

# THE ORIGINS OF THE MEDIEVAL

## LITURGICAL DRAMA:

### A CRITICAL GUIDE,

#### PART II

*Jean R. Nichols*



The first part of Jean Nichols's guide was printed in Volume 6 (1975) of *Comitatus*.

61. **Donovan**, Richard Bertram. *The medieval liturgical drama in the Hispanic peninsula and its relation with that of the rest of Europe, especially France*. Ph.D. thesis, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, 1956. Pp. xiv, 380. Available from Yale University.
- 61a. \_\_\_\_\_ *The liturgical drama in medieval Spain*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1958. Pp. 229.

These two works by Donovan are discussed together since the 1958 monograph is essentially a rewriting of the earlier dissertation.

Donovan's writings are still the major study of the liturgical drama in Spain. The nineteenth century Spanish musicologists Villanueva and Angles contributed a great deal of scholarship to this field, but did not have nearly the access to manuscripts that Donovan had. Karl Young's major work (no. 32) contains texts to many of the extant Spanish liturgical dramas, but by no means to all of them.

A major portion of the author's writings is devoted to the publication for the first time of the dramatic texts themselves. (None of the music is transcribed.) By far the majority of these play texts come from the region of Catalonia. Other provinces were under Arab rule until at least the eleventh century, while Catalonia was influenced by Roman liturgy from about the year 800. Donovan's main thesis is that Catalonia, and especially the town of Ripoll, was as much a center of medieval religious drama as St. Martial or St. Gall. The Ripoll troper (MS 105) contains the oldest extant Spanish tropes and liturgical plays, dating from the eleventh century.

Cultural centers within the province of Catalonia, as well as in other parts of Spain, are discussed in some detail. Texts of plays are given throughout the volume, but very little mention is made of the music to these plays.

The extensive bibliography contains a listing of all manuscripts consulted by Donovan as well as those not found by him. Manuscripts that contain the *Quem quaeritis* trope, liturgical plays, or information about them are designated by an asterisk. A lengthy listing of books and articles consulted, many of them Spanish works, completes the study.

62. **Hotze**, Alphonse John. *Medieval liturgical drama: the origin and religiosity*. Ph.D. thesis. Columbia: University of Missouri. 1956. Pp. 804. Available from University Microfilms (pub. no. 00-16785, mic. no. 56-02261).

In sharp contrast to George B. Bryan's thesis (no. 100), Hotze attempts to prove that the medieval drama was simply a by-product of the liturgy, that it grew without design or the intervention of artistic individuals. Going back to the idea of the antiphonal chant, Hotze traces the role of the antiphon throughout the history of the liturgy. Tropes in dialogue form were another manifestation of this antiphonal effect. The Mass and tropes were not dramatic forms, but they did express religious emotions, particularly following the severe fasts of Advent and Lent.

Hotze gives a very straightforward reason for the transfer of the *Quem quaeritis* trope from the Mass to Matins. It was not, as Young concludes, transferred *in order* to be dramatized; rather, it was transferred when the Roman Easter Office replaced the Monastic Office. The trope was now in a good position to be dramatized; this developed later and was not the reason for the movement.

The major portion of the dissertation deals with the meaning of the liturgy, a history of the divine Office, and monastic life. Other than in the lengthy introduction to the work, little is said about the actual liturgical play. There is little if any discussion of the actual music, but as background, the work is very helpful.

63. **Kaff**, Ludwig. *Mittelalterliche Oster- und Passionsspiele aus Oberösterreich, im Spiegel musikwissenschaftlicher Betrachtung*. Linz: Oberösterreichischer Landesverlag in Kommission, 1956. Pp. 68, 9 plates. (Schriftenreihe des Institutes für Landeskunde von Oberösterreich, 9)

The library of the town of Wels in northern Austria (between Linz and Salzburg) houses the manuscripts to three liturgical plays: a *Ludus paschalis* from St. Florian, a Wels Passion play, and a *Marienklage* from Lambach. Kaff discusses these plays in some detail, providing a brief review of the origins of the Easter drama and a bibliography of previous studies of the three plays. The full text and music of each is reproduced, as well as plates showing the St. Gall Easter trope, the Benediktbeuern Easter play, the St. Florian *Ludus paschalis*, and a portion of the Wels Passion play.

64. **Schwanbeck**, Gisela. *Bibliographie der deutschsprachigen Hochschulschriften zur Theaterwissenschaft von 1885 bis 1952*. Berlin: Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, 1956. Pp. xiv, 563. (Schriften der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, Bd. 58)

This bibliography supplements Stratman's more comprehensive work (see no. 106) for German writers. There is a subject index, but no entries are found under *Quem quaeritis*, *Visitatio sepulchri* or liturgische Spiele. The main entry of in-

terest to us is "Oster- u. Passionspiel" (comprising no. 270-291) in the section on history.

This work can be used as a checklist of German publications, although it is by no means a complete list for the years covered. The full title of each work is given as well as a complete citation. Cross-references are occasionally used.

65. **Bowles, Edmund.** "Were musical instruments used in the liturgical service during the Middle Ages?," *Galpin Society journal* 10 (May 1957) pp. 40-56; and 12 (May 1959) pp. 89-92.

In this article Edmund Bowles attempts to discover the use of instruments in the Church services of the Middle Ages. The scarcity of written evidence makes it a temptation to base decisions on "internal stylistic evidence" or artwork, but neither of these is particularly authoritative. Much artwork depicts instruments in the mystery plays and not in the church service. There is strong evidence that secular musicians were not allowed to perform sacred music during the services. The fact that there were violations of this policy does not allow us to assume that it ever became common practice.

Although there is evidence for organ accompaniment during the Church service, it is doubtful whether this was the case with strictly liturgical pieces. Such para-liturgical pieces as the *Te Deum* and *Salve regina* were especially suited for organ accompaniment, and the larger churches which acquired organs probably used the instrument then. There is also some evidence for trumpet accompaniment in processions outside the church.

In conclusion, Bowles remarks that although he began his study with the assumption that instruments *were* used in the Church services, evidence he found points to the opposite conclusion. With the exception of the occasional use of the organ, instruments probably were not employed in the Church services of the Middle Ages.

\*\*\*\*\*

- 65a. Robert Donington wrote a short reply to this article in a "Letter to the Editor," *Galpin Society journal* 11 (1958) pp. 85-87. He attempts to modify Bowles' theories somewhat, claiming that some of the evidence Bowles found against instruments in the medieval Church service can really be seen in a different light.

In reply (*Galpin Society journal* 12 (1959) pp. 89-92) Bowles restates his views, adding more evidence he has found since the 1957 article to reinforce his theories. There is still no concrete historical evidence for the use of instruments, other than occasional organ accompaniment, trumpet processional, or joyous bell choruses. The evidence against any further use of instruments, he finds, is much stronger than Donington's hypotheses regarding multitudes of instruments.

66. **Henshaw, Millett.** "A survey of studies in medieval drama, 1933-1950," *Progress of medieval and Renaissance studies in the United States and Canada*. Bulletin No. 21. Boulder, Colo.: Progress, 1957. pp. 7-35.

1933 is the date of publication of Karl Young's *Drama of the medieval Church* (no. 32) and thus is a good starting point for discussion. The author describes in essay format the important works published in the field, with the hope that such an outline will stimulate research and aid those who teach, as well as revive the

"war-weary" decline in medieval studies.

Several works in Henshaw are not included in the present bibliography but are important sources for specific plays and specific manuscripts. Like Young, the author is not versed in music and the very brief listing for music of the medieval drama is quite incomplete.

Works discussed fall into the following categories: general works, pagan origins, staging, drama of the Eastern Church, Hrotsvitha, English cycle plays, the *Seinte Resurreccion*, French miracle plays by Jean Bodel and Rutebeuf, French Passion plays, French farces, German drama including the fifteenth century Redentin Easter play, German Passion plays, Spanish drama including an Easter play by Juan de Pedraza (1949), Corpus Christi plays, Portuguese drama, folk drama, and the decline of the medieval stage.

67. **Michael**, Wolfgang F. "Das deutsche Drama und Theater vor der Reformation." *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift* [sic] *für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 31 (1957) pp. 106-153.

This study does for German drama what Millett Henshaw's work (no. 66) attempted on a more general scale. Michael discusses the state of research in the German medieval drama by providing numerous citations and critical commentary. Most works cited are from the time of Young's major treatise (no. 32) or later, but some earlier twentieth century works are included if they are still important or unique in a particular field. Stratman's bibliography (first edition of no. 106) is cited as deficient in many respects, particularly for the German drama.

The major portion of the article discusses research on the religious drama. German writers are emphasized, but this section does cover the drama of countries other than Germany. Published transcriptions of both music and text are cited here. Michael's critical comments outline the views of each author on the question of the origins of the drama.

A discussion of works on the vernacular religious drama follows and includes the Processional plays, Easter plays, Passion plays, and others. The next section cites works in particular "problem" areas, the first being "music and drama." This is an excellent source for further materials on music in the liturgical Latin drama as well as vernacular religious plays. (Not all of the works cited by Michael are included in the present bibliography.) Other problems discussed are pictorial arts and the drama, pre-Reformation theater (which includes staging and costuming), and individual scenes and characters.

The last two divisions of the bibliography discuss carnival plays and their regional differences and humanistic drama, including playwrights such as Hrotsvitha and Hildegard von Bingen.

This is an important bibliography with good critical commentary, and should be scanned for coverage of quite specific topics and interests as well as general discussions by German authors.

68. **Stevens**, John. "Music in mediaeval drama," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 84 (1958) pp. 81-95.

Secular drama is the emphasis of this article, but the importance of music used in a symbolic sense is equally applicable to the liturgical drama. The precise dramatic function of the music is illustrated by brief excerpts of texts, and was

further aided by the playing of recordings at the time the paper was presented. Unfortunately, no musical excerpts were included in the published article.

69. **Weiner**, Albert Byron. *Acting on the medieval religious stage*. Ph.D. thesis. New Haven: Yale University, 1966. Pp. 318. Available from University Microfilms (no. 66-11519).

This work fills a need for a scholarly study of acting techniques during the Middle Ages. Part I (pages 16-72) deals with pre-fifteenth century acting (primarily of plays within the Church). Other parts deal with acting in the late Middle Ages. Rubrics in the manuscripts of the plays are the chief source for discussion of techniques of acting.

The theory that acting on the medieval stage was profoundly influenced by iconography of the period is strongly refuted. Marius Sepet (no. 13), Emile Mâle, and others are cited in support of Weiner's belief that the plays developed independently of pictorial representations. A brief but important bibliography is given as a footnote to this discussion (page 3).

Weiner maintains that the only criterion of acting ability in the liturgical dramas of the early Middle Ages was the singing voice. Clerics were taught to use different tones of voice in the Mass, and these techniques were naturally transferred to the plays. By the thirteenth century most plays were still sung, but occasionally parts were recited.

The problem of presenting the *characters* of Christ and the Virgin, and not representing them, had to be dealt with carefully. The portrayal of grief was a common task; joy, on the other hand, was harder to portray effectively. Fear was very seldom exhibited in these early plays, unless the Biblical account demanded it.

The twelfth century *Mystere d'Adam* (Play of Adam) is shown to be far ahead of its time in acting technique, the rubrics comparable to those of the sixteenth century. The *Planctus Mariae* drama from Cividale is discussed in some detail, as the 130 lines of the play's dialogue are accompanied by some seventy-nine rubrics giving instructions for acting, costuming, etc.

The bulk of this work does deal with the late Middle Ages (in casting and rehearsing, disguises, the mimetic art, vocal expression of emotion, etc.) but comparisons are made with early liturgical drama and with its influence on later acting techniques.

The "List of works consulted" (pages 292-300) completes the dissertation.

70. **Bowles**, Edmund. "The role of musical instruments in the medieval drama," *Musical quarterly* 45 (1959) pp. 67-84.

Here Bowles discusses instrumental accompaniment in the mystery plays of the late Middle Ages. Their use in symbolic and allegorical roles is of great importance: the organ gave forth "heavenly" music, while the music of hell was cacophonous or noisy sound effect.

As advisor to the New York Pro Musica in their revival of the Beauvais *Play of Daniel*, Bowles decided to "extrapolate backwards in time" from the practices of the mystery plays in order to justify numerous instruments in modern performance. The "context of the drama" (the "internal stylistic evidence" discussed in his earlier article, no. 65) here called for the extensive involvement of instruments, as were actually used in the later mystery plays. Bowles's article of

1957 would have indicated a refusal to rely on this sort of criteria. See Smoldon's articles (no. 79 and no. 80) for a comment on Bowles's decision.

71. **Young, William Donald.** *Devices and 'feintes' of the medieval religious theatre in England and France.* Ph.D. thesis. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University, 1959. Pp. iii, 259. Available from University Microfilms (no. 60-01381).

This is an intriguing discussion of the use of props, devices, and "feintes" in the liturgical drama, mystery plays, and miracle plays of medieval England and France. The period covered is from the beginning of liturgical drama in each country to 1548 in France and 1600 in England. Chief sources for the study are the rubrics of plays, expense accounts, and contemporary descriptive accounts as published in Karl Young's and Gustave Cohen's writings. Very little iconography remains from this period but the author maintains that such "secondary sources" would be of questionable value in any event.

One of the first additions to the Church ceremony, other than candles, light, and incense in their mystical meanings, was the sepulchre. It can be considered the first dramatic prop. The twelfth century Easter play from Tours suggests the use of fireworks when the angel is instructed to hurl "his lightning" at the soldiers before the tomb. The Magi's star often traveled the entire length of the nave. Ascension Day, Pentecost, and other festivals made possible the throwing down of fire, bread and water, doves, and other props from the heights of the church. Many of these activities could be considered symbolic rather than dramatic acts, but their use marked the beginnings of more elaborate techniques used in mystery and miracle plays. Images of the Virgin and Christ child, the cross wrapped and placed in the sepulchre, Christmas cribs or creches, angels with wings, etc., mark the merging of the symbolism of Church ceremonies and properties with the beginning of a dramatic portrayal of realism.

In further chapters, devices and feints used outside the church are described, including flying machines for angels, the hell-mouth and other traps, Noah's ark and seas, the light of heaven, and the fires of hell. The appendices list feints for the Bourges and Besancon productions of the *Mistère des actes des apostres* and details of the machinists and "feinteurs." There is a nine-page bibliography.

72. **Lipphardt, Walther.** "Liturgische Dramen," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 8, col. 1012-1051. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1960.

This article provides a detailed survey of the music of the liturgical drama. Throughout the paper, Lipphardt attempts to discover whether there is any evidence for origins of the drama outside the Church. The Eastern Church is given a brief paragraph, with bibliography provided for further study. Lipphardt finds very little connection between the Western and Eastern Churches as far as the drama is concerned.

The conflicting theory concerning the oldest extant version of the *Quem quaeritis* is discussed. Whichever is earlier, the St. Martial (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 1240) or the St. Gall (Stiftsbibl., MS 484) version, Lipphardt concludes that neither is true drama. It is not until the trope appears before the *Te Deum* in the Easter Matins service that it becomes truly dramatic. In this position it can be called the *Visitatio sepulchri*. Lipphardt describes four steps in the development of this play.

The first step is described in the *Regularis concordia* from tenth century England. This *Visitatio* play came either from Fleury (the traditional view held by many scholars) or from Ghent (a more recent theory).

Specific psalm tones used in versions of the *Visitatio* and, later, their relationships to connecting antiphons and sequences are covered in some detail.

The second step occurs when the antiphon *Quis revolvat* and the hymn *Te Deum* appear in connection with the Easter play. The lengthy laments by the Marys, the appearance of Christ as a gardener, and the merchant scene mark the arrival of the third "step" in the play's development. The 10- and 15-Silblerstrophen formats appear, the earliest extant version coming from Ripoll around 1130. Such early attempts at verse can also be found from Narbonne, Tours, Origny, Maastricht, Braunschweig, and Benediktbeuern, as well as in almost all texts combining the German and Latin languages.

The fourth step marks a greater tendency toward the use of verse and the frequent occurrence of merchant scenes and solo scenes for Mary Magdalen. The *Visitatio sepulchri* from the Fleury playbook (Orléans, Bibl. de la Ville, MS 201) is cited as a good example of the mixing of the older prose style with the newer verse form. The *Peregrinus* plays are discussed, as well as the *Planctus Mariae* which form a part of the Passion play. Passion plays from Montecassino, Benediktbeuern, Sulmona, Padua, and Cividale are mentioned. Christmas plays of the late eleventh century also show this tendency toward the use of verse, particularly those from Palermo and Freising. The mystery plays, most of which are based on the life of the Virgin Mary, prophet plays, and eschatological plays complete Lipphardt's review of the liturgical drama. In a final section mention is made of Corbin's interesting theory (see no. 52) that the Fleury playbook did not come from Fleury but rather originated in a monastery of St. Lomer or St. Nicolas in Blois, now no longer in existence. The contents of this important manuscript are outlined.

Numerous plates enhance the discussion. Among them are two full-page reproductions, one of the Piacenza Easter play (Bibl. Capitolare, MS 65, fol. 235v) from the eleventh or twelfth century, and the other of an Apostle play of about 1200 from Klosterneuburg (MS 589, fol. 2r and 2v).

An extensive bibliography of primary and secondary source materials follows the text of the full article.

73. **Wagenaar-Nolthenius, Hélène.** "Sur la construction musicale du drame liturgique," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, xe-xiie siècles* 3 (1960) pp. 449-456.

The author finds associations between certain melodies and certain dramatic characters or situations in the liturgical drama. Beginning with a discussion of notation, she outlines the problems of transcribing melodies in the early liturgical drama due primarily to the lack of rhythmic indications. The lack of rhyme serves to amplify this problem. In later liturgical plays, particularly those from France, there is strong evidence that the *trouvères* influenced the clerics in eventually replacing the chant with strophic forms. At that point, transcription becomes slightly easier.

Among early liturgical plays, the St. Nicholas play from the Fleury playbook is cited as an example of a musical "fantasy," a single melody spun out the length of the play. The *Filius Getron* play from the same manuscript, however, has a different solution to the musical composition. Each character has his own well

defined melody, based on the dramatic role he plays. The same is true of the play of the *Wise and foolish virgins* (Paris, Bib. Nat., MS lat. 1139) in which four distinct melodies are assigned to specific actors or groups of actors. The music of these melodies is given in transcription, and the strict musical form in which the melodies occur is outlined.

The author concludes her study with a detailed review of the Fleury *De quodam Judaeo* and the Beauvais *Daniel*. Both plays contain examples of melodies connected to a dramatic situation. A brief discussion of references to musical instruments in these manuscripts (timbales, zither, organ) provides no clue as to how they were used.

74. **McShane**, Margaret Mary. *The music of the medieval liturgical drama*. Ph.D. thesis, Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1961. Pp. 462. Available from University Microfilms (no. 62-1521).

Nine liturgical dramas are selected for detailed musical analysis. These include the Winchester *Quem quaeritis* play, the Easter plays from Dublin and Fleury, a Resurrection play, and several "pseudo-liturgical" plays: *Journey to Emmaus*, Shepherds play, and three plays based on the *Conversion of St. Paul*. Each play is given a brief literary characterization, followed by a lengthy discussion of the play's musical nature. This includes the source for the transcription, a description of the actual performance (as far as can be inferred from the rubrics), the Latin text and its translation into English, a detailed musical analysis, and a transcription of the complete play. Musical analysis for each play includes a discussion of modes, interesting melodic lines, and phrasing.

In the first chapter, Walter Howard Frere (no. 11) is given credit for the definition of the trope as well as for the theory that the troopers of the ninth through twelfth centuries contained the sum total of musical advance or innovation for that period. McShane also mentions the important article by Liuzzi (no. 28) and its tabulation of manuscripts in Coussemaker's *Drames liturgiques du moyen âge* (no. 2).

This dissertation is chiefly valuable as an aid to the revival of the plays for modern-day performance. The musical analysis is almost unique within the literature, but is often too lengthy and detailed, without enough summary or comparison with other plays. McShane concludes (Chapter V) that there is a great variety of treatment of subject matter among the nine plays, and that no musical pattern can be discovered from one play to another. Appendices provide texts, transcriptions, and facsimiles of various hymns and sequences related to the plays. There is a bibliography, and a section of critical apparatus that provides notes on the text and the transcriptions.

75. **Weakland**, Rembert. "The rhythmic modes and medieval Latin drama," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 14 (1961) pp. 131-146.

This is a detailed discussion of the problems of applying the rhythmic modes in transcribing certain pieces within the liturgical drama. Specifically, the author attempts to apply certain rhythmic principles to the monophonic songs (as opposed to the chant) in the *Ludus Danielis* (Play of Daniel) from Beauvais (British Museum, MS Egerton 2615).

An important bibliography of performance editions and other transcriptions appears at the beginning of the article. Various attempts at transcription are

outlined, and the author concludes that there is still no definite solution to the problem of transcribing the monophonic literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Different approaches include basing the rhythm on the text, analyzing the physical aspects of the notation, or applying a technique of giving every syllable of text an equal note value (isochronous method).

Difficulties in the notation of the period are due to the pre-Franconian style (i.e., before rhythmic indication appears in the notation) and the fact that no two manuscripts used exactly the same system. The diversity of metrical patterns that were common in twelfth century poetry further complicates the matter. There is evidence from the secular music of the time, however, that rhythmic modes and the stress of the text were relied upon for solo and polyphonic songs. A certain rhythmic freedom must be allowed for the solo music, as well as the possibility of an inexact application of the modes.

There can be little justification for transcribing the chant portions (the strictly liturgical pieces) of the plays into rhythmic modes. Unfortunately, the work done on these "square-note" portions of the music leaves much room for differing interpretations. Altogether, the transcription of an entire play must result in only general ideas rather than exact solutions.

The Beauvais *Daniel* originated about 1140 and was written down around the year 1230. The ten-syllable lines are common here, as they are in the first Nicholas play in the Fleury playbook. Most of these lines are scanned as follows: / u / u / u u / u / u / which allows for many possible rhythmic combinations. The eight-syllable lines in the monophonic songs are more easily and regularly set into the trochaic or iambic mode. The problem of whether there is an upbeat or not must be dealt with separately in each instance.

Weakland provides numerous musical examples in transcription to illustrate his discussion.

76. **Williams, Arnold.** *The drama of medieval England.* East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1961. Pp. vi, 186.

This work, which is addressed to the general reader rather than to the literary scholar, covers the liturgical drama of western Europe and the vernacular drama of England from the late tenth century to about 1500. The discussion is quite simplified, but gives an excellent background to the origins of the drama in the Easter ceremony of the medieval Church. Like Karl Young (no. 32), Williams arranges his discussion with the simple Easter drama first, and proceeds to the more complex ones. He emphasizes, however, that one must reckon with the possibility of finding a very skilled writer early in the development of the Easter play.

The first few chapters discuss the "Resurrection play," the "Christmas play," and other related dramas. The transition to popular religious drama follows, leading to a detailed discussion of the cycle plays.

An appendix reproduces Smoldon's transcription of the Winchester *Quem quaeritis* trope (Oxford, Bodl. Libr., MS Bodl. 775) and cites some of his articles and performing editions (see no. 44, no. 56, no. 57). A brief bibliography cites works in the order in which they were mentioned in the chapters. There is no index.

77. Falvy, Zoltán. "Un 'Quem queritis' en Hongrie au XIIe siècle," *Studia musicologica* III (1962) pp. 101-107.

This brief article discusses a *Quem quaeritis* trope found in the Codex Albensis in the Bibliothéque de l'université de Graz (MS 112). This is the oldest such trope in Hungary, and appears on folio 83v in St. Gall style neumes.

Falvy remarks that this trope is not a mere copy of its western models from St. Martial and St. Gall. A detailed comparison is made with a *Quem quaeritis* from the Bibliothéque Nationale (MS 904), one from Engelberg (MS I 5/9), and one from Einsiedeln (MS 366). Falvy concludes that the Hungarian trope is essentially more "ornamental," and provides a transcription into modern notation for comparison.

This trope from the Albensis Codex is also mentioned by Lipphardt in his article for *MGG* (no. 72).

78. Ogden, Dunbar Hunt. *Costume and character on the medieval religious stage*. Ph.D. thesis. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, 1962. Pp. xxi, 369. Available from Yale University.

This study offers valuable information on the actual production of liturgical plays. Part I deals with productions within the church, while the rest of the dissertation (pages 50-345) discusses plays produced outside the church walls. Church dramas discussed are the *Visitatio sepulchri*, *Ludus paschalis*, *Journey to Emmaus*, Passion plays, *Shepherds at the manger*, *Coming of the Magi*, *Procession of prophets*, Old Testament plays, and plays based on stories of the Virgin Mary.

The "evolution" of costuming from the simple to the elaborate is demonstrated by the Easter plays. Much information on costuming is found in the rubrics of the manuscripts, including over twenty variations in the costumes of the angel(s) at the sepulchre. The most "outlandish" angel costume is found in the Fleury playbook *Visitatio*, in which the angel is dressed very much like a bishop. The official colors for the Church seasons are discussed, as well as the occasional props used (palm branches, tapers, swords, etc.).

As medieval play producers were not concerned with historical accuracy in costuming, these plays give a very good idea of contemporary dress. Religious plays produced outside the church also used the dress of the time, and were very much influenced by the costumes of the Church productions of liturgical drama.

The "Select bibliography" (pages 363-369) is quite detailed.

79. Smoldon, William I. "Medieval Church drama and the use of musical instruments," *Musical times* 103 (December 1962) pp. 836-840.

The revival by the New York Pro Musica of several liturgical dramas prompted this article. Smoldon attempts to dispel the confusion arising from the terminology used for these plays. He also discusses the question of accompaniment. Smoldon agrees with Edmund Bowles (no. 65, no. 70) that there is no evidence for any accompaniment, with the exception of the organ at very special times. A facsimile of part of a *Peregrinus* play (Paris, Bibl. Nat., *nouv. acq.* MS lat. 1064, fol. 94) is included.

80. **Smoldon**, William I. "Music of the medieval Church drama," *Musical quarterly* 48 (1962) pp. 476-497.

This article is less detailed than the previous one (no. 79) and is written for a general audience. Transcriptions are given in modern notation, often with an English translation of the text. There is a facsimile of the St. Martial (MS lat. 1240) *Quem quaeritis* trope.

Smoldon discusses the important change from prose to poetry in the text and compares several melodies, both metered and unmetered, that are similar in construction. Further mention is made of the question of instrumental accompaniment. Edmund Bowles (no. 65, no. 70) is accused of using poor judgment in adding instruments to modern performance editions.

81. **Anderson**, Mary Desiree, *Drama and imagery in English medieval churches*. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1963. Pp. xi, 248.

This study provides a very interesting analysis of the relation between imagery found in medieval English churches (i.e., sculpture, friezes, roof bosses) and the drama of the time. Emphasis is on the plays of the late Middle Ages, but relationships discovered for the earlier plays are included. Anderson proceeds cautiously in her thesis that medieval craftsmen were inspired by the plays they saw, and admits that the reader must be willing to accept some rather far-fetched conjectures from her on occasion. The lack of solid evidence in the matter often does not allow her theories to be either proved or disproved absolutely, but this is due more to the incomplete knowledge of English church imagery and of how it was produced than to any lack of thoroughness on the author's part. Throughout, Mary Anderson looks for the "educational purpose common to both art and drama," for she maintains that imagery can illustrate how the medieval dramatists treated certain themes and when certain details in the visual aspect of the plays were first used.

The first chapter following the introduction discusses liturgical drama. Rather detailed descriptions are given of props and costumes, based on church records and actual imagery. Other chapters discuss the transitional plays (*Play of Adam*, *Ludus Conventriae*, etc.), the guild plays, the morality plays, and the mystery plays. Some of the actual sculptures, friezes, windows, and roof bosses mentioned in the text are reproduced as plates at the end of the volume. Appendices chart the use of Old Testament subjects in the play cycles, as well as other subjects found in both the drama and imagery. The bibliography is in the form of notes to the text, with arrangement in order of citation.

82. **Elders**, Willem. "Gregorianisches in liturgischen Dramen der Hs. Orléans 201," *Acta musicologica* 36 (1964) pp. 169-177.

Four plays from the Fleury playbook (Orléans, Bibl. de la Ville, MS 201) are studied in some detail in order to show connections between certain melodies contained in them and earlier liturgical chant. The plays are the *Officium stellae*, the *Ordo Rachelis*, the *Visitatio sepulchri*, and the *Peregrinus*.

The possibility that the manuscript was not written at Fleury is mentioned with some reinforcement. Corbin's suggestion (see no. 52) that the manuscript came from a St. Lomer monastery at Blois is given further support.

The four play texts are compared line by line with chants from four anti-

phonals. A few musical transcriptions are included to illustrate the more complicated connections. It is interesting to note that both the *Ordo Rachelis* and the *Officium stellae* conclude with the singing of the *Te Deum*, as does the *Visitatio sepulchri*. Elders notes the possibility of finding even more relationships between melodies in the liturgical drama and Gregorian chant in other sources than the antiphonals. Gallican chant should also be searched for melodies.

Elders summarizes his discoveries by noting the obvious inspiration that writers of the liturgical drama found within the older chant of the Church.

83. **Gamer, Helen M.** "Mimes, musicians, and the origin of the medieval religious play," *Deutsche Beiträge zur geistigen Überlieferung* 5 (1965) pp. 9-28 (includes 6 plates).

The author reviews the age-old debate about whether a popular mime tradition survived from Roman times and influenced the early liturgical drama of the Middle Ages. Considering the many "missing links" and uncertainties in this theory, Gamer concludes that there still is no evidence for such a view.

Hunningher (no. 60) is quoted at length, and the main portion of this article is devoted to discounting the "evidence" that he found in a twelfth century manuscript from St. Martial. This troper/tonarium contains several miniatures depicting dancers, singers, instrumentalists, and jugglers. Many scholars have assumed these to be mimes and secular musicians, but Gamer shows that they are musicians in "the best of the ecclesiastical tradition."

The illustrations appear only in the tonarium portion of the manuscript, not in the troper. They served as illustration not of the text but of the music. The first drawing shows King David playing the lyre, certainly a common subject for medieval sacred illustration. The other pictures can be explained by Biblical texts, most in connection with joyful worship and emotion. Nowhere are these illustrations labeled "mimi" or "ioculatores." Rather, they are described as "cantatores," "musici," etc., as they are in the Bible. The pictures have nothing to do with the troper portion of the manuscript and least of all with the Easter trope. They are not the "missing link" and show no sign of mimicry whatsoever.

On a positive side, Gamer reviews the article by Schwietering (no. 24) which appeared in 1925 and was all but ignored. In it, Schwietering gives a very persuasive musical explanation for the origins of the Easter drama. The contrast between the pre-Easter grave liturgy and the jubilation of Easter morning was so great, both in music and in emotional content, that it eventually gave rise to what we consider real drama. Thus, the illustrations in the tonarium may have reflected this ecclesiastical spirit of the music but were in no way connected with pagan or folk influences.

84. **Hardison, O. B.** *Christian rite and Christian drama in the Middle Ages: essays in the origin and early history of modern drama*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1965. Pp. xiii, 328.

This work, probably more than any other considered here, stirred great controversy when it was published. Hardison's theories on the origin of the drama are based on a thorough understanding of the liturgy and its function and an immense respect for the history of the Christian Church and its teachings. Many of his critics, however, note errors on his part stemming from lack of thorough paleographic techniques and from a total disregard of the music. (See Smoldon

no. 92 and no. 103b on this last aspect.)

In his preface, Hardison cites the immense value of the works by Chambers (no. 15) and Karl Young (no. 32), but states that the conclusions put forth in these works are now discredited. The distinction between drama and ritual on which they based many of their theories did not exist. Rather, Hardison cites contemporary evidence that the ninth century Mass was consciously interpreted as drama and that "representational ceremonies" were common in the Roman liturgy long before the earliest extant play based on the *Quem quaeritis*. Chambers is criticized for his factual presentation, and for the evidence that his conclusions are not always derived from but often precede such facts. Young's sizeable additions to Chambers' work were essential, and his theoretical contributions were much needed. But in general Hardison believes the Darwinian approach used by both scholars worked to their disadvantage, and most importantly, failed to show the relationship between the medieval drama and that of the Renaissance.

The first six "essays" in the volume discuss the origin of the drama in the Roman liturgy of the Mass and the Office Hours. The period of Lent is noted as a highly emotional time in the Church year, which quite justifiably resulted in the development of even more intense dramatic portrayals than were already present in the liturgy. Hardison's main thesis, however, is that the earliest Easter drama did not occur in the Easter Matins ceremony, but rather during the Vigil Mass of Easter.

A very helpful chart is provided of the manuscripts in Young (no. 32) which contain the *Visitatio sepulchri*. The manuscripts are given in their chronological rather than "logical" order as Young arranged them. From this chart Hardison hopes to show that there is no more evidence that the *Quem quaeritis* developed into drama in connection with Matins than in connection with any other ceremony and that, in fact, it had no fixed location throughout the ninth and tenth centuries. Several versions of the *Visitatio sepulchri* are discussed in some detail, including ones from Aquileia (eleventh century), St. Lambrecht, and Ripoll (twelfth century).

Final essays in the volume are concerned with the vernacular tradition that arose simultaneously with the later liturgical plays, and the continuity of the ritual form in European drama. In the latter, Hardison attempts to prove that the vernacular cycle plays were indeed dependent upon the liturgical tradition for their origin.

Appendix I contains translations of the lengthier Latin texts cited. Another appendix provides a complete chronological index of manuscripts that contain early liturgical plays (tenth through thirteenth centuries) as cited in Karl Young's work. An index completes the volume.

85. **Jodogne, Omer.** "Recherches sur les débuts du théâtre religieux en France," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, xe-xiii siècles* 8 (1965) pp. 1-24, 179-189, plus two plates.

Jodogne maintains that the drama that arose during the Middle Ages was an entirely new art form and was not a revival from classic times. It was born in the Church and, although there is now evidence for an older version of the Christmas trope, the Easter ceremony must still be considered the earliest to develop into drama. The huge festivals during the eleventh and twelfth centuries at Easter, particularly at Nevers and Compiègne, encouraged this development. Charac-

terization became an important aspect of plays produced in the churches at Munsterbilsen and Beauvais.

Plays discussed include those of the poet Hilarius from the twelfth century. These were true drama, even designating the number of actors needed, and were written in the French vernacular. Anonymous plays from the Fleury playbook are discussed, including *Tres filiae*, *Tres clerici*, *Iconia sancti Nicolai*, and *Filius Getronis*. The Anonymous *Sponsus* (*Wise and foolish virgins*) is also mentioned. Some texts to the plays are provided, but there is no discussion of music.

The bulk of this essay (pages 12-24, 179-189) discusses the *Jeu d'Adam* and the *Seinte Resurreccion*, a twelfth century Passion play. An interesting contrast is made between the two, one a religious play of the twelfth century, the other a secular play of the same period.

86. **Smoldon**, William L. "Medieval lyrical melody and the Latin Church dramas," *Musical quarterly* 51 (1965) pp. 507-517.

Here Smoldon discusses the rhythmic modes and the regularly rhyming texts of various liturgical dramas. Chief examples are from the *Daniel*, *Magi*, and *Peregrinus* plays, with the *Lament of Rachel* and the *Lament of Mary Magdalen* (from the *Visitatio sepulchri*) presented as particularly fine examples of lyrical melody.

87. **Brandel**, Rose. "Some unifying devices in the religious music drama of the Middle Ages," *Aspects of medieval and Renaissance music: a birthday offering to Gustave Reese*. Ed. by Jan LaRue. New York: Norton, 1966. Pp. 40-55.

Recurring melodies or melody types are the "unifying devices" referred to in the title of this article, but the author's presentation fails to make her theories fully convincing. Brandel characterizes the early liturgical drama as "impersonal, stylized, and narrational rather than truly dramatic" (page 41), a statement which needs much more expansion to withstand earlier scholars' contrasting views on the subject.

Musical transcriptions are provided for a discussion of such plays as the *Plancus Mariae* and *Visitatio sepulchri* from Cividale (MS CI and MS CII). Charts of the recurrence of the *Quem quaeritis* melody in various Easter plays help to clarify the author's premise. The suggestion that all these recurring melodies were derived from a secular prototype, either art songs or folk songs, is not given enough support here to be counted as more than supposition. In summary, Brandel re-emphasizes her search for artistic criteria of evaluation of the liturgical drama: "The religious music drama, despite its borrowed material, was often a model of artful planning in the ways of melodic recurrence, fragmentation, blending, and unification, which not infrequently resulted in some measure of dramatic depth and expressiveness" (page 55).

88. **Boor**, Helmut de. *Die Textgeschichte der Lateinischen Osterfeiern*. Tubingen: Niemeyer, 1967. Pp. xii, 371. (Hermaea, Germanistische Forschungen, Neue Folge, Band 22).

This lengthy detailed study goes beyond any other work since Young (no. 32) in analyzing the text of the Easter drama. Although the author uses the word

"Osterfeiern" throughout, coverage includes those liturgical texts that most scholars refer to as actual plays. Boor completes his study with the plays which begin to use the vernacular and are performed outdoors.

The immense value of Karl Young's work is noted, and Helmut de Boor refers often to his texts and theoretical statements. Boor's work is not a compilation of texts, however, but a detailed study of those texts from the point of view of a German philologist. Like Young, Boor recognizes the importance of the music of these ceremonies and plays, but does not attempt to comment on it. Instead, he looks upon his work as yet another "building block" toward treatment of the subject as a whole. Earlier studies in the field are reviewed, with particular mention of Meyer (no. 12), Lange (no. 7), Creizenach (no. 9), and Chambers (no. 15).

Boor divides into three "types" (the same used by Lange, Chambers, and Young) the over four hundred extant texts of Easter *Quem quaeritis* ceremonies and *Visitatio sepulchri* plays. These are available from the end of the tenth century to as late as the early eighteenth century. Although the majority of texts come from Germany, France, and Italy, there are some from as far south as Spain and as far east as Poland. The difficulty of discussing the plays in their chronological order is noted, but Boor believes it important to give a clearer view of the historical sequence than has been done before.

The discussion of "Type I" (pages 28-130) covers the Biblical source of the *Quem quaeritis* trope, the characters involved, and a line-by-line analysis of the basic text. Regional differences between texts are noted, as are important additions to the simple trope (*Quis revolvit, Venite et videte, Victimae paschali*, etc.) A separate section comments upon the development of the Easter ceremony in Spain.

"Type II" (pages 131-236) adds a scene with the Apostles Peter and John, and is now usually called the *Visitatio*. The position of these texts in the liturgy is ambiguous, although most are found in the Easter Office Hours rather than in the Mass. Again, each basic line is discussed and compared with various versions, as are additional texts and added congregational songs.

The third "type" (pages 237-328) includes a scene with the risen Christ. Plays of this type, much fewer in number, come from the following areas: Rouen, Coutances, Mont-St.-Michel, Barking, Fleury, Prague, Munich, Havelberg, Braunschweig, Zwickau, St. Gall, Rheinau, Nuremberg, Engelberg, Einsiedeln, and Cividale. The use of verse, which appeared only rarely among "Type II" texts, now becomes more evident, especially in Germany. The difference between "Osterspiel" and "Osterfeier" is discussed, with the conclusion that such a distinction becomes increasingly difficult in the late Middle Ages.

Two appendices provide information on the origin of the German-language Easter plays in the Latin plays, and the use of spices and ointment in the liturgical ceremony.

An excellent index to the ceremonies and plays discussed, arranged by place, is essential to the study. There is no bibliography, and no other index.

89. **Shergold, N. D.** *A history of the Spanish stage from medieval times until the end of the seventeenth century.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967. Pp. xxx, 624.

This is a detailed analysis of the Spanish drama through the seventeenth century. Very few texts are reproduced, but reference is made to earlier works by Young (no. 32) and Donovan (no. 61) which contain the majority of extant play texts from Spain. The emphasis of the work is on the "court stage" which reached

its height in the seventeenth century.

Chapter 1, "Dramatic tropes of the Easter and Christmas liturgies," is a general discussion of the origin of the tropes in France, their transmittal to Spain through Catalonia, and the eventual expansion of the Easter play into an elaborate spectacle during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Early versions of the *Quem quaeritis* are found in Ripoll, Vich, and Gerona. Another Easter trope found in a manuscript from Huesca is thought to have been written in France. A Toledo *Quem quaeritis* which includes some vernacular passages is used as an example of the "tendency of the tropes to expand."

Spain's first dramatic text in the vernacular is the *Reyes Magos* of the twelfth century, based almost entirely on the *Officium stellae* play. An interesting occurrence in Mallorca was the dramatization of the *Victimae paschali* rather than the *Quem quaeritis*. Also from this region is a vernacular version of the *Quem quaeritis* trope.

The physical sepulchre is discussed, with emphasis on its often brightly painted and spectacular appearance. The elaborate cost of the dramas becomes evident in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as fireworks, cloud machines, and lifelike figures are increasingly used for visual effect. Dramas of the Nativity became equally elaborate, until a papal reform of 1568 led to the disappearance of most liturgical drama in Spain. Further attempts to ban these spectacles prove, however, that they did not die out immediately.

Other chapters discuss religious plays in the vernacular, secular drama, court drama, and other dramatic genre through the seventeenth century.

A list of "Sources and works cited" is divided into manuscripts, and books and articles. An index provides access to scattered references on "music and singing." There is no thorough discussion of the music of the liturgical plays. Twenty pages of plates complete the volume.

90. **Kaltenbach**, Carey Wilde. "Evidence for a *Quem quaeritis* Easter Matins trope in the Divine Office at Poitiers, *Annorum circiter 800?*," *Emporia State Research Studies* 16 (June 1968) pp. 5-14.

The author claims that scholars have generally ignored the important dramatic continuity found in the Easter Office, specifically in the *Adoratio*, *Deposition*, and *Elevatio*. These "quasi-dramatic transitional" segments of the liturgy provided an earlier background for the development of the *Quem quaeritis* Easter trope into drama than did the Introit of the Mass. The author is in error, however, when he states that "these is little historical evidence" in support of the placement of a trope within the Introit.

Evidence for the presence of a *Quem quaeritis* in the Easter Matins service at Poitiers is based on the findings of Edmund Martene in his *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* (1788). Martene refers to a manuscript called the *Pontificale verustissimum* which he dates about the year 800. The very simple dialogue between the Marys and the angel at the tomb is compared with the more elaborate version from the tenth century *Regularis concordia*. Little evidence is added by Kaltenbach in support of this theory, and objections cited by Chambers (no. 15) are not adequately countered.

A one-page bibliography at the end of the article contains several good references.

91. **Kinghorn, A. M.** *Mediaeval drama: literature in perspective*. London: Evans, 1968. Pp. 160.

This is a brief overview, meant for a general audience. Chapter one deals with "The nature of drama" and emphasizes the teaching aspect of the medieval plays. The second chapter is devoted to liturgical drama, and includes a discussion of the Easter play, the *Play of Daniel, and the Play of Adam*. Secular trends in the drama and other aspects of this genre are investigated as well.

92. **Smoldon, William L.** "The melodies of the medieval church-drama and their significance," *Comparative drama* 2 (Fall 1968) pp. 185-209. Article also appears in a much abbreviated form in no. 104, pp. 64-80.

Smoldon reviews the field, mentioning the early scholars who were handicapped by a lack of knowledge of the music in the plays. Several of Karl Young's speculations are proved or disproved by Smoldon, on the basis of a thorough study of the music. O. B. Hardison (no. 83), however, receives less kind treatment, and several of his novel theories are refuted on the basis of undeniable musical evidence.

A detailed analysis of the *Quem quaeritis* melody is followed by a brief comparison of this melody with the Christmas trope. Based on this kind of careful study, Smoldon attempts to show that the Winchester *Quem quaeritis* is much closer to the St. Martial version than to that of Fleury.

The final paragraph of the article is a good summary of Smoldon's twenty or so years of efforts: "Church dramatic compositions were written for the purpose of being performed. It may be that no more than a selected few could be successfully revived in modern times, but these can only receive their full understanding and appreciation when their libretti are once more united with their long-neglected musical settings" (page 207).

93. **Stevens, John.** "Music in some early medieval plays," *Studies in the arts: proceedings of the St. Peter's College Literary Society*. Ed. by Francis Warner, Oxford: Blackwell, 1968, pp. 21-40.

The dramatic function of music is studied in three medieval plays, two of them liturgical and one secular: *Annunciation* play (Padua, Bibl. Capit., MS C.56) of the fourteenth century; *Slaughter of the innocents* play (Fleury playbook); and the *Play of Adam*.

Stevens finds it very difficult to define the music of the liturgical plays in terms of "expressiveness" and states that perhaps only those "who have lived with plainsong all their lives" can judge the works. Even in the *Slaughter of the innocents* which contains a highly contrasting *Planctus* by Rachel the predominant effect of the music is one of unity and not of contrast. The basic function of the music in the two liturgical plays discussed is to carry one beyond the personal level of the action to a sense of general emotion and group worship. The music is meant to help one transcend the realm of grief and worldliness.

The *Play of Adam* differs markedly from the liturgical plays mainly in the use of spoken (not sung) vernacular passages throughout. It becomes obvious that the author feels much more comfortable with the secular drama than he does with the sacred in a discussion of its music.

94. **Litto**, Frederic M. *American dissertations on the drama and the theatre: a bibliography*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1969. Pp. ix, 519.

This bibliography attempts to include all dissertations written on this subject in the United States or Canada through 1965. Eight major national dissertation indexes were searched, as well as listings from individual institutions. Since the list was designed for processing by computer, the plan is to reprint the list with integrated update every five years. The author does not assume responsibility for the availability of the dissertations, and does not indicate whether a particular work has been published. The dissertations of 4,565 authors are included.

A "Classification table" lists all the terms used in the "Subject index" at the end of the volume. Arrangement of terms is by country first, then chronologically by broad periods, then by topic. Terms used in this last category include such phrases as "performance aspects," "music," "mass media and popular entertainments," etc.

The "Bibliography" is a list of the dissertations arranged alphabetically by a computer code number derived from the author's name and the dissertation title. Code number, author, title, department, degree, university, and date of award are included for each entry. This list provides the fullest citation of those included here.

The "Author index" is an alphabetical arrangement of the authors' names and provides only the computer code.

The "Keyword-in-context index" (pages 119-345) is a machine-generated concordance of every significant word in every dissertation title in the Bibliography. Problems to be aware of with this form of index are variant spellings, plurals, foreign language equivalents, and the need to search for synonymous terms. As only the title to the work and its reference code are provided here, one must go to the "Bibliography" for a full citation.

The "Subject index" (pages 347-519) is a somewhat more traditional classified index. As outlined above in the "Classification table," arrangement is by country, then chronology, then subject. Liberal cross references have been used, but there is still a problem in locating dissertations whose topics cover the entire world in scope. Originally, the author intended to have two more indexes, one by chronology-country-subject, and another by subject-country-chronology. These were not published due to sheer bulk but are available in manuscript form at the International Theatre Studies Center, University of Kansas, Lawrence. Works on specific personalities are listed in all the decades in which they lived (with the exception of Shakespeare who is listed only in the first decade of his life) and the country of birth is used in every case. Original plays written for doctoral dissertations are classified in the same way as those of prominent individual playwrights.

Terms from the "Keyword-in-context index" which were searched for the purposes of this bibliography were:

liturgical	music	Latin
liturgy	musica	Easter
medieval	musical	origins
mediaeval	musico-dramatic	Quem quaeritis
	musikalische	Visitatio sepulchri
	musikalität	
	musique	

Further searching would be necessary for other foreign terms, individual countries, individual play titles, and individual manuscripts.

95. **Rouse**, Richard H. Serial bibliographies for medieval studies, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969. Pp. xiii, 150. (Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 3).

This bibliography is well annotated and the arrangement is helpful, although there is no immediate access to bibliographies on specific subjects such as drama. The aim of the work is an inclusive compilation of serial bibliographies on medieval studies (broadly interpreted) and inclusion of non-European regions that were in contact with the mainstream of Western events. Some 283 bibliographies are listed, divided into eleven major divisions and thirty-two subdivisions. Annotations describe the contents and format of the particular bibliography as it appeared for the years 1964 through 1967.

Sections pertaining to the drama include Part VII: "Economic, social, and institutional history"; Part IX: "Literature and linguistics"; and Part X: "Music." Of particular interest are items no. 192 (*Southern folklore quarterly*) and no. 230 (*Bulletin signalétique 23: littérature et arts du spectacle*).

There is an index of titles and an index of editors.

96. Symposium in comparative literature, 3d., Catholic University of America, 1968. *The medieval drama and its Claudelian revival*. Papers presented at the third symposium in comparative literature held at the Catholic University of America, April 3 and 4, 1968. Ed. by E. Catherine Dunn, Tatiana Fotitch, and Bernard M. Peebles. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1970. Pp. xi, 72.

Two essays from this collection are of particular interest here: "Two celebrated centers of medieval liturgical drama" by Richard B. Donovan (no. 96a) and "Gregorian Easter vespers and early liturgical drama" by O. B. Hardison (no. 96b).

- 96a. **Donovan**, Richard B. "Two celebrated centers of medieval liturgical drama: Fleury and Ripoll" (see no. 96 for citation) pp. 41-51.

Several important points are made here, some of which were introduced in the author's dissertation of 1958. Donovan establishes the importance of Catalonia as an active center for the development of the liturgical drama in Spain, and shows concrete connections between it and the nearby French center of Fleury. There is evidence, in addition to the account given in the *Regularis concordia* (no. 54), of considerable dramatic activity at Fleury. However, Donovan continues his case against the famous "Fleury playbook" having actually been written at Fleury.

Another manuscript, MS 111 from the Cathedral Library of Vich which was associated with the monastery at Ripoll, also has doubtful origins. But Donovan concludes that this manuscript actually was written at Ripoll. It contains the earliest *Visitatio sepulchri* play to include the merchant scene, further strengthening Donovan's theory of the importance of this Spanish monastery for the development of the early liturgical drama.

Various scholars whose theories are commented upon include O. B. Hardison,

Solange Corbin, Grace Frank, Gustave Cohen, and Karl Young.

- 96b. **Hardison, O. B.** "Gregorian Easter Vespers and early liturgical drama" (see no. 96 for citation) pp. 27-40.

Hardison continues his case for the origins of the liturgical drama within the Easter Vespers service, rather than the more accepted theory of its origins within the third nocturn of Easter Matins. His case rests on the fact that quasi-dramatic ceremonies were common from the time of Pope Gregory, and the further fact that one of the most striking of these ceremonies is the special Vespers service of Easter week. Unfortunately, there are no extant plays from this service.

A detailed description of this service includes a discussion of the text, rubrics, props, and participants seen within a dramatic context. Hardison maintains that there is no definite line between drama and ceremony, as Karl Young (no. 32) and E. K. Chambers (no. 15) maintained. The fact that there are no plays that can be directly related to this service provides the author with much room for speculation. See the following works for a criticism of these speculations and of Hardison's methods: no. 92, no. 103b, no. 102.

97. **Evans, Paul.** *The early trope repertory of Saint Martial de Limoges*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970. Pp. viii, 294. (Princeton studies in music, 2).

Although this work does not deal directly with the transition from trope to drama, Evans provides important information, based on musical evidence, on the origins of the trope and its place in the liturgy of the Church. Musically, the trope is seen as one of the main creative outlets of Church composers following the Carolingian standardization of the liturgy.

There are nine major manuscripts from St. Martial that contain tropes. All of these are discussed in terms of format, contents, and problems of determining date and provenance. Other chapters deal with the meaning of the trope, its historical position, the texts and musical structure of the tropes.

The bulk of this work contains transcriptions of the Proper tropes and a selection of Ordinary tropes from one of the most important of the St. Martial tropes—Paris 1121. An index provides access to individual pieces that are transcribed from this manuscript. A bibliography and an index to the text of the work are included.

98. **Stemmler, Theo.** *Liturgische Feiern und geistliche Spiele: Studien zu Erscheinungsformen des Dramatischen im Mittelalter*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1970. Pp. vii, 339. (Buchreihe der Anglia, Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie, Bd. 15).

This very recent work provides excellent background to the subject of the origins of the medieval liturgical drama, as well as a discussion of the music of the *Quem quaeritis* trope. In sharp contrast to Kretzmann's much earlier work (no. 19), Stemmler questions the established view that the drama developed from the liturgical tradition of the Church. Rather, he presents the possibility that the plays were written independently of this tradition and that "heathen" elements may have had a great influence. The author also questions whether there really is continuity from liturgical plays to mystery cycles. A major problem is whether

these medieval plays can be characterized by generalities at all.

In his first chapter, Stemmler discusses "Typologische Entstehung und Verwendung des Tropus *Quem quaeritis in sepulchro*." The music of the St. Benoît and Rouen Easter tropes are discussed and compared. The Christmas *Quem quaeritis* is also given attention. The next chapter, titled "Alogische Montage oder dramatisch-logische Komposition?," continues discussion of the problems of the origins of the Easter drama. Hardison's theories (no. 84, no. 96b) of its origin in the Easter Vigil Mass are outlined, but Stemmler takes no stand in the controversy between Hardison and such scholars as Smoldon and Moore (no. 102). Karl Young is cited often, with several of his ideas expanded or refuted. Stemmler concludes his study of the Easter drama with his discovery that there are few consistencies to be found between plays, and that there is definitely a lack of any kind of chronological "evolution." Other sections of this chapter continue the discussion with later liturgical plays, with the final part of the study attempting to trace elements of the liturgical plays to the English mystery cycles. There is an extensive bibliography, a list of plates (which are numerous and excellent), and an index to authors cited in the work. A general index completes the volume.

99. **Sticca, Sandro.** *The Latin Passion play: its origins and development.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1970. Pp. xix, 220.

Sandro Sticca's research covers an area of medieval drama that few scholars before him have attempted—the development of the vernacular plays based on Christ's Passion. Many writers have pointed out that these plays developed much later than the liturgical dramas of the Easter Office, but the discovery of an eleventh century manuscript from Montecassino containing such a play, and preceding any other extant Passion plays by at least one hundred years, places this category well within the important years of early development of the liturgical drama.

The author discusses to some extent any evidence for a "classical heritage" for the drama of the Church, but finds no connection between the drama of the Middle Ages and that of Rome. The possibility of a "pagan" theater contemporaneous with the early liturgical "theatre" is not completely abandoned, however.

Sticca traces the history of the trope, and presents various authors' theories on the reason for the transfer of the *Quem quaeritis* trope from the Mass to Matins. The author feels it was not necessary for the audience to understand completely the sung Latin for it to provide dramatic impact; in fact, the use of the vernacular in the Church was never widespread during the Middle Ages. The dramas did have a didactic purpose, not only for the monastic personnel, but also for the laity who were allowed into the monastic churches for important festivals. The passage from the *Regularis concordia* is mentioned, but Sticca sees no proof here that the drama was necessarily brought over from the Continent. Other theses are discussed and dismissed, including De Vito's theory that the drama did not originate from the trope, and the idea of Pascal and Stumpfl that the early drama resulted from a "grafting" of pagan rituals to the Church ritual.

The origins of the Latin Passion play are much more doubtful than those of the early liturgical drama. Very few plays remain, and only one exists before the major developments of the twelfth century in the Montecassino monastery. The influences of iconography are stressed, along with the growing need to express Christ's human suffering as dramatically as possible.

Further chapters discuss the development of the Latin Passion plays, parti-

cularly in Montecassino and Sulmona, their relation to the *Planctus Mariae*, and two traditions (vernacular and liturgical) that then developed simultaneously. In his conclusion, Sticca restates that "the plays of the Church were the product of the growth of the special ceremonies, processions, hymns, and the acts of the ritual that developed within the general framework of Christian worship" (page 168). A lengthy bibliography and index conclude the work.

\*\*\*\*\*

Sandro Sticca edited a collection of essays for the third annual conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies in Binghamton. A full citation will be found under no. 103. As well as writing the preface to the essays, Sticca continues his discussion of the Latin Passion play in an essay entitled "The literary genesis of the Latin Passion play and of the *Planctus Mariae*: a new Christocentric and Marian theology" (pages 39-68). In this essay, the author refutes the traditional view that the *Planctus Mariae* is the original germ for the Passion play.

100. **Bryan, George Barton.** *The monastic community at Winchester and the origin of English liturgical drama.* Ph.D. thesis. Bloomington: Indiana University, 1971. Pp. 200. Available from University Microfilms (no. 71-21,296).

The author attempts to clarify, from the perspective of medieval English monastic life, the composition and production of liturgical drama. Bryan's thesis is that the drama had its origin as the direct result of the creative act of one man, Bishop Ethelwold of Winchester, and thus that the drama first occurred in England and not in France or Germany. Chief evidence comes from a study of the *Regularis concordia* and other works which deal with the monastic life of the tenth century in England. This study provides a refreshing alternative to the more common evolutionary theories of the origin of the liturgical drama.

A detailed history of monasticism in England provides interesting background to the focus of the work, which is on the establishment of St. Benedict's rule in England toward the end of the tenth century. Ethelwold is portrayed as a great reformer, primarily of education for the secular and regular clergy, and a patron of the arts. The drama served mainly for the edification of the monks, but children, who were students at the monastic school, and the poor, who were dependents of the monastery, were also observers. While actual evidence of Ethelwold's authorship of the first Easter play is slim, proof that he was *not* its originator is systematically refuted. Certainly the period studied and the research involved in this dissertation help throw light on an otherwise hazy period of English monastic history.

101. **Hunter, Frederick James.** *Drama bibliography: a short-title guide to extended reading in dramatic art for the English-speaking audience and students in theatre.* Boston: Hall, 1971. Pp. x, 239.

This work is not detailed enough for our study but does provide very basic reference works and other general aids. The subdivision "medieval" under "Selected sources in theatre history" lists only the works by Chambers, Cohen, Hardison, and Karl Young for liturgical drama. There is only a brief index to authors, editors, and selected subjects, which makes it difficult to use this work

for specific topics. Subdivision within sections is quite broad. There are no annotations.

102. **Moore, Marie Dolores.** *The Visitatio sepulchri of the medieval Church: a historical, geographical, and liturgical survey.* Ph.D. thesis. Rochester: University of Rochester, 1971. Two volumes. Available from University Microfilms (no. 71-08448).

This dissertation is one of the few works that discusses to any great extent the music of the liturgical drama. In addition to fully transcribing some fifty *Visitatio sepulchri* plays, Moore analyzes in some detail the melodic structure of the basic lines of each play and compares it with all the others.

The first chapter deals in depth with the historical background to the plays. The changes in the Mass and the Office are given major emphasis. It is suggested that the *Quem quaeritis* trope was used in Matins and before the Introit contemporaneously, but evidence is admittedly slight. A survey of the actual placement of the *Quem quaeritis* trope within extant manuscripts indicates that its assignment to Matins cannot be as strongly supported as recent writers have indicated. Finally, Moore questions the theory that the *Visitatio sepulchri* drama provided the basis for the development of medieval drama. The fact that the play remained so static over its six centuries of existence indicates a certain *lack* of "progress" or "evolution." Other sources must be sought to explain fully the rise of the dramatic art in Europe.

Many of the three hundred manuscripts studied by Moore are mentioned in some detail in the second chapter. Two manuscripts may contain the earliest scenes yet discovered involving Peter and John at the tomb. These are an Aquileia manuscript (Udine, Bibl. Arcivescovile, MS 234) of the late eleventh or early twelfth century, and one from Prague (Verĕjná a Universitní Knihovna, MS VI.E.13) from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Many other manuscripts are discussed, including those from Barking, Dublin, and Nurnberg in particular. Besides the *Visitatio sepulchri* plays, six other categories of "para-liturgical" plays are mentioned: other plays of the Easter season, Passion plays, Christmas plays, plays of the Virgin Mary, the Old and New Testaments, and the Saints.

In conclusion, Moore states that there is no real evidence that the vernacular plays that developed later had their origins in plays of the liturgy. (See Cargill no. 29 for a similar view.) Most of the para-liturgical plays were of little literary or dramatic merit, while the secular drama, on the other hand, grew steadily in artistic interest and literary form. What the Church did do, however, was lend moral support to the use of the dramatic arts—music, costuming, dance, and impersonation.

The third chapter deals with the melodic structure of the *Quem quaeritis* trope. The three basic lines, as well as what Moore calls the "basic variants" are analyzed for each of the fifty plays transcribed in Volume II. These plays were selected from sixty-five manuscripts containing accurate pitch notation. They span nearly six centuries in time and cover most of Western Europe. Most of the texts can also be found in Karl Young's work (no. 32), but at least five of the texts are transcribed here for the first time. The transcriptions are not meant to be performing editions, but provide an excellent basis for further study.

In analyzing the basic lines of each play, Moore is able to compare plays by place of origin, by mode used, by melodic similarities and by tonal centers. The

basic lines do not fit neatly into the system of Church modes any more than do the melodies of later secular plays. Melodically, each of the lines agrees at least directionally with others of its type, if not intervallically. There is a consistent feeling for a tonal center, although a major/minor distinction is not always clear. Further, Moore states that we cannot assume that careless scribes are always the cause of discrepancies between manuscripts. The literate scribes may intentionally have made changes in the written (as opposed to the oral) versions. The author indicates that much more work can be done with her fifty transcriptions, since she has concentrated on the structure of only the basic lines.

The first appendix to Volume I charts the chronological first appearance of new lines to the *Visitatio sepulchri*. Another chart arranges these lines by manuscript, to give a different picture of what each "stage of development" contained. The second appendix is an analysis of a *Quem quaeritis* fragment belonging to the Sibley Music Library. Evidently this fragment differs in many ways from all the other manuscripts analyzed. The bibliography lists manuscripts by country, city, and institution, as well as printed materials used in the study.

103. *The medieval drama*. Papers of the third annual conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton, 3-4 May 1969. Ed. by Sandro Sticca. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972. Pp. xvii, 154.

Two essays from this collection are of particular interest, as well as the preface by the editor, Sandro Sticca (see no. 99): "Tradition and originality in the medieval drama in Germany" by Wolfgang Michael (no. 103a) and "The origins of the *Quem quaeritis* trope and the Easter sepulchre music-dramas, as demonstrated by their musical settings" by William L. Smoldon (103b).

- 103a. Michael, Wolfgang. "Tradition and originality in the medieval drama in Germany" (see no. 103 for citation) pp. 23-37.

The author attempts to prove that there are many more elements of originality and creativity in the early medieval plays than is generally recognized. A few plays do show an original spirit or form, although the weight of tradition is always discernible.

Michael provides little support for his main thesis that the *Visitatio sepulchri* was the result of a creative act rather than a gradual evolution. He suggests that the Easter play was written by the author(s) of the *Regularis concordia*, and in fact did *not* grow slowly out of the *Quem quaeritis* trope. (See Bryan no. 100 for a more complete discussion of this thesis.)

A search for "original" elements in the early German plays leads next to a discussion of the Tegernsee *Antichrist* play and the Benediktbeuern play cycles. A thirteenth century Easter play fragment from Muri is also mentioned, since it shows no textual similarities to any other Easter play of the period. The author briefly traces a few other plays, including some of the sixteenth century.

This somewhat disconnected discussion is concluded by final emphasis on the powerful force of tradition. Perhaps the smattering of plays discussed in the article is due to this force. Only rarely could a medieval scribe or clergyman break from the tradition of the Church liturgy, and even then a heavy dependence on liturgical source material was evident.

- 103b. **Smoldon, William L.** "The origins of the *Quem quaeritis* trope and the Easter sepulchre music-dramas, as demonstrated by their musical settings" (see no. 103 for citation) pp. 121-154.

This article by Smoldon is a detailed restatement of the author's plea for a study of the music of the liturgical drama along with a study of the text. Many of the arguments of Smoldon's 1968 article (no. 92) are repeated, including his disagreement with many of Hardison's conclusions. A history of the trope is followed by a lengthy discussion of the *Quem quaeritis* trope. This is illustrated by reproductions of the St. Martial and St. Gall manuscripts which contain the earliest extant versions. The pertinent lines of music are transcribed as well. From a detailed comparison of both versions, Smoldon concludes that the St. Gall *Quem quaeritis* represents a later, more sophisticated shaping of the trope, and suggests that the Winchester version came indirectly from St. Martial, possibly by way of Fleury.

The author mentions that he is working on a book which will set down his discoveries on all aspects of medieval drama. (Note: As of this writing, Oxford University Press plans to publish the work in the near future.)

104. *Medieval English drama: essays critical and contextual*. Ed. by Jerome Taylor and Alan H. Nelson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972. Pp. vii, 351.

Three chapters from this collection of essays deal with the religious drama of the Middle Ages, the rest with vernacular forms. The three essays are: "Aesthetic values of the liturgical drama" by Mary H. Marshall (no. 49); "The melodies of the medieval Church-dramas and their significance" by William L. Smoldon (no. 92); and E. Catherine Dunn's "Voice structure in the liturgical drama: Sepet reconsidered" (no. 104a).

The Marshall and Smoldon articles appeared earlier in other publications. Only the article by E. Catherine Dunn was written for this collection.

- 104a. **Dunn, E. Catherine.** "Voice structure in the liturgical drama: Sepet reconsidered" (see no. 104 for citation) pp. 44-63.

According to the author of this article, the works of the nineteenth century scholar Marius Sepet have been misread and misinterpreted, even by his admirers. Those scholars who have commented on Sepet's writings are listed in a footnote; most, Dunn concludes, either modified or completely disagreed with Sepet's theories on the origins of the drama. The author, on the other hand, sees Sepet's theories and methods as quite useful in the analysis of medieval plays. Specifically, it is Sepet's research into the voice patterns in the liturgical chant of the Carolingian era that intrigues Dunn.

Sepet explored all forms of musical dialogue in the liturgy and determined that responsorial singing (by a few individuals) was much closer to the dialogue of drama than antiphonal singing (by the choir). He points out that responsorial singing is used most often in the Matins Office, in which the *Quem quaeritis* trope first became truly dramatic. Sepet agrees with Gautier (no. 6) and Lange (no. 7) that the Easter trope had dramatic elements when it was still a part of the Introit, but that dramatic dialogue was not achieved until it was moved to the Matins service. Other portions of the liturgy, especially the Passion readings of Holy Week, were also important in the transformation of responsorial singing into dramatic

dialogue. To Sepet, then, the real origins of the drama were "the whole complex of dialogued lections and responsories in the Matins office" (page 63). It is this broader view of the origins of the drama that Dunn emphasizes as necessary for further study. (See no. 4, no. 4a, and no. 13 for further comments on and citations to Sepet's works.)

105. **Collins, Fletcher.** *The production of medieval Church music-drama*, Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1972. Pp. xiii, 356.

The production aspects of medieval drama have never been thoroughly studied, and Collins hopes to begin to fill this need with this work. Sixteen liturgical plays are discussed in terms of the following basic elements: tone and quality, determination of major episodes, characterization, movement and gesture, costumes, properties and furnishings, staging and the definition of acting areas, makeup, lighting, and sound effects. For each play, the author also provides a general introduction and critical analysis of problems of production. The earliest play discussed is from the end of the eleventh century, and the latest dates from about 1275.

The author considers the plays of this period to be more eloquent and beautiful than the later craft cycles or mystery plays. Evidence from the plays themselves is given primary importance, with other contemporary writings and iconography of the period used as well. Collins does not attempt to provide thorough documentation for his use of visual evidence (iconography, imagery, etc.) but aims rather to aid in the study of what he considers a neglected aspect of the medieval dramatic art.

The first of the sixteen plays is the *Visitatio sepulchri*. Texts used for the discussion include those from the Fleury playbook (Orléans, Bibl. de la Ville, MS 201), St. Quentin (Bibl. de la Ville, MS 86), and Tours (Bibl. de la Ville, MS 927). The famous passage from the *Regularis concordia* (no. 54) is cited for evidence in costuming, along with rubrics in the manuscripts and contemporary visual representations. The various scenes that developed from the simplest version of the play are discussed, along with the development of Mary Magdalen into the "lead" character. The lack of psychological depth in medieval characterizations in the liturgical drama is due, Collins feels, to the traditional nature of the roles and thus the lack of need to define them. The degree of idealization and abstraction found in the plays is also due to this tradition.

Notes at the end of the volume give more detailed information for each play, including alternate versions, exact costuming, shape of props, etc. For the *Visitatio sepulchri* Collins mentions the performance versions by William L. Smoldon (no. 43) and his effective use of music and sound affects. The appendix lists the manuscripts in which the sixteen plays are found in their most performable versions. There is an index to subjects and to titles.

The plays discussed are the following:

- Visitatio sepulchri
- Planctus Mariae (Laments of Mary)
- Peregrinus (Journey to Emmaus)
- Officium pastorum (Shepherds at the manger)
- Ordo ad representandum Herodum,
  - with Ad interfectionem puerorum (Play of Herod, and Slaughter of the Innocents)

Resuscitatio Lazari (Raising of Lazarus)  
 Conversio beati Pauli (Conversion of St. Paul)  
 Sponsus (Wise and foolish virgins)  
 Tres filiae (The dowry)  
 Tres clerici (Three clerks)  
 Iconia Sancti Nicolai (Image of St. Nicholas)  
 Filius Getronis (Son of Getron)  
 Danielis ludus (Play of Daniel)  
 In annunciatione beatae Mariae Virginis representatio  
 (Annunciation)  
 Purificatio (Purification)

106. **Stratman, Carl Joseph.** *Bibliography of mediaeval drama*, 2nd ed. Revised and enlarged. New York: Unger, 1972. Two volumes.

The first edition of this bibliography was published in 1954. This second edition has been greatly expanded, especially for the liturgical drama, and updated.

The two volumes are divided into ten main categories which include general studies, Festschriften, liturgical Latin drama, and national dramas. Sections for the individual countries are further divided by specific play forms and by Latin drama and vernacular drama. Arrangement within sections is chronological rather than alphabetical. There are duplicate listings when necessary or cross-references from one section to another. Each entry provides the full title and name of the author, and the full periodical title when needed. Those works which the author considers of particular value are designated by an asterisk.

The section for the liturgical Latin drama (Volume I, pages 27-189) is divided into "Collections," "Individual plays" (further divided by type, then by specific title), and "Studies." "Collections" includes works in which several play texts are published. "Individual plays" lists all known manuscripts, arranged within each play title by place, and includes printed editions of the texts. This section is invaluable in identifying specific manuscripts and determining exactly which play is transcribed in the nineteenth century collections. "Studies" includes secondary source materials, articles, essays, and books. The full citation aids in determining the content of the work in most instances, but sometimes an annotation would be helpful.

The Addenda in Volume II (pages 927-934) must not be overlooked for additional listings which should be interspersed throughout the main text. The index that follows includes authors, titles, manuscripts, and subjects. The listings under "music" are helpful in locating works within the sections for individual countries, but they are not complete.

This is a masterpiece of organization and thoroughness and it is only hoped that the work will be updated on a regular basis.

107. *Comparative drama* 8 (Spring 1974). Published in honor of William L. Smoldon.

Articles from this festschrift which are of particular interest are the following: "Medieval drama: diversity and theatricality" by Clifford Davidson (no. 107a); "The liturgical context of the *Quem queritis* trope" by C. Clifford Flanigan (no. 107b); "The use of architectural space in medieval music-drama" by Dunbar H. Ogden (no. 107c); and Sandro Sticca's "The *Christos Paschon* and the Byzantine theater" (no. 107d).

- 107a. **Davidson**, Clifford. "Medieval drama: diversity and theatricality" (see no. 107 for citation) pp. 5-12.

This article serves partly as an introduction to the other essays in this issue of *Comparative drama*. It also serves as a summary of recent research in the medieval drama. Davidson remarks that scholars must expand their range of investigation to include the drama of the Eastern Church, problems of staging, of acting, of costuming, and other aspects that have been all but ignored. An unfortunate tendency in recent years to disregard any aspects of evolutionary development in the plays has caused a neglect of the study of the relationship between liturgical and vernacular plays.

In conclusion, Davidson states that "collectively, they [the essays] illustrate the diversity, the theatricality, the splendor of medieval drama" (page 11).

- 107b. **Flanigan**, C. Clifford. "The liturgical context of the *Quem queritis* trope" (see no. 107 for citation) pp. 45-62.

Flanigan attempts to get at the root of the origins of the drama by studying the actual context of the *Quem queritis* trope within the entire Easter liturgy. He mentions the conflict that arose between Karl Young (no. 32) and O. B. Hardison (no. 84) over the original use of the trope, and blames both for their lack of understanding of the true function of the trope and its interaction with the Easter introit and Matins.

This interaction between the trope and its introit is clearly shown in a complete text from St. Martial (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 1240, fol. 30v). Flanigan points out that Young's presentation of the same text omits important sections of the introit, since he was concentrating only on the trope. The text of a *Quem queritis* from Novalosa and its introit from the eleventh century is also provided.

The trope's function is to explain and expand upon the text of the introit. It is not, as Young and Hardison maintained, involved in representation or impersonation. In its Matins position the trope (now called the *Visitatio sepulchri*) serves this same purpose, to bring the historical past act of salvation to the present through ritual. The trope in general "pointed to the special sense of cultic time and place which is at the heart of all liturgical commemoration" (page 60). The fact that a true dramatic art developed from this function is a different problem to be considered. Both Young and Hardison failed to come to this realization, the first from lack of complete understanding of the purpose of the liturgy, and the second through lack of study of the music.

Although Flanigan considers music to be an essential aspect of his study, he generally relies on the works of such scholars as William Smoldon, Heinrich Husmann, Richard Crocker, and Paul Evans for his musical details.

- 107c. **Ogden**, Dunbar H. "The use of architectural space in medieval music-drama" (see no. 107 for citation) pp. 63-76.

Of some eight hundred extant texts of medieval music-dramas, only a dozen or so can definitely be assigned to a specific church or building on the basis of internal evidence. Architectural details of some of these locations are often vague or incomplete, further hindering a study such as Ogden has attempted.

The author concentrates, however, on three instances where a great deal can be discovered of the architectural layout: the *Visitatio sepulchri* from the *Regularis*

*concordia*, which was performed in Winchester and Canterbury from about 970 to about 1100; a fifteenth century *Visitatio sepulchri* from the Magdeburg Cathedral; and plays performed at the Church of St. John at Besançon. Diagrams are given for each location with some conjectural reconstruction when necessary.

The permanent Easter sepulchre is discussed briefly. Although there are over one hundred churches in England with permanent sepulchres, only four *Visitatio sepulchri* plays remain. The importance of such a specific location in the church is emphasized as the first real stage "prop." It further helped to define the play's architectural space.

- 107d. **Sticca**, Sandro. "The *Christos Paschon* and the Byzantine theater" (see no. 107 for citation) pp. 13-44.

The origins of the Byzantine religious theater have rarely been discussed, due to the paucity of extant dramatic specimens. Early studies in the field include the works of Du Ménil (no. 1) and Constantine Sathas, a Greek scholar of the late nineteenth century. Work on the early Byzantine hymns and the dramatic homilies has shed some light on the problem of the origins of the Byzantine theater, as well as the existence of a fragmentary Palatine Passion play. One play, however, which is considered the only authentic dramatic expression of the region, has received a certain amount of attention in the past—the *Christos Paschon*. It is this play which Sticca studies in detail in this article.

The *Paschon* consists of a cento of 2602 iambic verses, constructed mainly from seven of Euripides' plays. The work has been variously dated from the fourth to the twelfth centuries. Sticca tends toward the later date. The play is discussed in detail from a literary viewpoint; there is no mention of the music. The extremely dramatic nature of the play is emphasized.

108. **Edwards**, Robert. "Techniques of transcendence in medieval drama," *Comparative drama* 8:2 (Summer 1974) pp. 157-171.

The author briefly discusses both liturgical and secular medieval drama in terms of Aristotle's views of drama, and emphasizes that to date most scholars of the medieval drama have been strongly influenced by the classical concepts of tragedy, action, imitation, etc. The medieval view of the visual and aural arts is also discussed, with music seen primarily as a "nonmimetic device." The recent trend against viewing medieval drama's origins in ritual is supported somewhat vaguely. A concluding statement that "medieval drama organizes the narrative of Christian history around transcending images" (page 164) is intended to clarify the author's views, but does not adequately do so.

109. **Hughes**, Andrew. *Medieval music: the sixth liberal art*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974. Pp. xii, 326 (Toronto medieval bibliographies, 4).

This is an extremely useful bibliography on all aspects of medieval music, as complete and up to date as possible when published. As criteria for inclusion, Hughes weighs the quality of scholarship and presentation and balances this with the amount of information available on the topic, the writer's originality, and the date of writing. Items are included if the topic is otherwise scantily researched. Arrangement within each subject section is chronological by date of publication,

or alphabetical by author. Cross-references within the body of the work, and the indexes (to authors and editors, and to title and subject) provide adequate access to each item.

The section for liturgical drama is divided into general histories, facsimiles and editions, performing editions, and the music. Two articles by Smoldon (no. 44 and no. 79) are cited as essential to a complete survey of the field. Annotations are brief but to the point, and reviews of works are noted. The arrangement is quite helpful. Many of the items included in Hughes' section on "liturgical drama" are included in this bibliography.

110. **McGee**, Timothy J. "The Liturgical placements of the *Quem quaeritis* dialogue," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29 (Spring 1976) Pp. 1-29.

The author sheds new light on the subject of the location of the Easter trope within the liturgy. The generally accepted theory is that the dialogue originated as a trope to the Easter Introit and then migrated to the Matins service to allow greater dramatic potential. Evidence to the contrary is derived from a study of eighty manuscripts datable before 1200, in the majority of which the *Quem quaeritis* occurs before the Mass. Aspects discussed include the pre-Mass *Collecta* ceremony common to many Roman churches, the St. Martial school, placement of the dialogue in the manuscript, and the Cluniac reform.

McGee suggests that the dialogue was never directly part of the Introit to the Mass and that it was not universally accepted as a trope in its earliest forms. In conclusion, the author suggests that the *Quem quaeritis* dialogue may have been dramatically conceived in the first place and may actually be the only continuous link between the Carolingian revival and the drama of the late Middle Ages.

An appendix of manuscripts used in the study, citing provenance, century and liturgical placement, completes the article.