

The Liturgical Dramas for Holy Week at Barking Abbey

INTRODUCED, EDITED, AND TRANSLATED BY
Anne Bagnall Yardley and Jesse D. Mann

Medieval Feminist Forum
Subsidia Series, Volume 3, 2014
Medieval Texts in Translation 1,
Mary Dockray-Miller, Series Editor



MEDIEVAL FEMINIST FORUM

SUBSIDIA SERIES VOLUME 3, 2014

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Medieval Feminist Forum is indexed in the *MLA International Bibliography*, published by the Modern Language Association, 26 Broadway, 3rd floor; New York, NY 10004; <http://www.mla.org> and *Feminae: Medieval Women and Gender Index*, <http://www.haverford.edu/library/reference/mschaus/mfi/>

Medieval Feminist Forum ISSN: 1536-8742 (Print) 2151-6073 (Online)

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Introduction

This first volume of *Texts in Translation* in the Society for Medieval Feminist Scholarship's *Subsidia* series makes available to students and scholars for the first time a complete edition and English translation of the liturgical dramas included in the fifteenth-century ordinal and customary of the nuns of Barking Abbey.¹ Taken together, these three dramas—*Depositio*, *Descensus/Elevatio*, and *Visitatio sepulchri*—reveal the opportunities for nuns to assume a variety of identities in the performance of their special liturgies for Holy Week. The Barking dramas are unusual for the clear delineation of the roles of the nuns and the intermingling of men and women in the cast. While reading the text, it is helpful to remember that in some sense these performances are small operas; the text is primarily sung in plainchant, the monophonic, non-metered chant of the Middle Ages.

A liturgical drama, in the simplest sense, is a play that occurs within the context of worship (liturgy). It differs from liturgy because people act the part of someone else in the retelling of a biblical story. So, for example, in the Easter drama people act the parts of the women coming to the tomb, the part of Jesus appearing to the women, and the parts of the angels. As Dunbar H. Ogden suggests, the performers and the

1 We are grateful to Mary Dockray-Miller for the invitation to submit this project and to Katie Bugyis for her generosity in reading and commenting upon it in draft form.

audience must be aware of this representation, and it should be sustained for more than a brief time.² The presence of “stage directions” is one indication that the performers were aware of these sections of the manuscript as a play within the liturgy. At the same time, a liturgical drama partakes of the nature of the liturgy, and such dramas were seen as acts of worship, not of entertainment. The three liturgical dramas presented here are the *Depositio* (Removal from the Cross and Burial), the *Descensus/Elevatio* (Descent [into hell]/Raising from the Tomb), and the *Visitatio sepulchri* (Visitation at the Tomb). In each case nuns and/or priests play specific roles and there is a clear sense of theater.

The Barking dramas are hardly unknown; there are multiple Latin editions of the texts available, several full or partial translations, and a variety of commentary on the texts in scholarly publications. This clean, new transcription with complete, split-screen translation includes the expanded chant material to contribute to a fuller understanding of the richly dramatic liturgical life of the period and the roles played by women in that life.

The Manuscript and its Editions

The sole manuscript that contains the dramas is housed in the library of University College, Oxford (MS 169). Internal evidence dates it to 1404, when it was presented to the abbess, Sibille Felton. The manuscript is on vellum and measures 9.25 inches by 6.25 inches. There are now 224 leaves, but several have been excised from the original manuscript.³ There is no surviving evidence of the scriptorium at Barking Abbey and no indication of the scribe in the manuscript itself. So while it is probable that the MS was produced at Barking, we have no evidence to confirm this possibility.

In the medieval period there were several different types of manuscripts that recorded the texts and music for liturgical services. An

2 Dunbar H. Ogden, *The Staging of Drama in the Medieval Church* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002), 17.

3 J. B. L. Tolhurst, ed., *The Ordinale and Customary of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey*, 2 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society Publications 65–66 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1927–28), 1:v–viii.

ordinal compiled the liturgical practices of a specific place—in this case Barking Abbey—into one volume, giving a brief listing of the service components for the entire year and including just the incipit or first few words of each chant or prayer. A customary offered information on how those liturgies and other monastic observances were to be enacted. The Barking manuscript interweaves the material of the ordinal and customary. The entire manuscript was edited by J. B. L. Tolhurst and published by the Henry Bradshaw Society in 1927, making this portrait of liturgical life in an English Benedictine nunnery available to scholars.

Karl Young had published an early edition of the *Depositio, Descensus/ Elevatio*, and *Visitatio sepulchri* in a 1910 article, but then superseded it with the version in his seminal work *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (1933).⁴ More recent editions include those by Walther Lipphardt (1976) and Pamela Sheingorn (1987).⁵ Sheingorn's edition also includes facsimile reproductions of the relevant pages of the manuscript. As the *apparatus criticus* indicates, our edition takes these previous editions into account in our own editorial decisions.

A complete but relatively inaccessible translation of the dramas is available in a 1983 publication edited by Peter Meredith and John E. Tailby.⁶ Translations of parts of the dramas also appeared in Anne Yardley's 2006 publication *Performing Piety*.⁷ Previously, Charles W. Jones

4 Karl Young, "The Harrowing of Hell in Liturgical Drama," *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* 16, no. 2 (1910): 889–947, and *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933).

5 Walther Lipphardt, ed., *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, Ausgaben deutscher Literatur des XV bis XVIII Jahrhunderts, Reihe Drama 5 (Berlin: DeGruyter, 1975–76); Pamela Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulchre in England*, Early Drama, Art and Music Reference Series 5 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1987).

6 Peter Meredith and John E. Tailby, *The Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages: Texts and Documents in English Translation*, Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series 4 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1983). This translation is embedded in the chapter titled "Eye-Witness Accounts and Extended Descriptions"; since digital catalog information does not include reference to the Barking texts, this translation does not appear in search results.

7 Anne Bagnall Yardley, *Performing Piety: Musical Culture in Medieval English Nunneries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 141–53.

had published a translation of the full text of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*.⁸ The present work is the first full edition with translation of all three dramas; it is also the first translation to include the antiphonal incipits and the expanded chants.

Because these dramas are conveyed in an ordinal/customary, they are lacking certain elements that would allow us to understand them fully. The chants that are to be sung are given only with a chant incipit and no musical notation. In many instances, we can guess with a great degree of certainty what the chant text would be; unfortunately, in other instances we cannot. The chant texts have been expanded in order to give as full a sense of the drama as possible. There are seven chants in the *Visitatio* that appear to be unique to the Barking manuscript and may well represent the creative compositional activities of the nuns. The prefatory Prohemium to the Easter dramas credits Catherine of Sutton, abbess of Barking Abbey from 1358 to 1376, with moving the performance of the *Descensus/Elevatio* from before Matins to after the third responsory of Matins in order to increase devotion among the people. This change of place causes the *Descensus/Elevatio* to lead directly into the *Visitatio sepulchri* rather than have the lengthy service of Matins in between the two. Nancy Cotton credits Catherine as the author of this version of the dramas.⁹ Catherine's biographer Santha Bhattacharji argues convincingly that this credit oversteps the evidence of the source, but comments "It can be said with confidence, however, that Katherine struck her contemporaries as a woman of notable energy and decisiveness, and that they associate her name, in whatever way, with an interesting and unusual piece of liturgical drama."¹⁰ While the evidence does not demonstrate that Catherine composed the dramas, it is highly likely that nuns were

8 Charles W. Jones, ed., *Medieval Literature in Translation* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1950), 929–31.

9 Nancy Cotton, "Katherine of Sutton: The First English Woman Playwright," *Educational Theatre Journal* 30, no. 4 (1978): 475–81, doi:10.2307/3206043.

10 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, s.v. "Sutton, Katherine," by Santha Bhattacharji, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>, quoted in Anne Bagnall Yardley, "Liturgy as the Site of Creative Engagement: Contribution of the Nuns of Barking," in *Barking Abbey and Medieval Literary Culture: Authorship and Authority in a Female Community*, ed. Jennifer N. Brown and Donna Alfano Bussell (York: York Medieval Press, 2012), 274.

involved in the process of creating this particular version of the *Visitatio* through the use of pre-existing materials and through the composition of the unique chants for which we have only incipits.¹¹

The Context of the Dramas

Barking Abbey was a large, relatively wealthy nunnery located near London in the town of Barking. Founded in the seventh century as a double house of men and women, it became a women's community from the tenth century until the dissolution of monastic communities in 1539. While the number of inhabitants varied over the centuries, the statutory number of nuns was thirty-seven.¹² Because of the existence of the ordinal/customary, we know more about the liturgical practices at Barking Abbey than at any other English Benedictine house for women. In addition to the nuns, there were priests, deacons, and other clerics associated with the abbey.¹³ On important liturgical occasions the processions included clerics in minor orders carrying the cross, the candelabra, and the gospel book. Thus it was common on feast days to have several men as part of the liturgical proceedings along with the nuns.

Within the abbey, the *cantrix* (female form of cantor), held the major responsibility for the performance of the liturgy including the liturgical dramas. Her many duties included oversight of liturgical life, the regulation of music, teaching music to the nuns, and vocal leadership. She appears in the dramas primarily in her role in starting chants.

Holy Week liturgies are among the most inherently dramatic parts of the entire liturgical year. The reenactments of the procession on Palm Sunday begin the week with a dramatic flair. Each of the three dramas presented here has its own unique development and history, touched on only briefly in this introduction. The works cited in the notes provide

11 Yardley, *Performing Piety*, 145; Yardley, "Liturgy," 273–75.

12 David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1971), 256.

13 Among the priests mentioned in the ordinal are the *sacerdos ebdomadarius* (weekly priest), *sacerdos misse matutinalis* (priest of the morning mass), *sacerdos capitalis* (priest of the capitular mass or chapter priest), and *sacerdos beate marie* (priest for the Marian mass).

direction for more extensive inquiry.

The Three Texts

The *Depositio* is a reenactment of the entombment of Christ which was performed on Good Friday after the Adoration of the Cross or first Vespers. The *Depositio* at Barking Abbey, which occurs after the Adoration of the Cross, follows the same basic outline as the one found in the tenth-century *Regularis concordia*, a guide for English monastic life. In the Barking version, the four main actions are carrying the cross to the altar, removing the image of Christ to wash it with wine and water, burying the cross in the sepulcher, and, finally, shutting the sepulcher where the cross remains until it is removed as part of the Easter dramas. Part of what sets this short drama apart from the liturgy is the suggestion that the priests are representing Joseph and Nicodemus. Additionally, clear stage directions add to the sense of this section of the text as a play. At each stage of the drama, the nuns offer commentary, in the form of chants, on the ritual action. By expanding the text incipits in the ordinal with the remaining text for each chant, we gain a very full sense of the ways in which the chant texts are integral to the meaning and action of this short drama.¹⁴ Some churches in England had distinct places set aside to serve as the sepulcher while others created a sepulcher for the occasion. Often, these were located on the north wall of the chancel.¹⁵ It would appear from the description that the nuns at Barking had a specific place (perhaps a niche or other architectural feature) that represented the tomb of Christ to which they carried the cross and that they augmented that with a coverlet, pillow, and white linens in the actual burial. At Barking the abbess had the responsibility for keeping a light burning continuously at the sepulcher until Easter.

The second drama, *Descensus/Elevatio*, was performed at Easter Matins. It offers a rare pairing of these two short scenes representing the descent into hell and the raising of the dead. While it is common to find the text for the *Elevatio* in medieval English sources, it is less common to

14 Yardley, *Performing Piety*, 143.

15 Sheingorn, *Easter Sepulchre*, 33–45.

find it paired with the *Descensus* or “Harrowing of Hell.” The *Descensus* grew from the theological understanding of the line in the Apostle’s Creed “he descended into hell” and seeks to represent that descent into hell to bring salvation to those who were imprisoned there. The harrowing was popular in medieval England, and there are several extant non-liturgical versions in the vernacular in addition to the liturgical enactments.¹⁶ The *Elevatio* is a short drama that allows the community to retrieve the cross from the sepulcher and to find an empty tomb on Easter morning. At Barking, the *Elevatio* follows directly from the *Descensus*, forming one dramatic unit. The stage directions for this drama indicate that the abbess, the entire convent, and some of the priests represent the patriarchs and prophets; one of the priests represents Christ; the procession of the nuns and priests at the end represents Christ being followed by his disciples. It is notable that, in these two short dramas, the nuns have the opportunity to play the patriarchs and prophets as well as the disciples of Christ. These roles are part of the drama and offer nuns a chance to envision themselves as historical male figures. These opportunities complicate the common metaphor of nuns as the “brides of Christ.”

The *Visitatio sepulchri* retells the story of the women going to Christ’s tomb and finding it empty; its performance directly followed the *Depositio/Elevatio*. Although it is the best-known and most widely circulated medieval liturgical drama, it is actually less well represented in English sources than the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. The version portrayed in the Barking ordinal has thus received a great deal of scholarly attention from historians of this genre.¹⁷

16 Ann Faulkner, “The Harrowing of Hell at Barking Abbey and in Modern Production,” in *The Iconography of Hell*, ed. Clifford Davidson and Thomas H. Seiler, (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1992), 141–57.

17 See Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 1:381–85, who identifies this text as an example of the “third stage” of the development of the *Visitatio*. See also Diane Dolan, *Le drame liturgique de pâques en Normandie et en Angleterre au Moyen-Age*, Publications de l’Université de Poitiers, Lettres et sciences humaines 16 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1975); Susan Rankin, *The Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama in France and England*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland, 1989) and “The Mary Magdalene Scene in

Unfortunately, the manuscript's lack of a full text and of musical notation makes it most difficult to reconstruct the drama completely at this point. There are seven text incipits that would appear to be unique to the Barking version of the *Visitatio* and undoubtedly reflect the creative work of the nuns there.¹⁸ In the first scene of the Barking *Visitatio*, the three Marys (Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Mary representing Salome) come to the tomb seeking Jesus. They are met by two angels, one inside the tomb and one outside the tomb, as they find the empty tomb. In a second scene, Jesus appears to Mary Magdalene and then to all three women. Finally the disciples, played by the priest and clerics, appear, and Mary Magdalene shows them the shroud. All rejoice together. The choir of nuns participates in several of the chants towards the end of the drama.

Clearly there are several characters in this drama. The ordinal provides some information on the casting of the play in the description of a meeting of the nuns in the chapter house after terce on Holy Saturday. At this meeting, the abbess chooses the three nuns who should play the roles of the Marys. She also chooses two novices to carry candelabra and accompany the nuns. In the vast majority of the *Visitatio* manuscripts from the Middle Ages, men played the parts of the three women who went to the tomb. Thus it is significant that the Barking manuscript clearly indicates that three nuns played the roles of the women and that they were accompanied by two female novices carrying candelabra.

The *Visitatio* is full of stage directions which help the reader to envision the actual enactment of the drama. Among the notable instructions for performing the *Visitatio* are several tantalizing hints of vocal performance practice. Not only do we get specific indications as to who should

the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' Ceremonies," in *Early Music History 1: Studies in Medieval and Modern Music*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); and Ogden, *Staging of Drama*. Ogden especially focuses on the stage directions; he notes that the confession (to the abbess by the nuns who play Mary) and the cleansing rituals (at Wilton, Origny, and Troyes) are the only known instances where some sort of cleansing was required. There are approximately 680 manuscripts where men played the role of the Marys and did not undergo any cleansing before assuming the role (*Staging of Drama*, 144).

18 Yardley, "Liturgy."

sing each chant, but we also get several indications of how they should sing the chant. Various chants should be sung *flebili voce et submissa* (tearful and subdued voice), *plangendo* (plaintively), *suspirando* (sighing), *voce letabunda* (joyful voice), *alternis modulacionibus* (rhythmically), or *solemniter* (solemnly). While it is unclear exactly how these emotions are expressed by the singer, it is clear that her emotions are to inflect the music. In the *Descensus*, the priest is instructed to sing *Tollite portas* three times, repeating each time *in alciori voce* (in a higher/louder voice). As Ogden indicates in his table of vocal qualities, *alta* (the root form of *alciori*) in its various forms is one of the most ambiguous of the terms.¹⁹ It can mean “high,” or “loud,” or “intense.” In this particular instance, we have chosen to translate *alciori* as “higher” because, as Ogden indicates, there are several instances of phrases being repeated at successively higher pitch levels. The singer could well also become louder on each repetition. This liturgical drama thus not only includes representations of specific characters and a clear sense that the actors and audience are aware of it as drama; it also includes detailed indications that the singing style itself should be dramatic.

Female *Sacerdotes*?

This new edition with translation calls attention to a very intriguing, but hitherto completely overlooked, element in the text of the Barking *Visitatio sepulchri*. That the three Marys of the *Visitatio* are played by nuns rather than by male clerics is in itself perhaps not so surprising for a nunnery.²⁰ However, the ordinal (lines 205–9) suggests that the nuns

19 Ogden, *Staging of Drama*, 156–62.

20 Ibid., 143: “Rare indeed are women in the roles of the Marys. Each of these unusual performances took place in a nunnery or in a church, usually a cathedral with a nunnery-like chapter of canonesses attached to it.” Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 1:384, calls this “a particularly arresting feature of the Barking play.” See also Kay Brainerd Slocum, “Ritual and Ceremony at Barking Abbey,” *Magistra* 162, no. 2 (2010): 94–110, 105n32. Walther Lipphardt, Hans-Gert Roloff, and Lothar Mundt, eds., *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, T. 7–9: Kommentar, *Ausgaben deutscher Literatur des XV bis XVIII Jahrhunderts*, Reihe Drama 5/7–9 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1990), 8:684, note that nuns played the Marys in Prague and in Salzburg.

playing the Marys at Barking were in some sense seen as clerics or priests (*sacerdotes*). All previous editors and commentators have overlooked, ignored, or misread the gender of several key words in the final lines of the *Visitatio*. Unless one considers both the feminine plural adjective *predicte* and the subsequent feminine accusative pronoun *eas* as scribal errors, it appears that at Barking the three sisters not only performed the roles usually played by priests but were also themselves called “priests” and were seen as performing sacerdotal functions in the drama.

There are really two issues here. The first is the identity of the *sacerdotes* in this passage. The second involves how the “actors” so identified may have been understood to be performing sacerdotal functions. As regards the first issue, we suggest that the *sacerdotes* of line 205 are definitely the three Marys and not the male *sacerdotes* mentioned earlier in the text. There are several reasons for this identification. In classical Latin, *sacerdos* could be both masculine and feminine (see OLD, s.v, “sacerdos”). While ecclesiastical Latin usually treats *sacerdos* as masculine (see, e.g., Blaise, s.v. “sacerdos”), there are instances of the term being used in relation to female *sacerdotes* (e.g., Macy), and seemingly even to nuns in particular (Latham, s.v. “sacerdos”).²¹ Thus, the word *sacerdos* itself could be understood as feminine here, but this usage would represent a significant break with the usual gender of this word in the text. More importantly, the subsequent feminine plural accusative pronoun *eas* (line 208) is hard to explain if one does not understand it as referring to the *sacerdotes* who are the subjects of the preceding plural participles and verbs (*reinduentes, transeuntes, adeant, and faciant*).

Not only does grammar argue for this identification; context and

21 *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. G. W. Glare (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982); Albert Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1967); Gary Macy, *The Hidden History of Women's Ordination: Female Clergy in the Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 60; R. E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1973). It should be noted that the entry in Latham's *Word-List* includes a question mark (?) after this definition, indicating “doubt as to the meaning or date assigned to a word, of the justifiability of its inclusion in a particular group” (p. xix). Consequently, one would not want to make too much of this possibility.

sense do as well. At the outset of the *Visitatio* (lines 115–18), the nuns remove their usual black garments and don surplices and veils in the chapel of Mary Magdalene.²² Subsequently (line 205–6), the *sacerdotes* are instructed to put on their own clothes (*propriis vestibus reinduentes*) in that same chapel. Since there has been no indication that the male priests were in costume at all, it seems likely that the three Marys are the ones who return to the chapel to put back on their own garments—the same ones they had removed at the beginning of the drama.²³ Also relevant to this identification are the *candelabra*. In the *Visitatio* this word only occurs two times, and each time it is associated with the three Marys. This is not surprising, since, as noted above, a previous section of the ordinal informs us that the Marys are to be accompanied by two novices carrying candelabra.²⁴ The Marys are clearly linked with candelabra at the outset of the *Visitatio* (line 120), and again at its conclusion when the Marys move from the chapel through the choir *cum candelabris* (line 206). Finally, that the abbess should instruct the male clerics to go and rest—the necessary result of reading *eas* (line 208) as referring to men—seems unlikely. That command seems more appropriately directed toward her nuns, the three Marys who here are called *sacerdotes*.

As regards the second issue, one must again consider the change of clothing the three Marys undergo at the start of the *Visitatio*. This change of clothing, suggestive of the priestly donning of special vestments before

22 Ogden, *Staging of Drama*, 149, states that the abbess “dresses the Marys in purest white surplices with white veils on their heads.” Slocum, “Ritual and Ceremony,” 105, inaccurately suggests that the nuns first changed clothing and then proceeded into the chapel of Mary Magdalene. According to the text, they actually changed clothes in the chapel itself.

23 Ogden, *ibid.*, says it is the priests playing the part of the disciples who “(now in their usual vestments) reenter from ‘the chapel,’ probably the Magdalen Chapel, and with candles they cross through the choir to the sepulchre, pray, return, and pause—here a unique mimed reminder of the race to the tomb by Peter and John.” Slocum renders this phrase as “the priests went back into the chapel vested appropriately.” “Ritual and Ceremony,” 107.

24 See Tolhurst, *Ordinale and Cutomary*, 103: *Post culparum emendacionem et uirtutum amonicionem prouideat abbatissa tres sorores quesituras in sepulcro nocte sequenti crucifixum. scilicet mulieres prefigurantes que ad monumentum domini cum aromatis uenerint. Singulis autem illarum due iuencule adhibeantur que candelabra iuxta eas circumferant.*

beginning the liturgy of the mass, clearly indicates that the Marys are now playing a distinctly new role. Likewise, the three Marys also say a confession to the abess and are absolved. It was common for priests to say the *Confiteor* (“I confess”) before celebrating mass.²⁵ Thus, both dress and action are suggestive of sacerdotal function. Moreover, one could see the Marys as performing a kerygmatic (and thus sacerdotal) role in the drama, inasmuch as they are to proclaim the good news of Christ’s resurrection to others.

This reading thus expands upon Ogden’s claim that at Barking (and at Origny), the abess exercised “religious power normally reserved for men, for priests.”²⁶ Not only does the abess seem to have exercised such power, but in some sense the three Marys also appear to have exercised some type of sacerdotal power as well—enough, at any rate, to merit the title *sacerdotes*.



The Edition

This edition, based on digital images of the sole extant manuscript, collates the four editions mentioned above. The edition follows these principles:

Orthography: The orthography of the manuscript is retained (including its irregular and inconsistent use of *i* and *j* as well as *u* and *v*) except in the few instances where the MS contains an initial double consonant (e.g., line 50 *ffigurantes* becomes *figurantes*). For consistency, expansion of abbreviations similarly reflects the orthographic practice of the scribe, as does the orthography of supplied chant material.

Punctuation and Capitalization: For comprehension, the edition employs modern punctuation, including paragraph divisions. Proper names and the word *Domina* when used as an official title (line 38) have been capitalized, but the individual persons of the Trinity (*deus, filius,*

25 Ogden, *Staging of Drama*, 146, notes that at that moment [i.e., after confessing to the abess] “the three Marys are the celebrants” [his emphasis].

26 *Ibid.*, 149.

etc.) and the word *dominus* when referring to God or Christ have not been capitalized.

Typography and Text Symbols: Antiphonal incipits, hymns, antiphons, prayers and biblical citations are presented in *italics*. Editorial additions, including the supplied text of the chants and relevant emendations, are indicated by angular brackets < >.

Pagination: The MS shows page numbers on an alternating basis (e.g., p. 119, p. 121, etc.) on the recto side of each leaf only. According to Dr. B. C. Barker-Benfield of the Bodleian Library, this pagination is modern and may date from 1700. The foliation that appears in Tolhurst's edition seems to be his own invention and is not found in the MS itself.²⁷

Expanded Chant Material: Where possible, the chant material is expanded beyond the incipits given in the MS. The rationale for doing so and the selection method for the expanded texts are provided in the Appendix. It should be noted here that, when we have expanded a chant, we have intentionally omitted the phrase *et cetera* that sometimes follows the incipit in the MS (e.g., at line 157). In the few cases where the MS includes the phrase *et cetera* but no expanded text is available (e.g., line 163), we have retained *et cetera* and added <...>.

Critical Apparatus: The apparatus provides “variant readings” and differing editorial emendations proposed by previous editors. In the apparatus, the expression *corr. ad* means *corrigit/corrigunt ad* (= corrects to) and *add.* means *addit* (= adds).

27 This is an appropriate place to thank Dr. Barker-Benfield for much valuable information pertaining to Oxford MS 169.



The Translation

The translation strives for balance between readability and literal accuracy. The aim has been to render the text intelligible to both nonspecialist and specialist modern readers, particularly those who might wish to perform these liturgical dramas. Toward this same end, the antiphonal incipits and the expanded chants are also translated. While we have consulted other translations (listed above), this translation represents a fresh attempt to render the Latin into fluent English. In the translation, words or letters in square brackets [] have been supplied by the translators.



SIGLA

- MS = Oxford, University College MS 169, pp. 108–9, 119–24.
- L = Walther Lipphardt (ed.), *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, Ausgaben deutscher Literatur des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts., Reihe Drama, vol. 5 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1976), No. 770, pp. 1455–61.
- S = Pamela Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulchre in England*, Early Drama, Art and Music Reference Series 5 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 1987), pp. 132–137 (facsimile reproductions of MS figs. 10–17).
- T = J. B. L. Tolhurst, *The Ordinale and Customary of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey University College, Oxford, ms. 169*, 2 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society Publications, vols. 65–66 (London: [Henry Bradshaw Society], 1927–1928), 1:100, 107–10.
- Y = Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933), 1:164–66, 381–84.

/p. 108/ Cum autem sancta crux fuerit adorata, sacerdotes de loco predicto crucem eleuantes incipiant antiphonam *Super omnia ligna <cedrorum tu sola excelsior, in qua vita mundi pependit, in qua*
 5 *Christus triumphauit et mors mortem superauit.*> et choro illo subsequente totam concinant, cantrix incipiente. Deferant¹ crucem ad magnum altare ibique in specie Ioseph et Nichodemi de ligno deponentes ymaginem uulnera crucifixi uino abluant et aqua. Dum autem hec fiunt, concinat conuentus responsorium *Ecce quomodo*
 10 *moritur iustus <et nemo percipit corde, et uiri iusti tolluntur et nemo considerat; a facie iniquitatis ablatus est iustus, et erit in pace memoria eius>*, sacerdote incipiente et cantrix respondente et conuentu succinente. Post uulnerum ablucionem cum candelabris et turribulo deferant illam ad sepulcrum has² canentes antiphonas *In pace in idipsum <dormiam et requiescam>*. Antiphona *Habitabit <in tabernaculo tuo, requiescet in monte sancto tuo>*. Antiphona *Caro mea <requiescet in spe>*. Cumque in predictum locum tapetum palleo³ auriculari quoque et lintheis nitidissimis decenter ornatum illam cum reuerencia locauerint, claudat sacerdos sepulcrum⁴ et
 15 incipiat responsorium *Sepulto domino <signatum est monumentum uolentes lapidem ad ostium monumenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent illud. V. Ne forte veniant discipuli eius et furentur eum, et dicant plebi: Surrexit a mortuis>*. Et tunc abbatissa offerat cereum qui iugiter ardeat ante sepulcrum nec extingatur, donec ymago
 20 in nocte pasche post matutinas de sepulcro, cum cereis et thure et processione resumpta, suo reponatur in loco. Hijs itaque gestis redeat conuentus in chorum /p. 109/ et sacerdos in uestiarium.

1 diferant *T*

2 hac *MS*; hac *TS*

3 pallio *T*

4 sepulchrum *S*

After worshipping the holy cross, the priests lift it from its aforementioned location and should start to sing the antiphon *Above all woods <of cedars you alone [O cross] excel, [you] on which*
 5 *hung the life of the world, on which Christ triumphed and death overcame death.*>. The choir should join in, and, with the cantrix beginning, they should sing the entire antiphon together. They should carry the cross to the high altar where, [as if] representing Joseph and Nicodemus, they should take the image from the cross
 10 [and] wash the wounds of the crucified one with water and wine. While they are doing this, the convent should sing together the responsory *Behold how the just man dies <and no one takes it to heart, [how] the righteous are destroyed and no one pays any attention. The just man is removed from the face of iniquity, and his memory shall be in peace>*. The priest should start; the cantrix should respond;
 15 and the convent should then join in. After the washing of the wounds, they should carry the image to the tomb accompanied by candelabra and censer, all the while singing the antiphons *In peace <shall I sleep and rest>; He will abide <in your tabernacle and rest in your holy mountain>; [and] My flesh <shall rest in hope>*. When they
 20 have laid the image reverently in the aforementioned place that has been appropriately adorned with a coverlet of woolen cloth and a pillow and with dazzling linens,¹ the priest should close the tomb and begin to sing the responsory *When the Lord has been buried, <the tomb is sealed: they roll the stone to the tomb's entrance*
 25 *and place guards to watch over it>*. Then the abbess should provide the candle that should burn continuously before the sepulcher and should not be extinguished until after Matins on Easter night, when the image is returned from the tomb to its own [proper]
 30 place in a procession with candles and incense. When these things have been done, the convent should return to the choir and the priest to the vestry.

1 On these linens (*lintheis*), see Blandine-Dominique Berger, *Le drame liturgique de pâques du Xe au XIIIe siècle: Liturgie et théâtre*. Théologie historique 37. (Paris: Beauchesne, 1976), 264.

<PROHEMIUM>

35 /p. 119/ Nota quod secundum antiquam consuetudinem eccle-
siasticam resurrexio dominica celebrata fuit⁵ ante matutinas et ante
aliquam campane pulsacionem in die pasche. Et quoniam⁶ populo-
rum concursus temporibus illis videbatur deuocione frigessere⁷ et
torpor humanus maxime accrescens, venerabilis domina⁸ Domina
Katerina de Suttone, tunc pastoralis cure gerens vicem, desiderans
40 dictum torporem penitus extirpare et fidelium deuocionem ad
tam celebrem⁹ celebracionem magis excitare, vnanimi consorum
consensu instituit ut statim post tercium responsorium matu-
tinarum die pasche fieret dicte¹⁰ resurrexionis celebracio. Et hoc
44 modo statuatur processio.

<DESCENSUS/ELEVATIO>

In primis eat domina abbatissa cum toto conuentu et quibusdam
sacerdotibus et clericis capis indutis, quolibet sacerdote et cler-
ico palmam et candelam¹¹ extinctam manu deferente¹², intrent¹³
50 capellam sancte Marie Magdalene, figurantes animas sanctorum
patrum ante /p. 120/ aduentum Christi ad inferos descendentes et
claudant sibi ostium dicte¹⁴ capelle. Deinde superueniens sacerdos
ebdomadarius ad dictam capellam appropians¹⁵ alba indutus et capa
cum duobus diaconis: vno crucem deferente cum uexillo dominico

5 fuerit *T*

6 quam *T*

7 frigescere *L*

8 *om. LSY*

9 celibem *MS*; *corr. ad celebrem L*; celibem *T*; celeb<r>em *SY*

10 dominice *LSTY*

11 candelabram *L*

12 deferentem *MS*; deferentem *ST*; *corr. ad deferente LY*

13 ntrent *T*

14 dicete *T*

15 appropians *T*

<PREFACE>

Note that according to ancient ecclesiastical custom, the Lord's
resurrection was celebrated on Easter [Sunday] before Matins 35
and before any tolling of the bell. Now since in those times, the
whole of the people seemed to have grown cold in devotion and
human sluggishness was greatly on the rise, as an expression of her
pastoral concern, that venerable lady, Lady Catherine of Sutton,
sought to eliminate that sluggishness completely and to stimulate 40
more devotion on behalf of the faithful toward that very important
celebration. [Thus], with the unanimous consent of the sisters, she
decreed that the celebration of the Lord's resurrection should take
place immediately after the third responsory of Matins on Easter,
and the procession was to be carried out in this way: 45

<DESCENSUS/ELEVATIO>

At the outset, the lady abbess, together with the entire convent
and with certain priests and clerics dressed in copes, should enter
the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene. Each priest should carry in his
50 hand a palm and an unlit candle. They represent the souls of the
holy fathers who, living before Christ's coming, descended into
Hell. They should enclose themselves in said chapel and close
its door. Then the officiating priest, dressed in an alb and cope,
should approach the chapel with two deacons: one bearing a cross

55 desuper pendente, altero¹⁶ cum turribulo manu sua¹⁷ baiulante, et
aliis sacerdotibus et clericis cum duobus pueris cereos deferenti-
bus, ad ostium dicte capelle incipiens ter hanc antiphonam *Tollite*
portas, <principes, vestras et elevamini porte eternas et introibit rex
glorie>. Qui quidem sacerdos representabit personam Christi ad
60 inferos descensuram et portas inferni dirupturam. Et predicta
antiphona vnaquaque uice in alciori uoce incipiatur quam clerici
tociens eandem repetant. Et ad quamquam inceptioem pulset
cum cruce ad predictum ostium, figurans dirupcionem portarum
inferni, et tertia pulsacione ostium aperiat. Deinde ingrediatur ille
65 cum ministris suis. Interim incipiat quidam sacerdos in capella
existens¹⁸ antiphonam *A porta inferi* quam subinferat cantrix cum
toto conuentu *erue domine <animam meam>*. Deinde extrahet sac-
erdos ebdomadarius omnes essentes in capella predicta, et interim
incipiat sacerdos antiphonam *Domine, abstraxisti* et cantrix subse-
70 quatur *ab inferis <animam meam>*. Tunc omnes exeant de capella,
id est de limbo patrum. Et cantent sacerdotes et clerici antiphonam
Cum rex glorie <Christus infernum debellaturus intraret et chorus
angelicus ante faciem eius portas principum tolli preciperet, sanctorum
populus, qui tenebatur in morte captivus, voce lacrimabili clamauerat:
75 *Aduenisti desiderabilis, quem exspectabamus in tenebris, ut educeres*
hac nocte vinculatos de claustris. Te nostra vocabant suspiria, te larga
requirebant lamenta. Tu facta es spes desperatis, magna consolatio in
tormentis. Alleluia.> processionaliter per medium chori ad sepul-
crum portantes singuli palmam et candelam designantes victoriam
80 de hoste recuperatam, subsequentibus domina abbatissa, priorissa
et toto conuentu sicut sunt priores.

16 albo *MS*; al<ter>o *S*; corr. ad alio *T*; corr. ad altero *LY*

17 sau *T*

18 existente *MS*; existente *ST*; corr. ad existens *LY*

with the Lord's standard hanging from it; the other carrying a 55
censer in his hand. The other priests and clerics, along with two
boys carrying candles, should accompany them to the door of said
chapel where the officiating priest should thrice begin the anti-
phon *Tear down your gates, <O princes, and be raised up O eternal*
gates and the king of glory will enter>. He represents the person 60
of Christ descending to Hell to destroy its gates. Each time, he
should begin the aforementioned antiphon in a higher pitch, and
each time the clerics should repeat [it]. Every time he begins the
antiphon, he should strike the door of the chapel with the cross²
thereby representing the destruction of the gates of Hell. When 65
he strikes it the third time, the door should open. Then, together
with his ministers, he should enter. Meanwhile, a certain priest
from within the chapel should begin the antiphon *From the gate*
of Hell, to which the cantrix with the whole convent should add *O*
Lord, rescue <my soul>. Then the officiating priest should lead out 70
all those in the said chapel, while the [other] priest should begin
the antiphon *O Lord, you have released <my soul>* and the cantrix
should add *from Hell*. Then they should all leave the chapel, i.e.,
the limbo of the Fathers. The priests and clerics should sing the
antiphon *When the king of glory <entered Hell to vanquish it, and* 75
the angelic choir in his presence commanded the gates of the princes to
be torn down, the population of saints who were captive in death cried
out in a tearful voice: You have come, o desired one, whom we were
awaiting in darkness to lead out from [their] prisons on this night
those in chains. Our sighs were calling you. Our lavish laments sought 80
you. You have become the hope for the desperate, a great consolation
to those in torment. Alleluia.> as they move in procession through
the middle of the choir toward the sepulcher, each carrying a palm
and a candle signifying victory over the enemy. The lady abbess,
the prioress, and the entire convent follow them as if they were 85
the patriarchs.

2 This is presumably the aforementioned (line 54) cross carried by the
deacon.

Et cum ad sepulcrum peruenerint, sacerdos /p. 121/ ebdom-
 adarius sepulcrum thurificet et intret sepulcrum incipiendo versum
Consurgit. Deinde subsequatur cantrix: *Christus tumulo*,¹⁹ <victor
 90 *redit de barathro, tyrannum trudens vinculo et reserans paradysum*>,
 versus *Quesumus, auctor* <omnium, in hoc paschali gaudio ab omni
mortis impetu tuum defendas populum>, versus *Gloria tibi domine*,
 <qui surrexisti a mortuis, cum patre et sancto spiritu in sempiterna
 secula>. Et interim asportabit corpus dominicum de sepulcro incip-
 95 iendo antiphonam *Christus resurgens* coram altari verso uultu ad
 populum tenendo corpus dominicum in manibus suis inclusum
 cristallo. Deinde subiungat cantrix *ex mortuis* <iam non moritur;
mors illi ultra non dominabitur. Quod enim vivit, vivit deo>. Et cum
 dicta antiphona faciant processionem ad altare sancte trinitatis cum
 100 solenni apparatu, videlicet cum turribulis et cereis. Conuentus
 sequatur cantando predictam antiphonam cum versu: *Dicant nunc*
 <*Iudei quomodo milites custodientes sepulcrum perdiderunt regem*
 <*ad lapidis positionem. Quare non servabant petram justitie? Aut sep-*
 105 <*ultum reddant aut resurgentem adorent nobiscum dicentes alleluia*>
 et versiculo:²⁰ *Dicite in nacionibus* <*R. Quia dominus regnavit a*
 <*ligno. Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia*>. Oratio: *Deus qui pro nobis filium*
 <*tuum* <*crucis patibulum subire voluisti, ut inimici a nobis expelleres*
 <*potestatem: concede nobis famulis tuis, ut resurrectionis gratiam con-*
 <*sequamur. Per eundem Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.*> Et
 110 hec processio figuratur per hoc quomodo²¹ Christus procedit post
 resurrectionem in Galileam, sequentibus discipulis.

When they come to the tomb, the officiating priest should cense
 it and [then] enter the tomb while beginning the verse *Christ is*
risen. The cantrix then adds *from the tomb*, <*the victor returns from*
the underworld, the tyrant in chains in tow, and opens up Paradise>,
 90 and the verses *We ask, O author* <*of everything that in this paschal*
joy you defend your people from all fear of death> and *Glory to you*
O lord <*who rose from the dead, with the Father and the Holy Spirit*
forever>. Meanwhile, [the priest] shall take the Lord's body³ from
 the tomb and begin the antiphon *Christ is risen* in front of the altar
 95 with his face toward the people while holding the Lord's body in
 a glass⁴ in his hands. Then the cantrix shall sing *from the dead*;
 <*no longer is he dead. Death will have no further hold over him; for*
 <*because he lives, he lives in God*>, and at that antiphon they should
 move in procession toward the altar of the Holy Trinity [carrying]
 100 the solemn instruments, namely the censers and candles. The
 convent should follow singing the aforementioned antiphon with
 the verse *Now the Jews should say* <*how the soldiers guarding the*
 <*tomb lost the king in light of the placement of the stone. Why did they*
 <*not preserve the rock of justice? Either they should return the buried*
 105 <*one or they should worship the risen one with us saying: Alleluia!*> and
 the versicle *Tell the nations* <*that the Lord reigned from the wood*
 <*[of the cross] Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia!*>. The prayer: *God, for our*
 <*sakes* <*you wanted your son to submit to the yoke of the cross in order*
 <*to rid us of the power of the enemy: grant to us, your servants, that we*
 110 <*might obtain the grace of [his] resurrection. Through Christ our Lord.*
Amen>. This procession thus symbolizes how Christ proceeded
 into Galilee after his resurrection, followed by his disciples.

19 timulo MS; tumulo ST; corr. ad tumulo LY

20 versiculus MS; versiculo S; V. T; corr. ad versiculo LY

21 quo T

3 It is not entirely clear whether this refers to the *imago Crucifixi* mentioned in the *Depositio* or to the Host. See Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 1:167n2.

4 That "glass" is, presumably, a monstrance (a vessel used for exposing the Eucharistic Host for veneration). See *ibid.*, 1:167.

<VISITATIO SEPULCRI>

115 Quibus peractis procedant tres sorores a domina abbatissa pre-
electe, et nigris vestibus in capella beate Marie Magdalene exute
nitidissimis superpellicijs induantur, niueis velis a domina abbatissa
capitibus earum superpositis. Sic igitur preparate et in manibus
ampullas tenentes argenteas dicant *Confiteor* ad abbatissam, et
120 ab ea absolute in loco statuto cum candelabris consistant. Tunc
illa que speciem pretendit Marie Magdalene canat hunc versum:
Quondam dei <...>. Quo finito secunda que Mariam Iacobi pre-
figuratur alterum respondeat versum: *Appropinquans ergo sola* <...>.
Tercia Maria vicem optinens Salomee tercium canat versum: *Licet*
125 *mibi vobiscum ire* <...>. Post hec chorum incedentes flebili uoce et
submissa hos pariter canant versus:²² *Heu nobis internas men /p.*
122/ tes <quanti pulsant gemitus pro nostro consolatore, quo privamur
misere, quem crudelis Iudeorum morti dedit populus>. Hijs versibus
finitis Magdalena sola dicat hunc versum: *Heu misere <cur contigit*
130 *videre mortem salvatoris?>*. Iacobi respondeat: *Heu! consolacio nostra*
<ut quid mortem sustinuit>. Salome: *Heu! redempcio Israel <ut quid*
taliter agere voluit>. Quartum uero uersum omnes simul concinant,
scilicet *Iam iam ecce <iam properemus ad tumulum, unguentes dilecti*
corpus sanctissimum>. Tunc Marie exeuntes a choro simul dicant:
135 *Eya! Quis reuoluet <nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti?>*.

<VISITATIO>

When these things have been completed, three nuns, who 115
have been pre-selected by the lady abess, should come forward
and, having removed their black garments in the chapel of St
Mary Magdalene, should be dressed in dazzling [white] surplices.
The abess [should also] have placed white veils over their heads.
Thus prepared and holding silver vessels in their hands, [the three 120
nuns] should say the *Confiteor* to the abess. The abess absolves
them, and they should [then] stand in the prescribed place with
candelabra. The one representing Mary Magdalene should sing
the verse *At one time God's* <...>. When she is finished, the second
one, who represents Mary [mother] of James, should respond with 125
the second verse *Therefore she alone approaches* <...>. The third
Mary, playing the part of Salome, should sing the third verse *It*
is permitted for me to go with you <...>. After this, as they proceed
through the choir, they should sing together the verses *Alas, how*
numerous are the lamentations <that pound upon our private thoughts 130
for our consoler of whom we wretched ones are deprived, whom the cruel
Jewish people put to death> in a tearful and subdued voice. When
they have finished these verses, just the Magdalene alone should
sing the verse *Alas, [we are] wretched; <why did we have to see the*
Savior die?>. [Mary, mother of] James should respond *Alas, our* 135
consolation <that he endured such a death>. [And] Salome [should
then sing] *Alas, Israel's redemption <that he was willing to do such*
[a deed]>. The fourth verse, namely *Now, behold <let us hasten to*
approach the tomb to anoint the most holy body of the beloved>, they
should all sing together. Then, as the Marys leave the choir, they 140
should all sing *Oh! Who moved <the stone from the entrance of the*
tomb?>.

22 versum T

Cum autem uenerint ad sepulcrum, clericus alba²³ stola indutus
 145 sedeat ante sepulcrum illius angeli gerens figuram qui ab ostio
 monumenti lapidem reuoluit, et super eum sedit qui dicat illis:
Quem queritis in sepulcro, o cristicole? Respondeant mulieres: *Ihesum*
Nazarenum querimus. Angelus uero subinferat: *Non est hic, surrexit*
<enim sicut dixit. Venite et videte locum ubi positus fuerat, et euntes
 150 *dicite discipulis eius et Petro quia surrexit>*. Cumque dixerit *venite et*
videte, ingrediantur sepulcrum et deosculentur locum ubi positus
 erat crucifixus. Maria uero Magdalene interim accipiat sudarium
 quod fuerat super caput eius et secum deferat. Tunc alius clericus
 in specie alterius angeli in sepulcro residens dicat ad Magdalenam:
 155 *Mulier, quid ploras?* Illa autem subiungat: *quia tulerunt dominum*
meum <et nescio ubi posuerunt eum>. Deinde duo angeli simul
 concinentes dicant mulieribus: *Quid queritis uiuentem cum mortuis?*
<Non est hic, sed resurrexit. Recordamini qualiter locutus est vobis,
dum adhuc in Galilea esset, vobis dicens quia oportet filium hominis
 160 *pati et crucifigi, et die tertia resurgere?>*. Tunc ille de resurrexione²⁴
 domini adhuc dubitantes plangendo dicant ad inuicem: *Heu dolor*
<Heu, quam dira doloris angustia quod dilecti sum orbata magistri
presencia! Heu, quis corpus tam dilectum sustulit e tumulo?>. Postea
 Maria Magdalene suspirando concinant:²⁵ *Te suspiro et cetera <...>*.
 Tunc in sinistra parte altaris appareat persona dicens illi: *Mulier,*
 165 *quid ploras? Quem queris?* Illa uero putans eum esse ortolanum
 respondeat: *Domine, si tu sustulisti eum <dicito mihi et ego eum*
tollam>. Persona subiungat: *Maria*. Tunc illa²⁶ agnoscens eum

When they arrive at the tomb, a cleric in a white stole repre-
 senting the angel who rolled the stone away from the entrance 145
 of the grave should be seated in front of the tomb. Sitting on the
 stone, he should say to them: *Whom do you seek in [this] tomb,*
O followers of Christ? The women should respond: *We seek Jesus*
of Nazareth. The angel should then reply: *He is not here; for he is*
risen <just as he said [he would]. Come and see the place where he was
 150 *put; then go and tell his disciples and Peter that he has risen>*. When
 he says *Come and see*, they should enter the tomb and kiss the
 place where the Crucified one had been put. Meanwhile, Mary
 Magdalene should pick up the head-shroud⁵ and take it with her.
 Then another cleric inside the tomb representing a second angel
 should say to the Magdalene: *Woman, why are you weeping?* She 155
 replies: *because they have taken away my Lord, <and I do not know*
where they have put him>. At this point, the two angels, singing in
 unison, should say to the women: *Why do you seek the living among*
the dead? <He is not here; for he has risen. Remember how he told
you, while he was in Galilee, that the Son of Man would have to suffer 160
and be crucified and would rise again on the third day.> [But] they,
 doubting the Lord's resurrection, say to each other plaintively:
Alas, [what] pain! <Alas, what dire straits of pain that I am bereaved
of the presence of the beloved master! Alas, who took the beloved body
from the tomb?>. Then, as Mary Magdalene sighs, they should sing 165
 together: *To you I sigh etc. <...>*. Then, from the left side of the
 altar, a figure⁶ shall appear and say to her [i.e., Mary Magdalene]:
Woman, why are you weeping? Whom do you seek? Thinking that
 he is the gardener, she answers: *Sir, if you have carried him away*
<tell me, and I shall take him>. The figure rejoins: *Mary!* At that 170

23 et add. T

24 corr. ad resurrexione L

25 corr. ad concinat LY

26 <i>lla S

5 On the head-shroud (*sudarium*), see Berger, *Drame liturgique de pâques*, 264.

6 The Latin word "persona" as used here may be a short-hand form of the expression "persona Christi" (person of Christ). Compare the use of this expression earlier in the Latin text (line 59). Although "persona" is a feminine noun in Latin, it would be unwarranted to draw any conclusions from this point regarding the gender of the person playing the part of Christ in this drama.

pedibus eius prosternatur dicens: *Raboni*. Persona /p. 123/ autem se subtrahens dicat: *Noli me tangere*; <nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum. Vade autem fratres meos et dic eis: ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem vestrum, deum meum et deum vestrum>. Cum persona disparuerit, Maria gaudium suum consociabus communicet uoce letabunda hos concinendo versus: *Gratulari et letari et cetera* <...>. Quibus finitis persona in dextera²⁷ parte altaris tribus simul occurrat mulieribus dicens: *Auete. Nolite timere*; <ite, nunciate fratribus meis ut eant in Galileam. Ibi me videbunt>. Tunc ille humi prostrate teneant pedes eius et deosculentur. Quo facto alternis modulacionibus hos versus decantent, Maria Magdalene incipiente *Ihesus ille Nazarenus* et cetera <...>. Finitis hijs versibus tunc Marie stantes super gradus ante altare uertentes se ad populum canant hoc responsorium:²⁸ *Alleluia. Surrexit dominus de sepulchro*, choro eis respondente. Finitis hijs sacerdotes et clerici in figuram discipulorum Christi procedant dicentes: *O gens dira*²⁹<...>. Tunc vnus illorum accedat et dicat Marie Magdalene: *Dic*³⁰ *nobis Maria <quid vidisti in via>*. Illa autem respondeat: *Sepulcrum Christi <viuentis, et gloriam vidi resurgentis>*. *Angelicos testes <sudarium et vestes>*. Digito indicet locum vbi angelus sedebat, et sudarium prebeat³¹ illis ad deosculandum, hunc adicientes³² versus: *Surrexit Christus spes nostra*; <precedet suos in Galileam>. Tunc subiungatur³³ a discipulis et a choro hij ultimi versus: *Credendum est <magis soli Marie veraci quam Iudeorum turbe fallaci>* et *Scimus Christum <surrexisse a mortuis vere; tu nobis, victor rex, miserere>*.

27 dextra T

28 R. MS; R. T; responsum SY

29 et cetera add. L

30 Dixit MS; Di<c> S; Dixit T; corr. ad Dic LY

31 probeat S

32 “ursprünglich adiciens” scripsit L; “possibly adiciens was originally intended” scripsit Y

33 subiungatur ST

moment, she recognizes him and prostrating herself at his feet, she says: *Rabbi*. However, the figure withdraws from her and says: *Do not touch me*; <for I have not yet ascended to my father. Go to my brothers and tell them: I am ascending to my father and your father, my God and your God>. When that figure disappears, Mary [Magdalene] should communicate her delight to her companions in a joyful voice singing the verses: *Rejoice and be glad etc.* <...>. When those verses are finished, a figure from the right side of the altar should approach the three women all at once, saying *Hail! Do not be afraid!* <Go and tell my brothers to go to Galilee. There they will see me>. Then, the three women should prostrate themselves on the ground, take his feet and kiss them. Having done so, they should sing these verses alternately in rhythmic measure, beginning with Mary Magdalene singing *Jesus of Nazareth etc.* <...>. Upon finishing these verses, the Marys should stand on the steps in front of the altar, turn toward the people, and sing the responsory *Alleluia. The Lord has risen from the grave*; and the choir should answer them. After this, the priests and clerics representing the disciples should come forward singing *O dreadful race* <...>. Then one of them should approach Mary Magdalene and say to her: *Tell us, Mary, <what you saw on the way>*. She should reply: *The tomb of the living Christ <I saw and the glory of the risen one>*. *Angelic witnesses <[his] head-shroud and garments>*. Then she should point with her finger to the place where the angel was sitting, and she should show them the head-shroud for them to kiss [while] they sing the verse: *Christ, our hope, has risen; <he precedes his [disciples] into Galilee>*. The disciples and choir should then add the final verses: *More credible <is the trustworthy Mary alone than the [entire] deceitful crowd of the Jews>* and *We know that Christ <has risen from the dead. You, O victorious king, have mercy on us>*.

200

Postea incipiat Magdalena *Christus resurgens <ex mortuis iam non moritur; mors illi ultra non dominabitur. Quod enim vivit, vivit deo>*, clero et choro pariter succinente. Hijs itaque peractis solenniter decantetur a sacerdote incipiente ymnus *Te deum laudamus*. Et interim predicte³⁴ sacerdotes in capellam proprijs vestibis reinduentes cum candelabris per chorum transeuntes orandi gracia sepulcrum adeant, et ibi brevem oracionem faciant. Tunc redeant in stacionem suam usque abbatissa /p. 124/ eas iubeat exire ad quiescendum.

After this, the Magdalene should start [to sing]: *Christ is risen <from the dead; no longer is he dead. Death will have no further hold over him; for because he lives, he lives in God>* with the clergy and choir accompanying her. When they finish, the hymn *O God we praise thee* should be solemnly sung and the priest should begin it. 205 Meanwhile, the aforementioned “priests” [i.e., the three Marys] should put back on their own garments in the chapel; and, passing through the choir with candelabra, they should move toward the tomb in order to pray. Once there, they should offer a brief prayer. Then they should return to their station until the abess 210 shall order them to go and rest.

34 *corr. ad predicti LY*



Appendix: Sources for Chant Expansion

The expansion of the chant texts relies on several sources. Young (1933) was especially helpful not only because of the choices he made in expanding the Barking texts, but also because of his inclusion of material from Rouen which many scholars believe is one of the sources for the Barking *Visitatio*. The online resource at <http://cantusdatabase.org/> gives variant readings of many chants; the extensive work of Lipphardt-Roloff-Mundt (1990) is also very helpful. Where possible, the lists below include references to the numbering of chants in their work. Lipphardt-Roloff-Mundt do not always give the full text of the chants, but often give bibliography as well as a good sense of the geographic distribution of the chants.

Depositio

Super omnia ligna

<http://cantusdatabase.org/id/005061> Chant listed as an antiphon for the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross.

Ecce quomodo moritur iustus

<http://cantusdatabase.org/node/381287> Chant listed as a responsory for Holy Saturday. The verse is listed at <http://cantusdatabase.org/node/381288>.

In pace in idipsum

<http://cantusdatabase.org/node/376626> Antiphon for Holy Saturday.

Habitabit

<http://cantusdatabase.org/node/376327> Antiphon for Holy Saturday.

Caro mea

<http://cantusdatabase.org/node/375033> Antiphon for Holy Saturday.

Sepulto domino

<http://cantusdatabase.org/node/385187> Responsory for Holy Saturday. The early tradition in England (*Regularis concordia*) has the antiphon *Sepulto domino*. Since this is specifically designated as a responsory, we have chosen to include the verse most commonly associated with the responsory. Young (1933, 1:123).

Descensus/Elevatio

Tollite Portas

Lipphardt-Roloff-Mundt (1990, 9:910 = A⁶⁸).

A porta inferi

Cantus <http://cantusdatabase.org/node/374403> Chant for Lauds on Holy Saturday and also sometimes used for the Office of the Dead. Young, (1933, 1:166) also expands in footnote. Lipphardt-Roloff-Mundt (1990, 9:903 = A³⁷).

Domine abstaxisti

Cantus <http://cantusdatabase.org/node/375619> Chant for Matins on Holy Saturday and also sometimes used for the Office of the Dead. Young (1933, 1:166) also expands in footnote. Lipphardt-Roloff-Mundt (1990, 9:903 = A⁴⁴).

Cum rex glorie

Lipphardt-Roloff-Mundt (1990, 9:904–905 = A⁴³) See also Cantus <http://cantusdatabase.org/node/351752>

Consurgit Christus tumulo

From the hymn *Ad coenam agni*. See Young (1933, 1:562); Lipphardt-Roloff-Mundt (1990, 9: 912–913 = H³). H³ also includes the subsequent two items.

Quesumus auctor

From the hymn *Ad coenam agni*. See Young (1933, 1:562)

Gloria tibi domine

Final stanza of *Ad coenam agni*. See Young (1933, 1: 562)

Christus resurgens

Cantus <http://cantusdatabase.org/node/375061> Chant for Easter and other times in the Easter season. Found in Vespers and in “Supplementary” occasions. Liphhardt-Roloff-Mundt (1990, 9:903–904 = A³⁹) does not give full text, but cites the verse *Dicant nunc*.

Dicant nunc

Cantus <http://cantusdatabase.org/node/375062> antiphon verse for a supplementary occasion. We think this is the most likely version, but there are others. See, e.g., the antiphon verse listed in Cantus <http://cantusdatabase.org/node/375063>. Listed as an antiphon verse for Easter—as a “supplementary” occasion. See Young (1933, 1:587 under Notes p. 255, note 4) for a discussion of this as a separate antiphon text, then as a responsory verse and then again as a separate text.

Dicite in nacionibus

Cantus <http://cantusdatabase.org/node/386322>—a versicle and response usually used for various feasts of the cross. Liphhardt-Roloff-Mundt (1990, 9:930 = V²³).

Deus qui pro nobis

Collect for Holy Wednesday and for Votive Masses of the Holy Cross during Paschal time. Text taken from <http://www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/Filius/DeusQPN.html>, accessed February 2, 2014. See also Liphhardt-Roloff-Mundt (1990, 9:918 = O³⁶).

Visitatio Sepulchri

Heu! nobis internas mentes (Young, 1933, 1:382).

Heu! miserere (Young, 1933, 1:382).

Heu! consolacio nostra (Young, 1933, 1:382).

Heu! redempcio Israel (Young, 1933, 1:382).

Iam iam ecce (Young, 1933, 1:382).

Eya! quis revolvat (Young, 1933, 1:382).

Non est hic surrexit

Young (1933, 1:660). We have chosen to expand several of these chants with the text from the Rouen manuscript because of the suggestions of scholars of the influence of Rouen on the Barking version. See especially Dolan (1975, 139) and Rankin (1981, 227–55). Young (1933, 1:382) expands the text from another unidentified source: *sicut praedixerit; ite, nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulchro*. Young (1933, 1:660) gives the version of the text we are using as part of the Rouen drama but does not suggest it as a possibility for expanding the Barking version.

Quia tulerunt dominum meum (Young, 1933, 1:382)

Quid queritis viventem cum mortuis

Young (1933, 1:660) from the Rouen drama. We are suggesting its inclusion here.

Heu dolor

Young (1933, 1:394). Young (1933, 1:383, note 1) suggests that this chant from the Fleury play book could potentially complete the Barking incipit so we have included it here.

Domine si tu sustulisti eum

From Rouen, Young (1933, 1:660). Another option could be this antiphon for Lauds on Feast of Mary Magdalene. The full text of which is: *Dicit ei Jesus: Mulier, quid ploras? Quem queris? Dicit ei: Domine, si tu sustulisti eum, dicito mihi ubi posuisti eum et ego eum tollam. Alleluia alleluia*, <http://cantusdatabase.org/node/375484>. The last part of this

antiphon would complete the incipit.

Noli me tangere

From the Rouen drama, Young (1933, 1: 660). Another option would be *nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum alleluia alleluia* from Cantus. This would again appear to be a dialogue form of a chant from the Feast of Mary Magdalene: *Dixit Jesus: Maria. Conversa illa dicit ei: Rabboni. Et dicit ei: Noli me tangere; nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum. Alleluia. alleluia*” <http://cantusdatabase.org/node/375590>, accessed January 29, 2014.

Auete. Nolite timere

From the Rouen drama, Young (1933, 1: 660). Young does not suggest it for Barking.

Dic nobis maria

Sepulcrum christi

Angelicos testes

Surrexit christus spes nostra

These four chants are from the sequence *Victimae paschali laudes*. The usual text is *Dic nobis Maria*, not *Dixit nobis Maria*, as the MS reads. Young does not include the expanded text for this chant but does for the others. Text taken from <http://www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/Hymni/VictimaePaschali.html>.

Credendum est (Young, 1933, 1:384).

Scimus christum (Young, 1933, 1:384).

Christus resurgens

Cantus <http://cantusdatabase.org/node/375061> Antiphon for Easter. See also above p. 34.

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