:

Lat. I	*Moestae perentis*
Lat. II	*Ante crucem virgo stabat*
Lat. III	*Virgo plorans filium*
Lat. IV	*Crux, de te volo conqueri*
Lat. V	*Officium de compassione Mariae*
Lat. VI	*O filii Ecclesiae*
Lat. VII	*Surgit Christus cum trophaeo*
Lat. VIII	*Planctus ante nescia.* (For additional information on its form and content see Meier, pp. 153-55.)
Lat. IX	*Qui per viam pergitis*
Lat. IXa	*Flete, fideles animae* (Discussed by Meier, p. 155.)
Lat. X	*O fratres et sorores*
Lat. XI	*Quis dabit capiti meo aquam*
Lat. XII	*Considerate matres*
Lat. XIII	*Dialogus de passione Christi*
Lat. XIV	*Meditationes vitae Christi*
Lat. XV	*Qui me humilem ancillam*

Maas includes sources, brief discussions and literary designations for Lat. IXa-Lat. XV, pp. 86-7, and textual sources for all sixteen works, pp. 85-7.

[317]The two French complaints which Maas believes to have influenced *Palat* are:

Fr. I	*Entendez tous, pecheurs et pecheris*
Fr. II	*Je plains e plors come feme dolente*

Textual sources and a brief discussion of each are found on p. 88.

[318]The Catalonian text begins: *"Auyats, seyos, qui credets Deu lo payre"*. Source and background given by Maas on pp. 88-9.

[319]Maas, pp. 98-9. Rather than reproduce the extensive evidence offered by Maas, I shall cite only the page numbers of his work. Where applicable, individual words which complise the correspondances will be underlined in the quote from *Palat*.

[320]*Ibid.*, p. 99.

[321]*Ibid.*, p. 97.

[322]*Loc. cit.*

[323]*Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

[324]*Loc. cit.*

[325]Maas, pp. 91-3.

[326]*Loc. cit.*

[327]*Ibid.*, p. 96.

[328]*Ibid.*, pp. 90-1.

[329]*Ibid.*, p. 93.

[330]*Loc. cit.*

[331]*Ibid.*, pp. 93-5.

[332]*Ibid.*, pp. 95-6.

[333]Maas also includes source lines, or perhaps more accurately, conformatory verses from the *Passion des Jongleurs*, which is indebted to most of the same source listings Maas uses for *Palat*.

[334]Sticca, *Passion*, p. 156.

[335]*Palat* 1103-4 and 1222-3.

[336]*BenP* 256-9: *"O Maria, tantum noli/lamentare tuo proli!/ sine me nunc plangere,/que vitam cupis cedere!"*

[337]*StG* 1450.

[338]*Palat* 1116-19.

[339]*Palat* 1120-5.

[340]*Palat* 1126-33 and 1136-41.

[341]*Palat* 982-5, 1090, 1216-17, and 1232.

[342]Other instances of the preponderance of Mary's compassion are: *Palat* 1092, 1094-6, 1106-8, 1210-15, 1218-19, and 1225.

[343]Goodman, p. 62.

[344]For information on the importance of Judas and his legend for the Middle Ages, see Paul Lehmann, „Judas Ischariot in der lateinischen Legendenüberlieferung des Mittelalters " *Erforschung des Mittelalters*, ed. Wolfgang Stammler (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1959), II, 229-85.

[345]Goodman, *loc. cit.*

[346]*StG* BA 169.

[347]Hartl, *Untersuchung StG*, p. 121.

[348]Hartl, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[349]*StG* 1486-90.

[350]*StG* 1491-7.

[351]*StG* 1498-1503. For an enlightening consideration of the prior history and usage of these three Latin phrases, see Young, *DMC*, I, pp. 92-3 and 148-77.

[352]*StG* 1509-22.

[353]*StG* BA 1483.

[354]*StG* 1530.

[355]*StG* 1531.

[356]Text in Froning, pp. 228-44.

[357]Helmut De Boor, „Der Salbenkauf in den lateinischen Osterspielen des Mittelalters," *Die Textgeschichte der lateinischen Osterfeiern* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1967), p. 346.

[358]Cf. above, p. 168; also below, p. 128, f. 168.

[359]*Palat* 1238-9.

[360]*Palat* 1258-9.

[361]*Palat* 1305.

[362]*Palat* 1314-23.

[363]*Palat* 1327-9.

[364]*Palat* 1330-1.

[365]*Palat* 1346-55.

[366]*Palat* 1365.

[367]*Palat* 1367.

[368]*Palat* 1396.

[369]*Palat* 1720-3.

[370]*Palat* 1252-8.

[371]Brinkmann, *Eigenform*, p. 83.

[372]*Loc. cit.*

[373]Matthew xxvii: 62-66, xxviii: 1-4.

[374]Young, *DMC*, I, p. 431; text on pp. 421-9.

[375]Text in Young, pp. 432-7.

[376]Text in Young, pp. 438-47.

[377]Text in Young, pp. 701-8.

[378]*Palat* 1591-4.

[379]*Palat* 1602-16.

[380]Matthew xxvii: 62.

[381]Cf. above, p. 252.

[382]*Palat* 1716-19.

[383]*Palat* 1728-9.

[384]*Palat* 1784.

[385]Brinkmann, *Eigenform*, p. 31.

[386]Young, *DMC*, I, p. 412; text on pp. 413-19.

[387]Bath, p. 100.

[388]de Boor, p. 346.

[389]Text in Young, pp. 403-4. A second play from the same source is printed on pp. 405-7, where the *unguentarius* delivers speeches instead of merely acting.

[390]de Boor, p. 356.

[391]*Loc. cit.*

[392]*Ibid.*, p. 361.

[393]*Loc. cit.*

[394]*Ibid.*, p. 355.

[395]*Palat* 1785-1863.

[396]Text quoted from Young, *DMC*, I, pp. 269-70.

[397]*Palat* 1890-1.

[398]*Palat* 1868-71.

[399]*Palat* 1927.

[400]*Autun B* 41-111.

[401]*Autun B* 126-97. Mary's dialog commences after Jesus calls the disciples to share one last meal with Him.

[402]*Autun B* 112-25 and 198-285.

[403]I reflect upon exclamations such as the *"Peccavi tradens sanguinem iustum"* of *StG* 1018, or the *"Peniete me graviter,/quod istis argenteis/ Christum vendiderim!"* of *BenP* 203-5, which, when taken by themselves, have the air of accepted mythology or perhaps the True Word; they are monumental in their suggestion, but at the same time, devoid of any meaninfgul humanity.

[404]*Autun B* 756-7.

[405]*Autun B* 646-7.

[406]Goodman, p. 117.

[407]Foster, p. 2.

[408]*Ibid.*, p. 49.

[409]*Ibid.*, p. 64.

[410]Pickering, *Lit and Art*, p. 271.

[411]*Ibid.*, p. 272.

[412]*Loc. cit.*

[413]*Loc. cit.*

[414]*Ibid.*, p. 273.

[415]*Ibid.*, p. 272.

[416]Quoted in Foster, p. 65. Miss Foster makes note of the masculine gender of *quendam ribaldum*, infering an uncertainty of reference to the smith's wife (p. 65). Bercheur's words seem to affirm the conclusions of Pickering, inasmuch as they specify that someone other than the smith forged the nails (*"et non per fabrum"*). The development of Tubalcain and his servants away from the forge in medieval exegesis and art suggests that they are also to be excluded from consideration.

[417]*Autun B* 817-34.

[418]*Autun B* 912.

[419]Cf. above, p. 169.

[420]Cf. above, pp. 211-12.

[421]Goodman, p. 103.

[422]*Ibid.*, p. 120.

[423]Cf. above, p. 225.

[424]*StG* 290-341.

[425]Hartl, *Untersuchung StG*, p. 116.

[426]*StG* 1018-24 ≒ 1037ff.

[427]*StG* 1169-88 ≒ 1189-1214.

[428]Hartl, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

[429]*Palat* 60-80 ≒ 81-98; *Autun B* 112-26 ≒ 126-47; *Autun R* 91-97 ≒ 98-113.

[430]*Palat* 158-96 ≒ 197-230; *Autun B* 228-99 ≒ 300-58; *Autun R* 131-80 ≒ 181-217.

[431]*Autun B* 541-602 ≒ 603-47.

[432]*Palat* 488-55 ≒ 456-74 ≒ 475-544. *Autun R* makes the Peter and Judas appearances contemporary with Jesus before Caiaphas (*Autun R* 277-307 ≒ 308-53 ≒ 354-90, although Judas must logically make his complaint well into the sequence).

433

PALATINUS

[Herode]
Marques, venez ca tost alez
Au fevre et si commandez
Troys cloz et pour fichier
Jhesucrist, le fel pautonier.

[Marques]
Sire volentiers je irai,
Vostre commandement feray.
(*Palat* 781-6)

[Marques a Herode]
Tenez, sire, vouz ci les clos,
Et sachiez pour l'amour de vous
Les a sa fame touz forgez:
Ses mairs estoit malhetiez.

[Herode]
Or les portez a Cayfas
Qui du crucefier n'est las.
(*Palat* 862-7)

[Cayfas]
Haquin, Mossé, venez avant!
Alez me querre maintenant
Une eschiele a chevillons.
(*Palat* 879-80)

This rendition continues with the procurement of other tools, until all are at hand. Obviously, the lines leading into the scene of the smith's wife occur after Pilate has made his decision to hand over Jesus for execution, as *Palat* 764-80 attest. Caiaphas' command seems to emanate from Calvary instead of Pilate's court, in which case *Palat* contains no dramatized way to the Skull, for there is no indication of movement in the dialog.

AUTUN B

Or parle CAYPHAS es Juifz.
Venez tous a moy parlés.
A ung fevre vous en alés,
Et affin que s'aquiter,
De par moy le saluer,
Et que ly mande diligemment
Que forgoit tost apertement
Troys clous grand et de fin acier
Pour a Jhesu piez et main percier.
(*Autun B* 865-72)

Parle LE JUIFZ es aultres.
Tenés, compain, vecy les cloux
Qui bien porrons percier les os
Du truant malvais, par ma foy,
Qui nostre loy abassier vouloit.
(*Autun B* 973-6)

Parle UNG JUIFZ a Jhesucrist.
Or tost, ribaux, or en venés!
Maintenent pandut vous serés.
(*Autun B* 979-80)

Caiaphas' speech immediately follows an epic discussion by the author of Pilate's absolution of himself from crime and an expression that the Jews were wrong (*Autun B* 853-64). The final quotation signifies that no motion towards the place of execution has yet been accomplished until the Jew signals it with his command for Jesus to get under way. *Autun R* lacks a clearcut return to the main activity where Jesus waits, although the instigation of the forging is similar to *Palat* and *Autun B* (*Autun R* 494-8). Instead the dream of Pilate's wife takes its place immediately after the nails have been received by the messenger. There follows a dialog which has several hints of scriptural origin from the time of the Christ's way to Calvary, particularly His comforting of the lamenting women, accompanied by a shortened form of Lude's account, *"Conversus autem ad illas Jesus, dixit: Filiae Ierusalem! nolite flere super me, sed super vos ipsas flete, et super filios vestros! Quoniam ecce! venient dies, in quibus dicent: Beatae steriles, et ventres, qui non genuerunt, et ubera, quae non lactaverunt"* (Luke xxiii: 28-29).

[434]Hartl, *Untersuchung StG*, p. 125.

[435]Brinkmann, *Eigenform*, p. 86.

[436]*StG* 235-54.

[437]*StG* 265-89.

[438]*StG* 486.

[439]Steinbach, pp. 137-8.

[440]*Ibid.*, p. 138.

[441]Brinkmann, *Eigenform*, p. 19.

[442]*Loc. cit.*

[443]Wolff, *Verschmelzung*, p. 286.

[444]*StG* 4, 5, and 6; Steinbach, p. 134.

[445]Mary H. Marshall, "The dramatic tradition established by the liturgical plays," *PMLA*, LVI (1941), p. 976.

[446]*StG* 1615-16.

[447]*StG* 1617-18.

[448]Wolff, *Verschmelzung*, p. 270.

[449]Marshall, p. 997.

[450]Jodogne, p. 5.

[451]Müller, *Elemente*, p. 9.

[452]*Loc. cit.*

[453]Wolff, *Verschmelzung*, p. 270.

[454]Kolve, p. 32.

[455]*Palat* 974-6 and 987-9.

[456]*Autun B* 2008-11.

[457]*Autun B* 2039.

[458]Gray, *Themes and Images*, p. 140.

[459]Woolf, *Medieval English Lyric*, p. 185.

[460]*Loc. cit.*

[461]Hardin Craig, cf. above, p. 12.

[462]Cf. above, pp. 118-19.

[463]They are: the servant of the Passover host (*StG* 689-71), the flight of the disciples (*StG* 357), Judas' betrayal (*StG* 731-4), a paraphrase of Christ enthroned (*StG* 984-7), and the promise to the good thief (*StG* 1317-20).

[464]*Autun B* 265-7.

[465]*Autun B* 282-3.

[466]*Autun B* 812-19.

[467]*Autun R* 597-600.

[468]*Wien* 517-23.

[469]*Palat* 107-10 and 129-32.

[470]*Autun B* 249-52 and 262-4.

[471]*Palat* 123-8

[472]*Palat* 1383-5.

[473]Cf. above, pp 254-6.

[474]*Palat* 1688.

[475]*StG* 10-16.

[476]Cf. above, p. 188.

[477]*StG* 8.

[478]*Autun B* 6-8 and 16-36.

[479]*Autun B* 9-15. The opening remarks of *Autun R* are similar, indicative of either a direct relationship between the two or a shared source.

[480]Cf. above, pp. 268-9.

[481]Cf. above, pp. 224-5.

[482]Cf. above, p. 224.

[483]This prophecy by Christ derives from Matthew xxvi: 11.

[484]Cf. above, pp. 104-5 and 269-70.

[485]*Palat* 184-91.

[486]See Staiger, *Grundbegriffe*, pp. 103-13, for an investigation into the relevance of *pathos* for the theater.

[487]I employ *pathos* and all generic forms to denote 'emotions' in their most general sense, as defined by Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics*. See also Staiger, *Grundbegriffe*, p. 105.

[488]Pütz, p. 102.

[489]*StG* 940.

[490]*StG* 949.

[491]*StG* 953.

[492]Cf. above, pp. 205.

[493]French accounts of the Magdalene offer little opportunity for the useful integration of mood, as her change of heart precedes dramatization in all Passions studied here. We find her in the final stages of repentance, already approaching the Lord.

[494]*StG* BA 1189.

[495]Cf. above, p. 205.

[496]*Autun R* 557.

[497]I see a situation wherein the dramatist simply took over existing forms, not bothering to determine their proper place in the tale or recognizing the lack of persuasiveness which filled his final copy. It is obvious that little critical evaluation has entered into the placement of *Uxor's* dream, for it concludes with the promise by Pilate to avoid an imporper judgment (*Autun R* 577-81) *after* he has told the Jews to judge Christ (487-91) and a scant six lines before he bows to Hebrew pressures yet second time (588-90).

[498]Cf. above, p. 132.

[499]Cf. above, p. 133.

[500]Probably a result of its fragmentary preservation, which breaks off prior to the trial scene.

[501]Pütz, p. 147.

[502]*Ibid.*, p. 148.

[503]*Ibid.*, p. 147.

[504]Luke i. 76-79.

[505]Quoted in Bath, p. 8.

[506]Oscar Thulin, *Johannes der Täufer im geistlichen Schauspiel des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit* (Leipzig: Dietrich, 1930), p. 134.

[507]Honorius of Autun, *Speculum ecclesiae de sancto Johanne Baptista*, *PL* 172. 965.

[508]*StG* 53-4 and 67-80.

[509]Magnus, p. 102.

[510]Pütz, p. 151. Hartl, *Drama*, pp. 1979-80, also investigates the technique of contrast in medieval drama.

[511]Pütz, p. 151.

[512]Cf. above, pp. 188-9.

[513]Steinbach, p. 136.

[514]Müller, *Elemente*, pp. 30 and 80.

[515]*Ibid.*, p. 30.

[516]Cf. above, pp. 174-5.

[517]Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[518]*Ibid.*, pp. 56-7.

[519]*Ibid.*, p. 55.

[520]*Ibid.*, p. 10.

[521]*Ibid.*, p. 11

[522]*Ibid.*, p. 12. Müller is here in conflict with Brinkmann, *Eigenform*, p. 83, concerning the value of psychological motivation in the drama. Little doubt can be raised about the preponderance of the divine perspective in these plays, but Müller is certainly correct to assign more responsibility to individualized characters acting as freer agents of evil and not functioning as surrogate devils. The „Verteufelung der Juden", which will be found in *Donau*, is much less an attempt to explain the events surrounding the Passion in terms of godly causality than to place all blame on individualized and responsible Jews.

[523]Cf. above, pp. 139-42.

[524]*StG* 89-97.

[525]*StG* 970-6; *Palat* 301-2 and 947; *Autun B* 420-2; *Autun R* 294-6. *StG* also reports this information in a form which makes the words responsive to an undramatized event within represented time. Annas' remembrance, *„Dirre ist, den ich horte sprechen,/man solle den tempel brechen,/ so solte er in in drier dage frist/ganz machen als er ist."*

(*StG* 1299-1302), as he heaps ridicule upon a dying man, supports the idea that, contrary to other narrations of the facts, Annas himself heard the prophecy. The other alternative that he was witnessing falsely against Jesus can neither be proved nor disproved.

[526]*Palat* 298-9 and 375-6; *Autun B* 684-9; *Autun R* 630-3.

[527]*Palat* 1590-4.

[528]*Autun B* 1890-9.

[529]*Autun B* 2021-38. Mary Magdalene also contemplates, rather ahistorically, the consequences of original sin (*Autun B* 153-61).

[530]*Palat* 1125-41.

[531]This passage is, theoretically speaking, not a simple recollection of a past circumstance preceding dramatic activity, but rather, because of the elongation of time representation in *StG*, an example of a screened occurrence, emanating from a time after the onset of the play, but before the Passion section commences. In this particular instance absolute insistance upon the exclusivity of each technique of time manipulation is neither helpful nor enlightening. There exists a substantial gray area in the codification of time by Pütz and individual phenomena may partake of several potentials. Whenever a textual occurrence may be typed into one category or another as the result of representative scope, and where no other factors come into question, I am inclined to resist the temptation to exact more significance than the evidence merits, merely to make a subtle differentiation or to add a new category of time to the theoretical structure of any play. The dangers of distortion obviously outweigh any perceived advantages.

[532]*Palat* 1864-7.

[533]In *Palat* 81-8, the experience of the Magdalene exhibits a substantial potential for the integration of pre-history as a present circumstance, but this capacity is still-born; the exploitation to widen the story boundaries is lacking.

[534]Pütz, p. 195. The explanation for the use of epic narration as the central method of relating pre-history may lie in the very nature of religious plays, namely that they almost always deal with the twin facts in medieval life, with Christ's sacrifice and His Resurrection. This explanation excludes, of course, saints' plays and moralities. Recognition that the same phenomena are continually reiterated during the religious year, making all fundamental information pertinent to the miracles of the Easter season widely known, also obviates the necessity of delving deeply into Jesus' life for relevant facts. This is particularly true for early religious drama. When Passion plays achieve their theatrical ascendency, methods previously of questionable value for the celebration of life are employed to make the productions more interesting and appealing. Narrated pre-history is the most elementary way of dealing with the past. It is also the most manageable and the most direct of the

three expository techniques, requiring less alteration of the basic presentation than its counterparts. This latter fact is the one which makes *Wien* so unique. In terms of the effective application of exposition, *Wien* is the most creative and significant Passion play of the fourteenth century.

[535]For a discussion of specific structural relationships established between the initial scenes mentioned, see above, pp. 180, 189-90, 208-9, and 226-7.

[536]*Wien* 197-203.

[537]*Wien* 205-6.

[538]*Wien* 222-8.

[539]*Wien* 226.

[540]*Wien* 241-7.

[541]*Wien* 257-69.

[542]Froning, p. 302.

[543]Were it not for the cosmic proportions of *Wien*, all these bits of information relayed by the four sinners would not be screened occurrences, but rather useful illustrations of narrated pre-history. Insistence upon either category will not appreciably alter what I have previously said about this remarkable play. We are still dealing with the meaningful integration of narrated past events, the distinction of which is more an accident of scope rather than of intentional manipulation of theatrical technique.

[544]Sandro Sticca, "Officium Passionis Domine. An Unpublished Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century," *Franciscan Studies*, Vol. 34, Annual XII (1974), p. 156.

[545]Müller, *Elemente*, p. 12.

[546]Weber, p. 7.

[547]*Loc. cit.*

[548]Hartl, *Drama*, p. 1981.

[549]Goodman, p. 123.

[550]Michel Mathieu, "Le personnage du marchand de parfums dans le théâtre médiéval en France," *Le Moyen Age*, 74 (1968), p. 43.

[551]*Ibid.*, p. 48.

[552]*Loc. cit.*

[553]W. Nooman, "Passages narratifs dans les drames médiévaux français," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, XXXVI (1958), p. 773.

[554]*Ibid.*, p. 774.

[555]Müller, *Elemente*, p. 29.

[556]*Loc. cit.*

[557]E. Picot, "Le monologue dramatique dans l'ancien théâtre français," *Romania*, XV (1884), p. 358.

Chapter VII- Group III
pages 332-47

[1]Magnus, p. 209.

[2]Froning, p. 557.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. 263.

[4]Gray, p. 132.

[5]*Loc. cit.*

[6]J.W. Robinson, "The Late Medieval Cult of Jesus and the Mystery Plays," *PMLA*, XX (1965), p. 509.

[7]Cf. above, pp. 282-8.

[8]Woolf, p. 185.

[9]*Towneley XXIII* 233-54.

[10]*Towneley XXVI* 232-85.

[11]Woolf, p. 46. This author is the source of the discussion of lyrical history unless stated contrarily.

[12]*Ibid.*, p. 53.

[13]Müller, *Elemente*, p. 16.

[14]The *Towneley* Passion is one obvious deviation, for its structure attests to several dramatically and structurally meaningful deletions from the biblical story, among them Jesus before Herod, and Judas' death.

[15]Müller, *loc. cit.*

[16]Quoted from G.R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1933), p. 508.

[17]Pickering, *Lit and Art*, p. 236.

[18]*Ibid.*, p. 281.

[19]*Ibid.*, p. 307.

[20]Magnus, p. 157.

[21]Hartl, *Drama*, p. 1983.

[22]Müller, *Elemente*, p. 19.

[23]*Loc. cit.*

[24]Magnus, p. 151.

[25]Müller, *Elemente*, p. 31.

[26]*Ibid.*, p. 17; see also Hartl, *Drama*, p. 21.

[27]*Ibid.*, p. 81.

[28]Müller, *Elemente*, pp. 17-18.

[29]Peter W. Travis, "The Dramatic Strategies of Chester's Passion Pagina," *Comparative Drama*, VIII (1974), p. 227.

[30]*Chester XIII* 489.

[31]Wickham, *EES*, p. 125.

[32]*Loc. cit.*

[33]Craig, p. 195.

[34]Lyle, *Identity*, p. 4.

[35]Carey, p. 230.

[36]Cf. above, p. 23, f. 2.

[37]Meyers, *Figure*, p. 79.

[38]Some years ago, Dr. Arnold Williams brought it to my attention that several of the individual parts may have been doubled, and that if one accepted a stationary performance for the cycle plays, several characters might be free to take their positions in later plays as well.

[39]Frank, *French Drama*, p. 181.

[40]*Ibid.*, p. 182.

[42]*Ibid.*, p. 184.

[43]Frank, *French Drama*, p. 185.

[44]Unfortunately, one cannot posit with complete assurance the same sentiment for medieval spectators. Our only clue to the original audience reaction may lie in the great popularity enjoyed by the work in Grĕban's lifetime, though this is by no means unassailable evidence.

[45]Thompson, p. 133.

[46]Niedner, p. 122.

[47]Steinbach, p. 215.

[48]Hartl, edition of the text, p. 5.

[49]Steinbach, p. 216.

[50]Froning, p. 553.

[51]Steinbach, p. 164.

[52]C.W.M. Grein, quoted in Froining, p. 547.

[53]Froning, p. 549. *B* verses are: 3510459; 3718-3983; 7632-7997. *D* verses are: 460-63; 5740-47; 6621-30; 6637-40;6320-51; 6698-8059.

[54]*Ibid.*, p. 550. *C* emendations are: 7455-62; 6483-7631.

[55]Steinbach, p. 166.

[56]Froning, p. 554.

[57]*Loc. cit.*

[58]I have excluded the following categories, believing them to have been adequately substantiated and evaluated in previous chapters: 1) adverbial evidence of succession (cf. Appendix A); 2) temporal linking of events; 3) spatial movement; 4) succession by dialog (except repetition and alternation, argument-counter argument); 5) inquiry and response; 6) command and execution; 7) prophecy (except where novel occurrences arise); 8) silence; 9) dreams; 10) trials.

[59]Salter, p. 45.

[60]*Ibid.*, p. 48.

[61]Travis, p. 277.

[62]*Loc. cit.*

[63]*Loc. cit.*

[64]*Ibid.*, p. 276

[65]Travis, p. 279.

[66]*Ibid.*, p. 276.

[67]That this concentration upon the Crucifixion elicited a profoundly emotional reaction in the public may be sensed by the words of a supposed Wycliffite author, who vehemently opposed the plays: "Also, ofte sythis by siche myradis pleyinge men and wymmen, seynge the passions of Christ and of hise seyntis, ben movyd to compassion and devociun, wepynge bitere teris, thanne thei ben not scornynge of God but worshipyng." (quoted in Meyers, p. 89 from a work of the late 1300's called *A Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge*.

[68]Owst, p. 496.

[69]Williams, *Pilate*, p. 27-8.

[70]*Towneley XX* 19-53.

[71]Williams, *Pilate*, p. 17.

[72]*Ibid.*, p. 19.

[73]*Loc. cit.*

[74]Evidence seems to support the presence of a trial before Herod at some time previous to our manuscript, for, during the Flagellation, Primus Tortor explains that he has just come from Herod's domicile with Jesus (*Towneley XXII* 53-4). Pilate has also assumed the most well-known line of Herod, when he commands: *"Of thy greatt warkes shew vs som skyll"* (*Towneley XXII* 190).

[75]Williams, p. 23. Two further exclusions worthy of mention are Peter's denial and Judas' hanging. Williams attributes their demise to unparalleled concentration upon a "straightline development of action" and an intense desire "to focus the action on Pilate. . . ." (p. 24).

[76]Sister Mary Faith McKean, *The Interplay of Realistic and Flamboyant Art Elements in the French Mystères* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1959), pp. 108-9.

[77]Steinbach, p. 170.

[78]*Chester XIV* BA 41; 41-56.

[79]*Chester XVI* 665-72.

[80]*Chester XVIII* 361-4.

[81]Prosser believes to find in the *Chester* Magdalene "a fully developed penitent", motivated by love, contrite and desirous of amending her ways (p. 117). She also contends that the author has created

a character who could at once touch the audience as its peer (p. 117). Certainly, this quality, as we have seen throughout all Passions which investigate her life, is a great tactical and doctrinal advantage. At the same time, when compared with other Magdalenes, the penitent woman of *Chester* does not instill the excitement nor the dramatic interest we have come to expect. Prosser also recognizes this fact, observing that the structural unity of the Magdalene episode in *Chester XIV* is not due so much to dramatic and integral qualities of presentation, but to externally-imposed artificial devices (p. 118). I do not condemn the handling of this figure by *Chester* as much as I merely point out its less spectacular application when placed in parallel to its near relatives.

[82]Saxer, p. 266.

[83]*Towneley XXII* 330-1.

[84]*Towneley XXII* 354.

[85]*Mistère* 17871-74.

[86]*Alsfeld* BA 1782; 1782-9, 1832-45.

[87]*Alsfeld* 1796-1801.

[88]Cf. above, pp 227-9.

[89]*Alsfeld* 1816-23.

[90]*Alsfeld* 1850-1904.

[91]*Alsfeld* 1938-93.

[92]Müller, *Stil*, p. 29.

[93]Saxer, p. 266.

[94]*Ibid.*, p. 325.

[95]*Loc. cit.*

[96]*Ibid.*, p. 326.

[97]Cf. above, pp. 30-1, 55-6, and 283-4.

[98]Cf. above, pp. 179-82.

[99]Cultural anachronism = *Alsfeld* 878,887, 1414, 1416, 1421, 1423, 1824, 1931, 1934, 2030, 2086, 2101, 2540, 2787-8, 3169, 1873, 3177, 3184, 3188-9, 3194, 3198, 3212, 4875, 5300, 5379, 5420, 5591, 5624, 6553, 6553, 6557, 6571, 6875, 6895, 6903, 6930, 6044, 6958, 6987, 7027, 7310, 7316, 7333, 7370, 7429, 7433, 7464, 7590;

social anachronism = 1257, 1462, 2171, 2173; religious anachronism = 164-5, 240, 376, 436, 1313, 1377, 1436, 1549, 1651, 1695, 1793, 2168-9, 2182, 2198, 3025, 3030, 3046, 3074, 3239-40, 3246, 3253, 3273, 4200, 4390, 4776, 5249, 5736, 4906, 5076, 7606-7, 7715, 8016; religious criticism is no doubt responsible for directions for Sathanas to appear *"cum habitu lolhardi"* (BA 1114); geographical anachronism placing the performance and activity staged in Europe = 7490, 7496-7504, 7570-2, 8026. The overwhelming majority of place names and cities comes about from the merchant scene, an episode which readily lends itself to such embellishment.

[100]Cf. above, p. 182 and footnotes.

[101]The word *'Jude'* and numerous derivitives like *'bosze Juddischeyt'*, *'snoden Judden'*, *'bosze Juddenart'*, *'bosze Juddische diet'* occur in the following contexts, most of which throws them into decidedly interior positions or in some other manner taint the words themselves with unpleasant overtones: *Alsfeld* 185, 195, 235, 236, 270, 285, 300, 315, 332, 359, 363, 1297, 1312, 1595, 1602, 1615, 1624, 1703, 1705, 1707, 2230, 2311, 2339, 2343, 2403, 2505, 2647, 2923, 3135, 3492, 3626, 3674, 3886, 3968, 4546, 4618, 5007, 5406, 5463, 5523, 5911, 5916, 5922, 5958, 5986, 5989, 6017, 6132, 6330, 6348, 6458, 6496, 6722. 6881, 7647, 7881.

[102]*Alsfeld* BA 898.

[103]Dimont, pp. 232-3.

[104]Müller, *Elemente*, p. 55.

[105]Kolve, p. 104.

[106]Among many instances are the following: *Towneley XX*-549, 742; *XXI*- 154-62, 208; *XXII*- 12; *XXIII*- 658, 662, 666; *XXVI*- 29-30, 136, 596.

[107]Numerous social and cultural values are established by examples like these: *Towneley XX*- 271, 588, 700; *XXI*- 271, 300, 340; *XXII*- 6, 12; *XXIII*- 390, 408, 482, 534, 596, 623; *XXIV*- 96, 121, 165, 226-7, 331, 369, 373-6, 409; *XXVI*- 38-40, 190, 206, 484, 496, 506-7.

[108]*Donau* 2240.

[109]*Alsfeld* 3025, 3046.

[110]*Alsfeld* 3039.

[111]Cf. above, pp. 334-5.

[112]Kolve, p. 108.

[113]*Ibid.*, p. 116. *Chester* boasts a torturer who cannot be equalled between Chester and London (*Chester XVI* 327-8).

[114]*Towneley XX* 747; *XXIV* 196, 283, 303, 340.

[115]*Towneley XXIII* 302.

[116]*Towneley XXIII* 564; *XXIV* 245.

[117]*Towneley XXIV* 409. This appearance culminates a rather trite French blessing quite in keeping with his high-handed extraction of the robe from one of the torturers.

[118]Cf. above, p. 353.

[119]Owst, p. 495; also Williams, *Pilate*, pp. 37-51.

[120]Williams, *Pilate*, p. 37.

[121]*Loc. cit.*

[122]Owst, p. 495.

[123]*Towneley XXIV* 1-46.

[124]Owst, p. 496.

[125]*Loc. cit.*

[126]Kolve, p. 108.

[127]*Loc. cit.*

[128]*Ibid.*, p. 109.

[129]*Ibid.*, p. 110.

[130] Cf. above, p. 182.

[131]*Chester XIV* BA 209.

[132]*Chester XVIII* BA 154.

[133]*Chester XVII* BA 261.

[134]Cf. above, p. 368.

[135]*Mistère* 22032, 23912, 23916-17.

[136]*Mistère* unnumbered after 26255.

[137]*Donau* 1561-4.

[138]*Donau* 3491-8.

[139]The single instance of vernacular speech by an angel occurs at the Resurrection, to introduce the *'Surrexit pastor bonus'* (*Donau* 3894-7).

[140]*Donau* 2032-3.

[141]*Donau* 82.

[142]*Donau* 3.

[143]*Donau* 4156.

[144]*Donau* 4102-5.

[145]*Donau* 4132-9.

[146]Steinbach, p. 217.

[147]Rudolf Grieshammer, *Sprachgestaltende Kräfte im geistlichen Schauspiel des deutschen Mittelalters* (Jena: Verlag der Frommannschen Buchhandlung, 1930), pp. 50-1.

[148]*Loc. cit.*

[149]*Chester XIII* 415 and 439; *Donau* 1302; *Alsfeld* 2266 and 2288.

[150]*Towneley* XXV 27

[151]*Alsfeld* 639, 3205, 6313.

[152]*Chester* XVII 242

[153]*Chester XVIII* 41.

[154]The text would appear to answer this criterion rather than either of the other suggestions.

[155]Matthew xxvi: 31; Mark xiv: 17, 30.

[156]*Mistère* 19772.

[157]*Mistère* 20145-59.

[158]For other illustrations of time indication see: *Mistère* 29275 (the Resurrection); *Chester XVII* 243-5 (the Crucifixion) and 258-9 (the Resurrection); *Donau* 2629-31 (Jesus appears before Herod early in the morning); *Alsfeld* 3505 (nearing of day during Annas' interrogation), and 7005-6 (the Resurrection).

[159]Sister Mary Faith McKean, pp. 37, 42.

[160]For additional examples of repetition see *Mistère*, pp. 237-8, 240, 250, 252, 255, 257, 273-5, 296, 304-5, 309, 320, 324, 327, 328-30, 337-8, 342, 351-2, 367, 377, 381, 384-5; *Alsfeld* unnumbered after 7515, 7521, 7525, 5735.

[161]Pütz, p. 36.

[162]This disputation could easily have been introduced in the section on temporal suspension, for it does, indeed, suspend completely the dramatization of Christ's Passion in favor of a unique medieval attempt to convert the Hebrew population of Alsfeld. I have decided to incorporate the argument in the present context because such an application of temporal phenomena appears only in *Alsfeld*. We discern the possibility of a similar duel of the minds in *Donau*, when *Christiana* and *Iudaea* square off in debate. The content of each argument is similar, but not nearly as minutely defined in *Donau*. One confrontation from biblical history which held potential for an interesting debate was that of Pilate with the Lord. Its further definition was, however, made almost impossible by virtue of the tone of the encounter and the sacrificial nature of His approaching death. To have Christ the Meek engage in an extensive theological or legal argument with the Roman would have been simply unacceptable. We are left, then, with this despute from *Alsfeld*, which, though it occurs outside the strict temporal confines of the faithful conception of represented time, nevertheless does reveal all the ingredients of succession.

[163]Arnold Williams, "Medieval Allegory: An Operational Approach," *Papers of the Midwest Modern Language Association*, #1 (1969), p. 79.

[164]Heinz Brunotte & Otto Weber, *Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon*, 2. Auflage (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), III, 124.

[165]Wolff, *Verschmelzung*, p. 278.

[166]One of the many discussions of the debate tradition may be found in H. Walther's book, *Das Streit=gedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (München: 1920).

[167]That the primary objectives of *Ecclesia's* arguments are not the Jews of ca. 33 AD, but those contemporary with the stage is obvious from the manner in which the arguments are structured, the metaphors which are employed to localize the dispute, and the personification of *Ecclesia* herself, who could speak to Jews with the force of dogmatized belief only after the religion had been established.

[168]Micheal, *Prozessionsspiele*, p. 20.

[169]*Loc. cit.*

[170]*Alsfeld* 4606.

[171]The conclusion that the author of the dispute likewise recognized its peripheral necessity is suggested by the stage directions which directly proceed the clash: *"Incipit disputacio Ecclesie cum Sinagoga, si placet"* (*Alsfeld* BA 4480). The *"si placet"* clearly establishes the director as the final authority on the subject: he may include or neglect entirely the dispute.

[172]*Alsfeld* also furnishes other instances of the dispute. They are, however, less inclusive, encompassing only one or two exchanges, but still calling forth succession. See: *Alsfeld* 1730-43. *Donau* notes in some detail a dispute between Jesus and the Jew Naason (1351-84).

[173]The subsequent history of the debate between *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* shows a decline into the realm of the profane, its religious bases almost forgotten in the process. Its appeal to popular prejudices is mirrored in the *Vasnachtspiel von der alt und neu Ee von Uberwindung der Juden in jr Talmut* of Hans Folz (cf. Holdschmidt, pp. 50-1).

[174]*Alsfeld* 4302.

[175]*Alsfeld* unnumbered after 490.

[176]Cf. p. 88.

[177]Pütz, p. 54.

[178]Cf. above, pp. 100-2, 175, 190, 223-5.

[179]Pütz, p. 54.

[180]Cf. p. 227-8.

[181]Pütz, p. 61.

[182]Cf. above, pp. 341-2.

[183]Cf. above, pp. 355-6.

[184]*Chester XVI* 537-660.

[185]*Alsfeld* 4058-9.

[186]*Alsfeld* 4078-81.

[187]Williams, *Pilate*, p. 22.

[188]*Alsfeld* 3900-25.

[189]*Alsfeld* 3942-67.

[190]Cf. pp. 256-7.

[191]Brinkmann, *Eigenform* , p. 31.

[192]*Alsfeld* 7483.

[193]*Alsfeld* 7496-7504.

[194]*Alsfeld* BA 7604.

[195]*Alsfeld* 7614-20.

[196]*Mistère* 22414.

[197]This may not be an entirely fair representation of the two texts. After reading each several times, I sense a completely opposed intent. Gréban appears to lay the greatest stress on the absolutely rationalized flow of events leading ultimately to the Resurrection, whereas *Towneley* prefers a novel and structurally elevated method of studying the contest of evil and good. The two designs are not always compatible.

[198]*Mistère* 26557-608.

[199]*Alsfeld* 3212.

[200]*Alsfeld* 3216.

[201]*Alsfeld* 3218.

[202]Froning, p. 557.

[203]Cf. above, pp. 235-42.

[204]Müller, *Stil*, p. 58.

[205]Müller, *Elemente*, p. 16.

[206]Anna Brownwell Jameson, quoted in Pickering, *Lit and Art*, p. 235.

[207]Pickering, *Lit and Art*, p. 236.

[208]One can trace many conventional observations and 'realia' of the *Meditationes* in the translation into English of the work by Richard Manning of Brunne in 1315-30. When we compare the images of the Crucifixion with plays from a time after this exercise, it is apparent that late Passion authors drew from a vast storehouse of images, visions, and conventions. Theirs is not an entirely new artistry, but one founded on a long and stable series of attitudes.

[209]Pickering, *Lit and Art*, p. 244.

[210]Luke xxiv: 44; cf. above, p. 337.

[211]Pickering, *Lit and Art* , 246.

[212]*Ibid.*, p. 272.

[213]Cf. above, pp.263-6.

[214]For a traditional history of the Cross, its historical, symbolic, sacred, architectural, and artistic implications and applications, see M. Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1843), pp. 375-426.

[215]*Towneley* follows a similar pattern, first drawing attention to the nails and hammer, then vocalizing the actual fettering (*Towneley XXIII* 71-6; 131-54).

[216]The impact of nails and hammers on *Alsfeld* is decidedly less, though still a portion of preparations for crucifixion (5594-5601). They are used almost immediatly to bind Jesus to the Tree (5604-5).

[217]*Mistère* 24710-805.

[218]Froning, p. 276.

[219]Pickering, *Christusbild*, p. 22.

[220]Pickering, *Lit and Art*, p. 240.

[221]*Ibid.*, p. 239.

[222]*Ibid.*, p. 244.

[223]*Ibid.*, p. 243.

[224]*Ibid.*, p. 301.

[225]*Ibid.*, p. 292.

[226]*Ibid.*, p. 306.

[227]Time and space do not allow an adequate representation of either the vast amount of evidence and learned scholarship advanced by Pickering or its impact upon medieval theater and Christian iconography. I can but urge those interested to study his *Lit and Art* for themselves.

[228]*Chester XVI* 577-88.

[229]*Chester XVI* 593-6.

[230]Cf. above, p. 352.

[231]*Towneley XXIII* 89-92.

[232]*Towneley XXIII* 119-36.

[233]*Towneley XXIII* 147-8.

[234]*Towneley XXIII* 155-232.

[235]*Towneley XXIII* 307.

[236]*Donau* 3285-8.

[237]*Donau* BA 3305.

[238]*Alsfeld* 5608-23.

[239]The *flagellatores* exhibit a degree of animosity towards the True Vine, and an acceptance of Jewish argumentation is exemplified by the speech of *secundus flagellator* in *Alsfeld* 5640-3 and 5651-3. But this Passion cannot match the vehemence of *Donau*, where the Jews themselves drill the holes, pull the ropes, and right the Cross.

[240]*Alsfeld* 4-19.

[241]*Donau* 18-21.

[242]*Mistère* 27569-84.

[243]Steinbach, p. 219.

[244]Müller, *Elemente*, p. 83.

[245]*Ibid.*, p. 84.

[246]*Loc. cit.*

[247]*Chester XIII* 321-6 = 337-76.

[248]Cf. above, pp. 104-5 and 272.

[249]*Mistère* 18198.

[250]*Mistère* 18533-650.

[251]*Mistère* 18812-927.

[252]*Mistère* 18928-45.

[253]*Mistère* 19016-76.

[254]*Mistère* 27738-28053.

[255]*Mistère* 28054-121.

[256]*Mistère* 28122-389.

[257]*Mistère* 28390-465.

[258]*Mistère* 28466-557.

[259]*Mistère* 28554-5.

[260]*Mistère* BA 19720 (*"Icy s'en va plorer S. Pierre en la fosse"*) seems to indicate that Peter has remained in this place for as many as 8862 verses. In reality, since a complete day separates Peter's removal of himself to the spot, I doubt that he would have occupied a position on stage until some time on the fourth day. As no directions indicate his return, it is impossible to ascertain how this anomaly was handled.

[261]*Mistère* BA 28588.

[262]Other activities in parallel are: *Mistère* 17465-506 ⫢ 17507-22 (conspiracy of priests with Judas' betrayal monolog), 17917-76 ⫢ 17977-84 (a portion of the Last Supper with the Virgin's misgivings), 19421-49 ⫢ 19450-505 and 19506-637 ⫢ 19648-701 (Peter's denial with Jesus' interrogation), 20534-21119 ⫢ 21120-181 (Judas' remorse with Christ's interrogation by Pilate), 22284-427 ⫢ 22438-45 (Jesus' presentation to Herod with one of Mary's laments), 23167-79 ⫢ 23180-203 (condemnation with Adam in Limbo), 23750-53 ⫢ 23754-81 ⫢23782-845 ⫢ 23806-23 (The Way of the Cross with the construction of three corsses and the smith), 28868-986 ⫢ 28987-29085 (Satan's intent to snatch Jesus' soul and God's initiation of the Resurrection). *Donau* and *Towneley* make these actions coincide: *Donau* BA 131 ⫢ 131-150 (The Magdalene plays chess as Simon dines with Jesus), 1137-40 ⫢ BA 1141 (Leviathan reports to the Jews as the Lord makes a whip of rope), 1217-22 ⫢ 1223-34 (Lararus' death with Josephus' arrival at Christ's *locus*), 1667-90 ⫢ BA 1691 (Priests' intrigue with Judas' skulking to the temple), 1871-82 ⫢ 1883-2005 (the betrayal with the Last Supper and Gethsemane), 2239-387 ⫢ 2388=2420 (the interrogation with Peter's denial), 2916-76 ⫢ 2977-86 (interrogation with the dream of Pilate's wife), BA 3197 (Mary's arrival and the Way of the Cross); *Towneley XX* 488-559 ⫢ 560-651 (Gethsemane with preparations for the arrest).

[263]*Alsfeld* BA 1952.

[264]*Alsfeld* BA 2724. For other examples of this type of parallelism , compare *Alsfeld* BA 1020 (John's demise), BA 3068 (the Last Supper), BA 5504 and BA 5512 (Jesus' movement along the Way of the Cross), BA 5520 and 5520 (John moves with the crowd), BA 7299 ⫢ BA unnumbered after 7298 (Christ to Heaven as the soldiers sleep around the grave).

[265]*Alsfeld* 5265-5319 ⫢ 5320-39; see also Brinkmann, *Eigenform*, p. 87.

[266]*Alsfeld* BA 5340.

[267]*Alsfeld* BA 5350.

[268]Cf. above, p. 411, f. 264.

[269]Cf. above, p. 282.

[270]Cf. above, p. 109. The single atypicality of the two renditions is that the *Donau* text specifies a pronoun indicative of interruption (*„helffent mir weinen sinen tod"*), whereas that of *BenP* omits all pronouns which might identify the character Mary as the speaker.

[271]*Donau* 3187.

[272]*Donau* 2438-97.

[273]*Alsfeld* 5897-899.

[274]*Alsfeld* 5906-25.

[275]*Alsfeld* 5976.

[276]*Alsfeld* 2185-2204.

[277]*Alsfeld* BA 6288.

[278]*Alsfeld* 6320-4.

[279]*Alsfeld* 6330.

[280]*Alsfels* 6334-41.

[281]*Alsfels* 6348-51.

[282]*Towneley XXIII* 232.

[283]*Towneley XXIII* 267-73.

[284]Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, p. 36.

[285]*Ibid.*, p. 44.

[286]*Towneley XXVI* 250-332.

[287]*Towneley XXVI* 226-49.

[288]Robinson, p. 509.

[289]*Loc. cit.*

[290]*Loc. cit.*

[291]Meyers, *Figure*, p. 89.

[292]*Towneley XX* 3-9.

[293]Meyers, *Figure*, p. 53, finds no intentional identification of 'Mahowne' with historical Mohammed. He rather perceives it to be "but a convenient name, well-known, having pejorative associations, a name which could be applied to the false gods of pagans or or anyone who refused belief in Christ."

[294]*Towneley XXII* 1-4.

[295]Of the several interruptions directed towards the audience, that of the *Towneley* Nicodemus in the play of the Crucifixion provides a most interesting amalgamation of many techniques and implications. His words are couched in the familiar terms of anachronism surely designed to update and realize sacred history, to make it as much a part of audience reality as its own process of cognition:

He that dyed on gud fryday
And crownyd was with thorne,
Saue you all that now here be!
That lord that thus wold dee
And rose on pasche morne.
(*Towneley XXIII* 662-666)

[296]Edmund A. Bowles, "The Role of Musical Instruments in Medieval Sacred Drama," *Musical Quarterly*, 45 (1959), p. 82. Bowles further reveals that this application of bells surrounding the '*Te Deum*' traces its history at least back to the *Regularis Concordia* (p. 83). R.W. Ingram, in an article, "The Use of Music in English Miracle Plays," *Anglia*, 75 (1957), p. 70, also notes the significance of music surrounding the '*Te Deum*' and other liturgical remnants:

> "Music was indissolubly wedded to certain of the events of the stories. Significant moments retained their old musical accompanyments; the Te Deum to close the cycle; 'Christe Resurgens' at the Resurrection; 'Gloria in excelsis' at the Nativity. The other pervasive church influence was the fundamental association of music and religion, music and heaven."

[297]Ingram, p. 56.

[298]*Loc. cit.*

[299]*Mistère* 23226-41.

[300]*Mistère* 23666-9.

[301]*Mistère* BA 23270.

[302]One further situation pertaining to suspension merits mention. As with the final example concerning motets, I am unable to categorically affirm the outcome of the words which conclude the intrusion from eternity of God the Father in *Mistère*: *"Icy chantent les anges Kyrie eleison de tenebres, ung ver ou deux"* (BA 26166). I have no doubt as to the familiarity of the words and melody alike to medieval people, but its *dramatic* impact on time and its psychological reception of experience cannot be exactly determined.

[303]Karl Dreimüller, p. 28.

[304]*Ibid.*, p. 31.

[305]Zumthor, p. 39.

[306]For other oaths see: *Chester XIV* 267-8, 287-8; *XV* 405-8 (Judas); *Towneley XX* 378-8, 424-5 (Peter); *Donau* 1938-9, 1944-7, 1954-7 (Peter); *Alsfeld* 1495-6, 3280-3, 3287-91, 3294-7 (Peter).

[307]The *Chester* cycle offers an intriguing prophecy, again indicative of the way productions drawing upon tradition present religious truths independent of any sense of chronological sequencing. After Longinus has pierced his Savior's side and regained his sight, he begs forgiveness and professes eternal fealty. Embedded in his pledge is a prophecy, or an affirmation thereof, which lies entirely and unequivically outside the experiences of Longinus, the dramatic character:

> *Thee wil I serue, and with thee be;*
> *for well I leeue, in dayes three*
> *thou wilt ryse through thy posty,*
> *and saue that on thee call.*
> (*Chester XVI* 801-4)

[308]Pütz, p. 79.

[309]Cf. above, pp. 364-5 and 384. It is obvious from the outset of *Towneley XX*, the Conspiracy, that Pilate, Annas, and Caiaphas are actively cooperating to catch Jesus. In *Towneley* no devils insert themselves into human affairs: the guilt lies solely on men of flesh and blood.

[310]*Donau* 511.

[311]*Donau* 1489-94.

[312]Brinkmann, *Eigenform*, p. 83.

[313]*Alsfeld* 179-80.

[314]*Alsfeld* 194-5.

[315]*Alsfeld* 210.

[316]*Alsfeld* 236.

[317]*Alsfeld* 254-5.

[318]Froning, p. 263.

[319]Rudwin, *Teufel*, p. 28.

[320]*Alsfeld* 638-85.

[321]Rudwin, *Teufel*, p. 50.

[322]*Mistère* 17442-4.

[323]*Mistère* 17425-8.

[324]*Mistère* BA 17465.

[325]*Mistère* 18015-18.

[326]*Mistère* 17593-4.

[327]Cf. above, pp. 294-6.

[328]Pütz, p. 86.

[329]*Alsfeld* 580-5.

[330]*Alsfeld* 2011.

[331]*Alsfeld* 2033.

[332]*Donau* 2472-3.

[333]*Donau* 2491-7.

[334]Pütz, p. 93.

[335]*Loc. cit.*

[336]See also *proclamator's* speeches of *Alsfeld* 2910-29 and *l'acteur* of *Mistère* 19922-45 and 27430-51.

[337]*Alsfeld* 1905-14.

[338]*Alsfeld* 1921.

[339]*Alsfeld* 1922-5.

[340]*Alsfeld* 1926-37.

[341]Of course, the episode of Judas, as he attempts to buy back his Master by returning his blood money, is integrated into Group III Passions. It constitutes in them as it did in those plays before the waning of the Middle Ages, an example of both the burden of past activities and an inability to alter the future. But authors generally have precious little leeway in removing the scene, a fact which makes the *Towneley* story, which *does* avoid it, all the more structurally impressive.

[342]*Chester XV* 289-90.

[343]Also *Towneley XX* 494; *Alsfeld* 3308-9.

[344]*Aslfeld* 477-9.

[345]*Mistère* 21182-9.

[346]Pütz, p. 106.

[347]*Mistère* BA 26029.

[348]*Donau* BA 3664, BA 3688.

[349]Pütz, p. 106.

[350]Brother Cornelius Luke, p. 94.

[351]*Ibid.*, p. 96.

[352]*Ibid.*, p. 88.

[353]*Alsfeld* BA 6739.

[354]Müller, *Stil*, p. 62.

[355]Pütz, p. 126.

[356]*Ibid.*, p. 130.

[357]*Donau* 3075-80.

[358]*Donau* BA 3095.

[359]Yet another application of significant non-verbal signals of portentious events can be found in *Chester XVII*, Christ's descent to Hell. In this situation the devils contemplate His death, reminding one another that this Teacher of men has vowed to free Hell of its captives (105-44). As the second demon reiterates their experience with Lazarus, there comes a mighty cacaphony, heralding Christ's advent at the Hellgate: *"Tunc veniet Ihesus et fiet Clamor vel sonitus materialis magnus"* (BA 145). The festive *'Attolite portas'* ushers in the redemption of the damned, which follows immediately. A comparison of the three remaining Passions reveals a lack of any parallel use of noises, but I am uncertain whether extraneous sounds were a matter of tradition at this juncture.

[360]Pursuant to his investigation of forms of epic recovery, Pütz offers an in-depth review of expositional analysis (pp. 202-7), devoting several pages to a phenomenon he calls „Parallelfabel" (pp. 207-12). This concept aims at clarifying persons and events which are formally bound to those characters of central interest, whose experiences in some degree dramatically illuminate the situation of the main character. A similarity of thought, word, or deed may create epic bonds of affinity, leading far back in time from that of the most important stage personality. Though the ultimate artistic application of the „Parallelfabel" involves the playwright's absolute freedom to construct a novel drama, in late medieval plays we find a near relative, the positive and negative typology investigated above. This phenomenon is probably the last degree to which tradition-bound Passions were able to develop.

[361]Cf. above, pp. 305-7.

[362]Cf. above, p. 306.

[363]*Alsfeld* 175-82.

[364]*Alsfeld* 645.

[365]*Alsfeld* BA 968.

[366]*Alsfeld* BA 3670.

[367]*Alsfeld* BA 6288.

[368]See above discussion on Christ and John, pp. 305-7.

[369]Pütz, p. 148.

[370]Meyers, *Figure*, pp. 37-8,

[371]*Ibid.*, pp. 38-40.

[372]*Ibid.*, pp. 44-5. Meyers further suggests that the sin of pride was deliberately chosen, as it linked these tyrants to the first and most destructive sin, which already "had an archetypal quality" (p. 49).

[373]*Towneley XXIII* 22.

[374]*Towneley XXIV* 37.

[375]*Towneley XXVI* 31.

[376]Cf. above, p. 367.

[377]Meyers, *Figure*, p. 47.

[378]*Loc. cit.*

[379]*Ibid.*, p. 48.

[380]Steinbach, p. 162.

[381]*Donau* BA 2154, 2157, 2256, 2263, 2277, 2644.

[382]*Donau* BA 875, 1159, 1473, 1651.

[383]*Donau* BA 3075.

[384]*Donau* 3201-8.

[385]*Donau* BA 3209.

[386]Boletta originally makes these remarks in connection with the *Frankfurter Passionsspiel of 1493*. Since *Alsfeld* is the natural heir to the Hessian Passion tradition and the immediate benefactor of *Frankfurt*, I believe the observations to be germane for it as well.

[387]*Alsfeld* unnumbered after 2583.

[388]*Alsfeld* unnumbered after 2583.

[389]Boletta, p. 135.

[390]Cf. *Montecassino* 318-20.

[391]Analogous emotional stimuli are included in *Towneley XXIII* 435-40 and in *Alsfeld* 6405-9. In an interesting lament by *Mulier* in *Chester XVII* 269-80, the women recalls her sins during her earthly sojourn and relates them to the torture she must bear while other souls are vouched safe by the Redeemer.

[392]*Alsfeld* 139-40.

[393]*Donau* 107-9.

[394]*Mistère* 20578-89.

[395]*Mistère* 20596-602.

[396]For additional instances of epic remembrance, see *Alsfeld* 650-6 and 2857-62. There may also be found in all Group III plays, but particularly in *Mistère*, a host of epic remembrances. Most of them originate from the time of performance and provide little artistic insight. They seem to be representatives of an unavoidable repetition of facts by characters and I have excluded them completely.

[397]*Towneley XX* 248-79.

[398]*Towneley XXII* 152-78. The cured ones are the Architriclinus, the leper, the Centurion's son, and the blind man. A reference to Christ's raising people from the grave closes the remarks.

[399]*Chester* reveals few tendencies to exploit epic narration; *Mistère* employs it even less.

[400]*Chester XVII* 25-40.

[401]*Chester XVII* 41-54.

[402]*Chester XVII* 57-64.

[403]*Chester XVII* 65-80.

[404]*Chester XVII* 81-8.

[405]*Towneley XXV* 25-88.

[406]*Alsfeld* 7189-7214.

[407]*Towneley XX* 78-81.

[408]*Towneley XX* 92-7.

[409]*Towneley XX* 110-13.

[410]*Towneley XX* 98-105.

[411]*Towneley XXI* 82-4; 100-2.

[412]*Towneley XXI* 73-5.

[413]*Towneley XXI* 94-5.

[414]*Towneley XXI* 96-9.

[415]*Towneley XX* 520.

[416]Other appearances of this type of pre-history may be seen in *Alsfeld* 285-94, 324-8, 330-7, 1262-6; *Donau* 548-62.

[417]Cf. above, pp. 320-2.

[418]Pütz, p. 212.

[419]*Ibid.*, p. 213.

[420]*Mistère* 26048-53.

[421]*Mistère* 26054-9.

[422]*Mistère* 26074-139.

[423]*Mistère* 6560-7.

[424]Pütz, p. 218.

[425]*Ibid.*, pp. 221-2.

[426]Froning, p. 265.

[427]Meyers, *Figure*, p. 16.

[428]Froning, p. 261.

[429]Steinbach, p. 151.

[430]Goodman, p. 103.

[431]Meyers, *Figure*, p. 50.

[432]Williams, *Pilate*, p. 27.

[433]McNeir, p. 607.

[434]Müller, *Elemente*, p. 84.

[435]Cf. above, p. 431.

[436]Cf. above, p. 456.

[437]Ingarden, *DLK*, p. 130.

[438]Sister McKean, p. 189.

[439]*Ibid.*, p. 188.

[440]*Ibid.*, p. 108-9.

[441]Cf. above, pp. 333-4.

LIST OF REFERENCES

LIST OF REFERENCES

Primary References

Deimling, Hermann, ed. *The Chester Plays*. London: EETS, 1916. 2 vols. #s 62 and 115.

England, George, ed. *The Towneley Plays*. 1897: rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. 204-292. EETS # 71.

Frank, Grace, ed. *La Passion D'Autun*. Paria: SATF, 1934.

_____. *La Passion du Palatinus: Mystère du XIV^e Siècle*. CFMA. Paris: Champion, 1922.

Froning, Richard, ed. „Das Alsfelder Passionsspiel." *Das Drama des Mittelalters*. Deutsche Nationalliteratur, 14. Band. 1891/92; rpt. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964, pp. 567-857.

_____. „Das Benediktbeurer Passionsspiel." *Das Drama des Mittelalters*. Deutsche Nationalliteratur, 14. Band. 1891/92; rpt. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964, pp. 284-99.

_____. „Das Wiener Passionsspiel." *Das Drama des Mittelalters*. Deutsche Nationalliteratur, 14. Band. 1891/92; rpt. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964, pp. 305-24.

Gréban, Arnoul. *Le Mistère de la Passion*. Ed. Gaston Paris & Gaston Raynaud. Paris: Vieweg, 1871.

Hartl, Eduard, ed. *Das Benediktbeurer Passionsspiel. - Das St. Galler Passionsspiel*. Altdeutsche Textbibliothek Nr. 41. Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1952, pp. 56-131.

_____. *Das Drama des Mittelalters: Passionsspiele II (Das Donaueschinger Passionsspiel)*. Reihe Drama des Mittelalters, Band 4. 1942; rpt. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966.

Inguanez, D.M., ed. "Un dramma della Passione del secolo XII." *Miscellanea Cassinese*, 12 (1936), 7-38. Reprinted by Sandro Sticca, in *The Latin Passion Play: Its Origins and Development*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1970, part III.

Consulted References

St. Augustine. *Confessionum* 11.31. *PL* 32.816-822.

Bath, Marie. *Untersuchung des Johannesspiels, der Blindenheilungs- und der Maria-Magdalenenscenen in den deutschen mittelalterlichen Passionsspielen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Beziehungen zu den französischen Mysterien.* Diss. Marburg, 1919.

Bergmann, Rolf. *Studien zu Entstehung und Geschichte der Deutschen Passionsspiele des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts.* Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, Band 14. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1972.

Bergson, Henri. *Time and Free Will.* Trans. F.L. Pogson. New York: Harper, 1960.

St. Bernard. *Liber de Passione Domini. PL* 182.1138.

Bloch, Marc. *Feudal Society.* Trans. L.A. Manyon. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Böckmann, Paul. *Formgeschichte der Deutschen Dichtung.* 3. Auflage. Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe Verlag, 1967.

Boletta, William L. *The Role of Music in Medieval German Drama: Easter Plays and Passion Plays.* Diss. Nashville, 1967.

de Boor, Helmut. „Der Salbenkauf in den lateinischen Osterspielen des Mittelalters." *Die Textgeschichte der Lateinischen Osterfeiern.* Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1967, pp. 346-62.

Bowles, Edmund A. "The Role of Musical Instruments in Medieval Sacred Drama." *Musical Quarterly*, 45 (1959), 67-84.

Brinkmann, Hennig. „Das religiöse Drama im Mittelalter: Arten und Stufen." *Wirkendes Wort*, IX (1959), 257-74.

_____. „Die Eigenform des Mittelalterlichen Dramas in Deutschland." *GRM*, 18 (1930), 16-37 and 81-98.

Brunotte, Heinz and Weber, Otto, ed. *Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon.* 2. Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1962. III, 1241.

Buland, Mable. *The Presentation of Time in the Elizabethan Drama.* Yale Studies in English, Nr. XLIV. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1912.

Cady, Frank. "The Passion Group In Towneley." *Modern Philology*, 10 (1912/13), 587-600.

_____. "The Wakefield Group in Towneley." *JEGP*, 11 (1912), 244-63.

Carey, Millicent. *The Wakefield Group in the Towneley Cycle.* Hesperia: Schriften zur Englischen Philologie, Ergänzungsreihe 11. Heft. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1930.

Chambers. E.K. *The Medieval Stage*. 2 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1903.

Christ, Karl. „Das altfranzösische Passionsspiel der Palatina." *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XL (1920), 405-88.

Cohen, Gustav. *Etudes D'Histoire du Théâtre en France au Moyen-Age et à la Renaissance*. 5e éd. Paris: Gallimard, 1956.

_____. *Histoire de la Mise en Scène dans le Théâtre Religieux Français du Moyen Age*. Paris: Champion, 1951.

_____. "Le personnage de Marie-Madeleine dans le drame religieux français du moyen âge." *Convivium*, XXIV (1956), 141-63.

Collins, Fletcher Jr. *The Production of Medieval Church Music-Drama*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972.

Craig, Hardin. *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1955.

Creizenach, Wilhelm. *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas*. 2 vols. 2. Auflage, 1911; rpt. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1965.

Denny, Don. "Notes on the Avignon Pietà." *Speculum*, XLIV (1969), 213-33.

Dimont, Max I. *Jews, God and History*. New York: New American Library, 1962.

Dörrer, Anton. „Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters." *Verfasserlexikon*. Ed. Karl Langosch. Berlin: Welter de Gruyter & Co., 1943. II, 711-26.

Dreimüller, Karl. „Die Musik im geistlichen Spiel des späten Mittelalters." *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, XXXIV (1950), 27-34.

Edwards, Robert. "Techniques of Transcendence in Medieval Drama." *Comparative Drama*, VIII (1974), 157-71.

Foster, Frances A. *The Northern Passion*. EETS #147. London: Kegan Paul Trench, Trübner & Co., 1916.

Frampton, Mendel G. "The Processus Talentorum (Towneley XXIV)." *PMLA*, LIX (1944), 646-55.

Frank, Grace. *The Medieval French Drama*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1954.

_____. "The Palatine Passion and the Development of the Passion Play." *PMLA*, XXXV (1920), 464-83.

_____. "Vernacular Sources and an Old French Passion Play." *Modern Language Notes*, XXXI (1920), 257-69.

Gamer, Helena M. "Mimes, Musicians, and the Origin of the Mediaeval Religious Play." *Deutsche Beiträge zur Geistlichen Ueberlieferung*, V (1965), 9-28.

Gardiner, Harold C. *Mysteries' End: An Investigation of the Last Days of the Medieval Religious Stage*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946.

Gardner, John. *The Construction of the Wakefield Cycle*. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1974.

Gerlötei, Eugen. „Die Vorausdeutung in der Dichtung: Keime einer Anschauung vom Leben der Dichtung." *Helicon*, 2 (1939), 53-73.

Ghéon, Henri. *The Art of the Theatre*. Trans. Adele M. Fiske. New York: Hill & Wang, 1961.

Gilson, Étienne. *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages*. 8th ed. New York & Toronto: Random House, 1955.

Goodman, Hadassah Posey. *Original Elements in French and German Passion Plays*. Diss. Bryn Mawr. 1944.

Gray, Douglas. *Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyric*. London & Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1972.

Grieshammer, Rudolf. *Sprachgestaltende Kräfte im geistlichen Schauspiel des deutschen Mittelalters*. Jenaer Germanistische Forschungen Nr. 16. Jena: Verlag der Frommannschen Buchhandlung, 1930.

Hardison, O.B. Jr. *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965.

Hartl, Eduard. „Das Drama des Mittelalters." *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss*. Ed. Wolfgang Stammler. 2. Auflage. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1960. II, 1949-96.

_____. „Die Entwicklung des Benediktbeurer Passionsspiels." *Euphorion*, XLVI (1952), 113-37.

_____. „Untersuchungen zum St. Galler Passionsspiel." *Festschrift für Wolfgang Stammler*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1953, 109-29.

Hasselblatt, Dieter. *Zauber und Logik: Eine Kafka-Studie*. Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1964. esp. pp. 33-53.

Helmrich, Elsie Winifred. *The History of the Chorus in the German Drama*. 1912; rpt. New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1966. pp. 1-22.

Holdschmidt, Hans Carl. „Der Jude auf dem Theater des Deutschen Mittelalters." *Die Schaubühne. Quellen und Forschungen zur Theatergeschichte*, Nr. 12. Emsdetten: Heinrich Leichte, 1935.

Honorius of Autun. *Speculum ecclesiae de sancto Johanne Baptista*. *PL* 172.965.

Hunningher, Benjamin. *The Origin of the Theater*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1955.

Ingarden, Roman. *Das Literarische Kunstwerk*. 3. Auflage. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1965.

_____. *Vom Erkennen des Literarischen Kunstwerks*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1968.

Ingram, R.W. "The Use of Music in English Miracle Plays." *Anglia*, 75 (1957), 55-76.

Jeanroy, Alfred. "La Passion Nostre Dame et le 'Pèlerinage de l'âme.'" *Romania*, XXXVI (1907), 361-8.

Jodogne, Omer. "La structure des mystères français." *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, XLII (1965), 827-42.

_____. "Le théâtre français du moyen âge: recherches sur l'aspect dramatique des textes." *The Medieval Drama*. Ed. Sandro Sticca. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972, pp. 1-21.

_____. "Le théâtre médiéval et sa transmission par le livre." *Research Studies*, XXXII (1964), 63-75.

de Julleville, L. Petit. *Les Mystères*. 2 vols. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1880.

Junghans, Ferdinand. *Die Zeit im Drama*. Berlin: Otto Eisner Verlagsgesellschaft, 1931.

Kayser, Wolfgang. *Das Sprachliche Kunstwerk*. 13. Auflage. München: Francke Verlag, 1968.

Knight, Alan E. "The Medieval Theater of the Absurd." *PMLA*, 86 (1971), pp. 183-89.

Knoll, Friedrich-Otto. „Die Rolle der Maria Magdalena im geistlichen Spiel des Mittelalters: Ein Beitrag zur Kultur- und Theatergeschichte Deutschlands." *Germanisch und Deutsch: Studien zur Sprache und Kultur*, 8. Heft. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1934.

Kolve, V.A. *The Play Called Corpus Christi*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966.

Kosch, Wilhelm. *Deutsches Literaturlixikon*. 2. Auflage. Bern: A. Francke AG Verlag, 1956. III, 1985.

Kretzmann, Paul Edward. *The Liturgical Element in the Earliest Forms of the Medieval Drama with Special Reference to the English and German Plays*. Studies in Language and Literature, Nr. 4. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1916.

Lämmert, Eberhard. *Bauformen des Erzählens*. 5. Auflage. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1972.

Lehmann, Paul. „Judas Ischariot in der lateinischen Legendenüberlieferung des Mittelalters." *Erforschung des Mittelalters*. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1959. II, 229-85.

Luke, Brother Cornelius. *The Rôle of the Virgin Mary in the Coventry, York, Chester and Towneley Cycles*. Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1933.

Lyle, Marie C. *The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles*. Studies in Language and Literature, Nr. 6. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1919.

McKean, Sister Mary Faith. *The Interplay of Realistic and Flamboyant Art Elements in the French Mystères*. Studies in Romance Language and Literatures, vol. LX. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1959.

McNeir, Waldo F. "The Corpus Christi Passion Plays as Dramatic Art." *Studies in Philology*, 48 (1951), 601-28.

Maas, Paul Marie. *Etude sur les Sources de la Passion du Palatinus*. Diss. Tiel, 1942. Tiel: St. Maartens, 1942.

Magnus, Rosemarie. *Die Christusgestalt im Passionsspiel des deutschen Mittelalters*. Diss. Frankfurt/Main, 1965.

Mâle, Émile. *L'art Religieux du XII^e au XVIII^e Siècle*. 2^e éd. Paris: Colin. 1916.

Manning, Robert of Brunne. *Meditations on the Supper of our Lord, and the Hours of the Passion, by Cardinal John Bonaventura*. Ed. J. Meadows Cowper. London: EETS, 1875. #60.

Marshall, Mary H. "Aesthetic Values of the Liturgical Drama." *Medieval English Drama: Essays Critical and Contextual*. Ed. Jerome Taylor and Alan H. Nelson. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1972. pp. 28-43.

_____. "The dramatic tradition established by the liturgical plays." *PMLA*, LVI (1941), 962-91.

Mathieu, Michel. "Le personnage du marchand de parfums dans le théâtre médiéval en France." *Le Moyen Age*, 74 (1968), 39-71.

Meier, Theo. *Die Gestalt Marias im geistliche Schauspiel des deutschen Mittelalters*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1959.

Meyerhoff, Hans. *Time in Literature*. Berkley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960.

Meyers, Walter E. *A Figure Given: Typology in the Wakefield Plays.* Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1970.

Michael, Wolfgang F. *Das Deutsche Drama des Mittelalters.* Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1971.

_____. „Deutsche Literatur bis 1500: Drama." *Kurzer Grundrisz der Germanischen Philologie Bis 1500.* Ed. Ludwig Erich Schmitt. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1971, II, 537-607.

_____. *Die Geistlichen Prozessionsspiele in Deutschland.* Hesperia, Nr. 22. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1947.

_____. "Tradition and Originality in the Medieval Drama in Germany." *The Medieval Drama.* Ed. Sandro Sticca. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972, pp. 23-37.

Molitor, R. „Passionsspiel und Passionsliturgie." *Benediktinische Monatsschrift,* V (1923), 105-16.

Müller, Günther. „Erzählzeit und erzähltezeit." in *Festschrift für Paul Kluckhohn und Hermann Schneider Gewidmet zu Ihrem 60. Geburtstag.* Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1948, pp. 195-212.

Müller, Maria. *Tragische Elemente im deutschen Passionsspiel des Mittelalters.* Diss. Göttingen, 1952.

Müller, Walther. *Der Schauspielerische Stil im Passionsspiel des Mittelalters.* Form und Geist: Arbeiten zur Germanischen Philologie, I. Ed. Lutz Mackensen. Leipzig: Hermann Eichbaltt Verlag, 1927.

Nelson, Alan H. "Some Configurations of Staging in Medieval English Drama." *Medieval English Drama.* Ed. Jerome Taylor and Alan H. Nelson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.

_____. *The Medieval English Stage: Corpus Christi Pageants and Plays.* Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Niedner, Helmut. *Die deutschen und französischen Osterspiele bis zum 15. Jahrhundert: ein Beitrag zur Theatergeschichte des Mittelalters.* Berlin: Ebering, 1932.

Noomen, W. "Passages narratifs dans les drames médiévaux français." *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire,* XXXVI (1958), 761-85.

Osthoff, Helmuth. „Die Musik im Drama des deutschen Mittelalters." *Deutsche Musikkultur,* VIII (1943), 29-40.

Owst, G.R. *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England.* Cambridge: The University Press, 1933.

Petsch, Robert. *Wesen und Formen des Dramas.* Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1945.

Pickering, F.P. „Das gotische Christusbild, Zu den Quellen mittelalterlichen Passionsdarstellung." *Euphorion*, 47 (1953), 16-37.

_____. *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages*. Macmillan & Co., 1970.

Picot, E. "Le monologue dramatique dans l'ancien théâtre français." *Romania*, XV (1884), 358-422 and XVI (1887), 438-542.

Poulet, Georges. "The Course of Human Time." Trans. Elliott Coleman. *The Hopkins Review*, Spring-Summer (1953), 7-35.

Priestley, J.B. *Man and Time*. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1964.

Prosser, Eleanor. *Drama and Religion in the English Mystery Plays: A Re-evaluation*. Standord Studies in Language and Literature, Nr. 23. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961.

Pseudo-Anselm. *Dialogus Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini*. X. *PL* 159. 282-283.

Pütz, Peter. *Die Zeit Im Drama: Zur Technik Dramatischer Spannung*. Göttingen: Vendenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970.

Robinson, J.W. "The Late Medieval Cult of Jesus and the Mystery Plays." *PMLA*, LXXX (1965), 508-14.

Rossiter, A.P. *English Drama from Early Times to the Elizabethans: Its Origins and Development*. 3rd ed. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1958.

Rost, Hans. *Die Bibel im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Bibliographie der Bibel*. Augsburg: Kommissions-Verlag M. Seitz, 1939.

Roy, Émile. *Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIV^e au XVI^e Siècle*. Revue Bourguignonne, Tome XIII, Nos. 3-4. Dijon: L'Université de Dijon, 1903.

Rudick, Michael. "Theme, Structure, and Sacred Context in the Benediktbeuern 'Passion' Play." *Speculum*, 49 (1974), 267-86.

Rudwin, Maximilian Josef. *Der Teufel in den deutschen geistlichen Spielen des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1915.

Salter, F.M. *Medieval Drama in Chester*. 1955; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1968.

Saxer, Victor. *Le Culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident: Des Origines à la Fin du Moyen Age*. 2 vols. Auxerre & Paris: Librarie Clavreuil, 1959.

Scholes, Robert & Kellog, Robert. *The Nature of Narrative*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Schreiber, Cecile. "L'Univers compartimenté du théâtre médiéval." *French Review*, XLI (1968), 468-78.

Schuler, Ernst A. *Die Musik der Osterfeiern, Osterspiele und Passionen des Mittelalters*. Kassel & Basel: Bärenreiter, 1951.

Schumacher, Fr. "Les Élements Narratifs de la Passion D'Autun et Les Indications Sceniques du Drame Médiéval." *Romania*, XXXVII (1908), 570-93.

Schwietering, Julius. „Der liturgische Ursprung des geistlichen Spiels." *Philologische Schriften*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1969. pp. 254-68.

Sepet, Marius. *Le Drame Religieux au Moyen Age*. 3e éd. Paris: Librarie Bloud & Cie., 1908.

Slawinska, Irena. "Les problèmes de la structure du drame." *Stil- und Formprobleme in der Literatur*. Ed. Paul Böckmann. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1961. pp. 108-14.

Staiger, Emil. *Grundbegriffe der Poetik*. 8. Auflage. Zürich: Atlantis Verlag, 1968.

Steinbach, Rolf. *Die Deutschen Oster- und Passionsspiele des Mittelalters. Versuch einer Darstellung und Wesensbestimmung nebst einer Bibliographie zum geistlichen Spiel des Mittelalters*. Kölner Germanistische Studien, Band 4. Ed. Paul Böckmann. Köln & Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1970.

Stevens, Martin. "The Composition of the Towneley Talents Play: A Linguistic Examination." *JEGP*, LVIII (1959), 423-33.

Sticca, Sandro. "Drama and Spirituality in the Middle Ages." *Medievalia et Humanistica*, New Series, Number 4 (1973), 70-8.

_____. *The Latin Passion Play: Its Origins and Development*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1907.

_____. "Officium Passionis Domini. An Unpublished Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century." *Franciscan Studies*, Vol 34, Annual XII (1974), 144-99.

Stopp, Hugo. *Untersuchungen zum St. Galler Passionsspiel*. Diss. Saarbrücken, 1959.

Taylor, G.C. "The English Corpus Christi Play and the Middle English Lyric." *Modern Philology*, V (1907), 1-38).

Thompson, Alan Reynolds. *The Anatomy of Drama*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946.

Thulin, Oskar. *Johannes der Täufer im geistlichen Schauspiel des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit*. Studien über christliche Denkmäler, Nr. 19. Leipzig: Dietrich, 1930.

Travis, Peter W. "The Dramatic Strategies of Chester's Passion Pagina." *Comparative Drama*, VIII (1974), 275-89.

Tuchman, Barbara. "Hazards on the way to the Middle Ages." *The Atlantic Monthly*, 236, #6 (Dec. 1975), 72-8.

Weber, Sarah Appleton. "The Theology of Sacred History." *Theology and Poetry in the Middle English Lyric*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1969, pp. 1-15.

Werner, Wilfried. *Studien zu den Passions- und Osterspielen des deutschen Mittelalters in ihrem Uebergang vom Latein zur Volkssprache*. Philologische Studien und Quellen, Heft 18. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1963.

Wickham, Glynne. *Early English Stages: 1300 to 1600*. 2 vols. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959.

_____. *The Medieval Theatre*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1974.

Williams, Arnold. *The Characterization of Pilate in the Towneley Plays*. East Lansing: Michigan State College Press. 1950.

_____. *The Drama of Medieval England*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1961.

_____. "Medieval Allegory: An Operational Approach." *Papers of the Midwest Modern Language Association*, I (1969), 77-82.

Wimmer, Ruprecht. *Deutsch und Latein im Osterspiel: Untersuchungen zu den Volkssprachlichen Entsprechungstexten der Lateinischen Storphenlieder*. München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1974.

Wolff, Ludwig. „Die Verschmelzung des Dargestellten mit der Gegenwartswirklichkeit im geistlichen Drama des deutschen Mittelalters." *DVjs*, 7 (1929), 267-304.

Woolf, Rosemary. *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1968.

Young, Karl. *The Drama of the Medieval Church*. 2 vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1933.

Zumthor, Paul. *Essai de Poétique Médiévale*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1972.

General References

Ackermann, Friedrich. "Das Spannungsgefüge des Dramas." *Wirkendes Wort*, 13 (1963), 41-52."

Bates, Katherine. *The English Religious Drama*. New York & London: Macmillan & Co., 1893.

The Venerabale Bede. "Meditatio Horae Sextae." *Paraenetica*. *PL* 94. 566-567.

Bergson, Henri. *Essai sur Les Données Immediates de la Conscience*. Genêve: Éditions Albert Skira, n.d.

_____. *Matter and Memory*. 5th edition. Trans. Nancy M. Paul & W. Scott Palmer. New York: Macmillan, 1929.

_____. *Memoire et Vie*. 3e édition. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968.

_____. *Mind-Energy: Lectures and Essays*. Trans. H. Wildon Carr. New York: Holt & Co., 1920.

Boulton, Marjorie. *The Anatomy of Drama*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960.

St. Bruno. *Expositio Psalmorum*. *PL* 142. 110.

Didron, M. *Iconographie Chrétienne*. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1843.

Duriez, Georges. *La Théologie dans le Drame Religieux en Allemagne au Moyen Age*. Memoires et Travaux, Fascicule XI. Lille: René Giard, 1914.

Ebel, Uda. *Das Altromanische Mirakel: Ursprung und Geschichte einer literarischen Gattung*. Studia Romanica, 8. Heft. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1965.

Ermatinger, Emil. *Die Kunstform des Dramas*. 2. Auflage. Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1931.

Hamburger, Käthe. *Die Logik der Dichtung*. 2. Auflage. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1968.

_____. "Zum Strukturproblem der epischen und dramatischen Dichtung." *DVjs*, 25 (1951), 1-26.

Hartl, Eduard. *Osterfeiern*. 2 vols. Reihe Drama des Mittelalters. Leipzig: Verlag von Philipp Reclam jun., 1937.

Hase, Karl. *Miracle Plays and Sacred Dramas*. Trans. A.W. Jackson. London: Trübner & Co., 1880.

Hebeisen, Hans-Martin. *Versuch einer Ontologischen Analyse der Zeit und der Handlung unter Besonderer Berücksichtigung der Aesthetik des Dramas.* Diss. Zürich, 1961.

Hoffman, Maria Norberta. *Die Magdalenenszenen im geistlichen Spiel des deutschen Mittelalters.* Diss. Münster, 1933. unavailable

Jacquot, Jean. "Théâtre Médiéval et Tragédie Elisabethaine." *Le Théâtre Tragique.* Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1962. pp. 89-105.

Jeanroy, Alfred. *Le Théâtre Religieux en Langue Française Jusqu'à la Fin du XIV^e Siècle.* Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1959.

Kienast, Richard. „Die Deutschsprachige Lyrik des Mittelalters." *Deutsche Philologie im Aufrisz.* Ed. Wolfgang Stammler. 2. Auflage. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1960. II, 1- 132.

Klotz, Volker. *Geschlossene und offene Form im Drama.* München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1961.

Koischwitz, Otto. *Der Theaterherold im deutschen Schauspiel des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit.* Germanische Studien Nr. 46. Berlin: Ebering, 1926.

Körner, Josef. *Bibliographisches Handbuch des Deutschen Schrifttums.* 3. Auflage. Bern & München: Francke Verlag, 1966. pp. 129-31.

Kroll, Joseph. *Gott und Hölle: Der Mythos vom Descensuskampf.* Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, XX. Leipzig: Teubner, 1932.

Kurtz, John William. "An Interpretation of the Stage Plan of the Donaueschingen Passion Play." *Germanic Review,* X (1935), 219-22.

_____. *Studies in the Staging of the German Religious Drama of the Late Middle Ages.* Diss. Illinois, 1932.

Küstner, Paula. *Judas in der Auffassung der Passionsspiele.* Diss. Frankfurt & Wien, 1918. unavailable

Lebegue, R. "La Passion d"Arnoul Gréban." *Romania,* LX (1934), 218-31.

Mattfeld, Jacquelyn A. "Some Relationships between Texts and *Cantus Firmi* in the Liturgical Motets of Josquin des Pres." *American Musicological Society Journal,* XIV (1961), 159-83.

Mendilow, A.A. *Time and the Novel.* London: Peter Nevill, 1952.

Michael, Wolfgang. „Das deutsche Drama und Theater vor der Reformation." *DVjs,* XXXI (1957),106-53.

_____. „Das deutsche Drama und Theater vor der Reformation." *DVjs,* XLII (1973), 1-47.

Michael, Wolfgang. "Problems in Editing Medieval Dramas." *GR*, XXIV (1949), 108-15.

Müller, Günther. *Die Bedeutung der Zeit.* Bonn: Universitätsverlag, 1947.

Nagler, Alois Maria. *The Medieval Religious Stage: Shapes and Phantoms.* New Haven, Yale University Press, 1976.

Pächt, Otto. *The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-Century England.* Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1962.

Roddy, Kevin. "Epic Qualities in the Cycle Plays." *Medieval Drama.* Stratford-Upon-Avon Studies Nr. 16. Ed. Neville Denny. London: Edward Arnold, 1973. pp. 155-72.

Salter, Frederick, ed. *The Trial and Flagellation.* Publications of the Malone Society. London: Oxford University Press, 1936.

Schmidt, Leopold. „Zur Innengeschichte der Deutschen Passionsspiele." *Volk und Volkstum.* München: Görresgesellschaft, 1931. pp. 211-31.

Schumacher, Ernst. „Geschichte und Drama." *Sinn und Form*, 11, part 2 (1959), 579-620.

Smolden, William L. "The Melodies of Medieval Church-Dramas and Their Significance." *Comparative Drama*, II (1968), 185-209.

Staiger, Emil. *Die Zeit als Einbildungskraft des Dichters.* 2. Auflage. Zürich: Atlantis Verlag, 1953.

Stemmler, Theo. *Liturgische Feiern und Geistliche Spiele.* Buchreihe der Anglia, 15. Band. Tübingen: Max Niemener Verlag, 1970.

Sullivan, Sister John. *A Study of the Themes of the Sacred Passion in the Medieval Cycle Plays.* Diss. Washington, D.C, 1943. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1943.

Tunison, Joseph S. *Dramatic Traditions of the Dark Ages.* 1907; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, 1970.

Wechssler, Eduard. *Die Romanischen Marienklagen.* Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1893.