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THE ORIGINS OF THE MEDIEVAL

LITURGICAL DRAMA:

A CRITICAL GUIDE

Jean R. Nichols

In the last one hundred years, much scholarly writing has been devoted to the origins of the medieval liturgical drama. The major writers of the early part of this century, Karl Young, E. K. Chambers, and others, had access to most of the extant manuscripts containing liturgical dramas. Their viewpoint was strictly literary. Although the study of medieval music notation had advanced markedly since the early attempts of Edmond de Coussemaker, many scholars continued to study only the "librettos" of the liturgical drama. This has begun to change during the last thirty years or so. William L. Smoldon pioneered this new trend in a thorough study of the music of the plays, proving or disproving theories based on a study of the text alone. Major writers of the last two decades—Hardin Craig, Grace Frank, Richard B. Donovan, and O. B. Hardison—continue to work mainly from a literary point of view, but with an awareness of the importance of the music to their studies. A few recent works, chief among them the dissertations by Margaret Mary McShane (1961: no. 74 in this paper) and Marie Dolores Moore (1971: no. 102), do use the music of the plays as the main point of departure for study.

This bibliography is an attempt to analyze important studies of the origin of the liturgical drama, with special emphasis on those works which deal with the musical aspects of the plays. The annotations are directed toward a broad audience—toward the graduate student beginning a study of this subject, either from a musicological or a literary viewpoint, and toward the medieval scholar who desires a fuller view of this interdisciplinary subject.

While no list can be totally comprehensive, an attempt has been made to include all works of significance written in this century, as well as a few major works from the late nineteenth century. Some items that were found to be of questionable value have been included; in most cases, their titles are ambiguous or brief familiarity with their contents is important. The emphasis is on secondary source materials, but important guides or bibliographies are included which will provide access to the original manuscripts or to copies of them.

Arrangement of the annotations is chronological by date of publication or of availability, and then alphabetical by author. Articles and books are interfiled. A subject index and a manuscript index are included at the end of the article, and these give access to most of the works in the bibliography by their main subject or subjects. A chronological index to the annotations and an author index are also included. There are a total of 110 annotations.

Three dissertations were not located in time for inclusion: 1) Hogan, A. J. *The liturgical origin and the didactic purposes of the medieval drama.* Ph.D. thesis. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1929. (Cited in Stratman no. 106 as item no. 1762.) 2) Porter, Alice Downey. *The religious drama in France and England from the beginning of the ninth century to the close of the thirteenth century.* Ph.D. thesis. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1899. (Cited in *Comprehensive dissertation index,* vol. 36, p. 602.) 3) Sargent, Brian. Master's thesis on the melodic aspects of liturgical drama, written for the University of Wales at Cardiff, late 1960's or early 1970's.

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1. **Du Méril**, Edélstand. *Origines latines du théâtre moderne.* Paris: Franck, 1849. Pp. 418.

   This early collection of play texts was one of the major secondary sources for the medieval drama until Karl Young published his more complete collection (no. 32). In his introduction, Du Méril states that a study of the origins of the modern theater is not a useless archaeological problem to be dismissed as erudite debate (page 1). Instead, he tries to recreate the spirit of the age which created these plays, through a systematic presentation of the texts.

   Texts presented in this volume are as follows: Office de la résurrection selon l'usage de l'église canoniale de Kloster-Neubourg (Resurrection play), Office du sépulcre selon l'usage de Narbonne, du Mont-Saint-Michel, de Rouen, et de Sens (*Visitatio sepulchri*), Autre office du sépulcre, and thirty-two more play texts from later periods, many of them mystery or miracle plays.

   There is no music. All of the texts in this volume appear in Karl Young's *Drama of the medieval church* (no. 32).

2. **Coussemaker**, Edmond de. *Drames liturgiques du moyen âge (texte et musique).* Rennes: H. Vatar, 1860. Pp. xix, 350.

   This collection of play transcriptions was one of the very first to include the music of the dramas. Twenty-two plays are transcribed from seven manuscripts, most including music as well as text. Seven plates, one from each manuscript, show the first page of some of the plays transcribed.

   The plays are arranged in roughly chronological order, covering a time span from the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries. They are arranged first according to the date of the manuscript, and then by the probable date of the play. Notes at the end of the volume give information about each manuscript. Margaret McShane also gives important information about these manuscripts in her dissertation (no. 74) as does Fernando Liuzzi in his article (no. 28)

   Although the study of medieval musical notation has advanced considerably since Coussemaker's time, this volume remains an important source. The music to several of the plays has not appeared elsewhere.

   Manuscripts represented include the following: St. Martial, Orléans (Ms. 178), Beauvais, Sainte-Benoît-sur-Loire (Fleury), Bigot, Origny-Sainte-Benoîte, and Cividale.

3. **Schubiger**, Anselm. *Musikalische Spicilegien über das liturgische Drama, Orgelbau und Orgelspiel, das ausserliturgische Lied und die Instrumentalmusik des Mittel-alters.* Berlin: Liepmannssohn, 1876. Pp. 168. (Publikationen älterer praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke, herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft für Musikfor-schung, 5)

   This work consists almost entirely of the music and texts to early liturgical plays. Unfortunately, the manuscripts from which they come are not always clearly identified. Each play is briefly discussed, with constant references to the musical transcriptions in the back of the volume.

   The following plays are included:

Resurrection, Einsiedeln Stiftsbibliothek, No. 367
Magi, Einsiedeln Stiftsbibliothek, No. 367
Lament of Rachel, Einsiedeln, Codex 121
Visitatio sepulchri, Einsiedeln, Codex 300
Easter ceremony, Kloster Engelberg, Codex I 5/9
Three women at the sepulchre (*Visitatio sepulchri*),
    Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex I 4/25
Christ's Passion, Rheinau, Choralbuche, sixteenth century
Die heilige Osternacht, Rheinau
Resurrection, Benedictionale of Cardinal von Oesterreich

4.   **Sepet**, Marius. *Le drame chrétien au moyen âge.* Paris: Didier, 1878.
     Pp. xii, 296.

     This work, which was published some twenty-five years before no. 13,
     begins with the Easter cycle plays of the thirteenth century. Play texts
     are given in French translation. Very little is said about the origins of the
     drama.
         The final chapters deal with such plays as *Cain and Abel* from the six-
     teenth century.
         Note: See the article by Dunn (no. 104a) for further comments on this
     work.

                                    *   *   *

4a.   Another work by Sepet deals primarily with the Prophet plays and Old
     Testament plays in the vernacular. The work is:

     Sepet, Marius. *Les prophètes du Christ.* Paris: Didier, 1878. Also in:
     Paris. Ecole des chartes. Bibliothèque.
         vol. 28 (ser. 6, vol. 3), **1867**, pp. 1-27; 211-264.
         vol. 29 (ser. 6, vol. 4), 1868, pp. 105-139; 261-293.
         vol. 38, 1877, pp. 397-443.
         Play texts are given for plays based on the Old Testament as well as the
     Prophet plays. See Wilhelm Meyer (no. 12) for detailed comments on this
     work.

5.   **Milchsack**, Gustav. *Die Oster- und Passionsspiele: literarhistorische Unter-
     suchungen ueber den Ursprung und die Entwickelung derselben bis zum
     siebenzehnten Jahrhundert, vornehmlich in Deutschland, nebst dem erst-
     maligen diplomatischen Abdruck des Kuenzelsauer Fronleichnamsspieles.*
     Wolfenbuettel: Zwissler, 1880.
     I. *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern.* Pp. vi, 136 (only volume published).

         This early work is a discussion of the origins and evolution of the Latin
     Easter plays, including those that involve the story of Christ's Passion. At
     the date of writing, there were only fifty-six extant Latin Easter plays, none
     of which were from Italy, Spain, or England. This study discusses twenty-
     eight of the "finest" plays from this group, most of them from Germany,

France, and Switzerland. Many of them had appeared before in Coussemaker (no. 2), Du Méril (no. 1) or F. J. Mone (*Schauspielen des Mittelalters*).

Milchsack's viewpoint is strictly literary, and the bulk of the volume consists of charts of text showing comparisons between different evolutionary groups. There are no musical examples and no discussion of the music. Six appendices provide the texts to some other related ceremonies.

6. **Gautier**, Léon. *Histoire de la poésie liturgique au moyen âge: les tropes.* Paris: Victor Palmé, 1886. Pp. viii, 280.

This is one of the classic treatises on the trope and one of the earliest studies of the subject. Gautier's definition of the trope as "l'interpolation d'un texte liturgique" has been widely quoted and discussed ever since it appeared in this work (page 1). Supplementing Paul Evans' work (no. 97) Gautier's theories are essential for a full understanding of tropes, especially the Easter trope *Quem quaeritis*.

The tropes from St. Gall are given great emphasis, as they were the first to be disseminated throughout Europe. Gautier's historical discussion gives nearly equal treatment to the development of the text and the music. The study ends with a detailed discussion of tropes to the Introit, the *Kyrie*, the *Ad rogandum episcopum*, the Gloria, and the *Regnum*.

Line drawings of pages from important manuscripts enhance the work, along with numerous illustrations reproduced from the tropers. Charts showing the relationship between certain lines of the tropes further illustrate the text.

7. **Lange**, Carl. *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern: Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Entwickelung der liturgisch-dramatischen Auferstehungsfeier, mit Zugrundelegung eines umfangreichen, neuaufgefundenen Quellenmaterials.* München: Stahl, 1887. Pp. 171.

This work is a very important early presentation of the texts of some 224 plays in almost as many manuscripts. The texts are printed in columns in order to facilitate comparisons. The commentary is quite brief but, as Paul Kretzmann points out (no. 19), the work is a "careful compilation of texts, both of the *Quem quaeritis* trope and of the liturgical plays based upon it, arranged in progressive series to show successive additions and expansions" (page 3).

8. **Froning**, Richard. *Das Drama des Mittelalters.* Stuttgart: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1891-92. Three volumes.

Pt. 1 - Die lateinischen Osterfeiern und ihre Entwickelung in Deutchland. Osterspiele. Passionsspiele. Pp. viii, 324.

Pt. 2 - Passionsspiele. Pp. 325-672.

Pt. 3 - Passionsspiele. Weihnachts- und Dreikönigsspiele. Fastnachtspiele. Pp. 673-1008.

The major portion of this work contains texts to liturgical plays, with an emphasis on those developed in Germany. After a brief introduction, Froning prints the texts to the "Osterfeiern" from St. Gall, Bamberg, Trier, Strassburg, Augsburg, and Nürnberg.

The Osterspiele (covered in pages 23-244 of the first volume) are covered in much greater detail. Outside influences on the development of German Easter plays are emphasized. The use of the vernacular and the addition of scenes to the Biblical story are important contributions of the early German playwrights. Two plays, the Trier and the Redentin Easter plays, are given in their entirety. Additional scenes from other versions are added to these, to provide a clearer picture of the evolution of the plays.

Other parts of the work are as outlined in the subtitles to the three volumes. An appendix gives a comparative table of lines from various Passion plays discussed in parts two and three. An index to all three volumes completes the work.

9. **Creizenach,** Wilhelm Michael Anton. *Geschichte des neueren Dramas.* Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1911-1923. Three volumes.
    Vol. I: *Mittelalter und Frührenaissance.* 1893. Pp. xv, 586.

This work is one of the important early studies of medieval liturgical drama. It is cited by E. K. Chambers and others as a very thorough and scholarly account of the drama.

Creizenach begins his study with a discussion of the late Roman playwrights–Terence, Plautus, Seneca–and other "influences" on the medieval stage. The beginnings of medieval drama, however, are found in the Church. The dramatic elements of the Mass and the sung liturgy are of primary importance. The Easter cycle, which includes the ceremonies related to Palm Sunday, the Harrowing of Hell, and the Journey to Emmaus, was the first to develop into true drama. The Christmas cycle was also important in the early development of the dramatic art. It is studied in some detail, along with the Daniel plays of Hilarius and one from Beauvais. Later developments are seen in the Easter dramas from Tours and Klosterneuburg, the rise of the Passion play, and the Benediktbeuern Christmas play. Plays from the monasteries are given surprisingly little emphasis.

From this relatively brief study of drama within the Church, Creizenach moves to the vernacular drama. Works discussed are the German Easter plays from Trier, Wolfenbüttel, Muri, Innsbruck, Berlin, and Vienna; Passion plays from Vienna and St. Gall; a Christmas cycle from St. Gall; thirteenth and fourteenth century French Old Testament plays; the Play of Adam; the St. Nicholas play by Jean Bodel; and the Theophilus play by Rutebeuf. English miracle plays and other para-liturgical plays are considered. The rest of this study (and the major part of it) deals with the mystery, miracle, and morality plays of the vernacular drama. Mime, farce, and puppet plays are included. The final chapter is "Die ersten dramatischen Versuche der Humanisten."

10. **Gasté**, Armand. *Les drames liturgiques de la Cathédrale de Rouen*. Evreux: Imprimerie de l'Eure, 1893. Pp. 81. (Contribution à l'histoire des origines du théâtre en France)

The cathedral at Rouen is, according to legend, the abbey from which the first troper was taken to Notker Balbulus at St. Gall. This edition of play texts from the Cathedral Library was intended to provide a basis for further insights into this important location. The two main manuscripts, which have quite similar contents, are Y 108, ancien 50/30 from the fifteenth century, and Y 110, ancien 48/29 from the fourteenth century. The play texts are:

> Festum asinorum (Prophets)
> Officium pastorum (Shepherds at the manger)
> Officium infantum, and Officia diaconorum et Cappellanorum
> Officium stellae (Coming of the Magi)
> Officium sepulchri (*Visitatio sepulchri*)
> Officium peregrinorum (Journey to Emmaus)

Lengthy footnotes compare these plays with each other and with earlier editions.

Following these texts, "Additional notes" provide a description for ceremonies in some way related to the Rouen cathedral:

> La procession des Rameaux
> La lavement des pieds
> La pentecôte
> L'Assomption de la Vierge
> Acte de fondation d'un mystère dans l'église Notre-Dame, à Saint-Lô

For the *Visitatio sepulchri*, Gasté uses the text of Y 110 and compares it with Y 108 and Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 904. Different customs found in manuscripts from Mont-Saint-Michel, Coutances, and other regions are noted for comparison.

Music is not mentioned in this work. Much groundwork was provided for further study, as witnessed in Chambers (no. 15) and Young (no. 32). Young's work includes all the texts from this volume.

11. **Catholic Church. Liturgy and ritual. Troper.** *The Winchester troper from mss. of the Xth and XIth centuries, with other documents illustrating the history of tropes in England and France*. Edited by Walter Howard Frere. London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1894. Pp. xviii, 248. (Henry Bradshaw Society, 8)

Walter H. Frere was one of the major liturgical text editors of the nineteenth century, and has indirectly greatly contributed to the study of the origins of the medieval liturgical drama. This edition of the Winchester troper was the first of its kind. Frere attributes the previous lack of interest in tropers to the fact that tropes were unessential to the actual performance of the Mass. He emphasizes the fact that the "tropers practically represent the sum total of musical advance between the ninth and the twelfth century" (page vi).

In his introduction to the texts, Frere provides a history of the "rise and fall of tropes." The Easter *Quem quaeritis* is referred to as a "dramatic dialogue which came to be used as a trope to the introit of Easter: but at Winchester it kept its independent place, and is thus described in the *Regularis Concordia* of St. Ethelwold." The Latin version of this passage follows. Frere's only direct comment on the drama is brief: "the more these dramatic interludes developed the more they tended to become secular, till the budding drama left the churches to make for itself a less restricted sphere of operations in the theatre" (page xviii).

The two texts of the Winchester troper edited by Frere are housed at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Ms. 473) and the Bodleian Library (Bodl. 775). Other related texts both English and foreign, are included for comparison. Frere emphasizes the presence of other types of pieces in the manuscripts as well as the tropes—the organa, sequences, and tonal It is perhaps unfortunate that the texts do not appear in the chronological order of the manuscripts, but rather are grouped into what Frere calls "greater tropes," "lesser tropes," sequences, etc., within each manuscript.

The twenty-six plates at the end of the volume are excellent reproductions from several of the manuscripts. Two plates show the *Officium sepulchri*, one from the Corpus Christi manuscript, the other from Archbishop Marsh's library in Dublin (MS. V.3.2.10). Indexes aid in the access to individual pieces within the volume. The Easter *Quem quaeritis* of the Winchester troper appears on page 17 of the volume. The Christmas *Quem quaeritis* from a Sancti Maglorii monastery troper appears on page 145.

12.   **Meyer**, Wilhelm. "Fragmenta burana, mit 15 Tafeln," *Festschrift zur Feier des Hundertfünfzigjährigen Bestehens der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse.* Berlin: Weidmann, 1901. Pp. 3-190, 15 plates.

Meyer was one of the early writers on the liturgical drama and the first to make generally available the important fragments discussed here. These seven leaves of parchment were discovered in Benediktbeuern in the middle of the nineteenth century and, through a study of the handwriting, were found to belong to the manuscript popularly called the *Carmina burana* (Munich, Staatsbibl., MS lat. 4660; twelfth or thirteenth century).

The manuscript pages are reproduced in facsimile at the end of the volume (with the exception of the recto of the first leaf). The fragments contain three liturgical plays which brought the total number of plays in the *Carmina burana* to six. The plays are a *Peregrinus* (plates 12-13), a Passion play (plates 4-7; plate 4 begins with a hymn), and a *Ludus paschalis* (plates 8-11). Plates 2 and 3 contain poems by a German named Marner (Fl. 1230-1260) and plate 1 contains two songs with text from the Gospel of John.

Each leaf is discussed individually with an attempt at reconstructing its original placement in the *Carmina burana*. The discussion of plates 5 through 13 includes a brief history of the medieval play in Germany and its origins in the Easter trope. Music is discussed very briefly, and Meyer does not attempt to transcribe the notation. The author claims Germany as the home

of the sequence (his term for trope) and points out that this liturgical form survived longest there. The importance of the "Zehnsilberspiel" is given a great deal of attention. Sepet's *Prophètes du Christ* (no. 4a) is mentioned in some detail with the comment that the work is in need of amplification.

The work concludes with a discussion of medieval poetry, its origins and structure, and its development in France and Germany in the twelfth century.

Karl Young (no. 32) has an excellent note on this work (vol. 1, p. 686) in which he outlines the six plays contained in the manuscripts and available editions of each. He further states that Meyer's description of the fragments has been superseded by the work of O. Schumann and A. Hilka who prepared a new edition of the complete *Carmina burana* beginning in the 1930's:

Hilka, Alfons and Schumann, Otto. *Carmina burana.* Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1930-1970. Two volumes in four.

13. **Sepet**, Marius. *Origines catholiques du théâtre moderne. Les drames liturgiques et les jeux scolaires, les mystères, les origines de la comédie au Moyen-Age, la Renaissance.* Paris: Lethielleux, 1901. Pp. viii, 576.

Marius Sepet is considered to be a major figure in the early study of the medieval drama. His definitive work came after many years of study and teaching, and included the publication of several less comprehensive works. The chapters in this work on the medieval drama were written between 1878 and 1894.

The first hundred pages are titled "Les drames liturgiques et les jeux scolaires." Subchapters discuss: the problem of distinguishing between the earliest liturgical dialogues and the beginning of drama, the nature of the dramatic cycle of the Easter season, the *Planctus* of the Virgin Mary, plays of Lazarus and the Passion, mysteries, miracles, and plays based on the Antichrist legend. Sepet mentions the assistance of his good friend Gautier (no. 6) but does not discuss his work on the origins of the trope to any great extent.

Further sections of this large work cover the mystery cycles, the origins of comedy in the Middle Ages, and the drama of the Renaissance. There is no index, no musical transcription, and very little discussion of the music. The origins of the drama are in fact discussed somewhat briefly for such an ambitious and influential work.

Note: See the article by E. Catherine Dunn (no. 104a) for further comments on this work.

14. **Wilmotte**, Maurice. "Les origines du drame liturgique," Bruxelles, Belgiques. Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-artes. *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques.* No. 7 (1901). Pp. 715-748.

This work attempts to add to the earlier works by Milchsack (no. 5) and Lange (no. 7). Several manuscripts have been discovered since those two works were written, but Wilmotte considers their theories still valid. The

transition from the ritual of the liturgy to drama can best be seen in the Easter ceremonies. Not only is the Easter liturgy older than the Christmas liturgy, but there is even evidence that an Easter drama occurred earlier than the usually accepted date of the ninth century.

The basis of the *Visitatio sepulchri* text in the Gospels is discussed, as well as additions such as the *Venite et videte*, the *Victimae paschali laudes*, etc. Two texts that had not been previously published appear in the appendices without the music. They are a St. Nicholas play from Bari (Archivio, fourteenth-fifteenth century) and an Easter play from Mont-Cassin (Ms. CCXXIX, fol. 173) which depicts the betrayal of Judas.

Music is not discussed.

15. **Chambers, E K.** *The mediaeval stage.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1903. 1925 & 1948 editions reprinted from corrected sheets. Two volumes. (Pp. xlii, 419; Pp. v, 480)

This work was a landmark of its time and remains an important piece of scholarship today, perhaps equally as valuable as Karl Young's *Drama of the medieval church* (no. 32). Chambers' purpose in writing the first English work on the medieval drama was to show the background that made possible the Shakespearian plays of the late sixteenth century. The author admits that he "neglects" the literary side of the drama in order to focus on its folklore elements and its historical development. His only comment on the music is the following: "A study of the music might perhaps throw light on the relation of the versions to each other. I am sorry that it is beyond my powers" (page 35). Actually, at the time of writing, there were very few musical transcriptions available. Only Coussemaker, one of the major medieval music scholars of the time, had transcribed a dozen or so medieval plays (see no. 2).

A very good general bibliography appears at the beginning of Volume I. Although Chambers does not attempt completeness, the listing includes works in progress as well as some he has not seen. Very few of the works cited in this initial list are included here; most are of a very general nature, or emphasize the late Middle Ages. This list is supplemented by more specific listings of works at the head of each chapter.

Volume I begins with a study of minstrelsy and ends with a lengthy discussion of folk drama. Volume II is primarily concerned with the religious drama. This arrangement may seem strange to us today, but Chambers was very much interested in the roots of the drama in the Roman *spectacula*, which led him first to the folk drama of the Middle Ages.

Previous studies of the liturgical drama are mentioned as background to Chambers' work, including those by Creizenach, Sepet, Magnin, and Coussemaker. Chambers' reliance on these early writers is evident and, in fact, he has been criticized (by Cargill and others) for relying too heavily on the transcriptions made by Sepet and Frere, rather than seeking out the original manuscripts.

Chambers felt that the Mass of the Church contained great potentiality for dramatic development, in symbolism, mimetic action, and dialogue in the

antiphonal singing. A history of troping is given, with constant reference to the birth of the liturgical drama in the *Quem quaeritis* trope of Easter. The *Regularis concordia* is quoted to establish the use of the trope at Matins, but Chambers admits the evidence is hazy. The *Depositio, Elevatio,* and other related ceremonies are discussed in some detail. Three "types" are discussed in the evolution of the *Visitatio sepulchri* drama, the same ones later used by Karl Young. Further developments of dramatic style are mentioned, including the use of costumes, props, and *planctus* (laments).

The Christmas plays are discussed at some length, as Chambers gives them almost equal importance, along with the Easter plays, in the evolution of the drama. Other liturgical plays are mentioned, including the *Peregrinus* (Journey to Emmaus), Old Testament and prophet plays, and plays by the poet Hilarius. One chapter, "The secularization of the plays," involves the development of the cycle plays, the Play of Adam, and the Feast of Fools. The second volume concludes with chapters on the Guild plays, moralities, pageants, and the interlude.

Lengthy appendices contain texts to such works as the Boy Bishop play, the Prose of the Ass (with music), the Durham *Sepulchrum* (1593), the Sarum *Sepulchrum* (thirteenth century), the Dublin *Quem quaeritis* (fourteenth century), and other medieval plays. Extracts from the *Regularis concordia* (in Latin) are also included.

16. **Graham,** R. (Miss). "The intellectual influence of English monasticism between the tenth and the twelfth centuries," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 17 (1903) pp. 23-65.

This work is comparable in intent to Hotze (no. 62) and Bryan (no. 100) and gives a fascinating historical account of the great monastic revival in England preceding the Norman Conquest. King Edward and Bishop Ethelwold are key figures, and much evidence is derived from the *Regularis concordia.* The influence of Fleury on English monasteries is emphasized, as is the presence of a Fleury teacher at Ramsey Abbey. Schools and libraries of the period are described, along with the great strides taken in educational reform. The frequent ravages by the Danes between 980 and 1016 proved fatal to this revival, however, and another "Dark Age" set in for several decades.

Although there is no mention of drama, facts about the monastic climate, the *Regularis concordia,* Fleury's influence, and Cluny's lack of influence provide important background to the study of the origins of drama in England.

17. **Feasey,** Henry Philibert. "The Easter sepulchre," *The Ecclesiastical review* 32 (1905) pp. 337-355 and 468-499.

This long article, which complements a later one by Neil C. Brooks (no. 20), discusses the origins of the rite of the Easter sepulchre. As this was never a strictly Roman rite, its origins in each country are hazy. Many primary sources are quoted, including the Easter ceremony passage from the *Regularis concordia,* in order to shed light on what evidence exists.

Feasy classifies the various types of Easter sepulchres according to their construction and location within the church. Their adornment is mentioned, along with the guilds that were established to maintain them. The general destruction during the Reformation of representations of the Easter sepulchre is emphasized.

This is an excellent discussion, with most of the evidence coming from primary sources of the periods discussed.

18. **Brooks,** Neil C. "Some new texts of liturgical Easter plays," *Journal of English and Germanic philology* 8 (1909) pp. 463-488.

This represents the first publication of over thirty texts having to do with the *Visitatio sepulchri* office. Some of them differ only slightly from previously known texts, while others contain features of particular interest either in text or in rubrics. Most of these texts appear again in Karl Young's major work (no. 32).

19. **Kretzmann,** Paul Edward. *The liturgical element in the earliest forms of the medieval drama, with special reference to the English and German plays.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1916. Pp. vii, 170. (University of Minnesota studies in language and literature, 4)

Kretzmann's main thesis is exactly that stated in the title of his work: that the early medieval plays all contain elements of the liturgy and in fact were derived from it. A knowledge of the "origins of the drama" is assumed by the author, with the works of Du Méril, Milchsack, Lange, and Young cited as important background sources. Kretzmann presents the texts to the plays discussed in the "approximate chronological and logical order" of the Church year, not in terms of development. A "List of texts examined" precedes each section of plays. Pages 134 through 155 discuss plays of the Resurrection, including the Ascension and Pentecost. There is no discussion of the music of the plays.

20. **Brooks,** Neil C. *The sepulchre of Christ in art and liturgy, with special reference to the liturgic drama.* Urbana: University of Illinois, 1921. Pp. 110. (University of Illinois studies in language and literature. Volume 8, no. 2. May 1921)

The focus of this work is on the representation of Christ's sepulchre in art, architecture, and manuscripts of the Middle Ages. After a brief discussion of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, Brooks describes the various stages of development of the use of a sepulchre in Church ritual and drama. Physical aspects are categorized into the following "types" based primarily on location: Syro-Palestinian, Medieval Byzantine, Western Temple, and Western Coffer-Tomb.

Principal liturgical ceremonies performed at the sepulchre of the church— the *Depositio, Elevatio,* and Place of Repose—are described in some detail. The *Visitatio sepulchri* is given less study since several works had already been published on this ceremony (Karl Young, for example).

Final chapters of the work deal with the actual location of the sepulchre within the church, maintenance or setting up of the sepulchre for the major ceremonies, the use of elaborately decorated cloths, carvings, and figures as decoration, and the eventual use of brightly painted, permanent Gothic structures within the church.

An appendix provides texts of several important *Depositio, Elevatio,* and *Visitatio* ceremonies either previously unknown or neglected, most of them published here for the first time. Texts are from Bamberg, Besançon, Biberach, Brussels, Essen, Freising, Fritzlar, Halle, Havelberg, Magdeburg, Moosburg, Prague, Prüfening, Treves (St. Maximin), Troyes, and Zurich. Most of these texts appear again in Karl Young's later work (no. 32): the Biberach and Brussels texts, however, are not reprinted there. Karl Young used this article as a basis for an appendix on the sepulchre in his own work.

20a. **Brooks,** Neil C. "The 'Sepulchrum Christi' and its ceremonies in late mediaeval and modern times," *Journal of English and Germanic philology* 27 (April 1928) pp. 147-161.

This is a brief supplement to the previous article, adding more texts and a few more details.

21. **Muller,** H. F. "Pre-history of the mediaeval drama: the antecedents of the tropes and the conditions of their appearance," *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 44 (1924) pp. 544-575.

At first appearance the introduction of tropes into the liturgy or any tampering with Church ritual seems a most unnatural and contradictory disregard of Church policy in the Middle Ages. Actually though, such expansions were approved for several centuries and had precedent in the early history of the Church.

The introduction of popular hymns was accepted in the fourth century. Augustine was known to have composed new psalms for his congregation as well. The conflict began to arise in the seventh century over whether to allow such popular hymns, which were either in the vernacular or often in bad Latin, into the liturgy. The triumph of the Roman liturgy in the West during the eighth century (tenth century in England) and Charlemagne's preoccupation with pure Latin made Latin the sacred language of the West. Great importance was attached both to singing and to the correct use of the language from this time on. The attempt on the part of the Church to rid the liturgy of the vulgar tongue and of compositions in bad Latin actually led the way for the composition of excellent pieces–tropes–using Latin in its purest form   Heretics continued to be condemned by the Church, but by this time heresies appeared elsewhere than in the written liturgy.

The intellectual elite of the Church constantly needed to renew the liturgy and strengthen its didactic purpose. Thus the tropes, which eventually led to the beginning of drama, were encouraged and held in high regard for many centuries.

22. **Rudwin**, Maximilian Josef. *A historical and bibliographical survey of the German religious drama*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1924. Pp. xxiii, 286. (University of Pittsburgh studies in language and literature)

At the time of compilation, this bibliography filled a great need for a systematic and critical bibliography of German drama. The work is divided into two parts, the Reformation serving as a chronological point of division.

The first part of the bibliography (sixty-eight pages) contains a list of general works, including essays and chapters within larger works. Such topics as "drama, liturgy and music," "drama and art," "scenes and characters," and "material and technique" follow. The main portion of the bibliography, however, contains references to all the medieval plays for which there was a record in 1924. The plays are grouped into Christmas plays, Easter plays, Biblical plays, etc., further subdivided by type (Osterfeiern and Osterspiel). For each section, a general bibliography is provided, followed by the plays in "strict chronological order." Included for each play are listings of secondary literature, extant manuscript sources, and editions of the texts. The critical works are arranged in order of importance. Those works which the author did not locate in the United States are marked with an asterisk, but Rudwin points out that almost all the materials for the medieval drama are available here.

The categories of plays discussed in this first part are as follows: Easter and Passion plays, *Planctus*, Mary Magdalene plays, plays of Biblical history and legend, the Ascension, Candlemas plays, eschatological plays, Saints plays, Corpus Christi plays, Whitsuntide plays, and miracle plays based on stories of the Virgin Mary.

Following Part II (plays after the Reformation) is an index to the full titles of books and articles cited, which serves as an excellent bibliography in itself, as well as an index to plays (arranged alphabetically by name or place), and an index to names. This last index lists those scribes and playwrights who could be identified for the medieval plays.

All in all, this is a very thorough bibliography, certainly not entirely outdated by Young's work (no. 32). Although references to music are very few, this work could still be used as a starting point for the musicologist in locating texts and occasionally the music to medieval plays.

23. **Coffman**, George R. "A new approach to medieval Latin drama," *Modern philology* 22 (1925) pp. 239-271.

Coffman reviews the work done to date on the subject of the medieval Latin drama, emphasizing the works of Chambers (no. 15), Creizenach (no. 9), and Meyer (no. 12).

The focus of the article is on the miracle plays of the Middle Ages, with the Hildesheim St. Nicholas play as the main point of departure. The question of whether the play originated in France or Germany is discussed but not resolved, and connections with the abbey at Gandersheim and with the poetess Hrotswitha are debated.

Coffman's efforts to put this literature in the perspective of its own time, and to discover the spirit of the playwrights makes for an interesting discussion.

Emphasis on the international atmosphere of the time and on the drama as the single medium of expression provide an unusual approach for study in this field.

24. Schwietering, Julius. "Uber den liturgischen Ursprung des Mittelalterlichen geistlichen Spiels," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 62 (1925). Pp. 1-20.

This article is an important early attempt to explain the origins of the drama by the spirit of the music and the emotion present at the Easter season of the Church year. The liturgical rather than Biblical origins of the Easter trope are cited, along with the close connections between the *Quem quaeritis* of Easter and the Christmas trope. It is the Easter liturgy, however, and particularly the presence of a physical representation of the sepulchre, that influences the origins of drama. The allegoric and symbolic context of the liturgy that begins on Easter eve with the *Adoratio* and the *Elevatio* are completed with the *Visitatio* ceremony. Not only is this a symbolic conclusion to the Easter cycle, but it provides significant emotional outlet following the stern services of Lent. (See Marshall (no. 49) and Brinkmann (no. 27) for further comments on this subject.)

Augustine is quoted on the importance attributed to singing as an aid in transcending the worldly realm. Other contemporary writers are cited who have similar views.

Schwietering concludes his essay by drawing an analogy with the origins of the ancient tragedy from the cult of Dionysus.

25. Haskins, Charles Homer. *The Renaissance of the twelfth century.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927. Pp. viii, 437.

This is a study of the intellectual life of twelfth century Europe, very helpful as a background to the study of the liturgical drama. Topics covered include "intellectual centres" of Europe, books and libraries, the revival of the Latin classics, poetry, the revival of jurisprudence, science and philosophy, and the beginnings of universities. Religious drama is mentioned as a source for secular drama and poetry. The *Quem quaeritis* trope is briefly reviewed, as is its transition from trope to drama. The historical context of the study is useful, but the origins of drama are only briefly investigated. No controversies about its development are discussed.

26. Cohen, Gustave. *Le théâtre en France au moyen âge.* Paris: Les Editions Rieder, 1928-31. Two volumes.
Volume I: *Le théâtre religieux.* 1928. Pp. 80, 59 plates.

While primarily concerned with the French mystery plays of the late Middle Ages, Cohen does speak briefly in the first chapter on the origins of the liturgical drama in the Easter service. An evolutionary view is given, with references and comparisons made to the drama of the ancient Greeks. The role of music, dance, costume, and ritual are considered important elements in the earliest plays.

Following a French translation of Ethelwold's discussion of the Easter
drama (*Regularis concordia*, translated from Chambers' English version, no. 15),
Cohen discusses the reference to Fleury in the manuscript. Evidently it was
France's "mission" to develop the first liturgical drama. Brief discussion fol-
lows of the Easter office, the Christmas plays, the Prophet plays, and plays
on the conversion of St. Paul and the Wise and Foolish Virgins. The use
of drama for educational purposes within the churches and monasteries is
repeatedly stressed.

The bulk of the volume deals with "semi-liturgical" dramas, including
the *Play of Adam* and the mystery plays. The reproduction of some sixty
illustrations from various manuscripts completes the work.

26a.   Karl Young's bibliography in his *Drama of the medieval church* (no. 32)
cites three other works by Gustave Cohen dealing with the medieval drama.
One of these was written jointly by Young and Cohen: "The *Officium
stellae* from Bilsen," *Romania* 44 (1916-17). Pp. 357-372.

*   *   *

In 1950, a collection of essays covering the drama of the Middle Ages
and the Renaissance was dedicated to Gustave Cohen: *Mélanges d'histoire
du théâtre du moyen-âge et de la renaissance, offerts à Gustave Cohen . . .
par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis.* (Paris: Librairie Nizet, 1950.)
An essay from this collection is included here: Robert Marichal. "Les
drames liturgiques du 'Livre de la Trésorie' d'Origny-Sainte-Benoîte" (see
no. 48 for full citation and comments).

27.   **Brinkmann,** Henning. *Zum Ursprung des liturgischen Spieles.* Bonn: F. Cohen,
1929. (In *Xenia Bonnensia: Festschrift zum fünfundsiebzigjährigen Bestehen
des Philologischen Vereins und Bonner Kreises*, pp. 106-143)

This short essay was a precursor to several larger works by Brinkmann on
the early German drama, but it remains the summary of his thoughts on the
origins of the liturgical drama in Europe.

Brinkmann outlines previous studies, mentioning in particular works by
Karl Young (no. 32), Chambers (no. 15), Schwietering (no. 24), and Brooks
(no. 18, no. 20). He emphasizes that there is a great deal more work to be
done on the question of the origins of the drama.

On the basis of extant manuscripts Brinkmann concludes that the Easter
trope is older than the similar Christmas trope. The oldest version of the
Quem quaeritis Easter trope is from St. Martial (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat.
1240), but one must somehow explain the existence of a simpler form from
St. Gall (MS 484) which is dated slightly later. The problem of the exact
placement of the trope in the liturgy is outlined, but no conclusions can be
reached as several manuscripts from the same periods differ in placement.

The final transfer of the *Quem quaeritis* from the Mass to the Office was
a natural act which completed the Easter ceremony logically and, more

importantly, functioned as an emotional outlet for the participants after the long season of Lent. (See Marshall (no. 49) and Schwietering (no. 24) for further comments on this aspect.) The extreme symbolism of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* already established in the Easter service culminated in the *Visitatio sepulchri* drama, although the exact placement of the play in the Office seems to differ from manuscript to manuscript.

Brinkmann concludes his essay with a discussion of the development of additional scenes: the merchant scene, the race of the apostles to the tomb, and the appearance of the risen Christ.

28.   **Liuzzi**, Fernando. "L'espressione musicale nel dramma liturgico," *Studi medievali*, nuova serie 2 (1929) pp. 74-109.

This important study precedes by only a few years the compendium of texts by Karl Young (no. 32). In it, Liuzzi tabulates the plays published in Coussemaker's *Drames liturgiques du moyen âge* (no. 2), giving numerous bibliographical footnotes and further sources. The plays from this collection that are discussed are the following:

> Resurrection play
> Annunciation from Cividale
> Shepherds and Magi
> Play of Herod from Orléans
> Slaughter of the Innocents
> Wise and foolish virgins
> Lament of Mary (*planctus*)
> Raising of Lazarus
> Journey to Emmaus
> Play of Daniel from Beauvais

Musical examples are provided for comparison of the *Quem quaeritis* melody (as found in the *Officium sepulchri*) with the *Quis revolvet, Ad insurgentibus*, and *Iam Christus astra ascenderat* of the liturgy. All these melodies have similar melodic contours and pitches. Other musical transcriptions from the plays are provided as illustration. Unfortunately, these usually consist of only a few phrases or notes and do not significantly improve upon Coussemaker's transcriptions.

29.   **Cargill**, Oscar. *Drama and liturgy.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Pp. ix, 151. (Columbia University studies in English and comparative literature)

It seems that Cargill's main reason for writing this work is to refute the earlier theories of Charles Magnin and Marius Sepet. The "liturgical theory" developed by these writers in the nineteenth century was based on the idea that modern drama, through the mystery plays, evolved from the Easter service of the Church in the ninth and tenth centuries. Cargill, on the other hand, believes that the use of tropes developed as a poetic movement, and grew as a lyrical rather than a dramatic expression. Eventually, such tropes as the

Quem quaeritis of the Easter service were corrupted by the new rimed poetry of the troubadours and then by the secular drama. Evidence given for this theory includes the notable decline in the twelfth century of interest in the liturgy by the clergy, and the hiring of secular canons to continue the sung tradition. The famous passage from the *Regularis concordia* is given a different interpretation by Cargill; the actions mentioned could as easily be seen as an accompaniment to a lyrical and religious emotion. The fact that the "three Marys" sing with their backs to the congregation, and in a language that few listeners could understand in a dramatic sense, lends some credence to Cargill's theory.

In the fourth chapter, Cargill attempts to compare the *Quem quaeritis* trope with the resurrection scene from the Chester cycle. As expected, by both the author and the reader, few relationships can be found. Discussion of the *Jeu d'Adam* and the mystery cycles revolves around a similar search for any connection at all between the two widely differing genres. An appendix mentions the "parent cycle" theories of various other scholars, which is an attempt to link the liturgical drama and the mystery plays through a now lost "parent" play cycle. This theory is dismissed fairly quickly by Cargill.

The bibliography consists of only the more important sources cited in footnotes to the text.

30. **Niedner,** Helmut. *Die deutschen und französischen Osterspiele bis zum 15. Jahrhundert: ein Beitrag zur Theatergeschichte des Mittelalters.* Berlin: Ebering, 1932. (Germanische Studien, Heft 119) Pp. 186.

This work attempts to find the spirit of the medieval drama and to reconstruct its artistic character. The lack of previous research into the drama of the very early Middle Ages is emphasized, although the author spends the major portion of his time speaking of the later developments of the Easter drama. References are made to the works of Sepet, Milchsack, Lange, Creizenach, Coussemaker, Cohen, and others. There is no musical discussion. Chapters are as follows:

       I.   Das lateinische und halblateinische Osterdrama.
      II. Das halbliturgische Drama.
    III. Die ersten volkstümlichen Osterspiele.
    IV. Vorläufer der "Blütezeit."
     V. Osterspiele und Passionen des 15. Jahrhunderts.

A six-page bibliography completes the work.

31. **Stallbaumer,** Virgil R. "The Easter trope: the major source of English drama," *Catholic world* 134 (March 1932) pp. 652-659.

This work, intended for the general autience, is often misleading in its simplistic presentation of the origins of the Easter drama. Early in the article the author credits the origins to the clerics' "instinctive love of spectacle, the mimic urge, and the close connection between seeing and realizing"

(page 654). Stallbaumer considers the Mass to be drama, but modifies this
view somewhat when he turns to a discussion of the Easter play in the
Matins service. A brief discussion of the Christmas plays, other Biblical
plays, and the introduction of the vernacular complete this account.

32. **Young, Karl.** *The drama of the medieval Church.* Oxford: Clarendon Press,
     1933. 1962 ed. from corrected sheets. Two volumes. (Pp. xxii, 708: Pp. 611)

With the publication of this work in 1933, Karl Young provided scholars
with an unsurpassed collection of texts and critical commentary on the litur-
gical drama of the Middle Ages. The work has not been superseded. Young's
commentary and analysis have been subject to criticism for many reasons, to
be outlined below, but the work remains an essential starting point for any
student in the field.

Young's approach is descriptive rather than historical. He arranges the
texts in their

> logical order of development, from the simplest to the most complex
> and elaborate. Presumably this is, in general, also the *historical* order,
> but from the dates of the manuscripts a demonstration is usually
> impossible (page ix)

Later writers have attempted to show a historical ordering by date of manu-
script (see Hardison no. 84) but even this is a very unsatisfactory procedure as
manuscript dates more often than not have little relation to the actual origin
of the play text.

A crucial omission in the study is the lack of discussion of music. Young
regrets his lack of knowledge in this field and hopes that later scholars will
fill the gaps of his commentary with musicological evidence. (See the articles
by Smoldon.)

The texts of the plays have been edited from primary sources, and various
published editions of the texts are compared and noted for any discrepancies
that arise. Editorial changes are enclosed in pointed brackets, but Young states
that he has only corrected some of the most flagrant errors of the scribes,
allowing the "original flavour" to be retained.

In his introduction, Young briefly reviews evidence for pagan influences
on the drama of the medieval Church, and concludes that the liturgical drama
advanced slowly on its own path, generally ignoring the more established and
often more successful folk dramas. This lack of direct contact gives the
scholar a unique opportunity to isolate a literary form and observe its develop-
ment over several centuries. (See Hunningher no. 60 who disagrees.)

The first two chapters provide background in the Roman Mass and the
Canonical Office. A major error is Young's assumption that the Mass of the
ninth century was essentially the same as his own service (see no. 84). Ad-
ditions made to the Mass in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are outlined,
most of them of a ceremonial nature.

"The dramatic element in the liturgy," the subject of Chapter 3, contains
some of the author's most controversial theories. Young defines an essential
element of true drama as impersonation and refers to several medieval writers
who established the tradition that the celebrant of the Mass does indeed

impersonate Christ. Several views are debated, with Young concluding, however, that the Mass never was real drama and did not directly give rise to drama. Dramatic *elements* are present, however, in both the Mass and the Office.

Several ceremonies that stop just short of real drama are discussed, including the *Depositio*, the *Elevatio*, and the *Harrowing of Hell*. Tropes are the subject of the next chapter, along with the familiar story of Notker of St. Gall who may have been one of the first composers of tropes. Finally comes the discussion of the "Dramatic tropes of the Mass of Easter" (Chapter 7) which firmly established the tradition among later scholars that the drama originated from this trope, the *Quem quaeritis*. Facsimile reproductions of both the St. Gall and the St. Martial *Quem quaeritis* tropes are provided (St. Gall, Stiftsbibl. MS 484, p. 111; and Paris, Bib. Nat., MS lat. 1240, fol. 30^v). Although the author of the *Quem quaritis* cannot be identified, the piece must be viewed as an original composition which fused passages from the vulgate and the liturgy. The trope did not become drama while it was attached to the Mass, and only when it was moved to Easter Matins was its full dramatic potential realized. In this position, the trope becomes known as the *Visitatio sepulchri*. There is no indication that any other office but Matins was ever seriously considered for this trope (see Hardison no. 84 who is in strong disagreement). Impersonation in the *Visitatio sepulchri* became customary as early as the last half of the tenth century, according to rubrics found in various versions.

The next five chapters present the texts of the astonishing number of extant versions of the *Visitatio sepulchri*, classified into the three types first used by Lange (no. 7) and later by Chambers (no. 15). The first stage consists of a single scene with the Marys and the angel(s). The second stage includes the apostles Peter and John, and the third provides a role for the risen Christ. Young emphasizes that plays from the first stage were in use for over five hundred years, and are found in manuscripts from the second half of the tenth century through printed books of the sixteenth century. Third stage plays, however, probably did not develop until the end of the twelfth century.

A considerable increase in length and scale occurs in four Easter plays of the thirteenth century, and these are discussed in the chapter entitled "The *Ludus paschalis.*" Plays from Klosterneuberg and Origny-Sainte-Benoîte have no evidence of attachment to the liturgy, but those from Tours and Benediktbeuern were very likely still performed as part of the service. Other plays of the Easter season (Journey to Emmaus, Ascension, Pentecost) and Passion plays are the subject of the last two chapters of the first volume.

Volume II is a similar arrangement of commentary on and texts of plays associated with the nativity and other Biblical stories. A lengthy "Conclusion" touches only briefly on aspects of staging, costuming, properties, and the status of the actors. There was a natural transference of the religious plays from their original ecclesiastical auspices to the secular realm as the desire for broader freedom in literary and theatrical expression and a desire to include a comic element was felt. Young sees no direct relationship between the magnificent cycle plays of the late Middle Ages and the simpler plays performed in the Church. Any similarities must have been accidental or

incidental. All the religious plays of the Middle Ages drew upon common sources from the Scripture, legend, and the liturgy, but each tradition had significant variations in form, themes, and method of performance.

Extensive notes to the individual chapters provide more texts, extensive bibliographies, and further commentary. The appendices do the same, including texts to the Shrewsbury Fragments and extracts from the writings of reformers.

The "List of books" (pages 544-562) is quite extensive but is meant only to elucidate the abbreviated references in the text. The index is excellent, providing access by title of play, location and name of manuscript, and other names and subjects. Adequate cross-references and subdivisions make this index extremely helpful in every respect.

<p style="text-align:center">*   *   *</p>

32a. For other articles by Karl Young, see his bibliography to *The drama of the medieval Church*, volume II, pages 561-562. Of particular interest here is his article, "The origin of the Easter play," in *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America*, 29:1 (1914) pp. 1-58.

33. **Sievers**, Heinrich. *Die lateinischen liturgischen Osterspiele der Stiftskirche St. Blasien zu Braunschweig: eine musikwissenschaftliche Untersuchung . . .* Wolfenbüttel: Kallmeyer, 1936. Pp. 70. (Veröffentlichungen der Niedersächsischen Musikgesellschaft, Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, 2)

The author gives a musicological account of the manuscript called "Braunschweig IV" which, along with three other manuscripts (I, II, and III), was discovered in the Landeshauptarchiv in Wolfenbüttel in 1932. All four manuscripts contain *Visitatio sepulchri* plays. Manuscript IV is the lengthiest and most detailed in content, and is important as the only complete North German Latin Easter play extant at the time.

Sievers summarizes recent musicological studies on the medieval drama, citing in particular the works of Coussemaker (no. 2), Schubiger (no. 3), and Otto Ursprung (private manuscript). Karl Lange (no. 7) had evidently discovered the first three Braunschweig manuscripts earlier and had reproduced some of their texts but none of the music. The notation of these manuscripts is in what Sievers calls "Frühgotische Häkchenneumen."

Braunschweig IV is studied in great detail, scene by scene, with musical transcriptions scattered throughout. Comparisons are made with sections of the Orléans manuscript transcribed by Coussemaker. The musical analysis is quite detailed.

34. **Wright**, Edith, A. *The dissemination of the liturgical drama in France.* Ph.D. thesis. Bryn Mawr, Penn.: Bryn Mawr College, 1936. Pp. 201. (published)

This dissertation is one of the few works which discusses the medieval cathedrals and monasteries from a geographical and ecclesiastical point of view. The author attempts to describe the relationships which existed between

individual churches, based either on their proximity or on ecclesiastical ties. Nearly all of France is included, with the exception of Lorraine and Burgundy which were part of the Holy Roman Empire during the Middle Ages. Mention is made of the assistance of Grace Frank, who was one of the author's professors at Bryn Mawr (see no. 55).

A brief history of monastic orders in France, and of their reforms, emphasizes that the Benedictine order was the only one to encourage the development of the drama. Cluniac monasteries opposed the use of drama in their services, although the Cluniac monasteries of St. Martial and Fleury were eventually to become important centers for the drama. Pilgrims, travelers, new abbots and high clergy who moved to other regions spread the idea of drama throughout France. Later, manuscripts and printed books aided its dissemination.

Each province of France is discussed separately. Bourges, which includes St. Martial, is considered by Wright to be the "cradle of liturgical drama in France." There is, however, no extant text of a liturgical play from St. Martial after the twelfth century. The inclusion of the Spanish monastery of Ripoll in the French province of Narbonne gives support to Richard B. Donovan's thesis (no. 61) that this monastery shared equally in influence on the early drama with other French centers. Rouen province is noted for its dominance over areas conquered by the Normans: England, Ireland, and Sicily. The plays from these regions form a more homogeneous group than those from any other province. The province of Sens, which included the bishopric of Orléans, however, contains the most important group of liturgical plays. These are preserved in the Fleury playbook. A detailed comparison of these plays with those from the surrounding provinces concludes the discussion.

Appendix A contains a list of all known French liturgical plays, arranged alphabetically by cathedral or monastery. The name of the manuscript is included and the existence of published texts indicated. Two other appendices contain the texts to the Tours *Ludus paschalis* and the *Elevatio hostiae* and *Visitatio sepulchri* from Origny-Sainte-Benoîte. Mention is made of MS 78 B 16 from Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen in Berlin. (See the article by Marichal, no. 48, for further discussion of this manuscript.) The bibliography contains only those works cited in the text. There is an index to plays and ceremonies, arranged alphabetically by title and then by location.

35. Hartl, Eduard. *Das Drama des Mittelalters: sein Wesen und sein Werden.* Leipzig: Philipp Reclam, 1937-1942. Six volumes.

　　Vol. I: *Osterfeiern: Mit Einleitungen und Anmerkungen auf Grund der Handschriften.* 1937. Pp. 266.

　　Vol. II: *Osterspiele: Mit Einleitungen und Anmerkungen auf Grund der Handschriften.* 1937. Pp. 318.

These two volumes of Hartl's large six-volume work cover the dramas of the Easter service in great detail. Although coming after Karl Young's exhaustive study (no. 32), Hartl's different method of presentation proves

most helpful. After two chapters on the origins of the Easter ceremony and of the drama, and various stages of its development, the author discusses the stage, the audience, the actor, the stage manager, and the action, each in a separate chapter. Texts to Easter ceremonies from the following locations conclude the first volume: St. Gall, Bamberg, Engelberg, Gotha, Einsiedeln, Prague, Eichstätt, Vienna, Halberstadt, Klosterneuberg, Salzburg, and Innsbruck.

The second volume is devoted to the texts, with some commentary, of the Easter plays of Prague, Engelberg, Klosterneuberg, Trier, Vienna, Innsbruck, Erlau, and Muri.

36. **Vito**, Maria Sofia de. *L'origine del dramma liturgico.* Milano: Società Anonima Editrice Dante Alighieri, 1938. (Biblioteca della "Rassegna," XXI). Pp. 178.

The major portion of this work deals with the origins of the drama in France and in the Roman liturgy. To a great extent Vito relies on the previous studies of such eminent figures as Coussemaker, Gautier, Lange, Magnin, Sepet, and Young for this discussion. But another important part of the author's thesis is the presence of an early and very influential theater in Byzantium. This somewhat unusual theory, backed by the works of Costantino Sathas, Giorgio La Piano, and Vénétia Cottas, includes a discussion of the Codice Vaticano-Palatino, with its fairly late Easter plays, and the Ambrosian liturgy. The idea of a slow, but spontaneous, evolution of the medieval drama—comparable to that which occurred in ancient Greece—is emphasized throughout the work.

37. **Reese**, Gustave. *Music in the Middle Ages: with an introduction on the music of ancient times.* New York: Norton, 1940. Pp. xvii, 502. "Liturgical drama," pp. 193-197.

This is a brief but very good overview of the key issues in the study of liturgical drama. Reese begins by elaborating upon a suggestion made by Egon Wellesz (*Die byzantinische und orientalische Kirchenmusik*) that the first impulse leading to drama's development was the antiphonal chanting of the early Syrians. Next follows the familiar passage from the *Regularis concordia* which deals with the production of the Easter drama. Reese prefers the term "ecclesiastical drama" because the drama developed directly from tropes *to* the liturgy. Plays other than the Easter ones are discussed briefly, including the Rachel play. The wide range of musical form in the plays is emphasized, from loosely constructed recitative to closed forms similar to that of the hymns.

38. **Marshall**, Mary H. "The dramatic tradition established by the liturgical plays," *PMLA* 56 (December 1941) pp. 962-991.

The author's emphasis is on the persistence of the liturgical dramatic tradition within the late vernacular plays of the Middle Ages. Marshall discusses the Christmas and Easter plays in some detail, providing constant comparisons with the earliest dramas of each group and with later plays.

Although Karl Young's massive compendium of texts greatly aided in solidifying the theory of the origins of the drama, Marshall contends that the dramatic traditions that sprang from the earliest plays must still be defined and distinguished from later traditions. The author believes that Cargill's attacks on the basic theory of the origins of the drama in the liturgy (see no. 29) are too insubstantial to be at all convincing.

Most of the details of the liturgical dramas grew out of musical sources rather than from narrative accounts such as the Gospels. The *Quem quaeritis* trope and its influence on later vernacular drama is outlined in detail. Texts of the Ste.-Geneviève and Didot Passion plays are given in their full French originals and comparisons are made with the earlier Latin text. The merchant scene from the Easter play, the scene of the three Marys at the tomb, the *Peregrinus* (Journey to Emmaus) scene, and the Passion plays are each studied for their origins in the liturgical plays. In conclusion, Marshall states:

> It is clear that the tradition of the liturgical drama established
> certain basic modes of dramatizing the materials of sacred history
> which persisted through the course of mediaeval religious drama.

> —page 991

39. **Pascal,** R. "On the origins of the liturgical drama in the Middle Ages," *Modern language review* 36 (1941) pp. 369-387.

The author questions the traditional views held by Young (no. 32), Chambers (no. 15), and Creizenach (no. 9) that pagan rites had no influence on the origins of the liturgical drama. Pascal believes that recent writers have overdone their rebuttal of this established view, and attempts a less drastic theory of the grafting of certain aspects of pagan and folk culture to the liturgical service of the Church.

Pascal outlines the conditions of Germanic society from before the influence of Christianity through the period of the origins of the drama. The early actors within the Church were certainly not primitive people, but they were influenced by their cultural heritage.

The earliest *Visitatio sepulchri* was a ritual and a mystery. It was "esoteric, metaphysical, priestly" and thus outside human earthly terms and public form. The plays at their earliest stages were performed for the actors, not the congregation. It wasn't until the thirteenth century that plays began to relate more and more to the public. The origins of the drama may have had some basis in a primitive form of initiation rite, in which an individualistic and tribal purification took place. Although Pascal realizes this may be stretching things a bit, he believes strongly that there was a fusion of early Germanic society with the Roman Church and that this fusion was evident even as late as the ninth century when the first drama developed.

Pascal does not discuss the music of the plays. Certain critics of his theories (see Henshaw no. 66) are not convinced by his arguments.

40.   **Shull**, Virginia M. *Stagecraft in mediaeval English drama.* Ph.D. thesis. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, 1941. Two volumes. Available from Yale University.

The title of this work is ambiguous for the author deals with secular (i.e., non-liturgical) drama only. The religious cycle plays from Towneley, Coventry, Lincoln, etc., are discussed, along with various other pageants.

The second volume (titled "Appendix B") contains reproductions of numerous plates from "English dramatic documents"—both primary and secondary sources—and of medieval English art.

41.   **Ursprung**, Otto. *Dramen mit Musik im Mittelalter.* Unpublished manuscript. Handschriftenabteilung der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, München. Ana 343.

Only the table of contents of this unpublished work was reviewed. The three volumes of typed manuscript (over seven hundred pages) discuss the drama from its liturgical origins through the secular drama of the Middle Ages.

The first volume discusses the transformation of the Easter ceremony into the first drama and its subsequent development. The Christmas plays and their development are also discussed, divided into Shepherd plays, Magi plays, and Rachel plays. Other chapters cover the *Peregrinus* drama (Journey to Emmaus), the liturgical drama in Switzerland, and the Zehnsilberspiel from Klosterneuberg and Benediktbeuern. Folk verse as it appeared in the later liturgical drama at Trier and Wolfenbüttel completes the first volume.

Volume II covers the following Latin religious "Liederspiel": Prophet plays, *Rachel, Sponsus,* plays by Hilarius and Hrotsvitha, plays by Hildegard von Bingen, Antichrist plays, Salomon fragment, the Benediktbeuern Christmas play, and the *Ludus de Rege Aegypti.* The final volume covers the secular drama of the middle classes and French religious and secular drama.

This manuscript, which was never published, consists of material compiled before World War II. Unfortunately, much of the discussion is now out of date.

42.   **Woerdeman**, Jude. "The source of the Easter play," *Orate Fratres* 20 (1945/46) pp. 262-272.

In this article the author attempts to explain the transfer of the *Quem quaeritis* trope from the Easter Mass to Matins where it developed into the earliest religious drama of the Middle Ages. Karl Young (no. 32) had previously summarized all the possible reasons for this transfer and concluded that it was due to a "general literary tendency" to seek more dramatic freedom. Woerdeman considers this reason too narrow, and instead attributes the transfer to the substitution of the Roman Office for the monastic Office. This occured in 817 on the continent and the mid-tenth century in England. The Roman Matins Office for Easter had no Gospel reading such as the monks were used to, and thus the *Visitatio sepulchri* was developed from the *Quem quaeritis* ceremony in order to fill this gap.

Woerdeman briefly outlines the differences between the Roman Office and the monastic Office of St. Benedict, and then discusses the *Visitatio sepulchri* from the *Regularis concordia* (see no. 54). The complete text is given, and the heavy reliance on the earlier Easter trope is obvious. In conclusion, the author surmises that the *Visitatio sepulchri* of the *Regularis concordia* was a "conscious substitution for the eliminated Gospel lesson" and that although literary and dramatic reasons could have influenced the transfer, the determining cause was the changing of the entire Easter liturgy.

43.   **Smoldon**, William Lawrence, 1892-1974.

William L. Smoldon is one of the major figures in the field of the early liturgical drama. His use of the term "music-drama" for the plays emphasized his belief that the study of the music is essential for a complete understanding of this drama. Smoldon compared the plays with opera on several occasions.

An important element of Smoldon's articles is the abundance of musical transcriptions. Some of this music was transcribed for the first time, and all transcriptions were based on Smoldon's private collection of photographs of all the known medieval manuscripts that contained liturgical plays.

The publication of performance editions of some of the plays led Smoldon to question whether instrumental accompaniment should be added to the single vocal line of the manuscripts. Several of his articles discuss the theories of Edmund Bowles in this matter (see no. 65, no. 70). Working with Noah Greenberg and the New York Pro Musica, Smoldon was influenced to add a few instrumental parts, in moderation, to his performing editions of certain plays.

The articles included here (no. 44, 56, 57, 79, 80, 86, 92, 103b) reflect Smoldon's continued activity and interest in the field over a period of twenty-five years. The dedication in 1974 of an issue of *Comparative drama* to William Smoldon indicates the esteem with which he was held by his colleagues in the literary world.

*   *   *

William L. Smoldon is editor or co-editor of the following performing editions of liturgical plays:

Play of Daniel: a mediaeval liturgical drama. Transcribed and edited by W. L. Smoldon. London: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1960.

Play of Herod: a twelfth-century musical drama. Edited by Noah Greenberg and William L. Smoldon. Performing edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965. "Translated into modern musical notation and translated into English by William L. Smoldon; edited for modern performance by Noah Greenberg."

Peregrinus (The Stranger): an acting version of a 14th-century liturgical music-drama. Transcribed and translated by W. L. Smoldon with suggested accompaniment for chamber organ and chime bells. London: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Planctus Mariae (The lament of Mary): an acting version of a 14th-century liturgical music-drama Transcribed and translated by W. L. Smoldon. For four soloists (SSCT) and mixed chorus, with suggested accompaniment for chamber organ and chime bells. London: Oxford University Press, 1965. Words, in Latin and English, also printed as text on p. vii-x.

Visitatio sepulchri: a twelfth century Easter music-drama. Transcribed and translated by W. L. Smoldon. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.

<center>*   *   *</center>

An issue of the journal *Comparative drama* was published in honor of William Smoldon—volume 8, number 1, Spring 1974. Articles from this festschrift included in the present bibliography are those by Clifford Davidson (no. 107a), C. Clifford Flanigan (no. 107b), Dunbar H. Ogden (no. 107c), and Sandro Sticca (no. 107d).

44.   **Smoldon**, William L. "The Easter sepulchre music-drama," *Music and letters* 27 (January 1946) Pp. 1-17.

This article emphasizes the presence of a "real music-drama" in Europe well before the date of the Norman conquest. Smoldon does not attempt to prove a specific place of origin for this drama, but agrees that it derived from the *Quem quaeritis* trope.

Smoldon transcribes for the first time such melodies as the St. Gall *Quem quaeritis* and discusses several other versions previously neglected (Madrid, Bibl. Nac., MS C132; "Winchester troper," Oxford, Bodl., MS 775, fol. 17r-17v). Certain melodies from the Fleury Easter play are analyzed, and some German and French Easter plays are found to be even more "complex" than those of Karl Young's "third stage."

44a.   **Smoldon**, William L. "Medieval music-drama," *Musical times* 94 (December 1953) pp. 557-560.

This is essentially a summary of the 1946 article. Brief mention is made of the Christmas drama and of other plays (St. Nicholas, Wise and foolish virgins, etc.)

45.   **Harmon**, Estelle B. Karchmer. *The origin and development of early liturgical drama.* M.A. thesis. Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1947. 84 leaves. Available from USC under the name "Karchmer."

The author outlines two problems for discussion: 1) to clarify the motivation for the Church's "killing" of theater, drama's revival, and the Church's final "scorning" of theater once more; 2) to trace the origin and development of the earliest forms of the liturgical drama. The study includes works from the sixth through the fifteenth centuries.

Chapter 2, "The decline of the classic theatre," cites evidence for the Church's early opposition to the drama, and its ultimate disappearance under this pressure. However, the source of modern drama is found in the Church and is attributed to the desire of the clerics to give "dramatic expression" to their religious feelings. The third chapter, "The trope," neglects any study of the music of this form and is essentially a compilation of views found in Chambers (no. 15) and Young (no. 32) regarding the development of the trope into drama. The chapter ends with a study of the sequence ("independent poems" which were detachable from the liturgy) and the Tours Easter play which combines *Quem quaeritis, Peregrinus,* and *Elevatio* elements.

The next two chapters discuss the Passion play as the final development of the Easter drama, the mystery and miracle plays, and Cargill's theory (see no. 29) that this secularization was due to contamination of the liturgy by outside forces. Harmon disagrees, using as evidence the fact that there is no record of secular musicians (minstrels) being actors or mimetic artists.

In summary (Chapter 6), the author emphasizes the "natural relationship between religious and theatrical inspiration." Dialogue and mimetic action were present quite early in the Church liturgy, and thus it was natural for the theater to grow out of this source. Harmon further states that the liturgical drama was the direct source of the mystery and miracle plays.

An annotated bibliography completes the volume (pages 77-80) and consists of general histories of the theater as well as a few more specific works (Cargill no. 29, Chambers no. 15, Young no. 32).

This work, although containing no discussion of the music of the plays, is an adequate survey of views on the drama in 1947. Many of the theories presented have since been superceded or contradicted, primarily by Smoldon's study of the music of the liturgical drama (see no. 44, 56, 80, 86, 92, 103b).

46. **Albert,** Anna Amalie. "Das Nachleben des Minnesangs im liturgischen Spiel," *Musikforschung* 1 (1948) pp. 95-105.

This article discusses the later liturgical plays and provides strong evidence for secular influences on the music of the drama. The Bordesholmer *Planctus Mariae* is studied in detail with numerous musical examples provided, and comparisons are made with certain "minnesang" pieces by such composers as Oswald von Wolkenstein, the monk Hermann, and Burk Mangolts. Portions of the Bordesholmer *Planctus* are shown to be markedly similar to these songs in both contour and pitch. The Wolfenbüttel *Marienklage* is also presented for comparison.

It is obvious that in the later Middle Ages there was interaction between the secular and the clerical song writers. Whether this influence was mutual or not, and whether the melodies studied had a common origin in a sacred or secular piece cannot be determined.

47. **Lipphardt,** Walther. *Die Weisen der lateinischen Osterspiele des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1948. Pp. 40. (Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Nr. 2)

Walther Lipphardt is one of the first musicologists of this century to have tackled the question of the origins of the medieval drama. In this brief monograph he mentions that he must proceed cautiously as very little research of a musicological nature has been attempted previously. J. Schwietering (no. 24) is mentioned as one of the few scholars to point out this need.

By 1948, several solutions to the question of the origins of the Latin Easter drama had been proposed. Wilhelm Meyer (no. 12), Karl Young, and Hennig Brinkmann (no. 27) opted for origins within the liturgy of the Church. In sharp contrast were the views of several other scholars (including R. Stumpfl) who looked to the folk arts and primitive ceremonies for their origins. Lipphardt, from musical evidence, finds definite liturgical roots for the drama, but also some primitive and folk characteristics. The "Zehnsilbenspiel" for Easter is studied both for its rhyming text and for its metered music. The prose laments of Mary Magdalen from the twelfth century are examined and contrasted with later verse forms. The use of modal rhythms in the Dublin Easter plays and in several German strophic songs from plays are discussed. The music is included, often in chart form, for a comparison of lines.

This important musicological study proved a starting point for later research by Lipphardt and others. One wishes, however, that more pieces had been dealt with in this very brief discussion. (See no. 72 for the author's major article.)

48. **Marichal**, Robert. "Les drames liturgiques du 'Livre de la Trésorie' d'Origny-Sainte-Benoîte," *Mélanges d'histoire du théâtre du moyen-âge et de la Renaissance offerts à Gustave Cohen*. Paris: Nizet, 1950. Pp. 37-45.

This short article provides a detailed account of the contents of MS 86 at the Bibliothèque de Saint-Quentin, originally from the abbey at Origny-Sainte-Benoît. The manuscript, finished in the fifteenth century, contains both a *Visitatio sepulchri* and a *Ludus paschalis* play. At the time of writing, the author hoped to compare this manuscript with MS 78 B 16 in the Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen in Berlin. Unfortunately, the manuscript disappeared after the war. Using secondary sources, however (mainly Edith A. Wright's version of the text to MS 78 B 16 which appears in the appendix to her 1936 dissertation, no. 34), Marichal succeeds in bringing out important comparisons. The Berlin manuscript was written in the French vernacular and described the ceremonies and drama performed at Origny-Sainte-Benoît (specifically, those plays in the Saint-Quentin manuscript). Its detailed account of these ceremonies may be compared to that given in the *Regularis concordia* (no. 54) in importance.

49. **Marshall**, Mary H. "Aesthetic values of the liturgical drama," *English Institute essays*. Edited by Alan S. Downer. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. Pp. 89-115. Article also in *Medieval English drama* (no. 104) pp. 28-43.

This is an attempt to refute the notion that only a handful of medieval plays are worthy of the label "dramatic art." Instead, the author hopes to discover the value of the genre as a whole, and the great variety within the

plays. The liturgical plays are seldom performed today, and the cultural differences are so great that for us a much better understanding of the plays is necessary for an appreciation of their artistic merits. Unfortunately, the author states: "The essential element of music in these plays I must unhappily exclude from consideration, in blank ignorance," (page 92).

The works of Schwietering (no. 24) and Brinkmann (no. 27) are mentioned as the only thoroughgoing attempts to "analyze the emotional genesis and function of the *Visitatio sepulchri*" The early Easter plays were a public release of joy, after the long solemn season of Lent. The symbolism and lyricism of the drama added to the emotional effect of the Easter plays, most evident in the use of props, costume, and gesture. The musical pieces surrounding the action of the plays extended the frame of reference, and the significance of the simple story represented a truly dramatic technique.

In conclusion, Marshall discusses the symbolism of the *Slaughter of the Innocents* play from the thirteenth century Fleury playbook. The intense emotion and symbolism of this play certainly emphasize the points made earlier in the article.

50. **Schuler**, Ernst August. *Die Musik der Osterfeiern, Osterspiele und Passionen des Mittelalters.* Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1951. Pp. 400.

This catalog of song texts covers virtually every medieval play based on the Easter ceremony and Christ's Passion. Its thoroughness and importance to the musicologist are attested to by the fact that this is the only work included in Smoldon's bibliography to his *Grove's dictionary* article (no. 56). Schuler agrees with Smoldon that much too often the music of these plays is forgotten. Therefore, he has attempted to list, line by line, all primary and secondary sources for the music.

In a lengthy introduction, Schuler reviews the development of the early medieval drama and its music, and charts the earliest appearances of certain important scenes within the Easter play cycle. He contrasts the growth of "dramatic song" with what he calls "lyric-musical song" and "epic song," with constant references to the main body of his work.

The main part of the work is basically an alphabetical arrangement of song lines. Those lines which are in some way dependent upon another are interfiled with the basic line. The two indexes to the text are essential in providing access (1) by manuscript and (2) by the first word of each and every line. This second index is subdivided by language: Latin, German, French, and Czech. An explanation of the abbreviations used in each entry and of the cross-referencing system is found on page four of the preface. The final entries also include songs from the synagogue or school in Jerusalem, songs "deren Text nicht mehr bestimmbar ist," and references to instrumental music.

The appendix contains full information on the manuscripts indexed, giving their locations, shelf number, date, and published versions. Another appendix lists full information on the secondary sources cited. A third appendix lists abbreviations used.

This is a masterful undertaking, and one of the few such indexes in the field. One wishes that a proposed volume of music referred to in the introduction had materialized, but this task must evidently be left for another researcher.

51. **Schmid**, Toni. "Das Osterspiel in Schweden: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des 'Quem queritis' im Mittelalter," *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift*, årg. 52, (häftet) 1 (1952) pp. 1-14.

There are six extant versions of the Easter play from Sweden. They appear in a gradual, three ordinaries, an antiphonary, and a breviary. The manuscripts are located at the Uppsala Universitetsbiblioteket (MS C 428) and the Stockholm Kammararkivet (Breviary 285, Ordinary 3, Antiphonary 132, Sequentionarium 37). A chart of all six texts, arranged side by side in columns, makes comparison quite easy. From a study of the texts Schmid arrives at the following observations: the *Quem quaeritis* as it appears in these texts is of a later period than the early St. Gall trope; strong French influence is seen, particularly in the apostles' race to the sepulchre scene. The importance of the Vadstena monastery and the Linköping cathedral is stressed, as they seem to be the major links between Sweden and the rest of the continent.

52. **Corbin**, Solange. "Le manuscrit 201 d'Orléans: drames liturgiques dits de Fleury," *Romania* 74 (1953) pp. 1-43.

The famous "Fleury playbook" is discussed, a manuscript which is generally believed to have been written at the monastery of St.-Benoît-sur-Loire. Corbin, however, maintains that this is not the case and that the manuscript originated at the abbey of Saint-Lomer-de-Blois.

A detailed description of the manuscript is followed by a bibliography of the works of scholars who have studied it. Facsimiles in publications are noted. The manuscript is compared with other manuscripts of the Saint-Benoît monastery, as well as some from Saint-Lomer-de-Blois. The evidence found in the *Regularis concordia* for dramatic activity at Fleury is reviewed.

Evidence for the manuscript's origins at another monastery is suggested as an alternative to problems discussed in assigning it to Fleury. Chief evidence comes from the mention of Saint Lomer in the playbook, and of the great honor he is accorded elsewhere. Corbin points out that at the time this compilation of plays was written St. Lomer was much more highly regarded at other monasteries than at St.-Benoît. Further evidence for Miss Corbin's theory comes from paleographic studies of the manuscript.

This is a very convincing discussion, and the research is thorough and well presented. See no. 72 and no. 82 for support to Corbin's theories.

53   **Smits van Waesberghe**, Joseph. "A Dutch Easter play," *Musica disciplina* 7 (1953) pp. 15-37.

The purpose of this article is to analyze and publish for the first time
two manuscripts containing an Easter play which were discovered in 1947
in the Royal Library of The Hague. The manuscripts are: Maastricht, MS
76.F.3, late twelfth or early thirteenth century; and Egmond, MS 71.J.70,
fifteenth century. Each manuscript is discussed in detail with regard to its
physical description, its origins, and type of musical notation. The two texts
are compared with similar ones found in Young (no. 32) with particular
attention paid to the Fleury and Tours Easter plays. The Dutch Easter play,
as the author calls it, has many unique sections throughout, including a
Peregrinus scene which appears in connection with no other *Visitatio sepulchri*
play of the period.

The play leaves an impression of a remarkable dramatic talent at work,
and generally of an original work In an attempt to link this play with others
of the continent, Smits van Waesberghe discusses the evidence that St. Peter's
abbey near Ghent is the cradle of the liturgical drama (see also Lipphardt
no. 72). If this hypothesis were substantiated by further texts, it would provide
a link between the Dutch plays and the Tours text in Normandy.

Following this analysis are a facsimile of fol. 14r from MS 76.F.3, and
seven pages of transcription. Both text and music are transcribed, with dis-
crepancies between the manuscripts noted.

* * *

53a.   A performance edition of this play was edited and "adapted for modern
performance" by Wilbur W. Hollman under the title *The Maastricht Easter play*
(New York: G. Schirmer, c1966).

53b.   See also Smits van Waesberghe's *Muziek en drama in de middeleeuwen.*
Amsterdam: Bigot & van Rossum, 1942. Pp. vii, 112. (Caeciliareeks, 9)

54.   **Symons**, Thomas. *The monastic agreement of the monks and nuns of the
English nation: Regularis concordia.* Translated from the Latin with introduction
and notes by Dom Thomas Symons. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1953.
Pp. lix, 146.

The tenth century *Regularis concordia* document from England is a primary
source in the study of the origins of the drama in England and on the continent.
Much controversy has surrounded the "Monastic agreement," both as to its
authorship and to its exact dating. The passage concerning the Easter Office
appears here on pages 49-51 of the text (Latin original faces the English
translation of opposite pages). Among the writers who have debated the exact
meaning of this passage are George Bryan (no. 100), Cargill (no. 29), Chambers
(no. 15), and Young (no. 32). Nearly all the scholars who have researched
the origins of the liturgical drama have strong opinions about this passage, the
earliest and only descriptive account of the Easter drama outside the rubrics
of the play texts themselves.

Symons adds over fifty pages of introduction to his edition of the manuscripts.
A brief history of monastic reform in England in the tenth century is given, as

well as the influences on the final "Agreement" that resulted in the *Regularis*. Influences from Fleury and Ghent represent two great brances of tenth century reformed monasticism in Europe. Drama is not mentioned in the introduction.

Indices to the introductory material as well as to liturgical forms conclude the volume.

55. **Frank**, Grace. *The medieval French drama*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954, 1960. Pp. x, 296.

Grace Frank relies heavily on the earlier work of Karl Young (no. 32), but focuses on those plays produced in France. She admits that an evolutionary view of the development of the drama may not represent the original order of events. A history of tropes and of the *Quem quaeritis* trope in particular precedes a discussion of the fully developed Easter play in France. Two texts are considered of primary importance, one from Tours of the thirteenth century, and the other from Origny-Ste.-Benoît. The *Peregrinus* play is viewed as "clearly an extension forward of the *Visitatio*" (page 28). The Christmas play provided much more scope for dramatic contrasts than the Easter play. "Solemnity and reverence, stylized speech and gesture, characterize practically all of the Easter plays." (page 30)

Throughout the discussion of the liturgical drama in France, the author repeats the evidence for the origins of medieval drama in the liturgy of the Church. It is probable that the Easter and Christmas plays originated in France, very possibly at St. Martial of Limoges. Staging and costuming are discussed in detail, as they became very elaborate and directions very exact in later centuries.

The bulk of the volume discusses the transitional plays and the vernacular (miracle, Passion, etc.) plays of the late Middle Ages. Comedy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries concludes the study. In the Epilogue, Frank restates that the Church played the most vital role in the development of the drama of the Middle Ages.

The "List of Books" is quite thorough for the drama in France, and consists of works cited in the text. There is an index as well.

56. **Smoldon**, William L. "Liturgical music drama," *Grove's dictionary of music and musicians,* fifth ed. London: Macmillan, 1954. Volume 5, pp. 317-343.

The origin and development of the liturgical drama is traced by means of several Easter plays. St. Martial is favored as the home of the *Quem quaeritis* trope, but Smoldon admits that the evidence is slight. The earliest surviving example of true drama is the Easter play from the Winchester troper. Later developments in the drama were influenced by the goliards, especially by their use of versification. This led to a "loss" in the dramatic and musical aspects, and eventually resulted in the unusual "Zehnsilbenspiel" of twelfth and thirteenth century Germany. Among the Easter play manuscripts discussed are those from Ripoll (Vich, Museo, MS 111), Cividale (Museo Archeologico, MS C.I.), Klosterneuburg (Stifftsbibl., MS 574), Origny-Sainte-Benoît (Sainte-Quentin, Bibl. de la Ville, MS 86) and Tours (Bibl. de la Ville, MS 927).

The rest of this article (and the majority of it) deals with other liturgical plays. Transcriptions and detailed notes cover the plays called *Peregrinus* (Journey to

Emmaus), Passion, Shepherds at the Manger, Magi, Massacre of the Innocents, Procession of the Prophets, Christmas, dramas of the Virgin Mary, legends of St. Nicholas, Last Judgment, and New and Old Testament dramas.

As a concluding remark, Smoldon states: "It is a reasonable conjecture that the resources of both accompaniment and harmony were used far more often in these works than is at present believed." (page 343)

57. **Smoldon**, William L. "Liturgical drama," *Early medieval music up to 1300.* Ed. by Dom Anselm Hughes. London: Oxford University Press, 1955. (New Oxford history of music, 2) pp. 175-219.

This article is essentially a repeat of the *Grove's* article (no. 56), with the notable exception of the Easter play discussion. Several new ideas are presented, including the statement that Karl Young's simple-to-complex arrangement of these plays does not give an accurate picture of historical development. The St. Gall and St. Martial Easter plays are transcribed into plainsong and modern notation.

58. **Carter**, Joel Jackson. *English dramatic music to the 17th century, and its availability for modern productions.* Ph.D. thesis. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University, 1955. Pp. 565. Available from University Microfilms (Doctoral dissertation series no. 16016).

Carter's main purpose in studying English drama of the medieval and Renaissance periods is to instigate the revival of the plays for modern performance. His focus is on the music of the plays, and his aim is to "investigate, discern, and describe" the position of music in the drama of these periods. While this work is of most use to scholars of the Renaissance drama, some one hundred pages deal with medieval plays. In discussing the liturgical plays, Carter maintains that, as the dialogue became more and more consciously dramatic, the music became more dramatic and expressive as well. The author essentially agrees with Karl Young that this drama was a new creation and not the result of a steadily-evolving tradition within the Church.

A bibliography of plays available in modern editions is included.

59. **Craig**, Hardin. *English religious drama of the Middle Ages.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955. Pp. vii, 421.

The first fifty pages of this book deal specifically with the origins of the religious drama in England and on the continent. Craig admits his reliance on the works of Karl Young (no. 32) and E. K. Chambers (no. 15) (who in turn derived much of their work from Milchsack, Lange, Creizenach, Brooks, and others), and regrets that his book was published before Grace Frank's work (no. 55) was available.

In his introduction, Craig stresses that the liturgical plays did not "progress" from the simple to the complex, and that Young's picture of an evolutionary process in the Easter plays may be misleading. In agreement with Young,

however, Craig states that the medieval religious drama existed primarily to give "religious instruction, establish faith, and encourage piety" (page 15). The actual audience and actors of the plays are not discussed in detail however.

The first chapter, "Origin of the religious drama," begins with a very helpful description of the liturgical year and the Office Hours. The earliest *Quem quaeritis* trope appeared in a St. Gall manuscript, as an addition to the Easter Mass. Important changes in the Easter drama are traced through Winchester, Dublin, and London (Barking) plays. Craig refutes the theory of earlier writers that the liturgical drama proper never advanced beyond the depiction of the Resurrection and its immediately related events, and that the Passion play had a separate origin. A play from Benediktbeuern is shown to be an exception to that theory.

Further chapters of the book deal with the Christmas cycle of plays, plays of the patriarchs, of eschatology, and of the saints, the Chester cycle, the York and Wakefield plays, the Hegge plays, drama at Lincoln, and miracle and morality plays. A final chapter discusses "the Reformation, the Renaissance, and the medieval religious drama." A detailed bibliography of books and articles and an index complete the volume.

60. **Hunninger**, Benjamin. *The origin of the theatre: an essay*. New York: Hill & Wang, 1955, 1966. Pp. 114, 16 plates.

This essay attempts to look at the origins of the drama through the eyes of a practicing dramatist or actor. Earlier writers are criticized for having a strictly philologic or literary point of view, and ignoring artistic aspects. The traditional view that the drama originated in the Church is questioned, and Hunninger suggests that there really is a good case for its origins in pagan ritual and folk arts.

The author looks at primitive religions and cults to determine why and how drama grew out of them. He then compares these conclusions to see if similar ones can be found for Christianity and especially for the liturgy of the Middle Ages. Hunninger agrees with Karl Young (no. 32) that the Mass and the official liturgy are not drama, and makes a distinction between dialogue and drama and between portrayal and representation. Unlike the increasing symbolism of the Church ritual, the true dramatist must not lose sight of reality. The mimic portrayal of drama must be precise, and not a vague representation.

The origin of tropes is discussed, with an emphasis on the Easter *Quem quaeritis*. Hunninger finds this trope to be no more dramatic in nature than any other interpolation into the liturgy, but admits that its transformation when it was moved to Matins is no small matter. The intense joy and emotion experienced by the congregation at this time of the Church year reminds one immediately of the discussion on primitive drama in the first chapter. The question remains, however, why this trope, and this trope alone, achieved such a marked contrast to other interpolations into the liturgy. The answer lies in sources outside the medieval Church.

The popular mime, the actor of the Middle Ages, had an influence on the Church clerics, according to Hunningher, and this can be proven with several miniatures in a St. Martial troper (Bib. Nat., MS lat. 118) showing mimes acting, dancing, and playing instruments. (See Gamer, no. 83, for dispute of this evidence.) Dance processions of Easter and Christmas time were important festivals that did not have their origins in the Church. Pagan rituals were often connected with the burial of winter and the resurrection of life, making Easter a particularly appropriate time of year for such an elaborate dramatic ceremony as the *Visitatio sepulchri*. The *Quem quaeritis* trope was transferred not for the sake of convenience but in order to tie it in with the pagan rites traditionally celebrated on the eve and night of the spring festival.

Hunningher admits that much of his thesis is conjectural. His essay provides important insight, however, based on modern-day theatrical experience. Many of his ideas must be taken into serious consideration in any discussion of the origin of the theater.

There is no discussion of the music to the plays.

The bibliography will be continued in Volume VII of Comitatus, scheduled to be published Fall, 1976.