# Liturgical Drama and the Reimagining of Medieval Theater

## Michael Norton

# Liturgical Drama and the Reimagining of Medieval Theater

EARLY DRAMA, ART, AND MUSIC

# Liturgical Drama and the Reimagining of Medieval Theater

by

Michael Norton

Chapter 4

# Strange Bedfellows:
# Unfolding "Liturgical Drama"

T HE RITES AND PLAYS now considered to be liturgical dramas are normally arranged and discussed according to theme, with those texts associated with a particular liturgical celebration collected together no matter what the evidence for their intended liturgical usage might show. This has led to an anomalous grouping of liturgical and non-liturgical texts whose casting as drama is as variable as their expressed liturgical intent, and this has lent to the notion of liturgical drama a legitimacy that it does not warrant. C. Clifford Flanigan noted the difficulties in this arrangement some thirty years ago:

> In Karl Young's *Drama of the Medieval Church* as well as in its predecessors and successors, plays have been edited and discussed according to their subject matter. However different their contents, musical and literary forms, and places of origin, all Christmas plays, for example, have been lumped together in the standard histories. This practice has several unfortunate results. In the first place, the plays' textual histories have been obscured. . . . But another difficulty arising from the persistent tendency to edit and study these texts according to their subject matter has yet to be addressed. Without exception the modern editions of these works utterly divorce them from the words and music which surround them in the surviving manuscripts.[1]

Considering these texts according to the contexts of their presentation within the manuscripts and books that preserve them reveals three broad, and to some extent overlapping, clusters of texts. The first cluster includes those texts whose liturgical placements are secure. These are given in tables 4.1A through 4.1E ("Representational Rites"). The second cluster includes those texts for which evidence of liturgical intent is lacking. These are given in table 4.2 ("Religious Plays"). The third cluster contains those texts for which evidence of liturgical intent is equivocal. These are given in table 4.3 ("Ambiguously Situated Representations").

# Representational Rites

The largest cluster of texts includes those liturgical rites that have appeared most clearly dramatic to modern critics. Following Nils Holger Petersen, I am calling these "representational rites."[2] The most abundant of these rites is the *Visitatio Sepulchri*. Built upon an exchange between two sets of clerics, one standing in for the angel or angels at the empty tomb of Christ and the other the Marys seeking the body of Christ, this rite survives in over 800 manuscript and printed liturgical books.[3] These books stem from nearly every corner of the western Church and date from the early tenth century into the eighteenth.[4] The rite is found in varying liturgical placements and in liturgical books of varying types. In most cases, its liturgical placement is well defined, and its location within the liturgical book is consistent with its intended use. Most settings of the rite are placed either before the Mass of Easter Sunday or at the conclusion to Easter matins. The most commonly occurring settings of this rite are summarized in table 4.1A ("Representational Rites: *Visitatio Sepulchri*, without Magdalene— Mass and Matins"). These are grouped by their liturgical placements and by the types of manuscript or book within which each was cast. Due to the large number of manuscripts and printed liturgical books involved, I do not list these individually. Nor do I distinguish here among the forms of the central dialogue used between the Marys and the angel(s).[5]

When celebrated prior to the Mass, the *Visitatio Sepulchri* (or *Quem quaeritis* trope, as it is often called) was typically included within a troper, gradual, ordinal, or processional.[6] The distinction between the *Quem quaeritis* dialogue when included among the tropes to the Easter Introit and when entered within the procession to the Easter Mass may well be overstated. As David Bjork demonstrated, both placements were common in southern Europe while the rite celebrated at matins dominated further north.[7] The distinction was more likely one of liturgical classification than it was of liturgical function, as the trope and processional versions of the dialogue would in most cases have occurred at the same point in time: the *Quem quaeritis* trope was sung just prior to the Introit to the Easter Mass or prior to the introductory trope to the Introit, while the processional version of the dialogue was typically placed at or near the end of the procession to Mass, thus before the Introit as well.[8]

When celebrated at the end of matins, the rite was most often included within a breviary, an ordinal, or an antiphoner. Later medieval settings of the *Visitatio Sepuchri* that include music are more often than

not found in liturgical books variously called *agenda*, *benedictionale*, *rituale*, or *obsequiale*, books that contain blessings, sacraments and other rites of various sorts (profession, funerals, excommunication, reconciliation, marriage, etc.) as well as a number of special rites for various feasts, in particular the sequence of Holy Week rites within which the *Visitatio Sepulchri* was cast.

A few settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* are placed elsewhere in the Easter liturgy. These are given in table 4.1B ("Representational Rites: *Visitatio Sepulchri*, without Magdalene—Non-standard Placements"). A handful of rites are placed prior to Easter matins, including those from the cathedral of Laon, the monastery at St. Gall, and the basilica of St. Mark in Venice.[9] Several of these are explicitly linked with the *Elevatio Crucis* that sometimes preceded the office of matins. A ceremony from the convent of Sainte-Croix in Poitiers is placed after lauds, while those from St. Domingo in Silos (Spain) and Székesfehérvár (Hungary) appear to be celebrated during Easter vespers. Also given here are several settings whose liturgical use is ambiguous, having been preserved within Mass books but concluding with antiphons typical for the matins versions of the rite. Among these are settings from the cathedrals in Minden and Winchester, the monasteries of St. Blasien and St. Gall, and the convent of Marienberg am Schonenberg.

The most commonly discussed settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, albeit relatively few in number and stemming from an even smaller number of churches, are those incorporating the appearance of the risen Christ to Mary Magdalene. These are listed in table 4.1C ("Representational Rites: *Visitatio Sepulchri*, with Magdalene"). All were performed in conjunction with Easter matins. Roughly a fourth stem from Anglo/Norman institutions, including the convents at Barking and Wilton in England, the Benedictine monastery at Mont-Saint-Michel, and the cathedrals at Coutances and Rouen in Normandy. The remainder stem from churches spread throughout the Holy Roman Empire, and the majority of these stem from women's houses of varying orders, including the royal *Damenstiften* in Gandersheim, Gernrode, Obermünster in Regensburg, and St. George in Prague; the *Liebfrauen* in Münster; and the Augustinian convents in Marienberg bei Helmstedt and Nottuln bei Münster.[10]

Other liturgical ceremonies since cast as drama are both limited in number and geographically constrained. Modeled on the *Visitatio Sepulchri* of Easter were the rites of Christmas morning that represent the shepherds at the manger. These are given in table 4.1D ("Representational

Rites: *Officium Pastorum*—before Mass and End of Christmas Matins"). Parallel versions of the *Quem quaeritis* trope for Easter associated with the Introit of the third Mass of Christmas are found in thirty-two trope manuscripts mostly from southern France, northern Italy, and Spain, while settings of the *Officium Pastorum* of Christmas matins are found in a handful of manuscripts from Rouen along with two from Clermont-Ferrand and three from Padua.[11]

Other rites are more rare yet, and most of these are preserved in liturgical manuscripts from areas influenced by Norman liturgical practices. These are given in Table 1E ("Representational Rites: Other"). The *Officium Peregrinorum* of Easter week, which tells of Christ's appearance to the disciples on the road to Emmaus following the resurrection, for example, is found in a few liturgical manuscripts from Rouen and Norman Sicily along with a single manuscript from Padua,[12] while a handful of settings for the *Officium Prophetarum*, drawn from the pseudo-Augustinian sermon, *Contra Judeos, Paganos, et Arianos Sermo de Symbolo*, are found in manuscripts from Rouen and Tours.[13] Liturgical settings of the *Officium Stellae,* which depicts the visit of the three Magi, are both more plentiful and more widely dispersed, with several stemming from Rouen and Norman Sicily.[14] This unusual distribution may have resulted from having been conceived not as a liturgical rite, but, as Susan Rankin has argued, to serve royal interests as a "vehicle for the working out and ritual display of elements of Ottonian political theology" in the wake of the struggle over succession following the death of Otto II in 983.[15]

Connecting these rites from the Easter and Christmas seasons are their placements within liturgical books that make clear the liturgical circumstances of their celebration. Nothing in the rubrics for these rites sets them apart from other rites detailed in the manuscripts and books that preserve them. In no instance do these rites offer evidence that they were considered as anything other than liturgical actions. The *Visitatio Sepulchri* preserved in the tenth-century *Regularis Concordia* of St. Aethelwold, bishop of Winchester, is often singled out as the earliest example of mimetic drama in the Middle Ages due in part to its use of the word "imitation" and its use of outward representation. As several recent scholars have argued, however, the *Visitatio Sepulchri* of the *Regularis Concordia* is actually more similar in this respect to other ceremonies introduced by the *Regularis Concordia* into English practice than it is to any later theatrical representations. The *Cena Domini* of Holy Thursday, for example, also specified what was specifically labeled as "outward rep-

resentation," as Michal Kobialka observed. Kobialka observed further that the notion of "imitation" was used also in the *Depositio* ceremony of Good Friday, where two phrases stood out: "(1) on the part of the altar where there is space for it *there shall be a representation as it were of a sepulcher* [*assimilatio sepulchri*] and (2) [w]hen they have laid the cross therein, *in imitation as it were of the burial of the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ* [*ac si Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi corpore sepulco*]. Both of them referred to some form of imitation and representation" [Kobialka's emphasis].[16]

Viewing these as representational rites, moreover, allows us to see these more broadly with other rites that, while having never been considered as drama by modern critics, can be seen as representational in one way or another. Indeed, the events of salvation history permeate the liturgy in ways both great and small. This is particularly evident during Holy Week, where both people and clerics process carrying palms while, in some areas of Europe, pulling a *Palmesel* during the procession of Palm Sunday,[17] where the ranking cleric commemorates Christ's washing of the apostles' feet on Holy Thursday, where the altarcloth is torn or stripped "like thieves" (as the *Regularis Concordia* puts it)[18] at the point Christ's clothes are divided during the reading of the St. John Passion on Good Friday, where the clerics and people queue to adore the cross on Good Friday, where the clerics and people observe the ritual burial of the cross and/or Host at the conclusion of the Good Friday rites, and where the cross and/or Host are removed to mark the moment of the resurrection on Easter morning. Indeed, it is this series of ceremonies that the *Visitatio Sepulchri* concluded, and it is within this context that the *Visitatio Sepulchri* is best understood.[19] One of the more elegant and accessible depictions of this broader context is given by O. B. Hardison Jr. in his *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* of 1965,[20] particularly the essays on "The Lenten Agon: From *Septuagesima* to Good Friday" (pp. 80–138) and "*Christus Victor:* From Holy Saturday to Low Sunday" (pp. 139–77). Nils Holger Petersen has also offered a compelling case for understanding the *Visitatio Sepulchri* in the broader context of the liturgy of Easter Sunday, situating the rite found in a late-twelfth-century processional from Soissons (LOO 167)[21] and in the tenth-century *Regularis Concordia* (LOO 394–95)[22] in the broader context of the day. I offered a similar account on how the Type 2 *Visitatio Sepulchri* functioned within the larger cycle of Holy Week rites in my 1983 dissertation.[23] I will return to this discussion in the final chapter.

Representational practices infuse the liturgy in other instances as well. A sixteenth-century Sarum processional, for example, directs a boy to dress as a prophet to sing the prophetic Lesson *Hierusalem, respice ad orientem et vide* (Baruch 5) during the Palm Sunday procession.[24] A fourteenth-century ordinal from Klosterneuburg directs that the procession preceding the baptismal rite of Holy Saturday should circle the font "as Joshua the walls of Jericho."[25] A twelfth-century ordinal from Augsburg notes that at the end of the procession preceding the Mass for the Purification of Mary "a senior priest representing St. Symeon receives a *plenarium* [a service book or Gospel book] in his arms, and carries it into the church as the Christ child."[26] A later direction from Augsburg calls for a senior priest to carry an effigy of the infant Jesus on a cushion at the same point in the procession for the Purification.[27] The nuns of Essen carried a *plenarium* along with an effigy of the Virgin Mary at the same point in their procession for the feast of the Purification.[28] I might note also the rite for the expulsion of penitents on Ash Wednesday, found in many pontificals, with its explicit reference to the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise.[29] Other ceremonies, including those associated with the feasts of the Ascension and Pentecost and other Marian feasts can also be seen as representational in one way or another.[30]

These more overt representational aspects of medieval ritual observance reflect a common medieval understanding of the ways in which the historical and eschatological events of salvation history infused the specific elements of ritual practice that stood in their stead. As early as the late-sixth century, Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636) noted the connection between the biblical events of Holy Thursday and the cleansing of the church, altars, and sacred vessels that marked the liturgy of that day. After describing the last supper, where "Christ handed over to his apostles the mystery of his body and blood," after describing the betrayal of Judas, and after describing Christ's washing of the feet of his disciples "in order that the form of humility that he had come to teach would be recommended," Isidore concluded: "He did this because it was most fitting that he should teach by doing what he had previously admonished the disciples to observe. For this reason on this day the altars and the walls and floors of the church are washed and the vessels that are consecrated to the Lord are purified."[31]

In his discussion of Pentecost, Isidore offered a typological coupling of Old and New Testament histories to justify the cancellation of abstinence during the fifty days following Easter. He noted that "the day

of Pentecost received its start when the voice of God was heard calling down from on Mount Sinai and the Law was given to Moses," and that the New Testament Pentecost "began when the advent of the Holy Spirit, whom Christ had promised, was shown." This harmonization of the feast of the Gospel with the feast of the Law had numerological parallels as well: "after the lamb was immolated, fifty days having passed, there was given to Moses the Law written by the *finger of God*. Now, after Christ was killed, 'like a lamb that is led to the slaughter' [Isa 53:7], the true Passover is celebrated and, fifty days having passed, there is given the Holy Spirit who is *the finger of God* upon the one hundred and twenty disciples constituted by the number of the Mosaic era." The number fifty was significant also as the "seven of sevens," which marked not only the day of Pentecost, through which comes the remission of sin, but the Jubilee of the Hebrews, which was held at fifty-year intervals and which promised the "remission of the land and liberty of slaves and restitution of possessions." Thus, with "abstinence having been canceled, all of the fifty days after the resurrection of the Lord are celebrated only in joy on account of the symbol of the future resurrection when there will not be labor but the relaxation of joy. Therefore during these days there is no kneeling in praying because, as one of the wise ones says, kneeling is an indication of penance and sorrow."[32] While not overtly representational in themselves, the washing of altars and vessels on Holy Thursday and the absence of kneeling during the fifty days after Easter were understood within the context of biblical events nonetheless and thus were embedded within what might be described as an abstract representational overlay.

Two centuries later, Amalarius of Metz (ca. 775–ca. 850) justified the liturgical placements of the Mass through the timing of Christ's Passion and of other significant events marked by the liturgical year. Mass was celebrated at the third hour because "the Lord was crucified by the tongues of the Jews at that hour." The sixth hour was also acceptable, since "the Lord was crucified by the hands of his persecutors at the sixth hour of the day," as was the ninth hour, "because he gave up his spirit then." Should Mass be celebrated at some other hour, there was always justification for doing so. This was the case on Christmas, "when Mass is celebrated at night because of the birth of the bread that is now daily eaten from the altar, or because of the choir of angels. . . . Mass is celebrated that same morning because of the rising of the new light, or because of the visitation of the shepherds to the Lord's manger, where they found the fodder from which the souls of the saints are daily refreshed." He offered justification

for other irregularities as well, including the placements for the Masses for John the Evangelist and John the Baptist and for the Easter Vigil.[33]

Perhaps best known to contemporary scholars is Amalarius' allegorical interpretation of the Mass. The following extract from Enrico Mazza's more extensive summary offers a sense of Amalarius's understanding:

> If, in Amalarius' way of interpreting the Mass, the altar is the cross, then it is correct to think that the taking of the Body of Christ from the altar in the act of elevating it can signify the taking down of the Lord from the cross. After the elevation, the chalice is set on the altar once again. At this point, the altar is the tomb of Christ: "He next places the chalice on the altar and wraps it in the shroud." In the text of the Canon at this point there are three prayers; . . . Amalarius says that this moment of the Mass signifies the three days of Christ in the tomb. After the Canon, the rite of Mass calls for the Our Father, a prayer composed of seven petitions; consequently, it is recited as a memorial of the seventh day, . . . the day of the resurrection.[34]

Later medieval exegetes also infused individual liturgical items with biblical imagery that went beyond the texts themselves, thus offering another form of abstract representational overlay. The text for the responsory for Christmas vespers, *Judea et Iherusalem*, for example, was drawn from 2 Chronicles 20:17. While it concerned the plea for deliverance for Jehosephat and his armies as they faced an overwhelming foe, the commentators saw far more. In her dissertation on the musical organization of Notre Dame *organa*, Jennifer Roth-Burnette showed how twelfth-century exegetes readily refashioned such Old Testament passages into dramatic retellings of New Testament prophecy. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), in a sermon based on the text of this responsory, "invites his hearers into a role-play of the Old Testament narrative by referring to them as *Judaeos* (Judeans), defending this appellation in terms of Christian understanding."[35] Rupert of Deutz (1075–1130) offered a dramatic reading of the scene in which the responsory text is sung where "He depicts a church filled to overflowing on the Nativity, at which is heard the divine oracle of consolation. Rupert's description identifies the cantor of the responsory with Jahaziel, and the hearers with the people of Israel under Jehosaphat. He makes the Old Testament foe a symbol of sin and vice, to be overcome on the next day by the Lord."[36] While the text in its literal setting described events from the Old Testament, the commentators brought the liturgical participants into the story of Jehosephat which

was then merged typologically with the Nativity of Christ itself, or what might be called representation by proxy.

The liturgical depiction of biblical events through representational means was thus no anomaly. The whole of medieval liturgical practice was infused with multiple layers of meaning, and even when a rite was not in itself representational, it was often understood in a way that we might see as representational nonetheless. While it is clearly possible to assess the rites and practices now called "liturgical drama" by the degree of mimetic representation that we may attribute to them, such an assessment misses the point. A liturgical celebration may or may not involve some degree of mimesis as seen from our modern perch, but it remains a ritual nonetheless, both in function and in intent.

## Religious Plays

A smaller cluster of texts includes those that offer little or no evidence of a liturgical association. These are given in table 4.2. While many of these treat the same themes as the liturgical rites outlined above, most are outliers and include those texts that modern critics have judged to be the most demonstrably dramatic (see the discussion of "Drama" in chapter 5, pp. 166–70). These texts were typically copied into, or bound with, collections of texts that have little or no association with the liturgy, such as sermons or other exegetical texts. What we have come to know as the Fleury Playbook is surely the most famous example in this regard, its ten plays collected together and bound with a series of sermons for Lent.[37] An eleventh-century *Ordo Stellae* from Compiègne was added by a second scribe in the space following the sermon for Epiphany.[38] Two eleventh-century plays from the cathedral at Freising, an *Ordo Stellae* and a *Ordo Rachelis* were copied on spare pages in collections of sermons by John the Deacon[39] and on the Epistles of St. Paul.[40] The *Ludus Paschalis* from Klosterneuburg was copied at the end of a gathering including a *vita* for St. Servatius along with rhymed offices for St. Catherine and St. Thomas of Canterbury that was itself appended to a group of gatherings containing sermons and other exegetical works.[41] Similarly, an expanded *Visitatio Sepulchri* from Einsiedeln was preserved in a manuscript containing works of Peter Abelard and Adam Monachus,[42] while a Latin/Bohemian *Visitatio Sepulchri* from Prague was copied within a manuscript containing *passionales* and sermons on the saints.[43] Also copied among sermons was the *Ordo de Ysaac et Rebecca et filiis eorum* that survives in a fragment

that once served as the front cover to a fifteenth-century sermon collection at the Stiftsbibliothek at Vorau (MS 302 [CCXXIII]). The four-page fragment contains the *ordo* on the first two pages and the conclusion to a Latin homily on the third (the fourth page is blank).[44]

Other venues are also evident. The earliest witness to the *Ordo Stellae* is preserved in a flyleaf to the Psalter of Charles the Bald.[45] A twelfth-century *Ordo Stellae* is copied over an erasure in a manuscript formerly owned by the monastery of St. Emmeram containing the *Bellum Catilinae* of Sallust,[46] while that of Malmédy in Belgium survives as a fragment in a manuscript of the *Antiquitates Judaicae* of Josephus.[47] The play of Antichrist is copied within a manuscript that contains, among other items, an early copy of Otto of Freising's *Gesta Friderici Imperatoris*.[48] A few surviving texts with music are included in collections that are more explicitly performative. The *Ludus Paschalis* of Tours, first published in 1856 by Victor Luzarche, is given in the same manuscript as the *Jeu d'Adam* along with a number of Latin songs,[49] while those from Zwickau are found in collections of plays compiled for the Latin School in that city.[50] The plays of the *Carmina Burana* are included in a manuscript of songs.[51]

Aside from their lack of liturgical context, many of these texts also show a lack of liturgical congruity, having been built on themes not otherwise found among the representational rites discussed above. Of the ten plays in the Fleury manuscript, for example, seven have no known parallels among the representational rites. Among the themes treated by the non-liturgical plays here and elsewhere are various legends of St. Nicholas (four in the Fleury manuscript, others from manuscripts stemming from Hildesheim, Villers, St. Emmeram in Regensuburg, and one among the plays of Hilarius), the raising of Lazarus (Fleury manuscript and among the plays of Hilarius), the conversion of St. Paul (Fleury manuscript), and the slaughter of the Innocents (one in the Fleury manuscript and another from Freising). Other unique plays include the *Danielis Ludus* (among the plays of Hilarius),[52] the *Ordo de Ysaac et Rebecca et Filiis* from a manuscript fragment now at Vorau, the play of Antichrist from Tegernsee, and the play of the King of Egypt and Passion plays of the *Carmina Burana*.

Those settings that do have parallels among the representational rites, moreover, are typically constructed on a scale that exceeds that of their more clearly liturgical cousins. Three plays from the Fleury manuscript offer expanded versions of representational rites found in churches influenced by Anglo/Norman liturgical practices (*Visitatio Sepulchri*, *Ordo Peregrinorum*, and *Ordo ad Repesentationem Herodem*). The *Ordo*

*ad Representationem Herodem* joins together an *Officium Pastorum* and an *Officium Stellae* into a single unit, bringing together expanded versions of the rites originally destined for Christmas and Epiphany. Although not to quite the same degree, the Fleury *Visitatio Sepulchri* also offers a structure that is more broadly conceived than those of other liturgically grounded ceremonies. While the Fleury *Visitatio Sepulchri* was likely based on an Anglo/Norman model,[53] it is more expansive than other Anglo/Norman liturgical settings, combining elements drawn from Norman rites as well as from similar rites from German-speaking Europe.[54] De Boor observed further differences with regard to its presentation: "It is a . . . guiding principle of the new composition from Fleury that it preaches the news of the resurrection to the people over and over again. This is a completely new interpretation of the old rite of Rouen that moved the women out of the world into the realm of sacred events. . . . Here the women turn away no fewer than five times, and always to the congregation, not to a chorus embedded into the action."[55]

A number of scholars, moreover, have exposed an exegetical component for some of these plays that well exceeds anything we might find among the representational rites. Susan Boynton, for one, characterized the *Ordo Rachelis* of the Fleury manuscript as "exegesis in song," a representation whose text and music "function[s] as a form of performative exegesis through the medium of dramatic impersonation."[56] The texts and melodies of the *ordo* drew from the liturgies of Advent, Christmas, Holy Innocents Day, Good Friday, and even the feasts of the Virgin.[57] The themes treated embraced all four senses of scriptural interpretation, and the play as a whole reflected the exegetical traditions of both patristic and contemporary theologians. Rachel's lament, moreover, with its inclusion of the antiphon *Anxiatus est in me* from Good Friday lauds (CAO 1442), "effectively links Rachel's *planctus* to the *planctus* of the Virgin, constituting the strongest allusion to Rachel's prefiguration of Mary in the play."[58] For Boynton, the rich nature of the exegetical construction of the *ordo* did not preclude the sorts of antics to which Gerhoh and others had objected. While "the *Interfectio puerorum* embodies the juxtaposition of joy and mourning associated with the feast of the Innocents in the central Middle Ages," and while "the extended lament of Rachel at the center of the play is an expression of the mother's grief mentioned by liturgical commentators, . . . the play probably provided the same kind of boisterous entertainment as the dramas Gerhoh of Reichersberg directed for the Augsburg cathedral chapter."[59]

Several plays show evidence of what might be called "exegetical design" in their texts and melodies. In my study of *Imago Sancti Nicolai*, the third of the four St. Nicholas plays in the Fleury manuscript, I also saw a "sermon in song."[60] Not only was the play ordered by number, with five sections, the outer four divided into five parts and the central section into three, its melodic structure was chiastic as well, its closing sections employing a series of melodic motives in inverse order from their original presentation in the opening sections. These numerical and rhetorical structures likely functioned symbolically, with both the number five and the chiasmus imposing the sign of the cross and the number three invoking the Trinity, thus overlaying a Christian understanding on what seemed otherwise to be a whimsical saint's legend.[61]

The *Ludus Paschalis* of Tours (Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 927, 1r–8v) was similarly constructed although on a much grander scale. This play was built on a scaffold that merged three distinct representational rites from three different churches, and this scaffold supported an expansive array of new poetic and musical forms with overlapping streams of repeated melodic motives that permeated the play as a whole. Not only was there further evidence of numerical composition, this time involving the numbers three, five, and six, the play offered yet another instance of musical chiasmus in addition to what appears clearly to be an attempt at a Gospel harmonization on the model of the second-century *Diatesseron* of Tatian.[62] Although the play was hastily copied, and although the copy we have is incomplete, what has survived appears to be a work of great craftsmanship with deep symbolic meaning.[63]

Given the exegetical intent of some plays and the inclusion of most in collections of sermons or other exegetical works, it is tempting to see the entire cluster of religious plays in terms of performative exegesis, as works infused with theological import and directed toward educated communities of some sophistication, communities well-versed in Latin and familiar with biblical and liturgical matters, and communities conversant with the senses and modes of scriptural interpretation. But this is likely naive. While the plays of this cluster share a common context, or at least the lack of a liturgical context, this does not mean that all were directed toward the same end. To find an exegetical intent for some plays, the shorter St. Nicholas plays (*Tres Clerici* and *Tres Filiae*) for example, might well prove challenging. Several plays, moreover, appear to have been motivated as much by political as by theological concerns. The *Officium/Ordo Stellae*, for example, may well have been written in support of Ottonian claims of

kingship following the death of Otto II in 983 as Susan Rankin has speculated. The play of Antichrist was likely also inspired by political concerns. As Amelia J. Carr observed:

> In general, the *Ludus de Antichristo* portrays a conservative vision of Christian society sympathetic to Frederick Barbarossa's stance vis-à-vis the papal claims. The cortege of Ecclesia, clergy on the one hand, emperor and armies on the other, embodies the old Gelasian equality and separation of powers very clearly. . . . The power of the Christian emperor derives from the precedent of Roman law, and the sword representing physical coercion to the faith (or temporal power) has nothing to whatever to do with the pope, but is received from the hand of Justice, a figure subordinate only to the Church, that is, to Christ alone.[64]

The inclusion of the play of Antichrist within a manuscript also containing Otto of Freising's *Gesta Friderici Imperatoris* is certainly suggestive of such a connection. The pairings of the *Ordo Stellae* from St. Emmeram and Malmédy with the *Bellum Catilinae* of Sallust and the *Antiquitates Judaicae* of Josephus respectively, both of which chronicle revolts against Roman order in one way or another, are also suggestive of a political or historical connection understood by the compilers of these manuscripts. Indeed, settings of the *Ordo Stellae* from Freising and Fleury along with a possibly liturgical setting of the *Officium Stellae* from Stasbourg (see the following section on "Ambiguously Situated Representations") incorporate the singing by an angry Herod of Cateline's furious words to the Roman senate after having been shouted down and accused of treason and assassination: "Incendium meum ruina extinguam."[65]

Whatever purpose these plays may have been intended to fulfill individually, it is unlikely that any would have been understood as a liturgical rite, at least not in the same way that the representational rites discussed above were understood. While the *Ludi Paschales* of Easter or the *Ordo Stellae* of Epiphany might have been associated with a particular liturgical moment (such as the end of Easter matins or before the Mass of Epiphany), these would likely have been occasional events, performed in place of the rite specified in the liturgy of that place at that time, and likely performed only when the performing forces were sufficient to make such an event possible.[66] Less clear is whether these were understood at the time as drama, or theater, or even spectacle. While most of these appear clearly to function as plays, at least as that term is understood today, it is debatable whether any such understanding would have been current

during the period when most of these were copied. While a few of these were designated "ludus" within the manuscripts that preserve them, this word was more broadly understood than the sense of "stage-play" that we tend to associate with it (see the discussion of "Drama" in chapter 5, pp. 166–70), and we must be careful not to assume their placement within the same category as works from later (or even earlier) times that also bear this label.

## Ambiguously Situated Representations

Some surviving texts contained within liturgical miscellanies or that have survived as fragments may well have been intended for liturgical use as well, but absent liturgical directions, their precise liturgical context, if any, remains unclear. These are given in table 4.3. The best-known example of such an ambivalent context is the *Sponsus* of Paris 1139. The so-called liturgical drama (or dramas) of Paris 1139 is (or are) copied between a series of polyphonic *versae* and a group of *Benedicamus* tropes.[67] Not only is the *Sponsus* devoid of liturgical context itself (whether we consider this in the singular or the plural), it follows a group of polyphonic *versae* whose liturgical intent is unclear. A liturgical miscellany from Einsiedeln incorporates a collection of liturgical fragments containing hymns and sequences as well as several folios that contain a *Visitatio Sepulchri*, an incomplete *Officium Stellae*, and an incomplete *Officium Prophetarum*.[68] These three ceremonies, though, were copied together and are not found within a context that makes their liturgical intent apparent. A similar grouping is found in a twelfth-century troper-proser-gradual from the cathedral of Laon. In this manuscript, the *Visitatio Sepulchri* is appropriately placed among other items for Easter. Three additional texts are included at the conclusion of this section of the manuscript, following the feasts of St. Andrew and St. Nicholas: an *Ordo Prophetarum*, *Ordo Stellae*, and an incomplete *Ordo Joseph*, all given without music.[69] Once again, the three texts are placed outside of the liturgically ordered section that precedes them, leaving their liturgical placement, if indeed they have one, ambiguous.

Several representations are preserved within liturgical manuscripts, but their presentation in these manuscripts, or the nature of the manuscripts themselves, leaves the intent of the so-called rites unclear. The *Officium Stellae* of Strasbourg, for one, may well have been intended for liturgical use, but it is copied between the octave of the Epiphany and the feast of St. Hilary (which falls on the octave of the Epiphany) rather than

within the feast of the Epiphany itself.[70] Likewise, the *Danielis Ludus* of Beauvais is preserved in a single manuscript that also contains a liturgy for the feast of the Circumcision.[71] The liturgical position for the *ludus*, however, is not given, and we do not know whether the *ludus* would have been performed regularly, but once, or at all. Settings of the *Ordo Annunciatis Sancte Marie* from Cividale are preserved outside of their liturgical positions in their respective manuscripts with rubrics that place their celebration outside of the church. The dramatic procession from Philippe de Mézières's Presentation of the Virgin is similarly situated. While its association with the Mass for the feast is secure, this procession survives in a single manuscript in the hand of de Mézières, and there is little evidence that the procession was ever celebrated as described beyond the few observances of the feast overseen by de Mézières himself.[72]

Several texts are preserved in books of liturgical readings for the Mass or Divine Office or in books of hymns, books that, while intended for liturgical use, typically do not contain such extraneous material. A twelfth-century *Ordo Stellae* from Bilsen, Belgium, for example, is copied at the end of an evangialary (Gospel book), just after the colophon.[73] An expanded, albeit fragmentary, *Visitatio Sepulchri* (with the appearance of Mary Magdalene) from Maastricht is included as a flyleaf within an evangialary,[74] while settings from Rheinau and Braunschweig, also with Mary Magdalene, are appended to lectionaries.[75] A number of texts have survived as fragments as well, providing few clues as to their liturgical intent (if any).

The ambiguity inherent in the manuscript placements for these rites and/or representations does not diminish the usefulness of the categories previously outlined in discussing these representations. For many settings, a strong enough correlation in liturgical content with other securely identified rites is likely sufficient to suggest their inclusion among the representational rites. While their liturgical placements may remain ambiguous, the simpler settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* from Corbie, Kremsmünster, Münster, Limoges, Stockholm, and Worms fit readily among the rites given in tables 4.1A and 4.1B. Several of the more robust settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, those including the appearance of Christ to Mary Magdalene from Braunschweig, Cividale, Engelberg, Kremsmünster, Medingen, Ossiach, and Rheinau, moreover, might also have been used liturgically and would not appear out of place among the expanded rites contained in table 4.1C. By the same standard, the *Ordo Peregrinorum* from Beauvais, the *Ordo Pastorum* from Montpellier (Rouen?), the *Ordo Stellae* from Strasbourg, and the *Ordo Prophetarum* from Laon and Zagreb

appear similar in length and style to the liturgical settings given in table
4.1E. Other settings, however, appear closer to those of the non-liturgical
group. Given their length and complexity, the extended settings of the
*Visitatio Sepulchri* from Egmont, Maastricht, and Vich are more closely
connected to those given in table 4.2 than they are to the more properly
liturgical settings given in table 4.1C. Also likely belonging among the
plays of table 4.2 is the *Danielis Ludus* of Beauvais, which, while its liturgi-
cal use is certainly suggested, offers an exegetical structure much like those
discussed earlier.[76] For other representations, however, such assignments
remain elusive. Most notable in this regard are the *Sponsus* of Paris 1139
(whether a single play or a collection) and the trilogies from Einsiedeln
(MS 366) and Laon (MS 263), all of which defy easy classification.

## Some Observations

Seen from this contextual perspective, the manuscripts and books pre-
serving what we call "liturgical drama" expose several features for these
clusters that are often overlooked. First, representational rites greatly
outnumber all other representations combined, and among these, the
*Visitatio Sepulchri* dominates. While the pre-Mass settings of the *Visitatio
Sepulchri* are localized to southern Europe,[77] the matins (and other) set-
tings are pan-European, stretching from Dublin to Jerusalem and from
Stockholm to Palermo. A similar distribution, albeit much narrower in
scope, is evident with the *Officium Pastorum*, whose pre-Mass settings are
similarly localized to southern Europe with the matins versions restricted
to the cathedrals of Padua in northern Italy, Clermont-Ferrand in the
south of France and Rouen in the north. If one can speak of a repertory for
liturgical drama beyond these two rites, it would appear to be localized to
Normandy and to the cathedral at Padua. Indeed, with the exception of a
single manuscript from the cathedral of Padua, all surviving liturgical set-
tings of the *Officium Peregrinorum* and *Officium Prophetarum* are Norman
in origin, and most of these are specific to the liturgical use of the cathedral
at Rouen.[78] Only the *Officium Stellae* appears to have had a wider distribu-
tion, and this may well have originated outside of the liturgy was and only
later incorporated liturgically, as Susan Rankin has speculated.[79] Another
interesting pattern exposed by this arrangement is the distribution of those
settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* that include the appearance of the risen
Christ to Mary Magdalene, nearly a fourth of which are Anglo/Norman
with double that number stemming from German convents.

Also intriguing are the types of manuscripts into which the non-liturgical (and even some of the equivocally placed) texts have been added or copied. While scholars have tended to view these placements as irrelevant or at best happy accidents,[80] it may well be that the scribes who entered these texts into existing manuscripts or the collators who chose to bind these with other texts had well-considered grounds for making the choices they made. Indeed, a substantial proportion of these were copied or inserted into collections of sermons or other exegetical works (see table 4.2) or into evangialaries or lectionaries (see table 4.3). Several scholars have speculated on the exegetical intent of several of these, and it may well be that many of the texts in these groupings were written to address concerns beyond those addressed by the liturgical rites to which we have assumed they were related.[81] Also intriguing are the possible connections that might exist between the *Ordo Stellae* copied onto the opening folios of Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* or that included within a manuscript of the *Antiquitates Judiaicae* of Josephus or between the play of Antichrist and Otto of Freising's *Gesta Friderici Imperatoris*.

Viewed contextually, moreover, the texts break out into the same broad categories that have long been recognized by students of liturgy and drama—a sizeable group of representational rites since deemed to be drama and a noticeably smaller group of what appear to be plays that have been branded liturgical. These broad categories have served further as focal points to which contemporary scholars been drawn. While the larger collection of liturgical texts has tended to attract those most interested in questions of origin, transmission, and liturgical function, the smaller collection of more theatrical texts has generally attracted those whose focus was drawn to the dramatic and literary features exhibited. Indeed, a remarkable testimony to these diverging priorities is found in the two largely independent and largely unrelated discussions of liturgical drama contained within the most recent edition of the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2nd ed., 2001). The discussion offered by John Stevens in the article "Medieval Drama," for example, moves quickly from a brief discussion of the liturgical rites of Easter to a broader treatment of the larger, and more dramatic texts, drawing heavily from the earlier work of Edmond K. Chambers and Karl Young with little reference to more recent scholarship.[82] The discussion by John Emerson in his article on "Plainchant," conversely, maintains its focus on the *Visitatio Sepulchri* and other liturgical settings, drawing from more recent critical work in its treatment of the issues.[83]

Seen from the contexts of their placement in the manuscripts and books that preserve them, the rites and representations called "liturgical drama" hold too little in common to allow the expression "liturgical drama" to adhere. The majority of representations are certainly liturgical but by no means drama, while those that remain may well be drama, but are certainly not liturgical. But if the expression has no clear referent, what can its object possibly be? In the following chapter, I address the words themselves: their origin, history, and the ways in which these words are currently understood. I examine in turn the combination of terms and find that the expression, aside from having no clear referent, is also largely meaningless.

Table 4.1A: Representational Rites: *Visitatio Sepulchri*, without Magdalene
—Mass and Matins

| Dates | Liturgical Book | MSS/Books | Notes |
|-------|-----------------|-----------|-------|
| *Before Easter Mass (as trope, processional item, or independent ceremony)* | | | |
| 11th–15th c. | Antiphoner | 4 | |
| 11th c. | Breviary | 1 | |
| 11th–15th c. | Customary | 5 | |
| 11th–15th c. | Gradual/Missal | 18 | |
| 11th c. | Liturgical miscellany | 1 | |
| 12th–15th c. | Ordinal | 11 | |
| 14th–15th c. | Processional | 7 | |
| 10th–15th c. | Troper/Sequentiary/Proser | 39 | |
| | **Total Mass MSS** | **86** | |
| *End of Easter matins* | | | |
| 11th–16th c. | Antiphoner | 96 | |
| 11th–16th c. | Breviary | 283 | |
| 12th–13th c. | Cantatorium | 2 | |
| 10th–15th c. | Customary | 11 | |
| 14th–16th c. | Diurnal | 8 | |
| 10th–14th c. | Gradual/Missal | 13 | |
| 12th–13th c. | Liturgical commentary | 3 | |
| 10th–14th c. | Liturgical miscellany | 4 | |
| 11th–18th c. | Ordinal | 131 | Includes *Directoriae* and *Registrae Chori* |
| 12th–18th c. | Processional | 46 | |
| 10th–16th c. | Rituale (Agenda, Obsequiale, etc.) | 49 | Includes Sacramentaries and Pontificals |
| 11th–14th c. | Troper/Sequentiary | 11 | |
| 12th–18th c. | Other/Unknown | 7 | Settings published in modern editions from MSS now lost or contained in fragments from MSS of indeterminate type— also 1 *Scamnalia* and 1 *Viaticum* |
| | **Total Matins MSS/Books** | **664** | |

Table 4.1B: Representational Rites: *Visitatio Sepulchri*, without Magdalene
—Non-standard placements

| Manuscript/Book | LOO | Date |
|---|---|---|
| *Before Easter Matins* | | |
| Laon, Bibl. municipale, MS 215, 129r–v | 109 | 13th c. |
| Bellotte, pp. 215–17 | 111 | ? |
| Bellotte, p. 819 | 112 | ? |
| *St. Gall, Stiftsbibl., MS 1290, 22r–24r, 134r–v | 331 | 1582 |
| St. Gall, Stiftsbibl., MS 1262, pp. 142–43 | 330 | 1583 |
| *St. Gall, Stiftsbibl., MS 1296, pp. 24–27 | 332 | 1631 |
| *St. Gall, Stiftsbibl., MS 525, p. 394 | 328 | 14th c. |
| *Castellani1, 276r–278v | 429 | 1523 |
| *Castellani2, 262r–263v | 429A | 1537 |
| *Officium hebdomadae sanctae secundum consuetudinem ducalis ecclesiae Sancti Marci Venetiarum* (Venice, 1736), pp. 345–49 | 430 | 1736 |
| *After Lauds* | | |
| Monsabert, pp. 393–94. | 151 | 13th c. |
| *Easter Vespers* | | |
| *London, British Library, MS Add. 30848, 125v | 461 | late 11th c. |
| *Ambiguous Placement* | | |
| *Laon, Bibl. municipale, MS 263, 145r–146r | 110 | ca. 1187 |
| *Cologne, Universitätsbibl., MS 5 P 114 (Bäumker 979), 99r–100v | 333 | 16th c. |
| *Berlin, Staatsbibl. zu Berlin, MS theol. qu. 15, 120r | 271 | 1022–1036 |
| *Cracow, Bibl. Jagiellonská, MS Berol. theol. lat. 11, 45v–46r | 272 | 1024–1027 |
| *Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibl., MS Helmst. 1008, 126r–v | 273 | 1024–1027 |
| *Engelberg, Stiftsbibl., MS 1003, 121v | 318A | ca. 1140 |
| *Bamberg, Staatliche Bibl., MS lit. 6, 94v | 319 | late 10th c. |
| *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., clm 14845, 94r–v | 320 | mid-12th c. |
| *St. Gall, Stiftsbibl., MS 360, pp. 31–32 | 327 | mid-12th c. |
| St. Gall, Stiftsbibl., MS 384, p. 240 | 329 | 14th c. |
| *Graz, Universitätsbibl., MS lat. 211, 83v | 480 | 12th c. |
| *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 775, 17r–v | 423 | mid-11th c. |
| *Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 473, 26v | 424 | 1020–1040 |
| *Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Biblioteca, cod. Cicogna 1006, 23r–24v | ⁰910 | 1250–1300 |

NOTES

| | |
|---|---|
| * | Musical notation included |
| Bellote | Antoine Bellotte, *Ritus ecclesiae Laudensis*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1662) |
| Castellani1 | Alberto Castellani, *Liber sacerdotalis* (Venice, 1523) |
| Castellani2 | Alberto Castellani, *Liber sacerdotalis* (Venice, 1537) |

| Provenance | Type | Notes |
| --- | --- | --- |
| | | |
| Laon | Ordinal | |
| Laon | ? | Original MS unknown or lost |
| Laon | ? | Original MS unknown or lost |
| St. Gall | Processional | |
| St. Gall | Ordinal | |
| St. Gall | Processional | |
| Venice, St. Mark | Ordinal | Bound within a MS containing a vocabulary, sermons, glosses on the hymnal, and treatises on the virtues and vices. Liturgical position clearly indicated in the opening rubric |
| Venice, St. Mark | Ritual | Combines *Elevatio Crucis et Hostiae* with *Visitatio Sepulchri* |
| Venice, St. Mark | Ritual | Combines *Elevatio Crucis et Hostiae* with *Visitatio Sepulchri* |
| Venice, St. Mark | Ordinal | Combines *Elevatio Crucis et Hostiae* with *Visitatio Sepulchri* |
| | | |
| Poitiers, Sainte-Croix | Ordinal | Original MS unknown or lost |
| | | |
| Silos, St. Domingo | Breviary | Following the procession to the font at second Vespers |
| | | |
| Laon | Gradual | Beginning rubric: *In aurora*. MS also contains *Ordo Stellae, Ordo Prophetarum,* and incomplete *Ordo Joseph* on folios following gradual |
| Marienberg am Schonenberg | Processional | Ends with antiphon *Surrexit Dominus* |
| Minden | Gradual | *In die sancto Pasche primo mane*—ends with *Surrexit enim* |
| Minden | Gradual | *In die sancto Pasche primo mane*—ends with *Surrexit enim* |
| Minden | Gradual | *In die sancto Pasche primo mane*—ends with *Surrexit enim* |
| St. Blasien | Gradual | Ends with antiphon *Surrexit Dominus* |
| St. Emmeram | Troper | In left margin. Ends with antiphon *Surrexit Dominus*. |
| St. Emmeram | Troper | Includes antiphon *Surrexit Dominus* |
| St. Gall | Processional | Ends with antiphons *Surrexit enim* and *Christus resurgens* |
| St. Gall | Breviary | Ends with antiphons *Surrexit enim* and *Christus resurgens* |
| Székesfehérvár | Antiphoner | After lauds or before vespers on Holy Saturday |
| Winchester | Gradual/Troper | Ends with antiphon *Surrexit Dominus*, entered before the *Benedictio cerei* of the Easter Vigil |
| Winchester | Troper | Ends with antiphon *Surrexit Dominus* |
| Venice, St. Mark | Ritual/Processional | Ends with antiphon *Venite et videte* |

Evers/Janota  Ute Evers and Johannes Janota, *Die Melodien der lateinischen Osterfeiern*, 2 vols. in 4 (Berlin, 2013) [LOO numbers ⁰900 and above]

LOO  Walther Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, 9 vols. (Berlin, 1976–1990)

Monsabert  P. de Monsabert, "Document inédits," *Revue Mabillon* 9 (1913–1914): 373–95

Table 4.1C: Representational Rites: *Visitatio Sepulchri*, with Magdalene

| Manuscript | LOO |
|---|---|
| *Anglo/Norman* | |
| Oxford, University College, MS 169, pp. 121–24 | 770 |
| *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Liturg. D. IV, 130r–132r | 772 |
| *Dublin, Archbishop Marsh's Library, MS Z.4.2.20, 59r–61r | 772A |
| Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 1301, 143v–145v | 771 |
| Avranches, Bibl. municipale, *olim* MS no. intér. 14, extér. 2524, foliation not given | 774 |
| Avranches, Bibl. municipale, MS 214, pp. 236–38 | 773 |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 904, 101v–102v | 775 |
| Rouen, Bibl. municipale, MS 384, 82v–83r | 776 |
| Rouen, Bibl. municipale, MS 382, 70v–71r | 778 |
| Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 1213, p. 86 | 777 |
| *Solesmes, Abbaye-St.-Pierre, MS 596, 59r–64v | — |
| *German/Bohemian Convents* | |
| Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, MS VII.B.48, 15r–v | 785 |
| *Berlin, Staatsbibl. zu Berlin, MS Mus 40081, 16v–18v, 93r–95r, 100v–107v, 178r, 241v–243v | 786 |
| *Berlin, Staatsbibl. zu Berlin, MS Mus 40080, 109v–112v, 117r–123v, 225v–227r | 786A |
| *Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibl., MS Guelf. 309 Novi, 68r–69v | 791 |
| *Münster, Bibl. des Priesterseminars, MS K4.214, 48v–55r | 793 |
| *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., clm 28947, 64v–65v | 794 |
| *Münster, Bibl. Archiv und Bibl. des Bistums Münster, BAM PfA MS 113, 112r–113v | 795 |
| Prague, Národní Knihovna, MS VI.E.13, pp. 3–4 | 798 |
| Prague, Národní Knihovna, MS XII.A.22, 2r–v | 798A |
| *Prague, Národní Knihovna, MS VI.G.10a, 149r–153v, 185r–187v | 799 |
| *Prague, Národní Knihovna, MS XIII.H.3c, 107r–114v | 800 |
| *Prague, Národní Knihovna, MS XII.E.15a, 69v–74v | 801 |
| Prague, Národní Knihovna, MS XIII.E.14d, 77r–78r | 802 |
| *Prague, Národní Knihovna, MS VI.G.3b, 84r–90r | 803 |
| *Prague, Národní Knihovna, MS VI.G.10b, 72v–78v | 804 |
| *Prague, Národní Knihovna, MS VI.G.5, 243v–251r | 804A |
| *Prague, Národní Knihovna, MS VII.G.16, 95v–103r | 805 |
| *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., clm 27301, 72r–73v, 76r–77r | 796 |

| Date | Provenance | Type | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| 1365 | Barking | Ordinal | Before Matins, follows *Elevatio* |
| after 1352 | Dublin | Processional | Corresponds to other Anglo-Norman settings but missing Magdalene/Christ |
| after 1352 | Dublin | Processional | Corresponds to other Anglo-Norman settings but missing Magdalene/Christ |
| ca. 1400 | Coutances | Ordinal | |
| ? | Mont-Saint-Michel | ? | MS lost, reported by du Méril, 94–96 |
| 14th c. | Mont-Saint-Michel | Ritual | |
| 13th c. | Rouen | Gradual | |
| 14th c. | Rouen | Ordinal | |
| ca. 1495 | Rouen | Ordinal | |
| 15th c. | Rouen | Ordinal | |
| 13th/14th c. | Wilton | Processional | ca. 1860 copy of 13th/14th c. MS (cited by Rankin). 37 of the original 165 leaves from the original MS have been located by Alstatt |
| | | | |
| 1438 | Gandersheim | *Registrum Chori* | 16th c. copy |
| ca.1500 | Gernrode | Processional | Before Matins, with *Elevatio* |
| ca.1500 | Gernrode | Processional | Before Matins, with *Elevatio* |
| 12th/13th c. | Marienberg bei Helmstedt | Antiphoner | |
| ca. 1600 | Münster, Leibfrauen | Processional | |
| ca. 1420 | Nottuln bei Münster | Gradual | Formerly owned by Otto Ursprung |
| before 1493 | Nottuln bei Münster | Antiphoner | |
| 12th c. | Prague, St. George | Breviary | |
| 14th c. | Prague, St. George | Breviary | |
| 1280–1320 | Prague, St. George | Processional | |
| ca. 1300 | Prague, St. George | Processional | |
| ca. 1310 | Prague, St. George | Processional | |
| 14th c. | Prague, St. George | Ordinal | |
| ca. 1300 | Prague, St. George | Processional | |
| 1280–1320 | Prague, St. George | Processional | |
| 1300–1350 | Prague, St. George | Processional | |
| 1300–1325 | Prague, St. George | Processional | |
| 1587 | Regensburg, Obermünster | Processional | |

*(continued overleaf)*

Table 4.1C: Representational Rites: *Visitatio Sepulchri*, with Magdalene *(cont.)*

| Manuscript | LOO |
|---|---|
| *Other* | |
| *Nürnberg, Germanische Nationalmuseum, MS 22923, 105v–107v | 782 |
| *Istanbul, Topkapi Serayi Müzesi, MS Gayri Islami, Eserler 68, 97r–98r | 807 |
| Gerona, Bibl. Capit., Acta Capitularium 1528–29, 360r–v | 821 |
| Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibl., MS Guelf. 84.2, 23r–v | 787 |
| St. Gall, Stiftsbibl., MS 448, pp. 105–6 | 788 |
| Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, MS 4o 62, 397v–398r | 779A |
| The Hague, Koninkijke Bibl., MS 71.A.3, 43v | 826A |
| *Trier, Bistumsarchiv, BATr Abt. 95 Nr. 493, 102v | 795A |
| Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibl., MS lat. 13427, 129r–v | 806 |

NOTES
| | |
|---|---|
| * | Musical notation included |
| Alstatt | Alison Alstatt, "Re-membering the Wilton Processional," *Notes: the Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association* 72 (2016): 690–732 |
| Du Méril | Édélstand du Méril, *Origines latines du théâtre modern* (Paris, 1849) |
| Evers/Janota | Ute Evers and Johannes Janota, *Die Melodien der lateinische Osterfeiern*, 2 vols. in 4 (Berlin, 2013) |

Table 4.1D: Representational Rites: *Officium Pastorum*—Before Mass and end of Christmas Matins

| Manuscript | Date | Provenance |
|---|---|---|
| *Before Mass (as trope)* | | |
| **Southern France** | | |
| *Apt, Basilique de Sainte-Anne, MS 17, p. 28 | 11th c. | Apt |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 779, 1r | 11th c. | Arles(?)/Limoges(?) |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 1084, 53v–54r | 11th/12th c. | Aurillac, Saint-Gérauld |
| *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS n. a. lat. 1660, 15v | 14th c. | Central France |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 887, 9v | 11th c. | Limoges, Saint-Martial |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 909, 9r–v | 10th/11th c. | Limoges, Saint-Martial |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 1118, 8v–9r | 10th/11th c. | Limoges, Saint-Martial |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 1119, 4r–v | after 1031 | Limoges, Saint-Martial |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 1121, 2r–v | ca. 1000 | Limoges, Saint-Martial |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS n. a. lat. 1871, 4r | 11th c. | Moissac |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 9449, 7r–v | ca. 1060 | Nevers |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS n. a. lat. 1235, 183v–184r | 12th c. | Nevers |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 13252, 3r–v | 1150/1200 | Paris, Saint-Magliore |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 903, 147v | 11th c. | Saint-Yrieix |

| Date | Provenance | Type | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| 1250–1300 | Chiemsee (LOO), Gurk (Evers/Janota) | Antiphoner | Contains 2 settings: 1 with Magdalene, the other without |
| 1463 | Eger or Budapest | Gradual | |
| 1539 | Gerona | *Acta Capitularium* | |
| 15th c. | Havelberg | Ordinal | |
| ca. 1440 | Hersfeld | Ritual | |
| 1481–1483 | Hirsau? (Klugseder). Augsburg, St. Ulrich und Afra (LOO) | Ordinal | |
| 1385 | Maastricht, St. Maria | Ordinal | |
| 15th c. | Oberwesel, Liebfrauenkirche? | Antiphoner | Incomplete |
| 14th c. | Prague | Breviary | |

| Klugseder | Robert Klugseder, *Quellen des gregorianischen Chorals für das Offizium aus dem Kloster St. Ulrich und Afra Augsburg* (Tutzing, 2008) |
|---|---|
| LOO | Walther Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, 9 vols. (Berlin, 1976–1990) |
| Rankin | Susan K. Rankin, "A New English Source of the Visitatio Sepulchri," *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society* 4 (1981): 1–11 |

| Book | Notes |
|---|---|
| | |
| | |
| Troper | |
| Troper | Beginning absent |
| Troper | |
| Missal | |
| Troper | |
| Troper | |
| Troper | |
| Troper | |
| Troper | |
| Troper | Beginning absent |
| Troper | |
| Gradual | |
| Troper | |
| Troper | |

Table 4.1D: Representational Rites: *Officium Pastorum*
—Before Mass and end of Christmas Matins *(cont.)*

| Manuscript | Date | Provenance |
|---|---|---|
| **Northern Italy** | | |
| *Turin, Bibl. Nazionale, MS G.V.20, 20v | 11th c. | Bobbio |
| *Turin, Bibl. Nazionale, MS F.IV.18, 9v–10r | 12th c. | Bobbio |
| *Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 7, 23r | 11th c. | Italy |
| *Modena, Bibl. Capitolare, MS O.I.7, 6v–7r | 11th/12th c. | Forlimpopoli |
| *Ivrea, Bibl. Capitolare, MS 60, 10v | 11th c. | Ivrea |
| *Verona, Bibl. Capitolare, MS 107, 5v–6r | 11th c. | Mantua |
| *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 222, 6r–v | 11th c. | Novalesa |
| *Padua, Bibl. Capitolare, MS A.47, 16v | 12th c. | Ravenna |
| *Padua, Bibl. des Seminario Vescovile, MS 697, 45v | 12th c. | Padua |
| *Piacenza, Bibl. Capitolare, MS 65, 229v | 12th c. | Piacenza |
| *Pistoia, Bibl. Capitolare, MS C. 121 (70), 14v | 12th c. | Piacenza |
| *Vercelli, Bibl. Capitolare, MS 161, 118v | 12th c. | Vercelli |
| *Vercelli, Bibl. Capitolare, MS 146, 107r | 11th c. | Vercelli |
| *Vercelli, Bibl. Capitolare, MS 162, 187r–v | 12th c. | Vercelli |
| *Voltera, Bibl. Guarnacci, MS L.3.39, 3v | 11th c. | Volterra |
| **Spain** | | |
| *Huesca, Bibl. Capitolare, MS 4, 124r | 11th/12th c. | Huesca |
| *Vich, Bibl. Episcopal, MS 106 (31), 30r | 12th/13th c. | Vich |
| *Vich, Bibl. Episcopal, MS 124, Av–Bv | 13th/14th c. | Vich |
| **Other** | | |
| *Rome, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 10645, 52r | 12th c.? | ? |
| | | |
| *Christmas Matins* | | |
| Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 1274, 40v | 14th c. | Clermont-Ferrand |
| Clermont-Ferrand, Bibl. municipale, MS 67, 28v | 15th c. | Clermont-Ferrand |
| *Padua, Bibl. Capitolare, MS C.55, 1r–v | 14th c. | Padua |
| *Padua, Bibl. Capitolare, MS C.56, 1r–v | 14th c. | Padua |
| Padua, Bibl. Capitolare, MS E.57, 40v–41v | 13th c. | Padua |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 904, 11v–14v | 13th c. | Rouen |
| Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 1213, pp. 17–18 | 15th c. | Rouen |
| Rouen, Bibl. municipale, MS 382, 23r–v | 15th c. | Rouen |
| Rouen, Bibl. municipale, MS 384, 22r–23r | 14th c | Rouen |
| Martène (1706), p. 87 | ? | Rouen |

NOTES

| | |
|---|---|
| * | Musical notation included |
| Cattin/Vildera | Giulio Cattin and Anna Vildera, *Il "Liber Ordinarius" della Chiesa Padovana*, 2 vols. (Padua, 2002) |
| Corpus Troporum 1 | Ritva Jonnson, *Corpus Troporum 1, Tropes du propre de la messe, Cycle de Noël* (Stockholm, 1975) |
| De Bartholomaeis | Vincenzo De Bartholomaeis, *Origini della poesia drammatica italiana* (Bologna, 1924) |

| Book | Notes |
| --- | --- |
| Troper | |
| Troper | Cited by Young, 2:6 and Planchart, 225–26. Not in *Corpus Troporum 1* |
| Troper | Cited by Planchart, 225. Not in Young. Not in *Corpus Troporum 1* |
| Troper | Fragment |
| Troper | |
| Troper | |
| Troper | |
| Troper | Cited by Planchart, 225. Not in Young. Not in *Corpus Troporum 1* |
| Troper | Cited by Planchart, 225. Not in Young. Not in *Corpus Troporum 1* |
| Troper | Fragment |
| Troper | |
| Troper | |
| Troper | |
| Troper | |
| Troper | Cited by Planchart, 226. Not in *Corpus Troporum 1* |
| | |
| Troper | Cited by Young, 2:427. Not in *Corpus Troporum 1* |
| Troper | |
| Troper | Fragment. Cited by Young, 2:427. Not in *Corpus Troporum 1* |
| | |
| Collection of liturgical fragments | Cited by Young, 2:427 after Bartholomaeis, 525. Planchart, 225. Not in *Corpus Troporum 1* |
| | |
| Breviary | After Matins, before 2nd Mass of Christmas |
| Breviary | After Matins, before 2nd Mass of Christmas |
| Processional | Before Matins. Cited by Vecchi, 6–11 (edition) |
| Processional | Before Matins. Cited by Vecchi, 6–11 (edition), 183–84 (facsimile) |
| Ordinal | Before Matins. Cited by Cattin/Vildera 1:40v–41v and 2:51–52 |
| Gradual | After Matins, before 2nd Mass of Christmas |
| Ordinal | After Matins, before 2nd Mass of Christmas |
| Ordinal | After Matins, before 2nd Mass of Christmas |
| Ordinal | After Matins, before 2nd Mass of Christmas |
| ? | After Matins, before 2nd Mass of Christmas |

| | |
| --- | --- |
| Martène (1706) | Edmond Martène, *Tractatus de antiqua ecclesiae disciplinae in divinis celebrandis officiis* (Lyons, 1706) |
| Planchart | Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "On the Nature of Transmission and Change in Trope Repertories," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (1988): 215–49 |
| Vecchi | Giuseppi Vecchi, *Uffici drammatici Padovani* (Florence, 1954) |
| Young | Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1933) |

Table 4.1E: Representational Rites: Other

| Manuscript | LOO | Date | Provenance |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Officium Peregrinorum* | | | |
| Bayeux, Bibl. du chapitre, MS 121, foliation not given | 807A | 13th c. | Bayeux |
| *Rouen, Bibl. municipale, MS 222, 43v–45r | 812 | 13th c. | Rouen |
| Rouen, Bibl. municipale , MS 384, 86r–v | 813 | 14th c. | Rouen |
| Rouen, Bibl. municipale , MS 382, 73r–v | 814 | ca. 1495 | Rouen |
| Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 1213, p. 90 | 815 | 15th c. | Rouen |
| Padua, Bibl. Capitolare, MS E.57, 103r–104v. | 810A | 13th c. | Padua |
| *Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 288, 172v–173v | 818 | 12th c. | Palermo, *Capella* |
| *Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 289, 117r–118v | 819 | 12th c. | Palermo, *Capella* |
| *Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vitr. 20.4 (C.132), 105v–108r | 811 | 12th c. | Palermo, cathedral |
| *Officium Prophetarum* | | | |
| Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 1232, 26r–27r | | 17th c. | Rouen |
| Rouen, Bibl. municipale, MS 382, 31v–33r | | 15th c. | Rouen |
| Rouen, Bibl. municipale, MS 384, 33r–35r | | 14th c. | Rouen |
| Martène (1706), pp. 106–7 | | 14th c. (?) | Tours |
| *Officium Stellae* | | | |
| Besançon, Bibl. de la Ville, MS 109, pp. 44–46 | | 1629 | Besançon |
| Crombach (1654), pp. 732–34 | | ? | Besançon |
| Cividale, Museo Archeologico nazionale, MS CXXX, 40r–v | | 14th c. | Cividale |
| *Zagreb, Metropolitanske knjizhice, MR 165, 28v–30r | | 11th/12th | Györ (Raab) |
| Martène (1706), p. 114 | | ? | Limoges |
| *Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, MS 1708, 81v | | 11th c. | Nevers |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 9449, 17v–18r | | 11th c. | Nevers |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS n. a. lat. 1235, 198r–199r | | 12th c. | Nevers |
| Padua, Bibl. Capitolare, MS E.57, 58r–v | | 13th c. | Padua |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 904, 28v–30r | | 13th c. | Rouen |
| Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 1213, pp. 34–35 | | 14th c. | Rouen |
| *Rouen, Bibl. municipale, MS 222, 4r–v | | 13th c. | Rouen |
| Rouen, Bibl. municipale, MS 382, 35v–36r | | 15th c. | Rouen |
| Rouen, Bibl. municipale, MS 384, 38v–39v | | 14th c. | Rouen |
| Jean d'Avranche (PL 147:43) | | 11th c. | Rouen? |
| Martène (1706), pp. 111–12. | | ? | Rouen |
| *Madrid, Bibl. Nacionale, MS 288, 168r–170r | | 11th c. | Palermo, *Capella* |
| *Madrid, Bibl. Nacionale, MS 289, 107v–110r | | 12th c. | Palermo, *Capella* |
| Sion, Archives du chapitre, MS 47, 33r | | 13th c. | Sion |

| Book | Notes |
|------|-------|
| Ordinal | Citation by Chevalier, p. 143. Vespers on Easter Monday |
| Processional | Vespers on Easter Monday |
| Ordinal | Vespers on Easter Monday |
| Ordinal | Vespers on Easter Monday |
| Ordinal | Vespers on Easter Monday |
| Ordinal | Vespers on Easter Monday. Cited by Cattin/Vildera, 1:103v–104v and 2:132 |
| Troper | Vespers on Easter Monday |
| Troper | Vespers on Easter Monday |
| Gradual | Vespers on Easter Sunday or Monday |
| | |
| Ordinal | Before third Mass of Christmas. Copied from Rouen, MS 384 (Young, 1:154) |
| Ordinal | Before third Mass of Christmas |
| Ordinal | Before third Mass of Christmas |
| *ex MS Turocensis* | |
| | |
| *Liber Ceremoniale* | Epiphany, Mass—before the Gospel (description in French by Fr. Francis Guenard, priest of St. Stephen's in Besançon) |
| ? | Epiphany, Mass—before the Gospel. Ceremony drawn from 3 MSS (given separately by Morandi) |
| Rituale | Cited by Morandi, 56–57 and 308–9 |
| Agenda | Epiphany, Matins—after 9th responsory |
| Ordinal | Epiphany, Mass—after the Offertory |
| Collection of liturgical fragments | Epiphany, Matins—after 9th responsory |
| Troper | Epiphany, Matins—after 9th responsory |
| Troper/Gradual | Epiphany, Matins—after 9th responsory |
| Ordinal | MS: *Representatio Herodis in nocte Epyphania*. Epiphany, Matins—after 8th responsory. Magi not present. Cited by Cattin/Vildera, 1:58r–v and 2:74–75 |
| Gradual | Epiphany, Mass—before the Introit |
| Ordinal | Epiphany, Mass—before the Introit |
| Processional | Epiphany, Mass—before the Introit |
| Ordinal | Epiphany, Mass—before the Introit |
| Ordinal | Epiphany, Mass—before the Introit |
| Liturgical commentary | Epiphany, Matins—after 9th responsory |
| ? | Epiphany, Mass—before the Introit |
| Troper | Epiphany, Matins—after 9th responsory |
| Troper | Epiphany, Matins—after 9th responsory |
| Ordinal | Epiphany, Mass—before the Gospel |

Table 4.1E: Representational Rites: Other *(cont.)*

| Manuscript | LOO | Date | Provenance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sion, Archives du chapitre, MS 74, 120r–v | | 15th c. | Sion |
| *Purification of the Virgin* | | | |
| *Padua, Bibl. Capitolare, MS C.55, 15r–17v | | 14th c. | Padua |
| *Padua, Bibl. Capitolare, MS C.56, 15r–17v | | 14th c. | Padua |
| *Annunciation of the Virgin* | | | |
| Martène (1706), p. 75. | | ? | Besançon |
| Charnage, pp. 1:262–63 | | 1452 | Besançon |
| *Padua, Bibl. Capitolare, MS C.55, 36v–39r | | 14th c. | Padua |
| *Padua, Bibl. Capitolare, MS C.56, 36v–39r | | 14th c. | Padua |
| *Assumption of the Virgin* | | | |
| Bamberg, Staatsbibl., MS lit. 119, 166v–167r | | 1532 | Halle |
| *Presentation of the Virgin* | | | |
| Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 17330, 18r–24r | | 1372 | Avignon |

NOTES

| * | Musical notation included |
|---|---|
| Cattin/Vildera | Giulio Cattin and Anna Vildera, *Il "Liber ordinaries" della chiesa Padovana*, 2 vols. (Padua, 2002) |
| Chevalier | Ulysse Chevalier, *Ordinaire et coutumier de l'église cathédrale de Bayeux* (Paris, 1902) |
| Charnage | François-Ignace Dunod de Charnage, *Histoire de l'église, ville et diocèse de Besançon*, 2 vols. (Besançon, 1750) |

Table 4.2: Religious Plays

| Manuscript | LOO | Date | Provenance |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Ludus Paschalis* | | | |
| *Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibl., MS 300, pp. 93–94 | 783 | 12th/13th c | Einsiedeln? |
| *Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibl., CCl 574, 142v–144v | 829 | ca. 1200 | ? |
| *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., clm 4660a, 5r–6v | 820 | 13th c | Seckau/Brixen(?) |
| *Orléans, Bibl. municipale, MS 201, pp. 220–25 | 779 | 12th/13th c. | Fleury/Saint-Lhomer(?) |
| *Prague, Národní Knihovna, MS I.B.12, 135v–137v | — | 1384 | Prague |
| *Saint-Quentin, Bibl. municipale, MS 86, pp. 609–25 | 825 | 14th c. | Origny, Sainte-Benoîte |
| *Tours, Bibl. municipale, MS 927, 1r–8v | 834 | 13th c. | Tours |
| *Zwickau, Ratsschulbibl., MS XXXVI., I 24, 1r–17r | 789 (1r–6r) | early 16th c. | Zwickau |
| *Zwickau, Ratsschulbibl., MS I.XV.3., 56r–77v | — | early 16th c. | Zwickau |

| Book | Notes |
|---|---|
| Ordinal | Epiphany, Mass—before the Gospel (not in Morandi) |
| | |
| Processional | *Inmediate post prandium* |
| Processional | *Inmediate post prandium* |
| | |
| ? | At the reading of the Gospel for the Mass on the Wednesday of the Advent Ember Days |
| ? | At the reading of the Gospel for the Mass on the Wednesday of the Advent Ember Days |
| Processional | *Post prandium* |
| Processional | *Post prandium* |
| | |
| Ordinal | After None |
| | |
| Liturgy for feast of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple | In the hand of the author, Philippe de Mézières—*Repraesentio figurate*, procession to Mass—a proposed liturgy apparently celebrated in Avignon at least between 1372 and 1385 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Crombach | Hermann Crombach, *Primitiae Gentium seu Historia SS. Trium Regum Magorum Evangelicorum* (Cologne, 1654) |
| LOO | Walther Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, 9 vols. (Berlin, 1976–90) |
| Martène (1706) | Edmond Martène, *Tractatus de antiqua ecclesiae disciplinae in divinis celebrandis officiis* (Lyons, 1706) |
| Morandi | Nausica Morandi, *Officium Stellae* (Florence, 2016) |

| Book | Notes |
|---|---|
| | |
| Sermon collection | |
| Sermon collection | In a gathering containing offices for St. Thomas Beckett and St. Catherine along with a *vita* for St. Servatius that is appended to gatherings of sermons and other exegetical texts |
| Collection of songs, poems, plays | *Carmina Burana* |
| Sermon Collection | Fleury "Playbook" |
| *Passionales* and Sermons on the Saints | Latin/Czech |
| Miscellany with some liturgical items | Latin/French. Added to the end of the MS by a later hand. |
| Miscellany with *Visitatio Sepulchri*, Latin hymns, *Ordo Representacionis Ade* ( Jeu d'Adam), versified saints' lives (in French) | MS entitled "Prières en vers" in 1716 catalog prepared by the Benedictines of Marmoutier (Luzarche, *Office du Pâques*, p. xxxi) |
| Play collection for the Latin School | 3 representations. 1: Latin, 2 & 3: Latin/German. Followed by *Planctus Mariae* |
| Miscellaneous exegetical texts | 2 representations. Both Latin/German |

Table 4.2: Religious Plays *(cont.)*

| Manuscript | LOO | Date | Provenance |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Ordo Peregrinorum* | | | |
| *Orléans, Bibl. municipale, MS 201, pp. 225–30 | 817 | 12th/13th | Fleury/Saint-Lhomer(?) |
| *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., clm 4660a, 7r–v | 829 | 13th c. | Seckau/Brixen(?) |
| *Ordo Pastorum* | | | |
| *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., clm 4660, 99r–104v | | 13th c. | Seckau/Brixen(?) |
| *Ordo Stellae* | | | |
| *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., clm 6264a, 1r | | 11th c. | Freising |
| *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., clm 14477, 1r–v | | 12th c. | St. Emmeram? |
| *Orléans, Bibl. municipale, MS 201, pp. 205–14 | | 12th/13th c. | Fleury/Saint-Lhomer(?) |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 1152, fragment | | 10th/11th c. | Compiegne? |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 16819, 49r–v | | 11th c. | Compiegne |
| *Rome, Bibl. Vaticana, MS lat. 8552, 1v (fragment) | | 12th c. | Malmédy |
| Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibl, MS lat. 1054, 30v | | 14th c. | ? |
| *Ordo Rachelis* | | | |
| *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., clm 6264, 27v | | 11th c. | Freising |
| *Orléans, Bibl. municipale, MS 201, pp. 214–20 | | 12th/13th c. | Fleury/Saint-Lhomer(?) |
| *Other* | | | |
| London, British Library, MS Add. 22414, 3v–4r | | 11th/12th c. | Hildesheim |
| *Orléans, Bibl. municipale, MS 201, pp. 176–82 | | 12th/13th c. | Fleury/Saint-Lhomer(?) |
| Brussels, Bibl. royale, MS II.2256, 192v–193r | | 12th/13th c | Villers |
| Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., clm 14834, 26v | | 12th c. | Regensburg, St. Emmeram |
| *Orléans, Bibl. municipale, MS 201, pp. 183–87 | | 12th/13th c. | Fleury/Saint-Lhomer(?) |
| Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibl., MS 34, 2v–3r | | 12th c. | Einsiedeln |
| Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 11331, 11r–12r | | 12th c. | ? |
| *Orléans, Bibl. municipale, MS 201, pp. 188–96 | | 12th/13th c. | Fleury/Saint-Lhomer(?) |
| *Orléans, Bibl. municipale, MS 201, pp. 196–205 | | 12th/13th c. | Fleury/Saint-Lhomer(?) |
| *Orléans, Bibl. municipale, MS 201, pp. 230–33 | | 12th/13th c. | Fleury/Saint-Lhomer(?) |
| *Orléans, Bibl. municipale, MS 201, pp. 233–43 | | 12th/13th c. | Fleury/Saint-Lhomer(?) |
| Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 11331, 9r–10v | | 12th c. | ? |
| Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 11331, 12v–16v | | 12th c. | ? |
| Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., clm 19411, 2v–7r | | early 12th c. | Regensburg? (Tegernsee?) |

| Book | Notes |
|------|-------|
| | |
| Sermon collection | Fleury "Playbook" |
| Collection of songs, poems, plays | *Carmina Burana* |
| | |
| Collection of songs, plays | *Carmina Burana* |
| | |
| Sermons of John the Deacon | MS: *Ordo Stellae* |
| Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* and Berno, *Prologus in Tonarium* | Written over erasure preceding the Sallust |
| Sermon Collection | Fleury "Playbook". MS: *Ordo ad representandum Herodem.* |
| Psalter of Charles the Bald | Fragment on final flyleaf |
| Lectionary | Entered after a sermon on the Epiphany |
| Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* | |
| Theological miscellany | MS: *Stella*. Precedes *Prologus super commento Apocalipsis* Cited by Morandi, pp. 112–13 and 350–51. This was originally cited by du Méril, 151 and treated by Young, Poema (although not in Young, *Drama*) |
| | |
| Sermons on Epistles of St. Paul | MS: *Ordo Rachelis* |
| Sermon collection | Fleury "Playbook". MS: *Interfectio Puerorum* |
| | |
| Miscellany, mathematical and medical texts | *Tres Filiae* and *Tres Clerici* (St. Nicholas) |
| Sermon collection | Fleury "Playbook". *Tres Filiae* (St. Nicholas) |
| Letters of St. Bernard | *Tres Clerici* (St. Nicholas) |
| Ascetic miscellany | *Tres Clerici* (St. Nicholas) |
| Sermon collection | Fleury "Playbook". *Tres Clerici* (St. Nicholas) |
| William von Ebersberg, Commentary on the Song of Solomon | *Tres Clerici* (St. Nicholas). Copied on opening endpapers among Latin poems |
| Poems/Plays of Hilarius | Hilarius manuscript. MS: *Ludus super Iconia Sancti Nicolai* (St. Nicholas) |
| Sermon collection | Fleury "Playbook". *Iconia Sancti Nicolai* (St. Nicholas) |
| Sermon collection | Fleury "Playbook". *Filius Getronis* (St. Nicholas) |
| Sermon collection | Fleury "Playbook". *Conversio Pauli* |
| Sermon collection | Fleury "Playbook". MS: *Versus de Resurrectione Lazari* |
| Poems/Plays of Hilarius | Hilarius manuscript. MS: *Suscitacio Lazari* |
| Poems/Plays of Hilarius | Hilarius manuscript. MS: *Historia de Daniel Representanda* |
| Miscellany – also includes Otto of Freising's *Gesta Friderici Imperatoris* | Play of Antichrist. MS: untitled |

Table 4.2: Religious Plays *(cont.)*

| Manuscript | LOO | Date | Provenance |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Vorau, Stiftsbibl., MS 302 (CCXXIII), former pastedown to front cover (4 pages) | | 12th c. | Vorau? |
| *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., clm 4660, 105v–106v | | 13th c. | Seckau/Brixen(?) |
| *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., clm 4660, 107r–112r | | 13th c. | Seckau/Brixen(?) |
| *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., clm 4660a, 3v–4v | | 13th c. | Seckau/Brixen(?) |

NOTES
| | |
|---|---|
| * | Musical notation included |
| Du Méril | Édélstand du Méril, *Origines latines du théâtre modern* (Paris, 1849) |
| LOO | Walther Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, 9 vols. (1976–1990) |

Table 4.3: Ambiguously Situated Representations

| Manuscript | LOO | Date | Provenance |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Visitatio Sepulchri / Ludus Paschalis* | | | |
| *Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, MS VII.B.203, 23r–27v | 780 | 14th c. | Braunschweig |
| *Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, MS CI (101), 77r–79v | 781 | 15th c | Cividale |
| *Venice, Biblioteca S. Maria della Consolazione, MS Lit. 4, 73r–77v | ⁰924 | 15th c.? | Cividale |
| Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 9508, 179r | 48 | 17th c | Corbie |
| *Engelberg, Stiftsbibl., MS 314, 75v–78v | 784 | 1372 | Engelberg? |
| *The Hague, Koninkijke Bibl., MS 71.J.70, 163v–170r | 827 | 15th c. | Egmont |
| *Barcelona, Bibl. de Catalunya, MS M.911, 156v | 822 | 13th c. | Gerona |
| *Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibl., MS 21, 96v | 247 | 12th c. | Kremsmünster |
| *Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibl., MS 24, Ir | 790A | mid-13th c. | Kremsmünster |
| *The Hague, Koninkijke Bibl., MS 76.F.3, 3r and 14r | 826 | ca. 1200 | Maastricht |
| *Hildesheim, Stadtarchiv, MS Mus. 383, 125v–127v | 792 | ca. 1320 | Medingen |
| *Münster, Archiv und Bibl. des Bistums Münster, MS A/Dom 9, 141v | 287 | ca. 1500 | Münster? |
| *Klagenfurt, Studienbibl., MS perg. 32, 77v–78r | 790 | 13th c. | Ossiach |
| *Zurich, Zentralbibl., MS Rheinau 18, 282v–283r | 797 | 13th c. | Rheinau |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 1139, 53r | 57 | 11th c. | Limoges, St. Martial |
| *Stockholm, Kammerarkivet, MS Vitterhets-Akad. Frag. Sequ. 37/Dalarna 1575, No. 14, IIr | 450 | 13th c. | Stockholm? |
| *Vich, Bibl. Episcopal, MS 105 (*olim* 111), 58v–62v | 823 | 12th c. | Vich |
| *Rome, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, MS Palat. 619, 25v | 368 | 15th c. | Worms or Heidelberg |

| Book | Notes |
| --- | --- |
| Fragment appears to have been included with sermons. Attached to 15th c. MS containing sermons of Johannes Geuss de Teining. | MS: *Ordo de Ysaac et Rebecca et Filiis eorum Recitandus* – Fragment includes incomplete play on pp. 1 and 2. Page 3 contains end of a Latin homily. 15th c. hand in lower margin of p. 1: *Ordo seu Ludus*. Beneath in a similar hand: *Omelia super librum Geneseos*. (Young, *Drama*, 2:259) |
| Collection of songs, poems, plays | *Carmina Burana*. Play of the King of Egypt (partial) |
| Collection of songs, poems, plays | *Carmina Burana*. Greater Passion Play |
| Collection of songs, poems, plays | *Carmina Burana*. Lesser Passion Play |

| | |
| --- | --- |
| Morandi | Nausica Morandi, *Officium Stellae* (2016) |
| Young, *Drama* | Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols (Oxford 1933) |
| Young, Poema | Karl Young, "The *Poema Biblicum* of Onulphus," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 30 (1915): 25–41 |

| Book | Notes |
| --- | --- |
| | |
| Lectionary | Entered at the end of the lectionary. Preceded by Lamentations of Jeremiah |
| Liturgical miscellany | Follows *Planctus Mariae* at end of manuscript |
| Liturgical miscellany | Follows *Planctus Mariae* and *Officium Annunciatis Sanctae Mariae* |
| Liturgical miscellany | Excerpts from liturgical manuscripts by M. Voisin, *Variae liturgiae ex Missalibus aliisque cujusque saeculi*— copied from an 11th c. missal (LOO 6:381) |
| Liturgical miscellany | |
| Hymnal | |
| Troper | Fragment |
| Latin Patristic MS | Fragment. Copied on spare folio, partially erased |
| Gregory I, *Dialogorum libri quatuor* | Fragment on opening endpaper |
| Evangialary | Flyleaf to the Evangialary |
| Orationale | Cistercian convent |
| Processional | Entered as addition, no liturgical cues |
| Liturgical miscellany | Fragment |
| Lectionary | 13th c. addition to 12th c. lectionary |
| Liturgical miscellany | |
| Processional | Fragment |
| Troper | Part of 12th c. supplement inserted into the MS |
| Miscellany containing *Historia de Juda perdito* and sermons | Added to the space following the *Historia de Juda perdito* |

Table 4.3: Ambiguously Situated Representations *(cont.)*

| Manuscript | LOO | Date | Provenance |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Ordo Peregrinorum* | | | |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 16309, 604r–605r | 816 | 14th c. | Saintes |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS n. a. lat. 1064, 8r–11v | 808 | 12th c. | Beauvais |
| *Ordo Pastorum* | | | |
| Montpellier, Faculté de médecine, MS H.304, 41r–v | | 12th c. | Rouen? |
| *Ordo Prophetarum* | | | |
| Laon, Bibl. municipale, MS 263, 147v–149r | | 12th c. | Laon |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 1139, 55v–58v | | 11th c. | Limoges, St. Martial |
| *Zagreb, Nadbiskupijskog arhiva, *Collectio Fragmentarum* No. 1 | | 13th c. | Zagreb? |
| *Ordo Stellae* | | | |
| *Brussels, Bibl. des Bollandistes, MS 299, 179v–180v | | 12th c. | Bilsen (Belgium) |
| *Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibl., MS 366, p. 53 | | 12th c. | Einsiedeln |
| *Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibl., Barth 179, 5v | | 11th c. | Lorsch |
| *Geneva, Bibl. universitaire, MS lat. 38b, pp. 35r–40v | | 13th c. | Geneva |
| *Lambach, Stiftsbibl., Fragment 1, Iv | | 11th c. | Münster-schwarzach |
| Laon, Bibl. municipale, MS 263, 149r–151r | | 13th c. | Laon |
| Wilhelm Meyer fragment | | 12th c. | ? |
| Montpellier, Faculté des médecine, MS H.304, 41v–42v | | 12th c. | Rouen? |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 1139, 32v–33r | | 11th c. | St. Martial |
| *London, British Library, MS Add. 23922, 8v–11r | | 12th/13th c. | Strasbourg |
| *Ordo Annunciatis Sancte Marie* | | | |
| *Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, MS CII (102), 10r, 69v–71r | | 14th c. | Cividale |
| *Venice, Biblioteca S. Maria della Consolazione, MS Lit. 4, 71r–73r | | 15th c.? | Cividale |
| *Other* | | | |
| Laon, Bibl. municipale, MS 263, 151r–153v | | 12th c. | Laon |
| *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 1139, 53r–55v | | 11th c. | St. Martial |
| *London, British Library, MS Egerton 2615, 95r–108r. | | 12th c. | Beauvais |

NOTES

| | |
|---|---|
| * | Musical notation included |
| Evers/Janota | Ute Evers and Johannes Janota, *Die Melodien der lateinischen Osterfeiern*, 2 vols. in 4 (Berlin, 2013) [LOO numbers ⁰900 and above] |

| Book | Notes |
|------|-------|
| | |
| Breviary | In appendix to the MS, located after truncated office of the Conception of Mary |
| Liturgical miscellany | Included with prayers, hymns, and other items collated from various manuscripts |
| | |
| Liturgical commentary | Copied at the end of an anonymous liturgical commentary, precedes *Ordo Stellae* —context is unclear |
| | |
| Troper/Hymnal/Gradual | MS: *Ordo Prophetarum*. First of three representations following the gradual section of the MS |
| Liturgical miscellany | |
| Fragment | |
| | |
| Evangialary | Copied after the colophon |
| Liturgical miscellany | Incomplete |
| *Rotulus* (litanies) | Fragment of the opening copied on the reverse side of the *rotulus* (cited by Morandi) |
| Evangialary | |
| Troper/Proser | Fragment—surrounded by tropes, context is unclear |
| Troper/Hymnal/Gradual | MS: *Ordo Stelle*. Combines *Stellae* with *Rachelis* —Second of three representations following the gradual section of the MS |
| Fragment | Fragment transcribed by Meyer. Given by Young, 2:445 |
| Liturgical commentaries | Copied at the end of an anonymous liturgical commentary, follows an *Ordo Pastorum*—context is unclear |
| Liturgical miscellany | *Ordo Rachelis* (?) |
| Antiphoner | Copied after the octave of Epiphany—context is unclear |
| | |
| Processional | Celebrated in public place (10r). A similar rubric is found in Cividale, MS CI (101), 9r, although without the ceremony itself |
| Liturgical miscellany | Between *Planctus Mariae* and *Visitatio Sepulchri* |
| | |
| Gradual | MS: *Ordo Joseph* (incomplete)—Third of three representations following the gradual section of the MS |
| Liturgical miscellany | *Sponsus* (Wise and Foolish Virgins) |
| Miscellany with rites for feast of Circumcision | MS: *Danielis Ludus* |

LOO       Walther Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, 9 vols. (Berlin, 1976–1990)
Morandi   Nausica Morandi, *Officium Stellae* (Florence, 2016)
Young     Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1933)

## NOTES

[1] Flanigan, "The Fleury Playbook," 349.

[2] Among others, Petersen, "The Representational Liturgy" and Petersen, "Biblical Reception."

[3] This number is derived from the settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* found in LOO and Evers/Janota as well as others that have come to light since. This number is surely too low.

[4] The most comprehensive treatment of the manuscript and printed sources of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* is that in LOO as supplemented in Evers/Janota.

[5] Most settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* use one of two forms of the central dialogue. The most common form in Italy, France, and England begins "Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, o Christicolae?" (Type 1), while the most common form in German-speaking Europe and eastward begins "Quem quaeritis o tremule mulieres in hoc tumulo plorantes" (Type 2). On the distinction between the Type 1 and Type 2, see Norton, "Of 'Stages' and 'Types.'" See also the summary given in chapter 6, pp. 194–95.

[6] On the trope versions of *Quem quaeritis*, see Iversen, Björkvall, and Jonsson, *Cycles de Pâques*, 15–16 and 217–23. Both the trope and the processional versions of the dialogue are transcribed in the first volume of LOO with commentary in vols. 6–9. Iversen's essay, "Aspects of the Transmission," remains the most cogent discussion of the original form and function of this dialogue. The best treatments of the musical settings for the early *Quem quaeritis* are those of Rankin, "Musical and Ritual Aspects" and Batoff, "Re-envisioning the *Visitatio Sepulchri*," 41–82.

[7] Bjork, "On the Dissemination."

[8] The only exceptions to this placement are found in several eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts from St. Gall where the dialogue is placed within the procession. These include St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 391, pp. 37–38 (LOO 80); MS 339, pp. 106–7 (LOO 81); MS 387, pp. 57–58 (LOO 82); MS 376, pp. 196–97 (LOO 83); MS 374, pp. 100–101 (LOO 84); and MS 388, pp. 204–5 (LOO 85).

[9] On the *Visitatio Sepulchri* at St. Mark's in Venice, which in later years involved the Doge himself, see the studies by Rankin, "From Liturgical Ceremony to Public Ritual" and "'Quem queritis' en voyage in Italy," and that by Petersen, "*Il Doge* and Easter Processions." In an unpublished paper presented at the *Medieval/Renaissance Music Conference* 2014 (Birmingham, UK), Ute Evers offered several new settings for the *Visitatio Sepulchri* at Venice that had not been previously identified that clarified the earlier history of the ceremony: "The *Quem queritis* in Venice." On the use of music in the Holy Week liturgy at St. Mark's during the late Renaissance, see Bettley, "The Office of Holy Week at St. Mark's."

[10] The concentration of these settings in German convents was first noted in Norton, "Type 2 *Visitatio Sepulchri*," 175–77 and 187.

[11] The *Quem quaeritis* tropes for Christmas are detailed in Jonnson, *Cycle de*

*Noël*, 173–74, with musical comparisons given in pp. 298–304. Three settings cited by Young are not included among the manuscripts considered in the Christmas volume of *Corpus Troporum*: Huesca, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 4, 124r (Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church,* 2:427), Volterra, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS L.3.39 (given by Young as MS 13 [5700]), 3v–4r (Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2:427), and Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS lat. 10645, 52r (Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2:427). Details for these and several other manuscripts not included in the *Corpus Troporum* are given by Planchart, "On the Nature of Change in Trope Repertories," 225, n. 21. The *Officium Pastorum* for Christmas matins is treated in Gibson, "The Place of the 'Quem Queritis in Presepe' Trope" and in "*Quem queritis in presepe*." The older treatment by Young, "*Officium Pastorum*" (1912), which is summarized in the second volume of *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, remains valuable.

[12] On the *Officium Peregrinorum*, see Kurvers, *Ad Faciendum Peregrinum*. These are given in LOO 5, 1611–58 (#808–820). See also Young, "A New Version of the *Peregrinus*" and Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 1:451–83. On the music of the ceremony, see Brockett, "Easter Monday Antiphons."

[13] In the use of Rouen, these were performed only occasionally. On the *Officium Prophetarum* and its sources, see Young, "*Ordo Prophetarum*" and *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2:125–71. See also the more recent dissertation of Regula Meyer Evitt, "Anti-Judaism and the medieval Prophet Plays." A Tours *officium* survives only as a description from a manuscript given by Martène, *Tractatus*, 106–7. Other settings of this text have survived in liturgical manuscripts that do not specify the liturgical use for these settings. These include manuscripts from Saint-Martial (if, indeed this is a separate representation—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 1139, 55v–58r), Laon (Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 263, 147v–149r), Einsiedeln (Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 366, pp. 53–54— this version is incomplete), and Zagreb (Zagreb, Archbishop's Archive, *Collectio Fragmentorum* No. 1—see Brockett, "A Previously Unknown *Ordo Prophetarum*"). See the discussion of "Ambiguously Situated Representations" below.

[14] The *Officium Stellae* is treated in Morandi, *Officium Stellae*. The Latin settings are treated also in King, *Mittelalterliche Dreikönigsspiele*, 1–50. See also the older discussions in Young, "A New Text of the *Officium Stellae*" (1912); Young, *Ordo Rachelis* (1919); Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2:29–101; and Anz, *Die lateinischen Magierspiele* (1905).

[15] Rankin, "Ottonian Epiphanies."

[16] Kobialka, *This Is My Body*, 82. See also Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy*, 114–70 and Petersen, "The Representational Liturgy," 111–14.

[17] See Holliday, "Palmesel;" Lippsmeyer, "Devotion and Decorum;" and Lippsmeyer, "The *Liber Ordinarius* by Konrad von Mure." See also the older study of Wiepen, *Palmsonntagsprozession und Palmesel* (1903).

[18] Symons, *Regularis Concordia*, 42.

[19] English translations for several of these rites are given in Bevington, *Medi-*

*eval Drama*. Included among these are the fourth-century Palm Sunday procession from Jerusalem (10–11), the Adoration of the Cross (*Adoratio Crucis*) from the *Regularis Concordia* (14–15), the Interment of the Cross (*Depositio Crucis*) from the *Regularis Concordia* (16), the Raising of the Host (*Elevatio Hostia*) from St. Gall, antiphons from Easter vespers (18), and the antiphons and responsories for the Easter Vigil (19–20). English translations for a similar range of rites are given by Meredith in his chapter on "Latin Liturgical Drama" in Tydeman, *The Medieval European Stage*, 60–76 as well. On the sequence of rites within which the *Visitatio Sepulchri* was embedded, see chapter 6, pp. 192–94.

[20] Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama*.

[21] Petersen, "Representation in European Devotional Rituals," 336–48.

[22] Petersen, "The Representational Liturgy," 111–14.

[23] Norton, "Type 2 *Visitatio Sepulchri*," 189–248, esp. 239–48.

[24] "Finito evangelio, unus puer ad modum propheta indutus, stans in aliquo eminenti loco, cantet lectionem propheticam modo quo sequitur: 'Hierusalem, respice ad orientem.'" *Processionale ad usum Insignis ac Praeclarae Ecclesiae Sarum*, 50–51. This is preserved in the printed editions of the Sarum processional of 1508 and 1517, but not in later editions. For an English translation, see Tyrer, *Historical Survey of Holy Week*, 58–59.

[25] Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 1213, 81r–v (Klosterneuburg ordinal, 1325): "sicut Iosye muros Iericho."

[26] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 3909, 153v: "unus senior ex presbyteris in vice Sancti Symeonis accipiat plenarium in ulnas, et portet in ecclesiam pro puero Christo." Cited by Hoeynck, *Geschichte der kirchlichen Liturgie*, 203 and Young, "Dramatic Ceremonies of the Feast of the Purification," 99.

[27] *Obsequiale secundum diocesis Augustensis morem* (1487), 6v. Cited by Young, "Dramatic Ceremonies of the Feast of the Purification," 99.

[28] Essen, Münsterkirchenarchiv, MS 19, 18r–19r (ca. 1375). Cited by Arens, *Der Liber Ordinarius*, 33–35 and Young, "Dramatic Ceremonies of the Feast of the Purification," 99. This ordinal survives also in a fifteenth-century copy: Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek, MS C.47. The corresponding text from the Feast of the Purification is found on fols. 14r–15r.

[29] Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance*, 108–14.

[30] See the ceremonies given by Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 1:484–91 (Ascension and Pentecost) and 2:225–57 (Marian feasts). See also the so-called "Creed Play" of Wilton Abbey discovered by Alison Alstatt, "Re-membering the Wilton Processional," 712–13.

[31] Isidore of Seville, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* (trans. Knoebel), 51.

[32] Isidore of Seville, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* (trans. Knoebel), 56–57.

[33] Amalarius of Metz, *On the Liturgy* (*De ecclesiasticis officiis*), 591–97.

[34] Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist*, 167. See also the essay on "Christus Victor: From Holy Saturday to Low Sunday" in Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama*, 139–77.

[35] I am grateful to Dr. Jennifer Roth-Burnette for bringing these passages to my attention. See Roth-Burnette, "Organizing Scripture," 51. The reference to Bernard is from Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Vigilia Nativitatis Domini, Sermo II. De eo quod scriptum est, O Juda et Jerusalem, nolite timere; cras egrediemini, et Dominus erit vobiscum, II Par. Cap. XX. V. 17*; in *Sancti Bermardi Abbatis Carae-Vallensis Operum Tomus Tertius, Complectens Sermones de Tempore et de Sanctis, ac de Diversis* (PL 183:90–94).

[36] Roth-Burnette, "Organizing Scripture," 51–52. The reference from is from Rupert of Deutz, *De Ordine Ecclesiastico ab Adventu Domini. Caput XII. De officio in vigilia natalis Domini* (PL 170:68).

[37] Orléans 201, pp. 176–243. See Huglo, "Analyse codicologique" well as the several essays given in Campbell and Davidson, *The Fleury Playbook*.

[38] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 16819, 49r–v. Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2:53, n. 5.

[39] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbiliothek, MS lat. 6264a, 1r. Morandi, *Officium Stellae*, 68–80 and Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2:91–99.

[40] Munich Bayerische Staatsbiliothek, MS lat 6264, 27r. Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2:117–22.

[41] Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 574, 142v–144v. On the rediscovery of the *Ludis Paschalis* in this manuscript, see Pfeiffer, "Klosterneuburger Osterfeier und Osterspiel."

[42] Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 300, pp. 93–94. See chapter 1, n. 42 for Karl Young's assessment of the irrelevance of the surrounding texts.

[43] Prague, Národní Knihovna, MS I.B.12, 135v–137v. This setting of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* was edited by Hanuš, *Die lateinisch-böhmischen Oster-Spiele* (1863), 34–42 as *das zweite Drei-Marien-Spiel* and again by Máchal, *Staročeské skladby dramaticke původu liturgického* (1908), 18–19 and 98–105 as *První hra tří Marií (Marienspiel)* III, who also provided a facsimile (plates 1–5). The texts and melodies were treated by Schuler, *Die Musik der Osterfeiern* (1951), 95, 385, and *passim* (as Prager *Osterspiel* II). The *Visitatio Sepulchri* from this manuscript is also treated in Amstutz, *Ludus de decem virginibus* (2002), *passim*, as PragO.C, and by Hennig, "Die lateinisch-liturgische Grundlage" (1977), 89–102. A comparison of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* in this manuscript to others from German-speaking Europe is given in Loewen and Waugh, "Mary Magdalene Preaches through Song," 595–641. Walther Lipphardt treated this setting in *Die Weisen der lateinischen Osterspiele* but did not include it in LOO.

[44] Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2:359.

[45] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 1152, 173v (fragment on final flyleaf). Morandi, *Officium Stellae*, 84 and Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2:443.

[46] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS lat. 14477, 1r–v. The *Ordo Stellae* in this manuscript is copied over an erasure that precedes the *Bellum Catilinae*. The *Bellum Catilinae* is followed by the *Prologus in Tonarium* of Berno of Reichenau. Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2:445.

⁴⁷ Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS lat. 8552, 1v. Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2:443–44.

⁴⁸ A facsimile, edition, and German translation are given in Vollmann-Profe, ed., *Ludus de Antichristo* (1981). For an art-historical perspective on this text, see Carr, "Visual and Symbolic Imagery." See also Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2:369–96.

⁴⁹ Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 927, 1v–8v (LOO 824). See Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2:438–50. An analysis and musical edition of the *ludus* is given in my article, Norton, "Observations on the Tours *Ludus Paschalis*." On the songs, see the article by Caldwell "*Pax Gallie*: The Songs of Tours 927." A new edition of the *Jeu d'Adam* along with translation into modern French and commentary is provided by Chaguinian, *Le Jeu d'Adam*.

⁵⁰ Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, MS XXXVI. I 24, 1r–6r (LOO 789). Linke and Mehler, *Die österlichen Spiele aus der Ratsschulbibliothek Zwickau*, 2–8 (manuscript descriptions), 29–46 (musical editions), and 140–45 (facsimile). See also Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 1:669–73. This manuscript includes also additional settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* in mixed Latin and German (7r–17r). These latter settings are preserved also in Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, MS I.XV.3, 56r–77v. Editions and facsimiles of the macaronic texts are given in Linke and Mehler, *Die österlichen Spiele aus der Ratsschulbibliothek Zwickau*, 40–108 (edition) and 118–37 and 146–56 (facsimiles).

⁵¹ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MSS lat. 4660, 99r–104v (Christmas Play), 105v–106v (fragmentary Play of the King of Egypt), and 107r–112r (Greater Passion Play) and lat. 4660a, 3v–4v (Shorter Passion Play), 5r–6v (*Ludus Paschalis*), and 7r–v (*Ordo Peregrinorum*). This manuscript was first reported by Johann Christoph von Aretin in a series of letters describing the manuscripts he encountered while gathering the manuscripts from Bavarian monasteries for the Königliche Hof- und Central Bibliothek in Munich following the dissolution of Bavarian monasteries in 1803. These letters were published in Aretin, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Literatur* (1803), 1:75 and 78, where he notes an "alt satyrische Handschrift" in the monastic library of Benedictbeuern. Several Latin and German poems along with the Greater Passion Play were published by Docen in later volumes of the same journal: 7 (1806): 297–309 (Latin poems), 497–508 (Greater Passion Play) and 9 (1807):1304–22 (Latin love songs—Docen provides additional citations for treatments of this manuscript's contents by others) and in Docen, *Miscellaneen zur Geschichte* (1807), 2:189–208. The Greater Passion Play was published again thirty years later by Hoffman von Fallersleben, *Fundgruben* (1837), 2:239–58. The Latin and German songs were published by Schmeller, *Carmina Burana* (1847). Schmeller was the first to use the title "Carmina Burana" to describe this manuscript. The supplement to the manuscript (now clm 4660a) was given in an edition and facsimile by Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana* (1901). More recent studies and editions include Bischoff, *Carmina Burana* (1967); Lipphardt, "Zur Herkunft der Carmina Burana" (1982); Steer, "Carmina Burana in Südtirol"

(1983); Hilka, Schumann, and Berndt, *Carmina Burana* (1991); and Lehtonen, *Fortuna, Money, and the Sublunar World* (1995).

⁵² On the setting of the *Danielis Ludus* in London, British Library, MS Egerton 2615 from the cathedral of Beauvais and other ambiguously placed texts, see the discussion of "Ambiguously Situated Representations" below. For a comprehensive study of the manuscript, see Arlt, *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters*.

⁵³ In her study of the role of Mary Magdalene in the *Visitatio Sepulchri* ceremonies of the Middle Ages, Susan Rankin noted musical connections between the Fleury *Ludus Paschalis* and those presented in liturgical manuscripts from the cathedrals of Rouen and Palermo as well as textual connections between that of Fleury and those presented in liturgical manuscripts from Rouen, Coutances, Mont-Saint-Michel, and Barking Abbey. Rankin, "The Mary Magdalene Scene," 250–52. She lists the manuscripts consulted that contain musical notation on p. 234, n. 13. Karl Young observed a further connection with settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* from the church of St. John the Evangelist in Dublin as well. See Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 1:393–97.

⁵⁴ De Boor, *Die Textgeschichte*, 259–62.

⁵⁵ "Es ist ein . . . Leitgedanke der neuen Komposition von Fleury, dem Volk die Botschaft der Auferstehung immer wieder zu verkünden. Das ist eine völlig Umdeutung der alten Feier von Rouen, die die Frauen aus der Welt hinaus in den Raum des heiligen Geschehens versetzte . . . Hier wenden sich die Frauen nicht weniger als fünfmal nach außen, und zwar immer an die Gemeinde, nicht an einen in die Handlung einbezogenen Chor." De Boor, *Die Textgeschichte*, 261.

⁵⁶ Boynton, "Performative Exegesis," 44. A similar view is offered by Flanigan, "Rachel and her Children."

⁵⁷ Boynton, "Performative Exegesis," 47.

⁵⁸ Boynton, "Performative Exegesis," 58.

⁵⁹ Boynton, "Performative Exegesis," 60.

⁶⁰ Norton, "Sermo in Cantilena."

⁶¹ Norton, "Sermo in Cantilena," 96–97.

⁶² Norton, "Observations on the Tours *Ludus Paschalis*".

⁶³ Norton, "Observations on the Tours *Ludus Paschalis*".

⁶⁴ Carr, "Visual and Symbolic Imagery," 230–31.

⁶⁵ Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2:64–66 at 66, 93–97 at 96, and 110–13 at 111; and Ramsey, *Sallust's* Bellum Catilinae, 38.

⁶⁶ Lipphardt discusses the notion of an *ordo minor* and an *ordo maior*, the *ordo minor* representing the usual liturgical usage for the *Visitatio Sepulchri* and the *ordo maior* representing an *Osterspiel* or *Ludus Paschalis* that would be performed occasionally in its stead. See, for example, LOO 7:453. This is explicitly called for in Herzogenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 173 (LOO 589), a sixteenth-century breviary (see chapter 3, p. 102), and Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, MS 22923, a thirteenth-century antiphoner assigned by Lipphardt (LOO) to Chiemsee and by Evers/Janota to Gurk, which provides two versions of the *Visitatio Sep-*

*ulchri*, one shorter Type 2 version (LOO 543) and an expanded Type 2 setting with Magdalene amplification (LOO 782). The *Ludi Paschales* from Zwickau (Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, LOO 789—Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, MS XXXVI.I.24) and that from the *Carmina Burana* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 4660a—LOO 830), are explicitly placed after the third responsory of Easter matins as well.

[67] On the structure of the *versarium* in Paris 1139, see Fuller, "The Myth of 'Saint Martial' Polyphony." An outline of the structure of the *versaria* portion of the manuscript is given on p. 8. On the question as to whether this should be regarded as one or three representations, see chapter 2, n. 72.

[68] Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 366 [*olim* 179], pp. 53–56.

[69] Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 263. The *Visitatio Sepulchri* is given on fol. 145r with the *Ordo Prophetarum*, *Ordo Stellae*, and *Ordo Joseph* following later in fols. 147v–153v. For the latter three representations, see Lagueux, "Glossing Christmas," who offers a structural outline of the manuscript in pp. 229–30 (drawn from the description given by Hussman, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, 104). On the *Ordo Prophetarum* in particular, see Lagueux, "Sermons, Exegisis, and Performance." The *Ordo Joseph* is treated also by Harris, in *Sacred Folly*, 125–27. On the *Ordo Stellae,* see also Morandi, *Officium Stellae*, 74–76 (manuscript description) and 322–23 (textual edition); and King, *Mittelalterliche Dreikönigsspiele*, 39.

[70] London, British Library, MS Add. 23922, 8v–11r. See Morandi, *Officium Stellae*, 109–11 (manuscript description), 346–48 (textual edition), and 406–7 (musical edition); King, *Mittelalterliche Dreikönigsspiele*, 43; and Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2:64–68.

[71] London, British Library, MS Egerton 2615. The music for the feast of the Circumcision is given in fols. 1r–68v while that for the *Danielis Ludus* is given in fols. 95r–108r. These sections and the readings that follow the *Ludus*, all copied by the same scribe, surround several gatherings of polyphonic music. On the structure and content of this manuscript see Arlt, *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (*Darstellungsband*) and vol. 2 (*Editionsband*) and Hiley, "Sources." This representation has received much attention in recent years. See especially Fassler, "The Feast of Fools" and Harris, *Sacred Folly*, 113–25.

[72] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 17330, 18r–24v. The procession is the last item in the manuscript. Preceding it are a sermon on the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, a letter and documents attesting to two miracles associated with the Presentation, the office for the feast of the Presentation of the Virgin, and the Mass for the feast. This dramatic procession was first noted by Sepet, "Les Prophètes du Christ," 28:1–27 and 211–64; 29:105–39 and 261–93; and 38:397–443, at 229, n. 1 and first published by Young, "Philippe de Mézières' Dramatic Office." It has been more recently edited in Coleman, *Philippe de Mézières' Campaign*, which also provides an account of the life of Philippe de Mézières, who served as ambassador for the King of Cyprus in the courts of the

Byzantine emperor and the Pope in Avignon among other assignments and activities. Haller, *Figurative Representation* provides both an edition and a translation into English. A more recent edition with English translation is given in Puchner, Conomis, and Coleman, *The Crusader Kingdom of Cyprus*. A second manuscript (Paris Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 14454) offers a copy of MS 17330, but does not include the dramatic procession (Coleman, *Phillipe de Mézières' Campaign*, 115).

[73] Brussels, Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, MS 299, 179v–180v. See Morandi, *Officium Stellae*, 53–56 (manuscript description), 305–8 (textual edition), and 360–63 (musical edition); King, *Mittelalterliche Dreikönigsspiele*, 41; and Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2:446–47.

[74] The Hague, Koninkijke Bibliotheek, MS 71.J.70, 162v–170v (LOO 827).

[75] Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rheinau 18, 282–83 (LOO 797) and Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsiche Staatsarchiv, MS VII.B.203, 23r–27v (LOO 780).

[76] See, in particular, Fassler, "The Feast of Fools" and Harris, *Sacred Folly*, 113–25.

[77] David Bjork was the first to note that the distinction between *Quem quaeritis* trope and *Visitatio Sepulchri* was largely geographic, with the pre-Mass versions of the rite found predominantly in manuscripts from Italy, southern France, and Catalonia, with a few exceptions in Germany, while the matins versions are found in manuscripts stemming largely north of the Alps. Bjork, "On the Dissimation."

[78] The Anglo/Norman traditions for liturgical drama are treated by Wright, *The Dissemination of the Liturgical Drama in France;* Dolan, *Le drame liturgique de Pâques*; and Rankin, *The Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama*.

[79] Rankin, "Ottonian Epiphanies."

[80] Young, for one, saw the connection between the *Visitatio Sepulchri* in Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 300 and the sermons and other works of Peter Abelard that preceded it as "totally irrelevant" (Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 1:389–90).

[81] See, for example, Fassler, "The Feast of Fools;" Norton, "*Sermo in Cantilena*;" Norton, "Observations on the Tours *Ludus Paschalis*;" Boynton, "Performative Exegesis;" and Lagueux, "Glossing Christmas." See the discussion above, pp. 121–22.

[82] Stevens, "Medieval Drama."

[83] Emerson et al., "Plainchant," 841–42.