THE PLAY OF ADAM: DRAMA, ART, AND SOCIETY

IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

by

DAVID MACKENZIE PARRY

B.A. University of Hull, 1972

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department

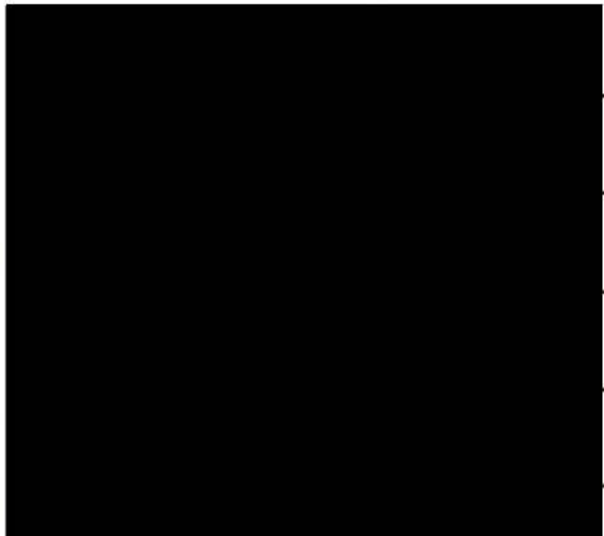
of

Theatre

FAC

DATE

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard



(C) DAVID MACKENZIE PARRY, 1974

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

April 1974

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be
reproduced in whole or in part, by mimeograph
or other means, without the permission of the
author.

Supervisors: Associate Professor Anthony W.Jenkins
Assistant Professor Harvey M.Miller

Abstract

The twelfth century in Europe presents us with two kinds of religious plays: those of the liturgical tradition; and those normally referred to as "vernacular" plays. The liturgical plays of the twelfth century are often more elaborate than earlier liturgical plays. In overall treatment of subject matter, and in style, however, there is a continuity from early liturgical drama to that of the twelfth century. Vernacular plays do not appear until the first half of the twelfth century, and there are only two extant twelfth-century examples of the form: the Ordo Representacionis Ade; and La Seinte Resureccion, dated respectively ca. 1150 and ca. 1175, and both written in the Anglo-Norman dialect, probably in England.

Formal elements in the vernacular plays appear at first sight to link them to the liturgical tradition. Similarly, short passages in some liturgical plays appear to link them to the emergence of vernacular plays. Both these factors have led critics to refer to the plays like the liturgical Sponsus and the vernacular Ordo Representacionis Ade as "transitional" plays which demonstrate an "evolutionary stage" between liturgical and vernacular drama. This is a false perspective. Despite apparent stylistic similarities actual differences between the modes are profound.

The most crucial difference between the modes is that of purpose. Reduced to essentials, the purpose of the liturgical plays is "evidential" or "presentational", and that of the vernacular plays "didactic" or "homiletic". The reasons for the differences in mode are rooted in a radical change in mental attitude both within the church and within

society-at-large, occurring around the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries. Strong social changes occurred, producing among other things the urban communes of "free" men. A radically new theological view of the meaning of the Fall and Redemption of Man, and the Incarnation of Christ, was formulated. In art, new expressive form and new emotional content reflected the new cultural needs. The first half of the twelfth century saw the emergence of coherent new attitudes to man, the meaning of his life in this world, and the nature of his salvation. The church began to try to make its methods more relevant to the conditions pertaining in the temporal world, in order to affirm more effectively the true faith in ordinary men and women who were finding a new freedom of thought and action opening up to them.

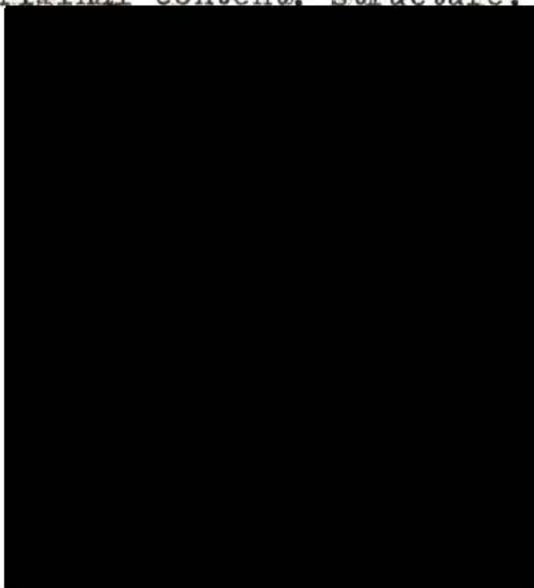
Art also began to reflect these changes in its depiction of a more "realistic" spatial context than hitherto, in which figures could move; in a more humanized treatment of the human form; and in a new organization of subject-matter, which began to show a marked appeal to human reason in a new relationship between form and content.

When twelfth century dramatic texts are examined in the light of these changes, it becomes clear that the vernacular plays of this period differ from the liturgical plays because they were created to serve a new purpose which fits into the general pattern of changes in thought, social behaviour, and art in the same period. The vernacular plays recognized the setting of this world, and represented it in relatively "realistic" fashion, in order that man should recognize the relationship of divine history to his own life in the contemporary world. They humanized character and action to the same end - because Christ was incarnated as man, from man, and suffered and died as man, so that through Him man could personally atone for his original sin.

Finally, organization of subject matter in the vernacular plays was thought out in terms which sought to clarify the

relationship between certain episodes in Biblical history, and particularly between God and man. Their purpose was to teach clearly and effectively to the audience a way through this world to salvation in the next, not denying the meaning of earthly existence, but seeing it as as a necessary and meaningful preparation for existence in God's eternity.

Appended to the thesis is a text which offers a reconstruction of the missing portions of the Ordo Representacionis Ade, using materials from other contemporary sources, and organizing it according to the conclusions reached im the thesis regarding the original content, structure, and intention of the play.



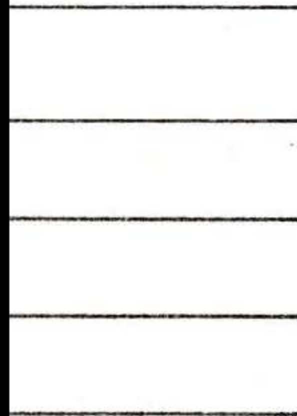


Table of Contents

1. Introduction

2. "Realism", and the Liturgical Dramatic Mode

3. The Prophets

4. _Adam_, and Twelfth-Century Anglo-Norman Society

5. Cur Deus Adam

6. "Mater Restitutionis Omnium"

7. _Adam_, the Urban Situation, and the Jews

8. _Adam_, and the Cycle Form

9. The _Resurrection_

10. Conclusion

11. Bibliography

12. Plates

13. Appendix 1: Notes on the Staging of _Adam_

14. Appendix 2: A suggested text for the missing portions of _Adam_, based upon sources in other contemporary or near-contemporary English vernacular literature and an attempted reconstruction of the play in modern production

List of Plates
(following page 155)

1. The Crucifixion from the Gospels of Countess Judith. England, _ca._ 1050-65.

2. The "Bury St. Edmund's Cross." England, _ca._ 1180. Face side.

3. The "Bury St. Edmund's Cross." Reverse side.

4. Facade of Notre Dame de la Grande, Poitiers, France, _ca._ 1130.

5. The Harrowing of Hell from the facade frieze of Lincoln Cathedral, Lincoln, England, _ca._ 1145.

Acknowledgement

I wish gratefully to acknowledge the help given in the research undertaken for this thesis, by Dr. Anthony Jenkins of the Department of English, University of Victoria, and by Dr. Richard Morris of the Department of History in Art, University of Victoria. Without their expert knowledge and guidance I should missed many fruitful references, taken a number of wrong turnings, and allowed some rash assumptions to go uncorrected. Not least I would like to acknowledge the enthusiasm with which that help has always been given. I wish also to acknowledge the generous assistance given by various members of the faculty of the Department of Theatre, University of Victoria, and in particular that of my Graduate Supervisor, Dr.Harvey Miller. Without this help it would have been difficult to undertake a project of this kind which requires a belief in, and practical support of the inter-disciplinary approach to theatre studies. Lastly, I wish to acknowledge the hard work and keenness of all those from both Department of Theatre and community who worked with me on a production of the play of Adam in 1973. This production helped in many different ways to clarify scholarly theory by practical theatrical experiment.

1. Introduction.

> Merely to mention the new and fresh perceptions that writers, artists, and sculptors offered to the sensibilities of their contemporaries, or the secular shape that men of politics and affairs were giving to institutions hitherto sacramentalized, is to suggest, as one must, which way the wind was blowing - blowing over all of nature, from flora and fauna to the shape given the human body, from erotic impulses to the behaviour patterns of corporate life.
>
> M.-D.Chenu, Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century.

For many years past, there has been a recognition amongst scholars in widely varying fields of study, that the twelfth century in Europe was a period of decisive change. To some it has even seemed that the change which took place at this time was at least as significant for the future development of European civilisation as the change which later characterized the Renaissance. In the words of a recent scholar, there appears to have occurred in the twelfth century a "large and complex activity in literature, learning and the arts which drew on many sources, yet expressed an outlook which one feels at once to be new and subtly yet unmistakeably coherent."[1] The change in outlook, and the new activity, were bound-up with far-reaching changes taking place in the social fabric of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This we should expect. "A society," as M. Bloch remarks, "like a mind, is woven of perpetual interaction."[2]

The present study of twelfth-century change will have as its central focus only one aspect of the whole: namely, the emergence of a new form of drama. But in order to explain why a new dramatic form should have emerged at this time as a part of the overall pattern of change, it will be necessary to direct our attention to many of the other "new forms" of the twelfth century: to the innovations in

theology, in the arts, and in the structure of society itself. It is only partly true that medieval religious drama was "a glass held up towards the Absolute, reflecting the 'age and body of the time' only incidentally."[3] For it is, after all, the whole complex of factors making up the 'age and body' of any period, which determines men's vision of the Absolute. The vision of the Absolute in medieval drama does not reflect its time "only incidentally." There is always a clear, albeit often indirect, reflection present of the universe which men of the time "believed themselves to inhabit - to borrow an apposite phrase from C.S.Lewis.

It would, of course, be foolish to argue that the liturgical drama of the Middle Ages gives us the kind of direct and immediate reflection of medieval society that, let us say, Chekhov gives of a particular portion of nineteenth-century Russian society. But it is surely reasonable to argue that the liturgical drama was no less a product of the particular forms, beliefs, and social needs of its time, than Uncle Vanya was. The form of liturgical drama reflects a very significant aspect of the 'age and body' of the medieval - and particularly the early medieval - period.

These last remarks have particular force for the drama to be examined in this study. The differences in form and function between the liturgical drama, which reached a high-point of development in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the vernacular drama, whose first extant example dates from the middle years of the twelfth century, are profound. They are also intimately related to the major changes in thought, in art, and in society, which occurred during the same period.

To my knowledge, there has been no study published of twelfth-century drama which attempts to set it in its total cultural context. There is, of course, some justification in G.Wickham's remarks, that the twelfth-century plays should be approached "separately, and in terms of

both local circumstances and liturgical practice of the time where these are known, rather than collectively as a group under some theoretical umbrella."[4] The fact is, however, that at the present stage of medieval theatre studies, almost nothing is known of the provenance of the two chief twelfth-century vernacular plays beyond their probable insular origin. "Local circumstances" and the liturgical practice of their place of origin are therefore of little help to us in the specific sense in which Wickham asks that they be used.

On the other hand, an analysis of the plays themselves, and a correlation of the results with what we know of the larger context of theological, aesthetic, and social change in the twelfth century, demonstrates that a surprising number of very consistent answers to the questions of how and why the vernacular plays emerged when they did, can be found by dealing with the plays under what Wickham would call this "theoretical umbrella."

What emerges is basically as follows. In the twelfth century a vernacular religious drama was created which was quite different in form and function from the liturgical drama. This new vernacular drama was a fully-conscious, radical response to a complex of new cultural needs which could not be met by an "evolution" from the liturgical plays.[5] These new needs forced the creation of a new dramatic form focussing on a subject previously unknown im medieval drama: the Fall of Man. The appearance of the new dramatic form was causally related to the emergence of a new philosophical view of the meaning of the Fall and the nature of the Incarnation and Redemption. The objectives of the new drama were such that a cyclic form was a logical outcome in terms of dramatic construction. Such a cyclic form may be reasonably argued for the <u>Ordo Representacionis Ade</u>,[6] (which will be referred to in this study as <u>Adam</u>.) The emergence of the vernacular drama finds a striking

counterpart in the emergence in art and architecture of the style we know as Gothic. Both form and content of the vernacular drama reflect twelfth-century art and are reflected by it, in terms of subject matter, treatment, and organisation. Finally, in the interrelationship of all these phenomena one may discern an early pressure towards the slow growth of what may be termed "realism", or perhaps more accurately, "humanization", in drama and art.

The thesis will mainly centre upon two twelfth-century vernacular plays, and a number of contemporary liturgical Latin plays. The vernacular plays are both Anglo-Norman, and one of these - Adam - has already been mentioned. The other is the play known as La Seinte Resureccion, which will be referred to hereafter as the Resurrection.[7]

Three points should be noted at the outset, in regard to the vernacular plays. Firstly, the view taken in this study is that of the scholars of Anglo-Norman literature who argue an English provenance for both Adam and the Resurrection. There seems to be little scholarly dispute on this point as far as the linguistic evidence is concerned;[8] and in the case of Adam there is additional iconographic evidence of its English origin.[9]

Secondly, the view taken here, which is again that held by the majority of scholars, is that both plays were written with the intention that they should be performed outdoors, in the open-air, rather than inside a church building. Adam is generally agreed to have been staged at the west front, or at one of the transept portals of a great church or cathedral.[10] The evidence for this in the stage directions seems to be overwhelming. The Resurrection is believed to have been staged in the square or open-place before a church.[11] Wherever the evidence for the staging of either play outside the church becomes crucial in some detail to my own argument, the evidence will, of course, be re-examined. Otherwise the

views held here on both these points may be taken as being in general agreement with the authorities cited above.

Thirdly, it will be clear that it is essential to the arguments presented in this thesis, that the language or dialect known as Anglo-Norman should have been a comprehensible vernacular for the great majority of a popular English urban audience of the twelfth century. Dominica Legge has shown that there are reasonable grounds for believing that this was so. Denis Pyramus, a monk of Bury St. Edmunds, wrote of his twelfth-century Life of St Edmund, that

> Translate l'ai desqu'a la fin,
> E de l'engleis e del latin,
> Q'en francais le poent entendre
> Li grant, (li mien) e li mendre.[12]

> (I have translated it to the end,
> Both from the English, and from the Latin,
> For the great, the middling, and the least
> can all understand it in French.)

Footnotes to 1.

[1] R.W.Southern, "The Place of England in the Twelfth Century Renaissance," History, vol.45 (1960), 201-16.
Southern's studies of the twelfth century, in which the development of the humanistic viewpoint is stressed, have been of particular help in suggesting some of the crucial underlying patterns of change for the arguments put forward in this thesis. In addition to the article cited above, The Making of the Middle Ages, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), and Medieval Humanism and Other Studies, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), have been important in this respect.

[2] M.Bloch, Feudal Society, trans. L.A.Manyon (London: R.K.P., 1961), p.59.

[3] Anne Righter, Shakespeare and the Idea of the Play, (1962, rpt. Harmondsworth, Middx: Penguin Books, 1967), p.16.

[4] G.Wickham, "Drama and Religion in the Middle Ages," Forum for Modern Language Studies, 3, No.4 (1967), p.332.

[5] I use the term "evolution" here in the sense in which O.B. Hardison defines it in relation to the development of early medieval drama, in Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), Essay 1, "Darwin, Mutations, and the Origin of Medieval Drama," pp.1-34.

[6] All references to the text of Adam in this study, unless otherwise noted, will be to P.Aebischer, ed., Le Mystère d'Adam (Ordo Representacionis Ade), (Paris: Librairie Minard, 1964)

[7] All references to the text of the Resurrection in this study, unless otherwise noted, will be to T.A.Jenkins, J.M.Manly, M.K.Pope, J.G.Wright, eds., La Seinte Resureccion, (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society,1943)

[8] For Adam, see the linguistic evidence in Paul Studer, ed., Le Mystère d'Adam, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1918), intro. pp. lvi-lviii. Aebischer, op.cit. admits the linguistic evidence, but contends that it is slight, and that the choice between an insular or a continental provenance is "choix difficile à faire." (Aebischer, Adam, intro. p.18.)
The linguistic evidence for the Resurrection is in the A.N.T.S. edition cited above, summarised in the introduction, pp. cxxxi-cxxxiii.
For a recent examination of the provenance of both plays in a fuller Anglo-Norman literary context, see Dominica Legge, Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background, (Oxford: O.U.P., 1963), chap. 12.

[9]Rosemary Woolf, "The Fall of Man in Genesis B and the Mystere d'Adam", Studies in Old English Literature in Honor of Arthur G.Brodeur, ed. S.B.Greenfield (Oregon: 1963), pp.187-199.

[10]The most authoritative analysis of the evidence for the staging of Adam is to be found in Grace Frank, "The Genesis and Staging of the Jeu d'Adam", P.M.L.A., 59, (1944), pp.7-17. My only real disagreement with Frank's arguments is over the interpretation of the stage direction, "legatur in choro lectio," which refers to the reading of the lectio introducing the Prophet section of the play. This is discussed in Appendix I.
The only recent scholar to have seriously questioned the view that the play was staged outside the church building is W.Noomen ("Le Jeu d'Adam. Étude descriptive et analytique", Romania, 89, (1968), pp.190-93.), who argues that the play was staged inside the church in the manner of the more complex liturgical plays. His arguments seem to me unconvincing. They are, however, briefly discussed in Appendix I.

[11]Resurrection, intro., pp. cxiv-cxx. The analysis of the staging of this play in Hardison, op.cit., presents an alternative arrangement of the "lieus", but Hardison agrees with the Resurrection editors that the play was staged in the open air.

[12]Dominica Legge, Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1950,) p.7.

2. "Realism" and the Liturgical Dramatic Mode.

The question of the nature and purpose of liturgical drama is one which has vexed scholars for a good many years. It is a question to which straightforward answers are difficult, since, although large numbers of the plays themselves survive, there are only a few very brief references to them in contemporary writings to assist us in interpreting the effect they were intended to have upon audiences. The evidence of the playtexts and of these few contemporary references has been subject to widely differing interpretations by modern scholars. In recent years the view that once prevailed, that liturgical plays were written and performed as "didactic" pieces, to educate an ignorant and illiterate populace in the Bible story and the basic tenets of the Christian faith, has been rejected by many scholars. Among those who have rejected this view, however, there has been little agreement as to what the true purpose of the liturgical plays was, if it was not didactic.

Any definitive answer to this question must lie outside the scope of this study; but an assessment of the problem must nevertheless be made. One of the intentions of this thesis is to demonstrate that the playwrights who created the vernacular dramas of the twelfth century aimed to produce a strongly didactic form of theatre, and one in which a certain degree of "realism" was essential to their purpose. The distinction between the kind of didactic intent which has been attributed to the liturgical plays, and that which characterizes the vernacular plays; and the distinction between the "realistic" elements which are sometimes said to have gradually made their way into liturgical plays, and the realistic elements which actually do appear as consciously conceived and necessary parts of the vernacular dramatic form, will be the chief subjects of the two chapters which follow.

The arguments which will be presented may seem to adopt a somewhat negative and perhaps circular approach initially; but it will become clear that a balanced assessment of why the writers of liturgical plays were not trying to create didactic vehicles, and why "realism" of any kind was unnecessary and irrelevant to the liturgical dramatic mode, will help us focus more clearly on the possible reasons why the vernacular drama when it emerged was a didactic form and did require a certain "realism" of approach.

Various terms have been used to describe the dramatic mode of liturgical plays: "ritual", "commemorative", "presentational", "evidential", and so on. It has been pointed out above that there is relatively little documentary evidence on which to base judgements like these, particularly for the period of the development of liturgical drama up to the twelfth century. Such references as do exist seem to confirm R.Pascal's contention that earlier liturgical plays "were written and played by the priests for their own purposes, and not primarily out of consideration for their flock."[1] Even the much quoted and very early passage from the Regularis Concordia of St.Ethelwold, which refers to the liturgical dramatic presentation of the Visitatio Sepulchri as a practice worthy to be followed "ad fidem indocti vulgi ac neophytorum corroborandum," (for the strengthening of the faith of unlearned common persons and neophytes),[2] should not mislead us into regarding such representations as "didactic" exercises - at least, not in the sense in which we are normally accustomed to using that term. The Regularis Concordia says nothing about "teaching", only about "strengthening faith". The two, as we shall see, are not necessarily synonymous.

Perhaps it is due to the tremendous authority exerted by Karl Young's opinions, that this view has persisted until so recently. Young remarks that "as to the reverent intention of the clerics who composed and performed the plays we are fairly assured. The tropes ...were eventually dramatized in a manifest desire to convey edifying instruction."[3] In support of this statement, Young cites both the passage quoted above, from the Regularis Concordia, and a much later description by Katherine of Sutton, which reveals that her motivation for arranging an Easter play at Barking in the fourteenth century was thoroughly to root out the laziness and indifference of her nuns, and arouse them to devotion through the play.[4]

Young concludes that although declarations as explicit as Katherine's and St.Ethelwold's are seldom found accompanying playtexts, "we may assume that a similar didactic purpose was general among the playwrights."[5] His interpretation has been shared by many scholars, and has in fact been re-stated very recently with a slightly different emphasis by R.Woolf. She argues from passages like that in the Regularis Concordia, that

> it follows ...that the liturgical drama was seen, not solely as part of the liturgy in which the congregation unite with the clergy in worshipping God and doing honour to Him, but partly at least as a sermon in which the priest faces the congregation and expounds Christian doctrine to them in the style and language that they can understand.6

She cites the rare interpolations of vernacular language, and the even-rarer vernacular liturgical plays, in support of this argument. Almost all instances of this usage, however, are late,[7] and may therefore be a result of influence from the vernacular plays which emerged from the mid-twelfth century onwards.

In actual fact, the manner of staging early liturgical plays seems to indicate that very often the very least of

considerations was that of showing dramatic action in the plays clearly to the people. As Pascal points out, the settings of plays were usually disposed

> to suit the convenience of the singers and the liturgical practice, e.g. the use of the altar as the Sepulchre and the occasional disposition of some singers behind the altar. In some cases the Sepulchre was situated in the crypt, clearly without concern for the onlookers, who would see little more than the procession at the beginning and end of the performance. [8]

It must also be remembered, when trying to assess whether a liturgical play was attempting to make Christian liturgy and doctrine more comprehensible, that from a conceptual point of view a liturgical play was not just a piece performed on a particular day, a particular feast, or at a particular service. The Visitatio Sepulchri from the Regularis Concordia, for example, is often thought of as beginning with the well-known stage directions

> dum tertia recitatur lectio, quattuor fratres induant se, quorum unus, alba indutus ac si ad aliud agendum, ingrediatur atque latenter sepulcri locum adeat ibique, manu tenens palmam, quietus sedeat. [9]
>
> (While the third lesson is being read, four of the brethren shall vest, one of whom, wearing an alb as though for some different purpose, shall enter and go stealthily to the place of the 'sepulchre' and sit there quietly, holding a palm in his hand.)

and ending with the singing of the Te Deum Laudamus and the ringing of the bells.

But in point of fact this little "drama" was only a very small part of a much larger ceremonial "enactment" which extended in a sense throughout the liturgical year; and the real significance of the play lay in its forming a part of that ceaseless round of liturgical ritual

performed by the monastic community. The Easter period had, of course, a very special place in the liturgical calendar, and the liturgical Resurrection play achieved a similar special place as an enactment of the joyous central event of the Christian religion. Nevertheless, the real purpose and meaning of the "drama" lay in the enactment itself, rather than in any instructional purpose that it might be called upon to serve. To quote Pascal once more, we should remember that such a play

> differs from a modern play perhaps most of all in being a play, not for a public, but for the actors themselves. It is part of the liturgy, sung as a religious ceremony, directed to God and not to the people, a play of the priests for the priests, carried on in their own language and forms. 10

We might perhaps extend Pascal's terms of reference slightly, and allow that it was for the monastic community, rather than simply for the "actors themselves", but in general his proposition holds true: whatever the function of the Resurrection play may have been, it clearly was not that of a didactic exercise, directing its meaning to an audience through the channels of the reason and the intellect.

Although liturgical plays were later performed in cathedral as well as monastic churches, the general adherence to forms seen in the early plays indicates a continuity of function also. The plays did not change in ways which might lead us to suspect that the writers were adopting a radically new attitude towards their audiences. They continued, with few exceptions, to be chanted in Latin, by the clergy, inside the cathedral or monastic churches. Their characteristic emotion was joy, even when the range of subjects was expanded to include Christmas plays, Prophet plays, St. Nicholas plays, and so on. As Marshall points out,

> the emotional nexus of the great mass of liturgical

> plays lies in joy in the assurance implied by the divine Resurrection, secondarily the divine Birth. The plays crystallized in simple objective form the joy of the high moments of the Christian year, above all Easter. 11

The characteristic convention of the plays, as might be expected from their use of the church building as setting, was "a symbolic use of place and space and movement within the church."[12] Their dramatic mode was a "presentational" or "evidential" form, probably springing from commemorative ritual, and expressing itself symbolically through and within the forms of worship and the liturgy.

The one possible exception to the "non-didactic" view of liturgical drama might at first sight seem to be the Prophet-play group. Yet even this is relative. Marshall points out that

> the Prophet play almost alone in the liturgical drama is insistently didactic, but here, too, the emphasis is on simple evidence of Christ's divinity, not on abstract doctrine. As a whole the genre of the liturgical drama is a direct presentational form which represents sacred story concretely by dramatic methods, without allegory, or theology or didacticism. 13

It seems clear, also, that liturgical drama, like Romanesque art, made absolutely minimal reference to a "real world" existing outside Christian ritual time, and used only the most minimal stylistic elements drawn from that world. It is not all surprising that what A.Hauser points out as the general characteristics of Romanesque art are as true for these scenes found in the liturgical drama, as for those never represented in the drama at all. Hauser remarks that the

> stereotyped formalism and the monumentality of Romanesque art are best expressed in the emphasis on cubic forms and their adaptation to architecture.

> The sculptural works in the Romanesque churches are, as it were, mere pillars and columns, parts of the architectonic design. Not only the animals and the foliage but also the human figures fulfil an ornamental function in the total pattern of the church; according to the space to be filled up, they are bent and twisted, stretched or reduced in size. The subservient role of the detail is emphasized so strongly that the frontier between free and applied art, between sculpture and mere decoration, remains entirely fluid. 14

Since E.Mâle first put forward his theories of the influence of the liturgical drama on eleventh and twelfth-century art, there has been considerable dispute in respect of the nature and degree of the influence of medieval drama upon the other arts of the period, and _vice versa_. That there was some kind of general interaction between theatrical modes of expression and other artistic modes such as architecture, sculpture, and manuscript illumination, is not now seriously questioned; but the precise nature of that interaction has never been satisfactorily established, particularly for the early period. Art historians like Mâle have convincingly argued the case for specific iconographic changes in sculptural representations of certain biblical scenes, following probable developments in costume conventions in the liturgical drama of the early twelfth century.[15] Early examples of this kind of influence may be seen in a number of representation of the "Peregrinus" scene, or of the so-called "mercator" incident incorporated into the liturgical drama of the _Visitatio Sepulchri_ from the twelfth century on. The mercator incident in particular quickly assumed a dramatic importance and vitality of its own, which found reflection in many sculptures in Romanesque churches of the period.[16] Even earlier than this, Western Europe had seen the portrayal in art of the sarcophagus form of Christ's tomb, which, as O.Pächt points out, "was in

contradiction to the account of the Scriptures, but evidently in accordance with the stage conventions of the liturgical Easter ceremony."[17]

Quite apart from iconographic effects such as these, however, Pächt has argued that in a more general sense the liturgical drama had not only an iconographic influence, but also affected the "stagecraft" of pictorial representation of biblical and hagiographic scenes. In his view, "the problem would seem to be no longer whether twelfth-century iconography was inspired to some of its innovations by the liturgical drama, but whether the style of pictorial narrative as such had been influenced by the new venture of presenting the Bible story as a staged drama, in a basically theatrical form."[18]

Pächt cites a number of English manuscript examples in support of his thesis that the style of pictorial narrative had, in fact, been influenced in this way. He argues, for example, that the dynamics of the _Albani Psalter_ scene of the Expulsion from Eden differ from those of the artist's sources in Byzantine representations largely because of the way in which drama had affected the English artist's mode of thought regarding these scenic dynamics. Firstly, a monumental Romanesque facade now forms the background to the scene. Secondly, and more importantly, the figures have been placed in such a relationship to the facade that Adam and Eve are being "ejected from the picture." The movement shown within the scene is not yet really a movement of the figures themselves, but rather is expressed "in terms of a changeable relationship between two layers of the composition."[19] The resulting spatial tension expresses the narrative content of the Expulsion story in a radically new way: the interplay which Pächt demonstrates, between "static setting and mobile figures" presupposes an idea of three-dimensional, observed space. Such an idea, crudely enough expressed here, it is true, had not been found in Western

medieval art up to this time.

The appearance of this perception of three-dimensional space in pictorial form in the Albani Psalter was parallelled in sculptural art, as Romanesque style developed into Gothic. Max Dvořák has characterized this aspect of sculptural style succinctly, pointing out that as the Gothic style emerges, the figures begin to "stand materially in front of the facade or any other wall from which they are actually separated by a spatial stratum ... the main emphasis has been shifted to a real, three-dimensional space in which cubistic bodies can expand and spatial events occur, a space which above all appears even to the viewer in that multifarious relativity characteristic of an individual perception of a real section of space."[20] It should be pointed out, of course, that this shift of emphasis was in one sense only relative. Throughout the medieval period, the "real, three-dimensional space" of which Dvořák speaks, was never totally "real" in the sense in which it became so after the Middle Ages. Figures and events were always "framed", or set against a background which related them in some way to the divine framework in which their meaning was to be sought, and which clearly demonstrated the limits set on the "individual perception of a real section of space." Even so, there is still a tremendous difference between the spatial perception in earlier medieval art and that which begins to appear in the twelfth century, and Pächt is unquestionably right in seeing an early manifestation of the new perception in the Albani Psalter. The question which must be asked, however, is whether or not it is possible that the liturgical drama was responsible for this, or even partly responsible.

Part of the problem lies in the fact that liturgical drama had, of course, existed in England for at least a hundred and sixty years prior to the production of the

Albani Psalter. It is first recorded in the Regularis Concordia of St.Ethelwold, dated sometime in the 970's. Had liturgical dramatic representations been a crucial factor in revolutionising the spatial perceptions and dynamic perceptions of artists, the kind of changes Pächt describes might reasonably have been expected a good deal before 1130.

A second point is that some of the scenes upon which Pächt's arguments are based, are of subjects which never found a place within the liturgical dramatic repertoire. He recognizes an "inner affinity to stagecraft", for instance, in the Adam and Eve Expulsion scene already mentioned. As far as is known, however, the Fall - for reasons which we shall come to later - was never presented in a liturgical play.

Of greater importance than either of these points, however, is the question of the nature and the purpose of the liturgical plays, for it seems very doubtful that that this dramatic form could ever have encouraged the kind of artistic perceptions for which Pächt argues. In some respects it is possible to recognize a tendency towards more "realistic" effects in the liturgical drama during the great period of its development and elaboration in the twelfth century, at certain centres such as Fleury; but this may perhaps be due not so much to a natural "evolution" of the liturgical dramatic form itself, as to the stylistic pressure of other dramatic forms for which the "realistic" approach was more relevant and necessary.

"Realism" is of course a highly dubious adjective to bring into a discussion of early medieval artistic methods. It carries far too many misleading overtones for a modern mind. Yet the use of some such term is necessary if we are to be able to discuss and understand the changes which took place in art and drama in the twelfth century.

Perhaps a better term might be "naturalism", or maybe we should refer to "incipient humanization", as A.Katzenellenbogen does in discussing the new mode of thought informing the Chartres statues.[21] Yet both these again carry some misleading overtones, or ambiguities, and there are many ways in which the term "realism" does carry the right kind of emphasis for our purposes. Its use here will indicate a tendency towards the acceptance by the artist or playwright of the real world as an observed phenomenon which forms a legitimate, meaningful, and necessary setting for the portrayal of human action. It will also indicate a tendency towards the recognition in art or drama of human beings as unique entities whose individual characteristics, qualities and problems are deemed worthy of attention. The possibility that there may in every case have been a Platonic end towards which this "realism" - or apparent "realism" - was only a means, is beside the point, even if it were entirely true. The fact is that, for reasons which we must determine, a fundamental shift in viewpoint took place in Europe in the first half of the twelfth century which resulted in the use in art and drama of more realistic methods of portraying the world, men, and nature.

Pächt, as we have seen, argues that the performance of liturgical plays was one of the things which helped to bring about this change in artistic perception and usage, and there are a number of other developments in liturgical dramatic presentations which might at first sight appear to give weight to the argument that the liturgical drama could have helped give rise to some of the new perceptions of "realistic" space, and the dynamics of action appearing in art. It is undoubtedly true, for example, that by about 1130, some liturgical plays had absorbed a number of apparently more "realistic"

elements into their structure.

The vernacular had appeared in the Sponsus play from Limoges, written in the late eleventh century, although the majority of the text was still in Latin. Odd phrases in the vernacular are found scattered through some of the twelfth century plays such as Hilarius's Suscitacio Lazari,[22] or his Ludus super iconia Sancti Nicolai.[23] The use of the vernacular in these plays, however is of a rather different nature from that which we shall see in the true vernacular plays. R.Woolf argues that in most of the liturgical plays, "the use of the vernacular seems to have little to do with a desire for comprehensibility but corresponds rather to a deliberate change from high to low style ...The most striking and unusual of this group of plays is the Sponsus."[24]

Some degree of costume "realism" had also probably appeared in liturgical plays fairly early in the period. F.Collins points out that both the visual arts of the period, and the structure and stage directions of the plays themselves indicate that

> once the plays began to have an artistic integrity the demand upon the playwrights for realism must have been considerable. It is also likewise incredible with the impressive developments in all aspects of the dramatic art of the music-drama, that the costuming would have remained on the original plane of improvisation from sacristy vestments. Finally, the vestment theory cannot account for the costumes of such characters as the Soldiers in the Herod, the Daniel, and the Visit to the Sepulchre, or Mary Magdalene's dress in the Lazarus, let alone the lions' outfits in the Daniel." 25

This question of costume, however, is one on which scholars still disagree. Another school of thought, represented by the great authority K.Young, among others, still maintains that costumes were basically ecclesiastical vestments.

Marshall is one who has recently re-stated this view:

> The costumes worn by the monastic and clerical actors almost invariably consist of a modification of ecclesiastical vestments, in symbolic suggestion, not realism - usually dalmatics or albs or copes.....This non-realistic costuming often touched upon a whole range of associated feeling-ideas through the iconographical symbolism of attribute, familiar also in medieval plastic art. The angel at the tomb, white-clad, may carry a palm, as in the tenth-century Visitatio from Winchester. The risen Christ may appear to Mary Magdalene, not realistically as a gardener, but holding a cross or crowned ...The occasional suggestions of a realism of common life are almost equally iconographical, in the staffs carried by the ecclesiastically dressed shepherds of a Christmas play from Rouen, and the pilgrim staffs and wallets and caps of Cleophas and his companions in plays of the journey to Emmaus, at the same time that their basic dress is ecclesiastical. 26

The main difference between the interpretations of Collins and Marshall lies in the intentions they each attribute to the creators of the liturgical plays. Collins argues that there was a growing "demand" for "realism" which led to the introduction of more "realistic" costuming. Marshall, on the other hand, sees no such pressure towards realistic presentation, and maintains that apparently "realistic" costume details were simply introduced for iconographic clarity. The truth of the matter perhaps lies between these two extremes. Early costume details which apparently suggest realistic touches were probably there for iconographic purposes; and the later tendencies towards more realistic details were not a result of the natural pressure of growth towards a more realistic dramatic form from within the context of liturgical drama itself, but stylistic details suggested by the dramatic form being adopted by the writers of vernacular drama for very different reasons.

Other worldly influences which might have caused a pressure towards realism in the liturgical plays have

been suggested by some scholars. Many have noted, for example, the obviously extra-ecclesiastical influences upon the "mercator" scene in the Visitatio Sepulchri plays.[27] The development of this scene in many liturgical pieces has been attributed to the influences of the clerici vagantes or "goliards", and there are numerous later examples cited of their influence upon other liturgical dramas, particularly in Germany.[28] Quite apart from the goliards, however, an even more basic substratum of popular culture is said to have had its effect upon the liturgical drama. This was the mimes, whose much-disputed activities, though condemned by the Church, still apparently managed to survive in some form through the Dark Ages following the wreck of the Western Roman Empire. Direct evidence of their activities is almost impossible to find in the playtexts themselves, but that it may have been partly responsible for the impetus towards "realism" in costume, as well as perhaps for the excessively histrionic gesturings of Herod and Darius, for example, is a point which has been argued by scholars like B.Hunningher, on the grounds of evidence remaining to us in the visual arts of the early period of development of liturgical drama. Hunningher shows the association of the mimes with the monasteries, argues their probable influence upon trope-writing, and concludes by stating the likelihood of their influence on the liturgical drama itself.

There are no surviving figure-sculptures from this period which may be identified as mimes or actors, but Hunningher argues that in a twelfth century troper from St.Martial at Limoges - a great centre of trope-writing, and later of liturgical drama - a number of illuminations clearly show mimes performing. He asks

> What business have these enemies of the Church in a collection of monastic songs? They are not simply decorative, like the elephant and other decorations around the text. Moreover, the actors are so vividly and realistically depicted that we must assume the miniatures to be portraits: the only conclusion we can draw is that the artist considered the pictures of mimes to belong to the cantilenae. He must have seen them acting, dancing, singing, in the very tropes he illustrated. Certainly, nothing could better serve as illumination of the text here than the direct illustration, the portrayal of that performance ...He immortalised neither priests nor clerics, but mimes in his troparium; would he have done so, if they had not been the tropes' performers? 29

Hunningher's arguments have been contested by S.Sticca,29 both on the grounds that the figures represented in the Limoges manuscript are unlikely to be mimes, and that if they are, it is highly unlikely that their representation indicates that the Church was actually employing them for the purposes which Hunningher suggests. As far as our present considerations are concerned, however, it is perhaps enough to accept that the possibility exists that the mimes may have influenced monastic writers to a greater or lesser degree, and that they represent one more means by which "realistic", or at least "worldly" influences may have entered liturgical drama.

It can be seen from the arguments presented above that there is some evidence for secular, and perhaps popular influences upon liturgical drama. The question we must now ask is whether those influences themselves, having made their impact upon the drama, produced any overall impetus towards what can properly be called a more realistic dramatic form, and whether this finds any parallel or reflection in art.

There is, as we have seen, substantial evidence that the inclusion of certain scenes in liturgical drama caused changes in the iconography of sculptural or

graphic representation. But although we have seen that at least one of those scenes which caused such a change in iconography (the mercator scene), is of secular importation, there are no grounds for suggesting that it provides any impetus before the mid-twelfth century towards any kind of genuine recognition of the world in terms of a "realism" of character or action. If there was any pressure towards a recognition of this world, it would seem to have consisted in the effect such scenes in the liturgical drama had in stimulating the artist to record a moment pinpointed by dramatic dialogue, rather than dramatic action. Pächt shows clearly that "the primary impulse seems to have come from the talking world: ...the revival of storytelling in the twelfth century started with an enactment of spoken narrative in visual form ...it is only later that we find pictorial narrative gradually proceeding from the literal transcription of words to the visual realization of scenes and actions."[30]

We have also seen that "realistic costuming" in the liturgical plays was possibly a product of secular influence, but whether this was actually so or not, there are no grounds for suggesting that costume "realism" in liturgical drama or art was in any way intended to be understood in a "humanizing" sense. Its intention was to clarify the meaning of a scene, or of a group of characters iconographically, and it was this function which was transmitted to the visual artist. As far as secular influences upon liturgical drama are concerned, we may reasonably sum-up by saying that their effect in terms of "realism" was largely a superficial one, and the way in which the artists transmitted the effect of this drama upon their own vision shows clearly that in art, as in drama, the secular influences had been totally absorbed and had become part of a hieratic, non-realistic world, which was portrayed as

existing in ideal, symbolic space. Like the artists of the early medieval period, the writers of liturgical drama did not need to take the realities of behaviour and human personality in the everyday world into account in their plays. They were not teaching the relevance of historical Christian action and behaviour to the present world of man's everyday experience, but made reference only to the eternal world beyond the insubstantial shadows of this earthly life. For this reason language, costumes, settings, properties were, by and large, not of this world, but the next, represented by the language, "costumes", and "properties" of the Church, and staged within the church building - the symbol of Heaven on Earth.

All of this corresponds closely with what we might expect from a knowledge of Western European society in the early Middle Ages, up to about the middle of the eleventh century. R.W.Southern has characterized the socio-religious context during this period as follows:

> In the main tradition of the early Middle Ages nearly all the order and dignity in the world was associated with supernatural power. There was order in symbolism and ritual, and order in worship and sacrament, and both of them were very elaborate and impressive. Man's links with the supernatural gave his life a framework of order and dignity; but in the natural order the chaos was almost complete. Almost nothing was known about secondary causes in natural events. Rational procedures in law, in government, in medicine, in argument, were scarcely understood or practised even in the most elementary way. Man chiefly knew himself as a vehicle for divine activity. There was a profound sense of the littleness and sinfulness of man. 31

Just like the art produced by such a society, so too its drama was clearly going to have little concern with human psychology, and little use for the natural, everyday world as a setting. It did not even require to be performed

in a language which would be fully understood by a lay audience - where there was one present at the "dramatic performance". As long as its celebratory meaning was tolerably well comprehended, and it was successful in creating the right kind of emotional state in its audience for them to achieve some kind of transcendence to the supernatural world, which alone possessed order and dignity, then its purpose had been achieved.

When, on the other hand, such a society underwent a fundamental shift in its world-view, to a position where both man and nature were seen to have an inherent dignity, and to be part of an orderly system accesssible to human reason, we might expect a drama to be created which - although fully accepting the basic tenets that man is a fallen creature, and that his instincts and reason are often perverted - must concern itself with the workings of the everyday world, at least to a limited extent. This kind of a shift did occur in the late eleventh and the twelfth centuries, and as far as the drama is concerned the first extant example of vernacular drama provides a perfect example of the way in which a conscious reference was made to the everyday world familiar to the audience, in numerous "realistic" details of setting, characterization, and action.

Adam begins with stage directions which suggest a very strong appeal to the senses used by man to apprehend the everyday world of his experience:

> Constituatur paradisus loco eminenciori; circumponantur cortine et panni serici ...servantur odoriferi flores et frondes; sint in eo diverse arbores et fructus in eis dependentes, ut amenissemus locus videratur. 32
>
> (Let Paradise be set up in a fairly high place; let there be placed around it curtains and silk hangings ...let sweet-smelling flowers and branches be planted there; let many different trees be placed there, with fruits hanging from them, so that it may seem a

most delightful place.)

Paradise, in other words, was intended to appeal to the twelfth century audience in terms of some of the most delightful, real, tangible objects with which they were acquainted - flowers, fruits, silk fabrics - and through the audience's sensual awareness of the real world which they inhabited. The garden of Paradise suggests the pleasant and fragrant world of Spring.[33] Three of the five senses were directly appealed to: sight, smell, and touch.

In complete contrast to the delight of Paradise was the horror of Hell, made equally "real" in its appeal to the senses. The actual physical appearance of the structure which represented Hell is not detailed in the rubrics of the play, but the stage directions leave us in no doubt about its nature:

> Et in eo facient fumum magnum exurgere et vociferabuntur inter se in inferno gaudentes et collident callidaria et lebetes suos, ut exterius audiantur. [34]

> (And in there they (the devils) shall cause a great smoke to rise up, and they shall shout to one another in Hell, rejoicing; and they shall clash their pots and kettles together, so that they may be heard on the outside.)

A very large number of details of setting and action from the play could be cited as evidence for the appeal to the senses, and the attempt to make the dramatic world inhabited by the characters of <u>Adam</u> more "real" in certain aspects. These are just a few such details:

1. The clothes worn by the characters are, in the main, not ecclesiatical garments such as the liturgical plays normally made use of at this time, but clothes suited to the person and the occasion. The colours are often symbolic, of course,[35] but this does detract from the main point of the argument.

2. The serpent in the tree is given a realistic form: "Tunc serpens artificiose compositus ascendit juxta stipitem arboris vetito. Cui Eva proprius adhibebit aurem, quasi ipsius ascultans consilium."[36] (Then a serpent, cunningly contrived, shall climb up the trunk of the forbidden tree. Eve shall put her ear up to it, as if listening to its counsel.) Although serpents, sometimes with quite striking forms, had been represented climbing up the tree in manuscript illuminations of the scene for a long time before Adam,[37] the effect detailed in the Adam stage directions, of a "cunningly contrived" serpent actually coiling up the tree and appearing to speak into Eve's ear must have had a very different impact on the viewer than any illumination of the scene in a manuscript can ever have achieved. What the playwright has attempted here is an intense "real-ization" of the final moment of the Temptation in striking dramatic action.

3. The apple is obviously intended to be a real fruit. (q.v. the initial rubrics, and the stage directions for Adam and Eve actually biting the forbidden fruit.)

4. The stage directions require Adam and Eve to cultivate a real plot of prepared ground, using spade and mattock, and to sow grain in it.

5. The manacles and iron chains in which Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, and the Prophets are dragged off to Hell are again real, tangible objects from the worldly experience of the audience, and having specific associations derived from that worldly experience.

6. Finally, when Abel kneels before Cain, about to be murdered, the stage directions give us this interesting piece of information:

> Et habebit ollam coopteram pannis suis, que percusciet (eam) Chaim, quasi ipsum Abel occideret. Abel autem iacebit prostratus, quasi mortuus.[38]

> (And he shall have a pot hidden underneath his clothes, which Cain shall strike violently, as if he were slaying Abel himself. Abel, however, shall lie stretched out, as if he were dead.)

If we consider in practical terms what happens here, it seems most likely that the pannis - a pot - was originally intended to be an earthenware vessel which would break when struck by Cain, and give a sound similar to bones breaking. A metal pot would have been another alternative, of course, but if the idea of it was only to break the force of a blow, there would have been many more effective forms of padding readily available. Wool, wadded cloth, or horsehair, for example, would all have been much easier for an actor playing Abel to wear whilst performing this scene. O.Jodogne suggests that the pannis was actually some kind of a vessel filled with blood "que Cain percera d'un coup de dague."[39] This is assuming something the rubrics - in all other such details most explicit - do not state, but it is nonetheless possible, and would certainly add one more detail to what is quite clearly the playwright's intention: to create a "realistic" murder of a kind never before met with in medieval drama.

It is quite true that twelfth century art does depict the murder of the three clerks which forms a part of the St Nicholas legend dramatized in plays from the Fleury playbook.[40] The stage directions from these plays, however, give no indication as to how the killing was to be depicted in dramatic action when the play of the Tres Clerici was performed. The likelihood is that the killing was staged in a non-realistic manner, similar to the play of the Slaughter of the Innocents from the same Fleury playbook. Marshall notes that the method here is "formalized symbolic suggestion, not realism,"[41] and J.Stevens remarks that the story of Herod's murder of the newborn children is "in the sharpest contrast, in its high formalism and dignity, to the brutish massacres depicted in the

vernacular cycles - all bloody teeth and bawling babies."[42] Although the sculptors responsible for the Tournai fonts representing the murder of the clerks in the St.Nicholas story - the fonts from Zedelghem or Winchester, for example, show the scene - do depict some of the gory details such as the severed heads of the clerks, and the wicked landlord with his axe, it seems more likely that these sculptors, like the Albani Psalter artist, were re-creating a piece of spoken dialogue rather than visualizing an actual murder.[43] The evidence from liturgical plays themselves, then, suggests that murders such as those of the Innocents, and of the St.Nicholas clerks sharply contrast in the mode of their representation with that of Abel in Adam.

The evidence for the appeal to the senses in Adam, and for the appeal to the everyday experience of the audience in the twelfth century world, is strong. It would of course be foolish to overstress this element in the play, to the point where it might seem to be the ultimate objective of the playwright's method. M. Stevens' observations on the later Corpus Christi cycle-plays seem to me to be equally germane to the present assessment of the question of "realism" in Adam:

> It is noteworthy that the realistic stage prop was frequently used on an open, unrepresentational stage ...There are just enough props from the workaday world ...to suggest the limits of the world of reality. The greatest mysteries of God's universe, like the Creation itself, are ineffable and unrepresentable; they form an invisible, poetic background for the tangible stage artifice.44

There can be little argument on this point. Yet, in the case of Adam at least, it is necessary to point out the extent of the realistic or semi-realistic detail, as a corrective to the viewpoint expressed by such recent scholars as W.Noomen or O.Jodogne, who argue that the

effect of the play as it would have been staged in the twelfth century must have been overwhelmingly in favour of the liturgical mode.[45] In this chapter we have begun to discover how different the liturgical mode, and the new "realism" of *Adam* actually are.

Footnotes to 2.

[1]Roy Pascal, "On the Origins of the Liturgical Drama of the Middle Ages", Modern Language Review, 36 (1941), p.379.

[2]Dom Thomas Symons, ed. and trans., Regularis Concordia, (London: Nelson, 1953), p.44.

[3]Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church, (Oxford: O.U.P., 1933), II, p.410.

[4]The full passage referring to the staging of this play by Katherine of Sutton, is found in Young, op.cit., II, p.411.

[5]Ibid., p.411.

[6]Rosemary Woolf, The English Mystery Plays, (London: R.K.P., 1972), p.43.

[7]Apart from the Sponsus, generally dated to the end of the eleventh, or beginning of the twelfth century (Young, op. cit., II, p.361.), other plays containing vernacular passages, such as the Fleury Daniel, or the St.Nicholas plays, or the Passion Play from Montecassino, all date from approximately the same time as Adam. The only fully vernacular liturgical plays are the so-called "Shrewsbury fragments", dating from the fourteenth century. (Young, op. cit., II, pp.514-23.)

[8]Pascal, op.cit., p.379.

[9]Symons, Regularis Concordia, pp.49-50.

[10]Pascal, op.cit., p.378.

[11]Mary Hatch Marshall, "Aesthetic Values of the Liturgical Drama", English Institute Essays, (1950), rpt. in Jerome Taylor and Alan H.Nelson, eds., Medieval English Drama, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), p.33.

[12]Ibid., p.33.

[13]Ibid., p.33.

[14]Arnold Hauser, The Social History of Art, trans. Stanley Godman, (New York: Vintage Books, 1957), I, pp.186-7.

[15]Émile Mâle, L'art religieux du XIIe. siècle en France, 4th ed. (Paris, 1940)

[16]Early examples from the twelfth century may be seen in Spain, in the cloister of the monastery of San Cugat del Valles, near Barcelona; in S.France, on the lintel of the right-hand portal of the west front of St.Gilles du Gard, on the facade of Notre Dame des Pommiers in Beaucaire, and on a capital in the cloister of St.Trophime at Arles; and in Italy on a capital from the cathedral of Modena.

[17]Otto Pächt, The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth Century England, (Oxford: O.U.P., 1962), p.28.

[18]Ibid., p.32.

[19]Ibid., p.27.

[20]Max Dvořák, Idealism and Naturalism in Gothic Art, trans. Randolph J.Klawitzer, (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967), pp.65-6.

[21]Adolf Katzenellenbogen, The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1959), p.43.

[22]Young, op.cit., pp.338-41.

[23]Ibid., pp.211-218.

[24]Woolf, The English Mystery Plays, pp. 43-45.

[25]Fletcher Collins, The Production of Medieval Church Music-Drama, (Charlottesille: University Press of Virginia, 1972), p.22.

[26]Marshall, op.cit., p.37.

[27]See, e.g. Richard Donovan, The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1958), and Wolfgang Michael, "Tradition and Originality in the Medieval Drama in Germany", The Medieval Drama, S.Sticca, ed. (Albany: S.U.N.Y.Press, 1972), p.28.

[28]Benjamin Hunningher, The Origin of the Theatre, (1955, rpt. New York: Hill and Wang, 1968), pp.73-4.

[29]Sandro Sticca, The Latin Passion Play, (Albany: S.U.N.Y. Press, 1970), pp.9-10.

[30]Pächt, op.cit., pp.58-9.

[31]Southern, Medieval Humanism, p.33.

[32]Adam, p.27.

[33]See D.W.Robertson, Jr., "The Doctrine of Charity in Medieval Literary Gardens: A Topical Approach through Symbolism and Allegory", Speculum, 26 (1951), pp.24-49, for a full explanation of the use of the image of the garden in the Middle Ages. It is interesting to note that in contrast to the association of the garden and spring with Paradise, Robertson also points out in reference to a passage from Beowulf, that "frost and ice are traditional symbols of Satan, whom God permits to tempt the human spirit to fall in cupidity. Moreover, the chill of cupidity may be considered characteristic of the evil garden as opposed to the warmth of Charity in the good garden." (p.33) Satan's temptation of Eve, in Adam, significantly uses the images of winter and cold (albeit the beauty of winter) to describe Eve's beauty:

> Tu es plus blanche que cristal,
> Que neif que chiet sor glace en val ...
>
> (You are whiter than the crystal,
> Whiter than snow that falls on ice in the valley ...)

[34]Adam, p.70

[35]J.M.Steadman, "Adam's Tunica Rubea: Vestiary Symbolism in the Anglo-Norman Adam", Modern Language Notes, 72 (1957) pp.497-99.

[36]Adam, p.52.

[37]See for example the illustrations to the Anglo-Saxon Genesis, in ms. Jünius XI, reproduced in Charles W.Kennedy, The Caedmon Poems, (Gloucester, Massachussetts: Peter Smith, 1965), pp.208-15. These drawings date from ca.1035.

[38]Adam, p.80

[39]Omer Jodogne, "Recherches sur les débuts du théâtre religieux en France", Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale, 8 (1965), p.19. ("which Cain will pierce with a thrust of a dagger").

[40]Young, op.cit., II, 330-32.

[41]Marshall, op.cit., p.41.

[42]John Stevens, "Music in Some Early Medieval Plays", Studies in the Arts, ed. Francis Warner (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968), p.25.

[43] Drawing here from Pächt's terms of reference for other liturgical plays, although he does not specifically deal with the St.Nicholas plays.

[44] Martin Stevens, "Illusion and Reality in the Medieval Drama", *College English*, 32, No. 4 (1971), p.457.

[45] W.Noomen, "Le *Jeu d'Adam*. Étude Descriptive et Analytique", *Romania*, 89 (1968), pp.145-193.
Omer Jodogne, "Le théâtre francais du moyen age: recherches sur l'aspect dramatique des textes", *The Medieval Drama*, ed. Sticca, p.9.

3. The Prophets.

We have noted that one of the novel features of the Albani Psalter representation of the Expulsion from Eden is that it seems to show a clear quality of movement in space: the plane inhabited by the figures of Adam, Eve and God has a changeable relationship to the background plane of the monumental Romanesque facade. From the arguments advanced in the last chapter it is evident that such a spatial perception is unlikely to have been the result of the artist's familiarity with a liturgical dramatic presentation. It is, however, quite possible that he may have been strongly influenced by another dramatic form entirely. The date of the Albani Psalter is ca. 1130: a date which corresponds closely to the period of a number of new developments in the presentation of church drama, some of which may have had a good deal to do with the changes in style which we see in the Psalter.

Firstly, it is clear that in some monastic communities plays were being performed outside the confines of the church building itself. Young cites a passage form the writings of Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1093-1169), who, whilst in the position of <u>magister scholae</u> at Augsburg, ca. 1122-3, condemned the monks who "occupied the dormitory or used the refectory only on occasions when a representation of Herod or of the slaughter of the Innocents, or some other <u>ludus</u> provided an incentive to conviviality."[1] We have no proof that at this date religious plays were actually being presented outside churches in the open air; but even a move out of the church into a refectory or dormitory represents a move from a completely symbolic space into a much more "real" one. In any case, it seems highly likely that by the middle of the century plays were being performed not only outside the church in the open air, but also to a popular audience in the vernacular. It is true that we have only one extant text from the middle of the twelfth century to represent this new vernacular form, but as

R.Donovan has pointed out, "judging from the content and the skilful dramatic technique of this little masterpiece ...the play is probably by no means the first to have been composed in French ...In all likelihood plays of a simpler and more transitional nature had prepared the way for the Jeu d'Adam."[2] The fact that very few texts remain to us of such plays, as evidence that they did actually once exist, in contrast to the great numbers of liturgical texts which have survived, is convincingly explained by the fact that liturgical plays were copied into liturgical manuscripts, while other plays were not. This was quite natural: liturgical plays formed a part of the liturgy itself and therefore were preserved in the breviaries and ordos for future liturgical use; plays like Adam did not, as we shall see, stem from liturgical observances, and were therefore not normally copied into liturgical manuscripts. The usual practice, as with Adam or the Resurrection, was to copy such plays onto separate sheets, easily mislaid once the practice of performing a particular play was abandoned.[3]

It is quite possible therefore, that Adam is not the earliest, but only the earliest surviving, example of the kind of play which was being created by the Church for performance in the vernacular, outside the church building, and to a popular audience, in the second quarter of the twelfth century. Adam itself is dated between 1146 and 1174 by most authorities, and according to P.Studer "the probabilities are that it comes much nearer the earlier than the later limit."[4]

Most scholars have argued, however, that despite its relative sophistication Adam is an example of a kind of play which was not really much removed from the more developed liturgical plays of the same period. In this view Adam, whilst representing an important developmental stage in medieval drama, shows no impulse towards the creation of a new kind of play. G.Frank's discussion of Adam in her

standard work of French medieval drama is a typical example of this point of view:

> The gap between liturgical and non-liturgical plays has been conveniently bridged by the term 'semi-liturgical.' But actually no exact line of demarcation can be drawn ...Although many plays continued to be attached to the church service, some were so loosely attached that they need not be given at any specified office. And while liturgical or biblical passages were freely incorporated in the simpler, earlier texts, the more elaborate, later plays came to be characterized by an increasing use of original compositions ...The Mystère d'Adam, which is roughly contemporary with some of the more ambitious liturgical plays ...may properly be called semi-liturgical in that it is still attached to the church by its use of the outside of the building as a stage. It also relies on the church choir for readings and responsories that belong to the offices of Septuagesima. And finally it adapts and versifies, sometimes in the vernacular, sometimes in Latin, a liturgical Prophet play. 5

Such a view is rooted in the belief which held sway until quite recently, that there was an "evolutionary" development of medieval drama from its earliest manifestations in the tropes, to the most highly sophisticated vernacular Mystères, Passion Plays, Corpus Christi Cycles, and so on. Recent studies have shown that there is no real evidence for this kind of development.[6] The liturgical drama and the vernacular drama show two entirely different conceptions of dramatic form and function, and cannot be said to be related in any evolutionary way. As R.Woolf has remarked in a recent study, "though vernacular plays owed the fact of their existence to liturgical drama, any other debt is miniscule."[7]

A clear demonstration of this, and one of great pertinence to the present discussion, may be seen in a comparison of the Prophet section of Adam with the liturgical Prophet plays which predate, or are approximately contemporary with it. Little critical attention has been paid to this part of Adam, even by those critics who have been

most conscious of the radical nature of the dramatic changes in other parts of the play. The reason for this neglect is simple enough: the Adam and Eve, and Cain and Abel sections of Adam have obvious stylistic differences from liturgical drama in general, and have no extant counterparts among liturgical plays as regards their particular subject matter. The Prophet section of Adam, on the other hand, has a number of obvious stylistic similarities to the liturgical Prophet plays, and share a well-defined area of Biblical subject matter with them.

This part of Adam, for instance, is introduced by the reading of a lectio which formed part of the pseudo-Augustinian sermon Contra Judaeos, Paganos, et Arianos Sermo de Symbolo, from which it is generally agreed that the liturgical Prophet plays derived.[8] Like the liturgical Prophet plays it has a sequence of Prophets who deliver prophecies foretelling the coming of Christ. Here, however, the real similarities end.

The liturgical Prophet plays are solely in Latin, even in late versions from the fourteenth century.[9] They were written to be performed in liturgical chant. The Prophet section of Adam, on the other hand, is largely in the vernacular, and it was written for spoken performance. Secondly, it is clear that there is a difference of function apparent between the liturgical Prophet plays and the Adam Prophet section. The nature of the series of prophecies in the liturgical plays is "evidential" rather than "didactic". Neither in their content, nor in the way in which they are used in the structure of the liturgical plays, is there any real attempt to explain or clarify the "evidence" they present of the Christian message. Nor is there an attempt to broaden the implications of what is actually stated in the prophetic lines themselves. Here, for example, is the section of the Prophet play from St Martial at Limoges in which Habakkuk prophesies:

Cantor:

Abacuc, regis celestis
nunc ostende quod sis testis.

Responsum:

Et expectaui,
mox expaui
metu mirabilium,
opus tuum
inter duum
corpus animalium. 10

(C: Now, Habakkuk, show what kind of witness you are to the king of heaven.

R: I also waited; soon I was greatly dismayed with fear of your marvellous doings - at this, your work, between the bodies of two animals.)

The Laon and Rouen versions of the Habakkuk prophecy differ only in very minor details in their treatment of this, as well as other sections of the play, and the prophecy quoted above may be taken as typical of the treatment of prophecies in the liturgical plays in general.[11] This is a point of some importance in regard to the arguments which have been advanced to show that the liturgical drama did not show an evolutionary development towards the vernacular dramatic forms, but continued to develop (or in some cases remained virtually static) within its own frame of reference, retaining essentially the same form and the same purpose as it had in the earliest examples. The Prophet plays cited here provide noteworthy evidence for this point of view. That from Limoges is generally dated to the late eleventh century, or the early twelfth, while that of Laon is from the thirteenth century and the Rouen version from the fourteenth.[12] There is some elaboration apparent between the Limoges play and that of Laon, and again between the Laon and Rouen plays, but no change in the essential form. There is certainly little evidence either for evolution towards a vernacular form, or for the changed concept of function which we shall find in the vernacular drama of the mid-twelfth

century.

In contrast to this conspicuous lack of any attempt to explain or enlarge upon the words of the prophecies in the liturgical plays stands the Prophet section of Adam, where this aspect assumes a primary importance. If the Habakkuk scene from Adam is examined, it will be apparent that not only does Habakkuk "translate" his Latin prophecy into the vernacular, he also enlarges upon it in such a way that the meaning of its somewhat cryptic words is fully explained. The playwright appears to have tried to ensure by these means that the prophecy of Habakkuk, and its meaning in the context of the play of Adam, might be fully understood by every member of the audience, and not just an educated clergy. Here is the Habakkuk scene from Adam in full:

> Post hunc veniet Abacuc senex. Et sedens, cum incipiet propheciam suam, eriget manus contra ecclesiam; admiracionem simulas et timorem, dicat: "Domine, audivi auditum tuum et timui; consideravi opera tua et expavi. In medio duum animalium cognosceris".
>
> De Deu ai oï novele:
> Tot en ai truble la cervele.
> Tant ai esgardé cest ovre
> Que grant poür li cuer m'en ovre.
> Entre dous bestes iert coneüz,
> Par tot le mond iert cremuz.
> Cil de cui ai si grant merveille
> Iert demonstré par une esteille;
> Pastor le troverunt en cresche,
> Qui iert trenchié en piere secche,
> Ou mangerunt les bestes faim.
> Pois s'i fra as rais certain;
> La steille i amerrat les rois:
> Iloec offrende aporterunt tot trais. 13
>
> (After him Habakkuk, an old man, shall come; and sitting, when he begins his prophecy, shall raise his hands towards the church, simulating wonder and fear, and let him say: "O Lord, I have heard your speech, and was afraid, I have considered your works, and trembled. Between two animals you shall be recognized."

> Of God I have heard news,
> At which my mind is sorely troubled.
> I have fully thought upon this work,
> Which brings great fear to my heart.
> Between two beasts He shall be seen;
> Shall be recognized by all the world.
> He of whom I have this great wonder to tell
> Shall be pointed out by a star.
> Shepherds will find Him in a cradle
> Which shall be cut from the dry stone,
> (And) from which the animals shall eat hay.
> He shall then show Himself to kings.
> The star will lead the kings to Him:
> All three shall bring offering.)

If there were those in the audience who did not fully understand the meaning of Habakkuk's actual prophetic lines, even when these had been translated into their own language, only a half-wit could have failed to understand the meaning after Habakkuk had added the explanation about the star, the manger, the shepherds, and the three kings and their gifts - surely the most familiar imagery in the whole Christian story, with the possible exception of the imagery of the Passion.

It is interesting to consider the *lectio* from the original pseudo-Augustinian sermon in the light of this evidence. This is the Habakkuk section of the *lectio*:

> Dic et tu, Abacuch propheta, testimonium de Christo. *Domine*, inquit, *audiui auditum tuum et timui; consideraui opera tua et expaui.* Que opera Dei iste miratus expauit? Numquid fabricam mundi iste miratus expauit? Absit. Sed, audi, aliquid expauit. *In medio*, inquit, *duum animalium cognosceris. Opera tua, Deus, Uerbum caro factum est.* In medio duum animalium cognosceris. Qui quousque descendisti expauescere me fecisti; Uerbum, per quod facta sunt omnia, in presepe iacuisti. Agnouit bos possessorem suum, et asinus presepe Domine sui. In medio duum animalium cognosceris. Quid est in medio duum animalium cognosceris, nisi aut in medio duorum testamentorum, aut in medio duorum latronum, aut in medio Moysi et Helye cum eo in monte sermocinantium? Ambulauit, inquit, Uerbum et exiuit in campis. Verbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis. 14

> (You too, O prophet Habakkuk, bear witness to Christ. "Lord," he says, "I have heard your speech and I was

> afraid. I have considered your works and I trembled." What works of God did he see and tremble at? Did he tremble beholding the fabric of the world? He did not. But hear at what he trembled. "Between two animals," he says, "you shall be recognized. Through your work, O God, the Word has been made flesh." Between two animals you shall be recognized. Who are you? How far are you descended? You have caused me to tremble because you, the Word, through whom everything was made, have lain in a manger. The ox knows his owner, and the ass his Master's manger. Between two animals you shall be recognized. What is the meaning of "between two animals," except either between the two Testaments, or between the two thieves, or between Moses and Elias, who talked with Him on the mountain? He said the Word walked and went forth into the fields. The Word was made flesh and lived among us.)

Clearly some of the remarks which have been applied to the treatment of the prophecies in Adam, apply also to the lectio. The writer explains and enlarges upon the actual prophetic words, quite obviously. Yet the method is different from the Adam playwright's. The explanation and expansion of context is here given in terms of a fairly technical theological exegesis. This explains and clarifies only by reference to a number of other Biblical references which have a rather different emphasis from the popular Nativity imagery used in Habakkuk's speech from Adam. It is a piece whose impact upon the popular mind must undoubtedly have been powerful in one sense, with the voice of the Church piling-up in a magnificently rhetorical fashion authoritative evidence against the Jews. And we know that it remained a famous Christmas reading from the date of its composition as part of the great Sermo, sometime in the sixth century, until the end of the Middle Ages.[15] Yet it seems doubtful whether its primary effect upon a twelfth century lay audience can have been to clarify and explain in the way which has been argued for the Adam Prophet play. The extent to which it can be said to have had a didactic intention in respect

of such an audience, thus seems questionable.

It is interesting, however, that from the time the liturgical Prophet plays first assumed a properly dramatic form,[16] the prophecies were almost entirely freed from any of the enclosing exposition of the _lectio_,[17] whereas the _Adam_ playwright apparently returned to the _lectio_ itself for structural ideas, and used the _lectio_, or parts of it as a framework for the Prophet section of the play. The reasons for this may at first seem obscure, in view of what has just been said in regard to the effect of the _lectio_ in the twelfth century. For although it is apparently far more didactic in nature than the liturgical Prophet plays which it spawned, we have argued that its message seems considerably less accessible to a twelfth-century lay audience than does that of the bulk of the Prophet section of _Adam_. A number of possible explanations may be advanced for this seeming anomaly.

Firstly, it may well be that, like the chant used in the first two sections of _Adam_, the use of the _lectio_ to introduce the Prophet section was regarded by playwright and audience as one of those elements which formed the authoritative framework of the play.[18] It may, in other words, have functioned as the kind of structural element which was not intended so much to be understood by the majority of the audience on an intellectual level, as to keep them constantly aware of the divine and ecclesiastical structures from which the play sprang, and within which its ultimate meaning was to be sought. Like the chant, therefore, its effect was probably largely that of its association with "the immemorial authority of the Church; and like the Church building which formed the back-cloth for the play ...(conveyed) all the unquestioned grandeur of a, relatively, untroubled and all-embracing Order."[19] We should remember that _Adam_ stands at the very beginning of a new tradition of playwriting, and that any playwright in the Middle Ages would have been concerned above all else to

draw upon "authority" - in this case upon certain pre-existing formal models of style which he felt he could usefully adapt to his new purpose. As we shall see, they do not deny what is new in the play, but by their conservative reference to tradition they may perhaps be regarded as "legitimizing" the new elements.

Secondly, there is the question of the demands imposed by the actual construction of the play. I do not mean simply the basic structure of the Fall and Redemption. Had that been the only consideration, it would have been a perfectly acceptable piece of dramatic construction for Abraham to have come on stage after the devils had hauled Cain and Abel off to Hell, introduced himself as he does ("Abraham sui, e issa a non..." [I am Abraham; that is my name...]), delivered his prophecy, be taken off to Hell himself, and then for the action to have continued with the other prophets in the same manner.[20] But the playwright also wished to bring the question of the Jews into the reckoning. We do not know how violent the anti-Semitic emphasis may have been in further sections of the play; but an anti-Semitic message is clearly present in the Prophet section, both in individual prophecies such as those of Solomon and Daniel, and especially in the disputation between Isaiah and the Jew. Some of the specific social reasons for the way in which this aspect of the play is handled will be suggested later in this study.[21] As far as the present argument is concerned, however, it is clear that the introductory part of the familiar anti-Jewish <u>lectio</u> was a logical choice for the playwright to make, to open the Prophet section of <u>Adam</u>, both in terms of dramatic construction, and because it aided in the creation of an authoritative stylistic framework for the play.

One further possibility cannot be entirely ruled out. Although the stage directions apparently indicate that the <u>lectio</u> was delivered in Latin, only the first phrase

of the <u>lectio</u> is in fact given:

> Legatur in choro lectio: "Vos, inquam, convenio, O Judei." 22

It seems reasonable to suggest, in view of the general manner in which the Latin and vernacular passages are treated throughout the rest of the play, and also in view of the way in which the Church was using the vernacular in its own services in the twelfth century, that it is by no means impossible that the <u>lectio</u> was either read in the vernacular, or paraphrased in the vernacular after it had been read in Latin. This has not to my knowledge been suggested previously, perhaps because there is absolutely no way of proving the case either way. Yet it is a possibility, which cannot be simply dismissed for that reason. It has been shown that many French sermons of the twelfth century, for instance, were written down in Latin although they were actually delivered in the vernacular.[23] And the collection of English vernacular sermons of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, made by R.Morris, demonstrates the specific method which may underlie this part of the play, as well as forming a close parallel to the general method which appears to underlie the whole play. Here is the opening of one of these sermons, this one being on the subject of the Nativity:

> <u>Natus est hodie saluator qui est Christus in ciuitate davi</u>. Gode tiðings and murie to heren. us telleð þe louerd sente lucas! on holie godspelle. and seið þat on holie erndrake hem brohte fram heuene to e londe of ierusalem ...etc. 24

> (<u>Unto us is born this day in the city of David, a Saviour, who is Christ</u>. Good tidings, and pleasant to hear, the lord Saint Luke tells us in the holy gospel, and saith that an holy messenger brought them from heaven to the land of Jerusalem ...etc.)

The sermon proceeds as a series of short Latin quotations from the Vulgate, with long intervening passages of explanation in the vernacular.

If we knew for certain that the lectio was adapted in this way for use in Adam, it would of course be another strong argument for the play's independence from liturgical models. As it is, such a suggestion must remain simply conjectural. In any case, it is clear that whether the lectio remained in Latin, or was rendered in the vernacular, the other evidence which has been presented here seems more than sufficient to justify the claim that the Prophet section of Adam represents something quite different in form and function from the liturgical Prophet plays.

At the beginning of this chapter it was pointed out that the reason for examining the Prophet section of Adam in this way, rather than examining the other parts of the play, was that it afforded us a means of direct comparison between Adam and the liturgical drama, which the other sections did not. Nevertheless, an application of the same general principles of analysis and comparison, without specific reference to subject matter of which no examples survive from the liturgical drama, will quickly demonstrate that if the Adam Prophet section is quite different in conception from the liturgical Prophet plays, the Adam and Eve, and Cain and Abel sections are equally different from the way such plays are conceived in the liturgical drama as a whole.

It can, moreover, be shown that there are ways in which the first two sections of Adam are a great deal further removed from the liturgical tradition than is the Prophet section. Neither a development of "character", nor realistic "action" was a part of the liturgical dramatic approach,[25] and it cannot truthfully be said that these make their appearance in the Adam Prophet section either. In the first two sections of Adam, however, the development of each of the characters in some depth - however rudimentary this may appear by modern standards - is quite plain.[26] This "humanization" of his characters was, as we shall see, an inevitable consequence of the playwright's new approach

to the audience. It is an element in the new dramatic form created to serve a new function.

Again, there is little or no realistic "action" involving any of the *Adam* Prophets - certainly not enough to argue that that the play shows a clear break with the liturgical tradition on this respect. A considerable amount of such action is prescribed for the first two sections of the play, however.[27] This also is a consequence of the playwright's new approach to his audience.

There is one further aspect of this approach which the Prophet section of *Adam* does share with the first two sections to a limited extent, however, and that is its use of a social terminology drawn from the actual temporal world of the twelfth century. God, Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Satan, and to a lesser extent the Prophets; are all presented as if they were inhabitants of a twelfth-century Anglo-Norman world, and behaved according to its social imperatives. In the next chapter, the manner in which the playwright uses this framework of reference to the contemporary world will be examined, together with his use of humanly convincing characters and situations, and realistic action.

Footnotes to 3.

[1]Young, _op.cit._, p.411.

[2]Donovan, _op.cit._, p.72. See also O.B.Hardison, _Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages_, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), pp.257-8.

[3]Richard Donovan, "Celebrated Centres of Medieval Liturgical Drama", _Medieval Drama and its Claudelian Revival_, Dunn, Fotitch, Peebles, eds., (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1970), p.50.

[4]Paul Studer, ed., _Le Mystère d'Adam_, (Manchester, 1918), intro., p.lvi.

[5]Grace Frank, _The Medieval French Drama_, (1954, rpt. Oxford: O.U.P., 1960), pp. 74-6.

[6]Hardison, _op.cit._, pp.1-34.

[7]Woolf, _The English Mystery Plays_, p.22.

[8]Young, _op.cit._, II, p.125.

[9]_Ibid._, pp.125-171.

[10]_Ibid._, p.140.

[11]_Ibid._, pp.138-179.

[12]_Ibid._ pp. 148, 158.

[13]_Adam_, p.87, ll.841-54.

[14]Young, _op.cit._, II, pp.127-8.

[15]_Ibid._ p.125.

[16]The first example extant being the eleventh to twelfth century play from St.Martial at Limoges, _q.v._ Young, _op. cit._, pp.138-45.

[17]Young, _op.cit._, II, p.138.

[18]John Stevens, _op.cit._, pp.35-40.

[19]_Ibid._, p.40.

[20]This is the structural method apparent in the way in which the Cain and Abel play follows on from the Fall. Abel

introduces his brother and himself, and then, like Abraham, goes on to point out the significance of Cain and himself in relation to Adam and Eve. See _Adam_, ll. 591-610.

[21] See chapter 6.

[22] _Adam_, p.81.

[23] See Edwin Charles Dargan, _A History of Preaching_, (New York: Burt Franklin, 1905), pp. 183-7.

[24] R.Morris, ed. _Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century_, (Early English Text Society, 1873), o.s. 183, p.31.

[25] For an excellent summary of these aspects of the liturgical drama, see Marshall, _op.cit._

[26] This aspect of _Adam_ has been well analysed by Erich Auerbach in _Mimesis_, trans. Willard Trask, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), pp.149-152.

[27] See chapter 2 of this study, pp.26-29.

4. Adam, and Twelfth-Century Anglo-Norman Society.

> The presentation aims to be popular. The ancient and sublime occurrence is to become immediate and present; it is to be a current event which could happen any time, which every listener can imagine and is familiar with...
>
> Erich Auerbach: Mimesis

The writer of Adam uses a great deal of contemporary social terminology in the play. In particular, two groups of terms stand out: those concerned with the working of the feudal system; and those concerned with the practice of tithing. The latter form a useful starting-point for an examination of the social frame of reference used in the play, because the writer has not only used them to give the play a contemporary social terminology; he has also used the practice of tithing to give a realistic human basis to the conflict between Cain and Abel - a conflict which not even St. Augustine had been able to explain satisfactorily.[1]

In his opening speech to Cain, Abel says,

Si servum Deu que li vienge a plaisir;
Rendom ses droiz, nen soit riens del tenir.
Se de bon cuer le volons obeir
N'averont nos almes poür de peir.

Donum sa disme e tute sa justice
Primices, offrendes, dons, sacrifices;
Si del tenir nos prent a coveitise,
Perdu serroms en enfer, sen devise.1

(Let us so serve God that He take pleasure in it;
Give Him His rights, holding nothing back.
If with a good heart we obey His will,
Our souls will have no fear of perishing.

Let us give Him His tithe, then, and all his just dues:
First-fruits, offerings, gifts, sacrifices;
If covetousness makes us hold anything back,
We shall be lost in Hell, without resource.)

Cain replies that anyone following Abel's advice would soon

have little to give, and that

> Disme doner ne me vient anches a gré! 3
> (To pay tithe was never to my taste!)

There is of course no question of the playwright's misleading the audience into sympathising with Cain, or imagining that there is any real hardship involved in his unwillingness to tithe, for it is made quite clear that he is very well off:

> Abel: Riches hom es, e mult as bestes!
> Cain: Si ai. 4
>
> (A: You are a rich man, and have an abundance of animals!
> C: Yes, I have.)

Yet when Abel asks him once again why, then, he will not offer the just tithe of a tenth of his produce, he answers,

> Or oez furor!
> (line missing from manuscript)
> De dis ne remaindront que nouef! 5
>
> (What madness!
> ....
> From ten, only nine would remain!)

There is a further reference to the tithe in Abel's last few lines, when he makes a final appeal to Cain, pleading innocence of any attempt to put him "in the wrong" with God. All he asked, he says, was that Cain

> A lui rendisez ses raisons,
> Dismes, primices, oblacions. 6
>
> (Render to Him His rights,
> Tithes, first-fruits, oblations.)

One of the significant substructures to the Cain and Abel section of the play, then, is the framework of references to the practice of tithing. It is referred to four

times by the normal vernacular term - disme, or dime. Cain's line quoted above - "de dis ne remaindront que noef!" - confirms what we should expect: that the tithe referred to is the standard one-tenth which had been customary since early Biblical days, and was probably the most important kind of tax in medieval Europe.[7]

The tithe was in fact a kind of tax required to be paid by man to God, and consisting of a tenth part of one's produce. The first mention of the tithe in the Bible is not, however, in the story of Cain and Abel, but in Leviticus (27: 30-32), when God explains to Moses that "all tithes of the land, whether of corn or of the fruits of the trees, are the Lord's, and are sanctified to Him ...of all the tithes of oxen, and sheep, and goats, that pass under the shepherd's rod, every tenth that cometh shall be sanctified to the Lord." The Bible is not very clear in stating to whom, in practical terms, these tithes are to be rendered, and a great deal of time and energy was expended by exegetes throughout the Middle Ages in arguing this point. But one thing is quite clear: during the medieval period it was firmly held that all men, "whatever their position in the Church, had to pay tithes. Like prayer, charity, and the Ten Commandments, it was a personal religious obligation from which there could be no exceptions."[8]

Prior to the Gregorian reforms of the eleventh century, there had been a steadily increasing appropriation of the tithe revenues by feudal lords who had come into a position of virtual "ownership" of many churches, and who demanded, as well as the right to elect the priest, the right to a portion of the church's revenues as well.[9] The papal reforms, however, restored a great deal of this misdirected revenue to its original position as a spiritual offering.[10] Again, after the end of the twelfth century, "tithes tended to lose their character as a distinctively ecclesiastical revenue and to become a form of property held by both laymen and ecclesiastics."[11] During the

twelfth century itself, however, we may be fairly certain that when it is mentioned in a context such as that of Adam, it refers to an ecclesiastical obligation.[12]

This last argument is born out by the interesting fact that, whereas in the Adam and Eve section of the play God is more often than not referred to as Seigneur, rather than Deu or Deus, in the Cain and Abel section God is never referred to as Seigneur, but always as Deu or Deus. Seigneur is, of course a feudal term, but the church itself was inextricably involved in the feudal system as a temporal working-structure. The term seigneur could therefore as easily have been applied to a ruler of the church, as to a secular feudal lord. If the Adam playwright had used it in the Cain and Abel section of the play, however, the ambiguity of the secular lord/ecclesiastical lord connotations might have blurred the issue of whom the tithes were really due to - a point of conflict between Church and State, as we have just seen. The full use of feudal terminology in Adam will be discussed shortly. For the moment it should simply be noted that this apparently minor difference in terminology between the Adam and Eve, and Cain and Abel sections of Adam seems to offer evidence that the playwright was consciously stating the Cain and Abel conflict in terms of contemporary social issues.

A second argument for the playwright's use of such contemporary social issues, is that he has rendered the entire Cain and Abel conflict in terms of the very specific issue of tithing. As was previously noted, the idea of the tithe is not mentioned in the Bible before the Laws of Moses. Although Cain and Abel make a sacrifice to God the Bible does not state that this is a tithe. The playwright has therefore not taken from the Bible the idea of using the tithe in his dramatisation. Neither, it would appear, did the idea from contemporary theological exegesis of the story. The Glossa Ordinaria commentary on the Cain

and Abel story makes on interpretative reference to later Biblical passages concerning the practice of tithing. The relevant passage simply reads as follows:

> Quia justus in omnibus quae agit per fidem et charitatem ...Deo placere contendit, quod significatur in adipibus oblatis; unde psal.LXlll: "Sicut adipe et pinguedine repleatur anima mea'. Sine charitate macilenta est anima et languida et in nullo Deo placitura. 13
>
> (Because the man who is just in all, who acts by faith and love, strives to please God, which is signified by the offering of fat; whence Psalm 63: My soul shall be satisfied with fatness and marrow. Without love, the soul is barren and languid, and pleases God not at all.)

According to the Glossa, Cain's fault seems to lie in the fact that he has offered his sacrifice without love. Like his soul, therefore, his gift is weak and barren, and does not please God. It is thus implied that when God seems somewhat arbitrarily to reject Cain's sacrifice, it is in fact because Cain's motives in offering were not the right ones. In the Biblical account, when God appears to Cain after the sacrifice, He asks him

> Why art thou angry? And why is thy countenance fallen? If thou do well, shalt thou not receive? But if ill, shall not sin forthwith be present at the door? But the lust thereof shall be under thee, and thou shalt have dominion over it. 14

Throughout the Biblical account, then, there is no mention of the tithe. Nor does the tithe idea find mention in the contemporary Biblical gloss of the story. There seems reasonable justification for assuming that the playwright included it as a fundamental part of his dramatic structure as a reference to a contemporary social custom which was an important part of the responsibility fallen man should take on in directing his life in the temporal world he inhabited. Abel, indeed, seems to make this quite explicit in his opening speech, where the lines regarding tithes, first-

fruits, and so on, which were quoted at the beginning of this chapter, are preceded by this stanza:

> Seum tot tens subject al criator:
> Ensi servum que conquerrons s'amor,
> Que nos parenz perdirent par folor.
> Entre nos dous si soit bien ferm amor! 15
>
> (Let us be subject to our Creator at all times:
> So serve Him that we may gain His love -
> The love which our parents lost so foolishly.
> Between us two let there be true, strong love.)

There is another feature of the playwright's treatment of the story which may reasonably be interpreted as an adaptation made in the interests of approaching the twelfth-century audience in terms of a temporal reality. This is the omission of the appearance of God to Cain, which occurs in the passage from Genesis quoted above. It is at first sight an odd omission, because in his dramatisation of the Adam and Eve story, the playwright has included every one of God's appearances mentioned in the Genesis account. There appear to be two plausible explanations for the omission, and they are by no means mutually exclusive.

The first concerns a possible literary source of ideas for the Cain and Abel story as it is presented in Adam. In my introduction I referred to the possibility that some of the iconographic features of the Adam version of the Fall were derived from an English tradition.[16] More specifically, they seem to derive from either the account of the Fall in the Anglo-Saxon Biblical paraphrase of Genesis known as Genesis 'B', or the narrative source for this version in an older Saxon Biblical paraphrase, now lost. R.Woolf has demonstrated the relationship between the Adam and Eve section of Adam, and Genesis 'B', and her arguments are convincing. There appears to be further confirmation of the validity of these arguments, indeed, in the Cain and Abel section of the play, for in the older part of the Anglo-Saxon Genesis, known as Genesis 'A', which continues

the Adam and Eve story after the Fall, and includes the story of Cain and Abel, the appearance of God to Cain after the sacrifice is also omitted. Taken on its own, this omission would hardly be enough evidence on which to argue the case that the Anglo-Saxon Genesis is a source for the Adam version of the Cain and Abel story. Taken in conjunction with the evidence for the relationship between the Adam and Eve story in both works, however, there seems good reason for believing that the Anglo-Saxon Genesis, or its source, furnished for the playwright many of the details included in both sections of the play, and particularly in this case the removal of God's first appearance in the Cain and Abel story.[17]

The second possible explanation is not concerned with a precise source, but with the treatment the playwright has given it. The Anglo-Saxon Genesis account of Cain and Abel, like the standard Biblical account, is very short, and gives no impression of the characters of Cain and Abel. The Adam playwright's treatment of the story, however, develops it far beyond either the account in the Bible, or in the Biblical paraphrases. Just as in his treatment of the Adam and Eve story, he attempts to give the events of the Cain and Abel story a convincingly human basis by clearly delineating the character and behaviour of each. This development has not been given nearly as much critical attention or praise as his handling of the Adam and Eve section of the play, for obvious reasons. It is briefer, much less complex, and the subject matter is perhaps intrinsically less interesting than that of the Adam and Eve story. The First Murder may be a "grant felonie", but it does not offer the same imaginative scope that a psychological exploration of the Temptation and Fall of Man immediately presents. Yet in one sense at least it does offer the dramatist a somewhat greater chance for giving his presentation an intrinsic "reality" than is offered by the Adam

and Eve story. For a murder is perhaps rather easier to envisage from a psychological viewpoint than is the first temptation to sin. At any rate, it is clear that in the Cain and Abel story too, the playwright has been at pains to make his play more immediate and "real" to his audience than does the account in his source.

The omission of the appearance of God to Cain after the brothers have made their offerings is one of the means he has used to achieve this end. W.Calin suggests that he makes the change to the Genesis account because to have included it would have caused God's second speech, or the murder itself, to seem anti-climactic.[18] This is true, and emphasizes the playwright's control of dramatic structure; but it is surely more important to see that the omission helps put the whole action of the Cain and Abel story on a more human footing. By omitting God's appearance to Cain at this point, the playwright has been able to show the workings of sin in man after the Fall within a purely human context, without divine intervention to blur the psychological build-up to the murder. Here the divine intervention only occurs after the murder has actually been committed.

The Latin stage directions stress this aspect of the dramatic treatment of the story, making it quite clear that Cain should not be played simply as a stock villain, or as a type of the incarnation of Satan that he often is in later plays. His first speech makes it clear that the is a headstrong, choleric personality, prone to sin; but the stage directions indicate that the last few lines of this speech should be delivered in a milder tone. We are not told why this should be so, and since there are no stage directions to the effect that Cain is dissimulating when he says

> De nus Nature nus enseigne,
> Entre nos dous n'ait nul que se feigne.
> Qui entre nus commencera la guerre
> Tres bien l'achat, ke droiz est qu'il s'en pleigne! 19

(Nature teaches us to love each other;
Let neither of us then feign anything to the other.
Whichever of us begins to brew-up strife
Will pay dearly for it, for it is right that he
should regret it!)

It seems probable that the playwright intended that Cain should speak the lines sincerely. When he wishes Cain to feign agreement with Abel, or to pretend innocence when he actually has murder in his heart, he makes it quite explicit:

Tunc respondebit Chaym, quasi placuerit ei consilium Abel, dicens:

Bel frere Abel, mult as bien dit ... 20

(Then Cain shall answer, as if Abel's counsel were acceptable to him, saying:

Good brother, you have spoken very well ...)

There is a similar instance after the sacrifice, when Cain has decided to murder Abel:

Tunc veniet Chaym ad Abel, volens educere callide foras, ut occidat, et dicet ei:

Bel frere Abel, issum ça fors! 21

(Then Cain shall come to Abel, wishing craftily to lead him forth, in order to kill him, and he shall say to him:

Good brother Abel, let us go forth!)

There are no stage directions of this kind before Cain speaks the lines quoted above regarding the possibility of one or other of the brothers starting a conflict between them; and the direction which follows merely states

Iterum alloquatur Abel fratrum suum Chaym; quo micius solito responderit, dicet Abel: 22

Chaim, bel frere, entent a moi!

(Let Abel again address his brother Cain; since Cain has answered him more mildly than usual, he shall say:

Good brother Cain, listen to me!)

Now, if we are right in assuming that the lines quoted in (19) above, are sincerely spoken by Cain, then his anger at the rejection of his sacrifice a little later, is given an added human credibility. At that point he feels that Abel has somehow "put him in the wrong" with God, their mutual Lord, and has therefore begun "la guerre" between them. The credibility of this situation in human terms would have been destroyed - or at the very least, considerably eroded - had the playwright given God his customary speech to Cain after the sacrifice.

There is, of course, hardly any possibility that the Adam playwright was only familiar with the Anglo-Saxon Genesis paraphrase, and not with the standard version of Genesis. We are therefore left with the probability that he began with the intention of portraying the Cain and Abel story in a manner which would seem 'real' in contemporary human terms; that he was familiar with the way the Adam and Eve, and Cain and Abel stories were presented in the Anglo-Saxon Genesis; and that the latter suggested to him details of form which would help his purpose of creating believable human situations in writing his play. In the case of the Adam and Eve story, the portion of the Anglo-Saxon Genesis known as Genesis 'B' may also have suggested to him actual details of situation and behaviour which already showed a development towards a limited psychological "realism". As R. Woolf has pointed out,

> From the literary point of view the important point of comparison between the two works is that both authors are alike in their concern, not with the theological implications of the Fall, but with the manner in which this almost unimaginable event might have taken place, a problem of course peculiar to the writer of literature. 23

In the case of the Cain and Abel story, there is no such comparison to be made of the two versions. Genesis 'A', which contains the story of the murder, shows no comparable development. Adam, on the other hand, clearly does. Just as in the Adam and Eve section of the play, so too here "the presentation aims to be popular ...it is to be a current event which could happen any time, which every listener can imagine and is familiar with."[24]

We may reasonably argue, then, that in writing his dramatic version of the Cain and Abel story the playwright followed the approach he had established in adapting the Adam and Eve story. He began by organizing his material to appeal to the understanding of his contemporary audience, rather than to their faith alone, and he did so by making situations and characters as humanly believable as possible within the terms of the subject matter he was dealing with. To say this is not to deny the importance of any of the other, more conservative elements which have been discussed: the liturgical framework; the effect of the passages of Latin chant; the formalizing effect of the reading from Genesis which opens the play; or the lectio structure remaining in the Prophet section. It is simply to point out that these are not where the real interests of the playwright lie, and that despite the traditional elements Adam is one of the most striking early products of a new age in which a new task was being attempted: "the task," in E.Panofsky's words, "of writing a permanent peace treaty between faith and reason."[25]

In the next chapter there will be an examination of the part played by St.Anselm of Canterbury in the making of the new age. It is worth pointing out here, however, that although Anselm's own distrust of the senses was profound, he seems paradoxically to have been one of the crucial figures in the writing of this "peace treaty between faith and reason." By his radical approaches to theological

thought he set in motion processes which in time were forced to make use of the senses he distrusted, as a means to faith. Panofsky again shows the logic of this succinctly, when he points out that "a mentality which deemed it necessary to make faith 'clearer' by an appeal to reason and to make reason 'clearer' by an appeal to imagination, also felt bound to make imagination 'clearer' by an appeal to the senses."[26] The extent of this appeal to the senses in Adam has been pointed out in Chapter 2, and will be referred to again in subsequent parts of this study. It is quite clearly an important element in the playwright's approach to the understanding of his audience through the use of things known to their experience from the real, temporal world of their everyday existence.[27]

Finally in this chapter we must turn to the second framework of reference to contemporary social patterns referred to earlier. One of the most striking features of the vernacular terminology used in the play is the large number of words drawn from the vocabulary of feudalism, and used to indicate to the audience the social relationships existing between the various characters. This is, of course, not an exclusively secular framework, since the Church during the twelfth century was increasingly embroiled in the workings of the feudal system in a struggle to assert its temporal as well as spiritual power. The main impact of the "feudal structure" of the play, however, must have been to give it, in its own day, a strongly temporal thrust quite unlike the effect of its liturgical predecessors.

One or two scholars have briefly noted the feudal terms which abound in the play. K.Urwin remarks that "the attitude of Adam to God, God to Adam, Adam to Eve, Abel to Cain, is essentially feudal. The prophets, too, tend to view Christ as a great feudal lord who will deliver them from an oppressor."[28] W.Calin goes a little further, and

indicates briefly the manner in which this feudal relationship is shattered when Cain murders Abel, noting finally that "the apocalyptic world of the Bible is placed in a medieval framework viewed, as it were, through a feudal prism."[29] An analysis of the way in which feudal terminology is used in Adam, and a comparison of this with usage in secular literature of the period, as well as with usage in society at large, will give some idea of the extent and significance of the feudal framework of the play.

The term seigneur is perhaps the most common of all the feudal terms used in Adam, occurring almost a dozen times. Significantly, the great majority of these occur in the Adam and Eve section of the play, in which the Devil's role is basically to subvert the true seigneurial or feudal order. It was noted earlier that the term seigneur is not used in the Cain and Abel section of the play, and it was suggested that the reason for this was that, since the playwright had made tithing the subject of conflict between the brothers, he consciously used Deus instead of seigneur throughout the section, in order that there should be no misunderstanding of his point: that the tithes were due to God and His Church, and to no other feudal ruler. Apart from this distinction the feudal terminology of the Cain and Abel section sets it in the same strongly feudal framework as the rest of the play.

At the beginning of Adam, God joins Adam and Eve in a marriage which seems consciously to demonstrate the perfect seigneurial order:

> Ce est ta femme e tun pareil:
> Tu le devez estre ben fiël.
> Tu aime lui, e ele aime tei,
> Si serez ben ambedui de moi. 30
>
> (This is your wife and your equal:
> You must be truly faithful to her.

You should love her, and she love you,
So shall you both be good before me.)

God then speaks of himself specifically as their feudal lord:

Moi aime e honor ton creator,
E moi reconuis a seignor. 31

(Love me and honour me as your creator,
And know me as your seigneur.)

Eve's reply to this is a model of feudal submission:

Jol frai, sire, a ton plaisir:
Ja n'en voldrai de rien issir!
Toi conustrai a seignor,
Lui a paraille e a forzor.
Jo lui serrai tot tens feël
De moi avra bon conseil.
Le ton plaisir, le ton servise
Frai, sire, en tote guise. 32

(So shall I do, Lord, at your pleasure:
I shall never wish to go from it in anything.
I will know you as my seigneur,
Him (Adam) as my partner and master.
I shall always be faithful to him,
And from me he will have good counsel.
Your pleasure, and your service,
Lord, I shall perform in every way.)

Shortly after this, God gives Adam _seigneurie_ over all the earth, and thus completes the chain of feudal authority:

De tote terre avez la seignorie,
D'oiselz, des bestes e altre manantie.
A petit vus soit qui vus porte envie,
Car tot li mond vus iert encline. 33

(Over all the earth have the seigneurie,
Over birds, beasts, and other wealth.
Of little account is he who envies you,
For over all the world you shall hold sway.)

Finally, Adam states in feudal terms what would be the results of his action should he ever defy his _seigneur_

and break the feudal code:

> Jugiez doit estre a loi de traitor
> Que se parjure e traïst son seignor. 34

> (He should be judged a traitor,
> Who forswears himself and betrays his seigneur.)

These lines conclude the first segment of the action of the play, in which, as it were, the perfect feudal hierarchy is set up.

When Satan appears, after God has gone back into the Church, his traditional temptation of Adam and Eve is stated in terms of an attempt to make man defy his feudal lord:

> Escut, Adam, entent a moi:
> Je te conseillerai en fei
> Que porras estre senz seignor,
> E seras per del creatur! 35

> (Listen, Adam, attend to me:
> I will counsel you faithfully
> How you can be without seigneur,
> And be the equal of the Creator!)

Adam resists him with strong words:

> Tu me voels livrer a torment;
> Mesler me vols o mun seignor ...
>
> Tu es traïtres, e sanz foi! 36

> (You want to deliver me to torment,
> You want to embroil me with my seigneur ...
>
> You are a traitor, and faithless!)

There is a firm indication of the playwright's insistence that his audience be made fully aware of the significance of what Satan is proposing, in contemporary social terms. Whereas Satan tells Adam that he will share power with <u>God</u> –

> Tu regneras en majeste.
> Od Deu poez partir poeste! 37

(You will reign in majesty,
Sharing power with God himself!)

Adam replies that Satan is trying to wrong him before his feudal lord - "seignor". This is perhaps the playwright's statement about the way temptation works in the everyday world. He has shown man's (Adam and Eve's) relationship to God, and the responsibilities implied in that relationship, by the contemporary social analogy of the feudal relationship, the "outer fiction" standing for the "inner reality" of the God-man relationship. In the manner in which Satan moves from talking to Adam about his <u>seignor</u>, to talking to him about <u>Deu</u>, we have perhaps an indication of the way the playwright sees temptation operating in the everyday world: the Devil is successful in tempting man to sin by making him forgetful of his true place in the scheme of things, and of his true responsibilities within that scheme. It is significant that precisely the same pattern as has been noted above occurs in Satan's temptation of Eve. First, in describing the forbidden fruit to her, he says

En celui est grace de vie,
De poëste e de seignorie,
De tut saver, bien e mal! 38

(In this (fruit) is the grace of life,
Of power and of seigneurie,
Of all knowledge, both good and evil!)

After this he moves on to the same further stage which he had unsuccessfully attempted with Adam:

O Deus serrez, sans faillance,
De egal bonté, de egal puissance.
Guste del fruit! 39

(You shall be as God, without fail,
Of equal goodness, equal power,
Taste the fruit!)

He thus moves from <u>seigneur</u> to <u>Deu</u>, just as he had with Adam.

But Eve, forgetful of her feudal obligations, does not mention her seigneur at all in replying to Satan, and eventually, despite Adam's warnings, she eats the apple. The warnings Adam gives her are reminders that he is still strongly mindful of their feudal bond and responsibilities:

> Ne creire ja le traïtor!
> Il est traïtre! 40
>
> (Never trust that traitor!
> He is a traitor!)

and again:

> Nel laisser mais sor toi,
> Car il est mult de pute foi!
> Il volst traïr ja son seignor. 41
>
> (Never let him come near you,
> For he is full of treachery!
> He wished to betray his seigneur.)

Eve's words when she has bitten the apple are most interesting. She says the flavour is "d'itel nen gusta home." (Such as no man ever tasted.) Now it may be placing somewhat too much weight upon a commonplace word, but it seems possible that the playwright may have intended a very significant double, or even triple-meaning here. For in addition to the word "home" meaning simply "man", in twelfth-century Anglo-Norman and Norman French, it also designated the vassal in the feudal relationship.[42] Thus, although the simple meaning of "d'itel nen gusta home" is just as I have translated it above, "such as no man ever tasted" - that is, using "man" in the normal sense of "human being" - the phrase might also be construed as meaning "such as no vassal ever tasted." This is a rather more loaded phrase in this context.

Furthermore, since a part of Satan's temptation technique in respect of Eve was to imply that she should really be Adam's equal, rather than subject to him as God had made her, and as she had promised to be, a third

Eve may also be saying to Adam: "this is something you, a man, and supposedly my feudal lord, have not done; and it is something which makes me, a woman, equal to you at last."

Erich Auerbach explains the final scene of the Temptation, where Eve persuades Adam to eat the apple, and Adam agrees finally with the words

> Jo t'en crerra. Tu es ma per, 43
>
> (I will believe you. You are my equal,)

by saying that "actually no one but she could succeed here (with the Devil's help), for only she is connected with Adam in so special a relationship that her actions affect him spontaneously and deeply. She is sa per, the Devil is not."[44] It is of course an immensely satisfying moment from a psychological viewpoint, and we have seen that human truth was one of the playwright's techniques for conveying the "message" of the Fall to his audience. These last moments of the Temptation, however, gain a much greater depth of social and psychological meaning when placed within the feudal context. There is a tremendous conflict involved here. God has given Eve to Adam, instructing him to be "ben fiël" to her at all times, and she in turn has promised to be "tot tens feël" to him.[45] Now she has been disobedient to God, and thus broken her part of the feudal compact, Adam is placed in an impossible dilemma. He is torn between "feëlte" to God, his feudal lord, and to Eve as his feudal subject. Eve has eaten the apple in defiance of God's interdiction. If Adam eats the apple he will be breaking his own feudal contract with God; if he does not eat it, he will be breaking his bond with Eve. Moreover, if he does not eat it, he will also lose his wife and only human companion. Adam's decision this has to be made despite the feudal

code which binds him both to his "seignor" and his "mullier", and it represents the taking-on at a deeply felt level of his own personal human responsibility for sin. When the changes in the theological view of the Fall and Redemption during this period are discussed, in the next chapter, the significance of this latter point will become clearer.

It is also possible, as we shall see, that the conflict which is apparent here is a reflection of the political conflict in which Church and State were involved in many parts of Europe in the late eleventh and the twelfth centuries - a conflict involving the question of whether Church or State had ultimate seigneurie in this world. Finally, it is a demonstration of the growing need felt during this period to recognize and take into account the workings and problems of the real world in representing man's behaviour.

To conclude this analysis of the feudal structure of the Adam and Eve section of Adam, it remains to be noted that it is Eve who is accused by God of being guilty of the greater sin. Adam has defied his Lord's command, but Eve has been guilty of felony:

> La pome pris: or sai que fis folie
> Sor ton defens; de co fis folonie.
> Mal en gustai: or sui de toi haië
> Por poi de fruit moi covient perdre la vie. 46
>
> (I took the fruit: I know now that I did foolishly
> Against your command; I did such felony.
> It was an evil thing to taste it: I am now hated by you
> And it is fitting that for a small fruit I lose my life.)

The word "folonie" or "felonie" is used four times during the course of the play, and each time it has the same connotations of a terrible crime against a feudal lord. The use of the term felony will be explained in more

detail below. For the moment, let us look more closely at Eve's last line quoted above, "Por poi de fruit moi covient perdre la vie."

Normally, according to M.Bloch and F.Ganshof,[47] only crimes of blood in defiance of the feudal code were punishable by death. In this case, of course, God has already told Adam and Eve that they will die if they transgress His ordinance. But there is a further factor too, in terms of the views held in feudal society. In the chansons de geste, steeped as they are in both feudal and Christian thought, we find the notion expressed that "a Christian who was disloyal to his lord would lose eternal life."[48] Sister M.Gildea describes this idea, and quotes the following lines from the epic of Girart de Roussillon as an example of its use:

> Faus crestian felun plus d'un iudeu ...
> Per quei trast son seinor et perdet deu. 49
>
> (False Christian, more wicked than a Jew, ...
> By keeping silent betrayed his seigneur, and
> forfeited eternal life.)

Adam and Eve's punishment for the "folonie" of betraying their seigneur thus fits perfectly into the feudal, as well as the theological and historical scheme of things.

But what precisely is the meaning of the term "felonie"? Basically, it seems to mean the failure of one or other party in a feudal contract to fulfil his obligations according to that contract. G.S.Barrow, however, in discussing English feudalism, points out that normally the term seems to have been reserved for the worst crimes. If, for instance, "a vassal were to desert his lord in battle, or plot against him with his enemies, such conduct would be regarded as the blackest treachery, for which the term felonia, felony, was reserved."[50] Adam and Eve have plotted with their Lord's enemies against Him, and so deserve death.

The occasion in Adam when the idea of felony is made clearest by the context is when God accuses Cain of "grant felonie" after the murder of Abel. One of the ways in which the playwright has structured his version of the Cain and Abel story has already been examined. It was shown that the conflict between the brothers is largely built up on the issue of tithing. Other relationships within the play, however, are treated in the same feudal terms as they are in the Adam and Eve section of the play.

Firstly, the relationship between the brothers is seen as a feudal one. There seems to be some scholarly disagreement on the subject of whether or not relationships within a family were actually determined in this way during the feudal period. S.Painter says that "a man's sons and brothers were not thought of as his vassals and a lord's vassals were not ordinarily his blood relations."[51] Bloch, however, says that the feudal bond

> was felt to be so strong that the idea of it dominated all other human ties - even those which were older and which might have appeared more worthy of respect. Thus vassalage came to permeate family relationships. 'In law suits brought by parents against sons or by sons against parents, the parents shall be treated for the purpose of the judgement as if they were the lords and the sons their men, bound to them by the rite of homage.' Such was the decision of the court of the count of Barcelona. 52

The usage of feudal terminology in Adam, to indicate the relationship between Cain and Abel, seems clearly to support Bloch's view of the situation. Cain's action in murdering Abel is stated in feudal terms in order that it may be judged clearly for what it means in contemporary society. W.Calin points out that in contrast to Adam's and Eve's respective betrayals of God as their feudal lord, "the unique quality of Cain's bond to Abel ...is that, whereas in the other ...cases the lord has acted without fault while the vassal has somehow betrayed him, here the situation is reversed."[53]

Cain is the elder brother, and hence the lord - the <u>seigneur</u>. When he asks Abel to go walking in the fields, Abel answers

> Tu es mi frere li ainez:
> Jo ensivrez tes volontez. 54
>
> (You are my brother and my elder:
> I will follow according to your wishes.)

As Abel's feudal lord, therefore, he owes him protection. Ganshof points out that for the lord, as for the vassal, feudal obligations

> included a general duty of keeping faith, as well as certain specific obligations. We need not pause to discuss the duty that the lord should keep faith, for it did not differ in any respect from the fealty due from the vassal. It involved the duty of not acting in any way that would injure the life, honour, or property of the vassal, and at the same time it expressed the sentiment which should dominate and pervade the whole of the lord's conduct towards his vassal. 55

Instead of honouring his feudal obligations towards Abel, however, Cain accuses him unjustly of treason: "Tu es traitres tot provez," (You are a proven traitor), and despite Abel's pleas of innocence, and warnings to Cain of divine retribution, he murders him with these words:

> Ja ne t'avra mestier fiance.
> Jo toi oscirai! Jo toi défi! 56
>
> (Your trust [in me] will never be of use to you.
> I will kill you now. I defy your trust!)

It is extremely difficult to render this passage into modern French, let alone into modern English, because the words "fiance", and "défi" have such specifically feudal meanings. "Fiance" can denote quite literally the oath of fealty or feudal homage, and the term "defiance" normally denotes the breaking of that oath in some way.[57]

Thus the lines quoted above mean in the feudal context of Adam something like:

> I don't give a fig for the fact that you are my sworn vassal, and I your seigneur, and that I have obligations to protect you. I'll kill you! I break our sworn feudal contract!

The terrible nature of what Cain does is emphasized by the terminology God uses when He discovers the crime:

> Mult en fais grant felonie:
> Maleit en serras tot la vie! 58
>
> (Terrible is the felony you have committed:
> You shall be cursed your whole life long!)

The whole process of the Cain and Abel action takes on a very revealing aspect in the light of Ganshof's explanation of the terminology of crimes committed against the feudal bond:

> The failure of one or other party to fulfil his obligations was technically known as "felony". The first sanction would itself be the breach of "faith", the breaking off of friendly relations ...but a more effective sanction could be taken with regard to the fief ...A serious fault on the part of the vassal would involve the confiscation of the fief, a necessary consequence of the breach of faith since the grant of the fief was conditioned by the contract and obligations of vassalage ...Whether or not provoked by either party, the action of "désaveu" had to be carried out by a formal rite known as exfestucatio, the solemn rejection of the festuca (corn stalk). 59

It is perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that God's rejection of the corn-sheaf of Cain, following the latter's effective breaking of the feudal "foi" owed to God (his failure to tithe properly), is a symbolic "ex-festucatio"; and the unjust murder of Abel directly resulting from this first breach of feudal obligations is a "felony" both against Abel (his vassal) and God (his seigneur). As Abel's lord, Cain should have protected him, instead of taking his life unjustly, and as God's vassal he should have

protected Abel, since Abel is also God's vassal, and by murdering him Cain is destroying the "property" of his feudal lord.

Again, as in the Adam and Eve section of the play, the term "felonie" is reserved for the accusation of deepest guilt - in this case, Cain's murder of Abel. He has been guilty of the blackest treachery against one of his lord's household, or "maisnee", and God's accusation of him parallels that of Charlemagne's accusation of Ganelon in the secular vocabulary of the <u>Chanson de Roland</u>:

> Ben le me guarde si cume tel felon!
> De ma maisnee ad faite traisun. 60
>
> (Guard him well for me, as befits such a felon!
> Who to my my household has done such treason.)

More instances could be cited of the use of feudal terminology in <u>Adam</u>. Enough have been pointed out and analysed in this chapter, however, to justify the assertion that feudal ideas form a major structural element in the play. It has also been noted that although the use of the feudal "framework" does not represent an entirely secular thrust, it does represent the first inclusion in medieval religious drama of the actual structure of the temporal world which the Church was recognizing the need to come to terms with in radically new ways.

Thus far we have seen something of what is new and revolutionary about <u>Adam</u>, and what the differences are between this play and the liturgical plays of the twelfth century. It has been shown that in the cause of "didacticism, the playwright adopts a number of new methods of approaching his audience. He stages his play outside the church building. He uses the vernacular language so that his words may be understood by all. He invests his characters with a considerable degree of "humanization", and

meaningful psychological situations in which the human conflicts implicit in the Bible stories can be worked out. He asks for highly realistic details of setting and properties in some instances, and makes an obvious appeal to the senses of his audience. Finally, he presents the Biblical stories as if they were occurring within the social structure of twelfth-century Norman England. The question which must now be asked is: why is this play the product of this particular point in European history, and what were the forces, the needs, the new attitudes to the world, which brought Adam into being in England in the twelfth century?

Footnotes to 4.

[1]The problem is discussed in The City of God, 15:7.

[2]Adam, ll.599-606.

[3]Adam, l.615.

[4]Adam, ll.655-6.

[5]Adam, ll.661-3.

[6]Adam, ll.711-2.

[7]Giles Constable, Monastic Tithes from their Origins to the Twelfth Century, (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1964), p.2.

[8]Ibid., p.15

[9]Marc Bloch, Feudal Society, trans. L.A.Manyon, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp.251-2.

[10]Constable, op.cit., pp.83-98.

[11]Ibid. p.3.

[12]Bloch, op.cit., p.252.

[13]J.P.Migne, ed., Patrologia Latina,(Paris, 1844-64),113,col.98.

[14]Genesis 4: 6-7.

[15]Adam, ll. 595-8.

[16]Woolf,"Genesis B and the Mystere d'Adam".

[17]Ibid.

[18]William Calin, "Cain and Abel in the Mystere d'Adam", Modern Language Review, 58 (1963) p.172.

[19]Adam, ll.619-622.

[20]Adam, l. 639.

[21]Adam, l.667.

[22]Adam, l.623.

[23]Woolf, "Genesis B and the Mystere d'Adam", pp.197-8.

[24]Auerbach, op.cit., p.151.

[25]Erwin Panofsky, Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism, (New York: Meridian Books, 1957), pp.28-9.

[26]Ibid. p.38.

[27]See chapter 2. of this study, pp.26-29.

[28]K.Urwin,"The Mystere d'Adam: two problems." Modern Language Review, 34 (1939), pp.70-2.

[29]Calin, op.cit., p.175.

[30]Adam, ll. 11-14.

[31]Adam, ll. 29-30.

[32]Adam, ll. 41-48.

[33]Adam, ll. 61-64.

[34]Adam, ll. 111-12.

[35]Adam, ll. 187-90.

[36]Adam, ll. 198-99.

[37]Adam, ll. 193-94.

[38]Adam, ll. 249-51.

[39]Adam, ll. 269-71.

[40]Adam, ll. 280-81.

[41]Adam, ll. 287-89.

[42]K.Urwin, A Short Old French Dictionary, (Oxford:Blackwell, 1963).

[43]Adam, l. 313.

[44]Auerbach, op.cit., p.150.

[45]The terms "feëlté" and "foi" have again two rather different categories of meaning, just as "hom" has. They were used in the general sense of "loyalty" or "fealty", and "faith" or "good faith"; but they also had the specifically feudal meanings of loyalty to the feudal contract

and the feudal lord. According to F.L.Ganshof, the term "feëlté" indicates "faith, but the faith which the vassal owes his lord by right of feudal obligation." F.L.Ganshof, Feudalism, trans. P.Grierson, (London: Longmans, 1952), p.69. The term "foi" designates the oath of fealty. (Ibid., p.68.)

[46] Adam, ll. 469-72.

[47] Bloch, op.cit., p.364; Ganshof, op.cit., pp.89-92.

[48] Sister Marianna Gildea, Expressions of Religious Thought and Feeling in the Chansons de Geste, (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1943), pp. 19-20.

[49] Ibid., p.19.

[50] G.S.Barrow, Feudal Britain, (London: Arnold, 1956), p.44.

[51] Sidney Painter, "The Family and the Feudal System in Twelfth-Century England," Speculum, 35, No.1 (1960), p.1.

[52] Bloch, op.cit., pp.232-33.

[53] Calin, op.cit., p.174.

[54] Adam, ll. 675-76.

[55] Ganshof, op.cit., p.85.

[56] Adam, ll. 720-21. It is worth pointing out, as a useful piece of evidence supporting both the "humanization" and the feudal arguments, that Cain's fury is perhaps partly due to the fact that Abel, his vassal, has offered him advice which he, the lord, objected to, did not take, and now believes to have been part of a plot by Abel to "put him in the wrong" with God.

[57] Ganshof, op.cit., pp.89-92.

[58] Adam, ll. 735-36.

[59] Ganshof, op.cit., p.91.

[60] Joseph Bédier, ed. La Chanson de Roland, (Paris, 1921-270, II.

5. Cur Deus Adam.

> For as it is right for man to make atonement for the sin of man, it is also necessary that he who makes the atonement should be the very being who has sinned, or else one of the same race. Otherwise neither Adam nor his race would make satisfaction for themselves. Therefore, as through Adam and Eve sin was propagated among all men, so none but themselves, or one born of them, ought to make atonement for the sin of men. And, since they cannot, one born of them must fulfil this work.
>
> St. Anselm: Cur Deus Homo.

The first of the forces at work in the creation of the new vernacular drama represented by Adam was a new theological view of the respective roles of Adam and Christ in cosmic history. The roots of this change, as we shall see, go back to at least the end of the tenth century,[1] yet it was not until the end of the eleventh century that they were articulated fully by a major theological thinker. This man was St.Anselm.

Anselm was born in the extreme south of Burgundy, where it marched with Lombardy, but he left his birthplace in the village of Aosta early in life. After three years spent between the Kingdom of France, and Burgundy, he became first a monk and later abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Bec in Normandy. During the last decade of the eleventh century he was called to England as Primate.[2] His influence was profound throughout Europe, but as R.W. Southern points out, he "became in all essentials a man of northern France at the time when this area was first emerging as the pre-eminent force in the life of Europe."[3] It is, then, in northern Europe that we might naturally expect to see the first direct reflection of Anselm's thought in religious culture and literature.

Let us begin by considering the new attitude articulated by Anselm in regard to the Fall of Man and the Passion

of Christ.

Since the time of St.Augustine it had been held by the Western Church that man's free will had become a slave to sin through Adam's transgression of God's law, and that once Adam had voluntarily submitted himself to the Devil, the Devil thereby acquired "legal rights" to man's soul:

> This voluntary submission established a certain order and justice in the Devil's empire, not to be broken by an arbitrary exercise of God's omnipotence. If God seized Man by force from the Devil's rule, this would be a breach of the order and justice of the universe. Similarly, if the Devil extended his kingdom beyond the range of his voluntary subjects, this too would destroy the order and justice of his empire, breaking down his claim to a just and universal rule over mankind. [4]

Since the tragedy of man consisted precisely in the impossibility of a voluntary return to God's service, the only hope for mankind lay in some kind of breach of these "rules" by the Devil himself. Christ's sacrifice became in these terms a rather clever piece of strategy on God's part. His human body was to all intents and purposes a disguise for His divinity. The Devil was deceived by this human appearance, assumed Christ partook of the original sin of Adam, claimed Him as his own, and subjected Him to death. But, as Southern explains, "in subjecting the sinless Man Christ to his empire of Death, the Devil overstepped the bounds of the rule and forfeited his claim to justice. In this way the breach by which man could escape was made, and this was the justification for the Incarnation."[5] God was now "legally" within His rights in henceforward saving men's souls.[6]

In this explanation of the Fall and the Passion, there was obviously no necessity for a prolonged dwelling upon the sufferings of Christ on the Cross. The supreme sacrifice was only technically conceived in human terms, since the whole point of the "legal" argument put forward

by St.Augustine was that the Devil was unlawfully attempting to "kill" God. It was largely for this reason that Christian art from the fifth to the late tenth centuries normally showed a Crucifixion in which Christ was a triumphant, obviously un-suffering figure. There were exceptions: the Syrian Gospels of Rabbula, written in eastern Syria in 586 are a prominent early example.[7] But in general the proposition holds true: Christ was shown alive on the Cross with His eyes open and His body standing erect and strong.[8]

From the late tenth century onwards, however, a new type of figure began to appear on the Cross. Early examples may be seen in the Crucifixion carved for Archbishop Gero of Cologne about the year 980, and the siver crucifix made for Archbishop Bernward of Hildesheim about 1007-08.[9] J.Beckwith describes the new features of the figures in these words:

> The approach to the nude figure of Christ shows the most skilful handling of the planes of the torso, the undulating curves of pectoral and stomach muscles, the feeling of weight in the head fallen over the shoulder. The face of the dead Christ is carved with the utmost poignancy and yet without a flicker of sentiment. It is a reminder that the theme of tenderness and compassion for the suffering and helplessness of the Saviour of the world dates from this time and was developed throughout the eleventh century, to be voiced in the earliest writings of Anselm of Bec, later Archbishop of Canterbury. 10

M.Rickert points out the same approach appearing in late Anglo-Saxon art in the same period, taking as perhaps the finest example the Crucifixion from a psalter (Brit. Mus.Harl.MS.2904, fol.3 verso), probably made at Ramsey Abbey between 974 and 986:

> The Virgin's head is bowed and half-concealed in the mantle which she clutches convulsively with clenched hands; John stands with eagerly upturned face, holding with outstretched arm the scroll on which he has

> written his testimony, "This is the disciple who bears witness"; and between and above the two towers the cross bearing the powerfully proportioned figure of the dead Christ with drooping head and slightly sagging body - a God in human form. Truly nothing finer of its kind had yet been produced on the Continent or in England; it is the English artist's clear pronouncement as to the Romanesque art which is to come. [11]

Obviously new feelings of this kind were being expressed a good deal in advance of Anselm; late tenth century art was already demonstrating emotional needs which were only later to be given theological justification. But this art was emerging from the northern monastic stream which Anselm entered, and to which he was the heir, and it is, as Southern points out, "a striking thing that the intellectual shortcomings of ... the picture of man's salvation ...became clear at the moment when the heroic view of human life being lived between the mighty opposites of external powers was dissolving before a new romanticism, and when an intense commiseration for the sufferings of the Son of God was becoming a central fact in the religious experience of the times."[12]

From as early as the late tenth century, therefore, but more particularly from the late eleventh century, when St.Anselm had begun to articulate fully the new theology, this suffering type of Crucifixion became the standard one, and corresponded with the new view of the nature of Christ's Passion. In Cur Deus Homo, St. Anselm argued that the Augustinian view of the Fall had no justification, and that where Augustine had seen the main consequence of Adam's sin as the enslavement of Man to the Devil, he himself saw it as the loss of Man's righteousness before God. From dismissing Augustine's "legal" arguments for the Devil's rights over Man,

Anselm went on to argue the nature of the Redemption in new terms. He argued that since Man had sinned, Man must atone for that sin, but since the existing race of Adam was incapable of making the full atonement, it must be made by a new Man. This would have to be either a new creation, or an angel become Man, or God become Man. He attempted to prove that the third of these alternatives was the one which was logically necessary.

Before attempting to show how the theology of Anselm, and the effects it had on eleventh and twelfth-century thought, may have had a good deal to do with the appearance of Adam, there are some further observations to be made in respect of the circumstances surrounding the writing of Cur Deus Homo, which will eventually help in establishing links between Anselmian influence and the play. Southern remarks that

> there is one ...source of inspiration which cannot be ignored in our approach to the Cur Deus Homo: the Jews. They were the only learned, the only uncompromising opponents of the whole idea of the Incarnation within the range of Anselm's experience ...In the Proslogion the unbeliever was probably imaginary; but not in the Cur Deus Homo. He was to be seen everywhere in the Jews already familiar in Normandy, and rapidly becoming familiar in England also ...In the course of time Christian apologists became too confident to feel any apprehension about Jewish criticisms. But this was certainly not so at the end of the eleventh century. The questions which were being asked within the fold were not unlike some of the hostile questions from without: each gave an edge to the other. 13

At about the same time that Anselm came to England as Archbishop of Canterbury, his friend Gilbert Crispin, Bishop of London, was attempting to answer criticisms of the doctrine of the Incarnation and Redemption couched in very similar terms to those which have been cited above as a background to the writing of the Cur Deus Homo.[14] There

seems on the whole to be very good evidence for regarding the Jews as a strong factor both in the appearance of Anselm's work, and the manner in which some of his arguments are framed. The significance of this to the genesis of the Anglo-Norman drama will become more apparent when we re-examine the construction of Adam.

In view of what has been said in the last few pages, it seems quite a striking coincidence that, within a few years of the writing of Cur Deus Homo, and the general acceptance of the human aspects of the Fall and Redemption proposed in it by Anselm, a play appeared in England on the subject of the Fall of Man and the means of his Redemption - a subject of which the first part had never previously been dramatized by the Church, as far as we know. It seems an equally striking coincidence that the man most deeply concerned in formulating the new theological views spent most of his life in Normandy, and the latter part of it as Primate of England. Thirdly, it is notable that the play of Adam should display as clear an "answer" to Jewish criticisms of the the new doctrines of the Incarnation and Redemption as it does, in view of Anselm's own concern in making these answers.

On their own, of course, none of these facts are of more than general significance. They are thought-provoking parallels to the appearance of Adam, but cannot in any way be adduced as evidence that the pressure of Anselm's views, or the fact that he happened to be the most influential churchman in England, had any direct bearing on the writing of Adam. Moreover, we should bear in mind that although Anselm was head of the secular church in England from 1093 to the end of his life, and although he is regarded as the father of the scholastic, dialectical approach to theology, yet in spirit and inclination he was a part of the old monastic order rather than of the new secular schools of thought. His use of the dialectical method appears to link him firmly with the outlook of the cathedral schools,

yet his statement of the place of reason in the scheme of things must be recalled: "Credo ut intelligam" -"I believe in order that I may understand." He was, in a sense, one of the causes of the twelfth century revolution in outlook, without being a part of it. We do not know his own views on theatrical representations, but as K.Clark remarks, he maintained that things were harmful in proportion to the number of senses they delighted, "and therefore rated it dangerous to sit in a garden where there are roses to satisfy the senses of sight and smell, and songs and stories to please the ears."[15] One can hardly imagine that this austere man would have approved a play such as Adam, whose manifest appeal to the audience through their senses has been clearly demonstrated.

It is Anselm's thought, however, and not his personal predispositions towards the living of earthly life, which concerns us here. For there is a good deal in Adam to suggest that the reason it departed so decisively from liturgical form and function as well as subject matter, was largely the pressure of the new ideas about the significance of the Fall, the Incarnation, and the Redemption, which were first fully articulated by Anselm in a theologically acceptable form. Perhaps the reason they were accepted so readily in an age which was so nervous of heresy, was a combination of his own impeccable reputation as a churchman and scholar, and the fact that he was, as Southern points out, expressing thoughts and feelings which had already become a part of everyday popular and religious experience.

As we have seen, there is nothing in liturgical drama with which the Temptation and Fall, or the murder of Abel, as these are treated in Adam, may be compared. These scenes never took on a dramatized form in the

liturgical repertoire. In this fact alone we surely have some interesting evidence for the change in theology as a significant factor in the emergence of a play on the subject of the Fall. Perhaps the reason that this, and many other Old Testament plays were never previously dramatized was precisely because a drama which must inevitably have presented man as a "helpless spectator in a cosmic struggle which determined his chances of salvation,"[16] would have had no conceivable reason for being presented to an assembled church audience - monastic or otherwise.

We may note, moreover, that the emphasis throughout the temptation of Adam and Eve by the devil in Adam, seems to be upon man's acquiescence in the Devil's scheme as very much a "loss of righteousness" - to use Southern's terminology - rather than as the Augustinian enslavement to sin. We may also note that Adam's realization of the consequences of his act stresses this point, and emphasizes that it is now only the "filz que istra de Marie" who can help man:

N'en serrai trait por home né,
Si Deu nen est de majesté.
Que di jo,las? Por quoi le nomai?
Il me aidera? Coroçe l'ai.
Ne me ferat ja nul aïe,
For le filz que istra de Marie.
Ne sai de nus prendre conroi,
Quant a Deu ne portames foi.
Or en soit tot a Deu plaisir:
N'i ad conseil que del morir. 17

(I shall not be drawn from it by any man born,
If not the God of majesty.
Alas, what did I say? Why did I name Him?
Will He aid me? I have angered Him.
No one shall ever bring me help,
Except the son who will be born of Mary.
I do not know whence to ask for aid,
Since we broke our feudal oath to God.
His will be done:
Nothing is left for me but death.)

The ideas displayed in this speech of Adam, and in the words of Eve which close the first section of the play, demonstrate the Augustinian view of time. The words Adam chooses to tell of the help he knows God will eventually extend to him and to all mankind are interesting, however, in that they clearly emphasize the human form the help must take: Adam rejects the idea that the God who "est de majeste" will help: "Il me aidera? Coroçe l'ai," and turns to the idea of the "salvator" Christ: "Ne me ferat ja nul aïe/ For le filz que istra de Marie." God cannot help as God, nor should He, for if He did man could not properly atone for his own sin. Only in the human form of the "filz que istra de Marie" can redemption be made. Now in view of what has been said earlier in this chapter, this is a point of some significance in clearly showing a departure from the Augustinian interpretation of the Incarnation and Redemption, and a re-interpretation along the lines suggested by Anselmian theology.

It also seems likely that the extraordinary psychological "realism" with which the temptation scene is a result of this same emphasis on the human relationship of Adam to the "salvator", Christ. Auerbach has given us a profoundly perceptive analysis of the psychological depth of the playwright's observation and dramatic construction in this particular episode, as we have noted earlier, and stresses that the whole point of this was to make the "ancient and sublime occurrence ...immediate and present ...Adam talks in a manner any member of the audience is accustomed to from his own or his neighbour's house; things would go exactly the same way in any townsman's home or on any farm where an upright but not very brilliant husband was tempted into a foolish act by his vain and ambitious wife who had been deceived by an unscrupulous swindler."[18] In the emphasis which is placed upon the human

aspects of the Temptation by the Adam playwright, we may see both a preparation for the statements of the Prophets regarding the human form of the sacrifice which will be necessary to redeem Adam and Eve, and an attempt to bring the eternal nature of man's temptation by the Devil closer to the everyday experience of the audience.

There is "realism" of another sort displayed in the Cain and Abel section of the play, as we saw in the last chapter. In our analysis there, it was demonstrated that there was an obvious attempt to make the murder "real" by sensual means. What we must now ask is why the need to do so was felt at this time. As with the Temptation and Fall, so the treatment of the Cain and Abel story must be related to the attempt to humanize and make "immediate" the state of unregenerate man. In the Prophet section of the play there seems to be even more striking evidence for this assertion. We have already examined the Prophet section in certain aspects at considerable length, concluding that it differed in a number of fundamental ways from liturgical plays on the same subject. It had a didactic intention; it addressed the audience in their own vernacular language; and it appealed to the reason and intellect as much as it did to pure faith. Now some further aspects of the Prophet section must be examined, in the light of the new points raised in this chapter.

Firstly, two Prophets appear in Adam who cannot be found in any of the liturgical Prophet plays: Abraham and Solomon.[19] Both are of interest to us in the present investigation, but the figure of Abraham is particularly so. His prophecy is the first of the series which follows upon the delivery of the lectio. He is called out from the "loco secreto" (hidden place) where the actors playing the parts of the Prophets have been assembled.[20] He comes forward and sits on a bench ("scamnum") and after having sat for a short time, begins to give out his prophecy

"alta voce" (in a loud voice). His prophetic lines are taken from Genesis 22: 17-18: "Possidebit semen tuum portas inimicorum tuorum, et in semine (tuo) benedicentur omnes gentes." (Your seed shall possess the gates of your enemies, and in your seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.) This prophecy does not appear in any of the extant liturgical Prophet plays, nor in the section of the lectio from which they derive, although it had been used since early times as a part of the kerygma. (We find the lines conflated with lines from Genesis 12:3 in two passages from the New Testament. They are used as testimonia in Acts 3:25, and in Galatians 3:8.) But in any case, the significance with which Abraham himself invests his prophecy, in the vernacular speech which follows, vastly enlarges his own significance as a figure in the play. The Latin prophecy is itself important in respect of the argument of this chapter, however, and we should consider it first.

In the first part of Anselm's argument regarding the meaning of the Fall, in Cur Deus Homo, a great deal of stress is laid upon the loss of blessedness through Adam's sin. This in itself was not new, but the sequence of Anselm's argument presented it in rather a new light, and this is worth considering fully. Southern sets out the first part of the argument of Cur Deus Homo with admirable clarity which is hard to improve on:

"1. Man was created by God for eternal blessedness.

2. This blessedness requires the perfect and voluntary submission of Man's will to God.

3. But the whole human race is guilty of disobedience.

4. Any deviation of Man's will must either be punished by deprivation of blessedness or rectified by an offering greater than the act of disobedience; there can be no free remission.

5. No member of the human race can offer anything to God beyond his due obedience: there is no human capital with which to redeem the past, not to speak of the present and future.

6. Therefore the whole human race must forfeit the blessedness for which it was created." 21

In the light of this argument, the inclusion of the prophecy of Abraham at the very beginning of the Prophet sequence of Adam begins to take on a considerable significance. The audience has just witnessed the two worst acts of disobedience to God in the course of human history: the eating of the fruit of the Tree, and the first murder of one man by another. It has seen the consequences of those acts in the forfeiture of blessedness by the whole human race. This is particularly stressed in the end sequence of the Adam and Eve section, and in God's words to Cain at the close of the Cain and Abel section. Now there appears to the audience the first of those Old Testament figure famous for their obedience to God under all circumstances, and his promise to that audience is that man shall be redeemed and once more find blessing - but only if, like Abraham, he keeps faith with God and obeys Him absolutely:

Qui en Deu ad bon sperance,
Tienge sa fai e sa creance.
Chi en Deu avra ferme foi,
Deus ert od lui, joli sai par moi. 22

(Who has firm faith in God,
Let him keep his faith and his belief.
Who will preserve his fealty to God,
God will be with him, I know it well.)

He stresses the most famous example of how he himself was utterly obedient to God:

Il me tempta, jo fis son gré;
Bien accompli sa volonté.
Occire volei por lui mon filz:
Mais par lui en fui contrediz.
Jol volei offrir por sacrifise:
Deu le m'a torné a justice. 23

(He tried me, I did His will;
Fully accomplished His will.
My own son I would have slain for Him,
But He forbade it.
I would have offered him in sacrifice;
God turned this act to a just end.)

Abraham is, in effect, explaining to the audience that he has done precisely what Adam, Eve, and Cain, all failed to do. When he says "Il me tempta, jo fis son gre/Bien accompli sa volonté," there is an obvious indication in the playwright's choice of the word "tempta" that the audience were intended to recall at this moment, quite specifically, the "temptation" they had seen a short while before. The playwright intended that they should remember at this moment that Adam and Eve had also been tempted, but had failed to do as Abraham had succeeded in doing - "bien accompli sa volonté". Likewise, in the discussion of the will - "volonté" - they were intended to recall not only the misuse of the free will God had given them, by Adam and Eve, but also the perversion of God's will by Cain:

Disme doner ne me vient anches a gré!
Del toen aver poez faire ta bonté:
E jo del mien frai ma volonté! 24

(To pay tithe was never to my wish!
With your wealth you may be bountiful:
And I with mine shall do my own will!)

The audience would be reminded that the ultimate results of Cain's attitude, reflecting the vices of Pride and Cupidity, culminated in the murder of Abel - an act of direct opposition to God's will, and an act against all justice, like the killing of Christ by the Jews, which other Prophets in this section of <u>Adam</u> talk of. Abraham's attitude, on the other hand, clearly reflecting the virtues of Humility and Charity, culminated in life for his son, and figurally for the whole human race.

His obedience to God's will was turned to justice for himself and Isaac - "Jol volei offrir por sacrifice/ Deu le m'a torné a justice." Similarly the obedience of Christ, the man who would be born of Abraham's "semence", would one day be turned to justice for all men.

The patterns of language in Adam seem to have been inadequately remarked upon. The repetition of key words in typologically parallel situations is a marked feature of the play. The repetition of the words "gré", "volonté", "tempta", etc., in the above passages seems quite clearly to be a conscious attempt by the playwright to demonstrate the typological links between the different episodes. Possibly the lack of attention to this particular aspect of the dramatic structure of the play has been due to the reluctance of most critics in recent years to admit that the playwright had any such "cyclic" intentions as earlier critics attributed to him. Noomen, Jodogne, and Hardison, for example, all reject the view that the play is an early attempt at cycle-building. I shall show in chapter 7, that the cyclic view has, in fact, strong grounds for acceptance. We may note here, however, since the convenient example examined above is to hand, that the verbal patterning used in it, which appears to relate different episodes of the play in terms of a typological structure, is precisely what the cyclic form requires.

It is therefore not unreasonable to see in Abraham's speech a significance of the kind which V.A.Kolve has analysed so thoroughly in respect of the later Corpus Christi cycle-plays. Abraham's Latin prophecy has only to do with the restoration of man to a state of blessedness. Yet in explaining and enlarging upon his prophecy in the manner which we earlier analysed for the prophecy of Habakkuk, he takes into account the full meaning of the way in which that restoration is to be accomplished. Man is to be restored to grace through obedience to God's will:

obedience of a kind exemplified in Abraham's own case by his willingness to sacrifice his son Isaac. The Abraham and Isaac story became one of the best known prefigurations of Christ's sacrifice, in later drama. In view of what has been said here, however, it is clear that such a prefigurative intention was already firmly in the mind of the Adam playwright in the mid-twelfth century. This, in and of itself, is hardly surprising. The idea of the figural method goes back to the early fathers of the Church. What is surprising here is the complexity of the figural scheme, and the manner in which it is related to the audience, or made clear to them in dramatic terms.

More important for our present arguments, however, is the fact that Abraham's obedience is firmly linked in his speech with the promise that Christ will come to redeem man. In other words the whole process of the Incarnation and Redemption is again placed on a very human footing. Abraham's description of his own obedience to God is followed by the promise of Redemption:

> Deu m'a pramis, e bien iert veirs,
> Ancore istra de moi tel eirs
> Chi veintre tot ses enemis,
> Ensi serra fort e poëtifs. 25
>
> (God has promised me, and He will be full true,
> That there shall one day come from me such an heir
> As will conquer all His enemies,
> So strong He will be, and powerful.)

But the most telling phrases are left until last:

> Tel homme istra de ma semence,
> Qui changera nostre sentence,
> Par cui serra li mond salvez.
> Adam serra de peine delivrez,
> Les genz de tote nascion
> Avront par lui beneïçon. 26
>
> (Such a man shall issue from my seed,
> Who will change our sentence;
> By Him the world will be saved.

Adam shall be delivered from sorrow,
The people of all nations
Shall have through Him blessedness.)

It is true that we are brought back to the Latin prophecy by the line "tel homme istra de ma semence," but it is more important to see that we are left with an emphasis on two major things: firstly, that Adam will be saved; secondly, that man will be returned to a state of blessedness. The first of these points I shall return to a little later: it is of obvious importance in the dramatic construction of the play. None of the liturgical Prophet plays mention Adam and Eve as the beneficiaries of Christ's Passion. Yet in Adam, no less than five of the ten Prophets mention Adam by name, and one, David, mentions Eve.

The second point, regarding man's return to a state of blessedness, returns us to our initial enquiries concerning the pressure of Anselmian thought in the genesis of the play. Enough has been said for the moment to indicate that there is a good deal of internal evidence in Adam to substantiate the argument that the play shows clear indications of the influence of the theological changes wrought by St.Anselm in the Church's view of the Fall and Redemption of Man.

One further piece of evidence in support of this argument is available to us in the play, and it concerns the Jewish influence mentioned earlier. It will be noted that the Prophet section of the play concludes with a disputation between Isaiah and "quidem de sinagoga" (a certain one belonging to the synagogue). The latter stands up, it has been suggested, "from a bench set across the portico of the church, to the left of the one reserved for the Prophets."[27] After a short scene of disputation with Isaiah, in which the Jew produces no serious arguments to rebut Isaiah's prophecy, the Jew is finally silenced by Isaiah's second prophecy. This is a significantly enlarged

version of his famous prophecy regarding the birth of Christ to the Virgin. In this case the Latin is as follows: "Ecce virgo concipiet in utero et pariet filium, et vocabitur nomen ejus Emanuehl." (Behold a virgin shall conceive in her womb, and shall bear a child, and shall call his name Emmanuel.)

In the vernacular speech which follows this Latin prophecy, Isaiah again stresses Christ's human lineage and human nature - the point of greatest dispute with the Jews in Anselm's time - and concludes by confirming that Christ would lead Adam out of his "grant dolor", and return Him to Paradise. No such disputation or final speech is found in any of the extant Prophet plays of the liturgical drama. It is of course quite conceivable that such a scene may have formed part of a liturgical Prophet play now lost to us. But if this is open to conjecture, it must be equally open to conjecture that the development of the scene between Isaiah and the Jew was brought into being not only by the way in which such arguments had been dealt with in Cur Deus Homo, but by the practical situation which had made it necessary for Anselm and others to answer the Jewish criticisms in the first place. In other words, the presence of Jews in growing numbers in the urban situation for which Adam was probably written, may also have had a great deal to do with the way in which this subject was treated in the play.

Footnotes to 5.

[1]They are well summarised by Sandro Sticca in "The Literary Genesis of the Latin Passion Play and the Planctus Mariae: a New Christocentric and Marian Theology," The Medieval Drama, ed. Sticca.

[2]R.W.Southern, St.Anselm and his Biographer, (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1963)

[3]Ibid., pp.5-6.

[4]Ibid., p.94.

[5]Ibid.,p. 94.

[6]Actually, those souls which He arbitrarily chose to save. Bertrand Russell points out that "no reason can be given why some are saved and the rest damned; this is due to God's unmotivated choice. Damnation proves God's justice; salvation, His mercy. Both equally display His goodness." History of Western Philosophy, (1946, rpt. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969.) p.362.

[7]David Talbot Rice, Art of the Byzantine Era, (New York: Praeger, 1963), p.37.

[8]John Beckwith, Early Medieval Art, (New York: Praeger, 1964), pp.151-2.

[9]Ibid. pp.151-2.

[10]Ibid. pp.151-2.

[11]Margaret Rickert, Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages, (London: Pelican Books, 1954), p.41.

[12]R.W.Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p.235.

[13]Southern, St Anselm, pp.88-9.

[14]See R.W.Southern,"St. Anselm and Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster", Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 3 (1954), pp.78-115. The following passage from the Disputatio Judaei cum Christiano of Crispin, gives a clear indication of the nature of the Jewish objections to the Incarnation and Redemption doctrine:

"Si Deus est quo nihil maius sive sufficientius cogitari potest, qua necessitate coactus humanae calamitatis particeps et tantorum factus est consors et patiens malorum? Denique si Deus homo factus est quomodo stabit quod ipsa locutus est (cum) et Moysen dixit: NON ENIM VIDEBIT ME HOMO VIVET? Multum repugnare videtur ut Deus homo factus sit, et ab homine vel ab ipse matre sua non potuerit. Absit enim ut circa Deum aliquid fantasticum fuisse dixeris."

Migne, P.L. 159, col. 1018.

[15]Kenneth Clark, Landscape into Art, (1949, rpt. London: Pelican Books, 1956), p. 18.

[16]Southern, Making of the Middle Ages, p.235.

[17]Adam, ll. 377-386.

[18]Auerbach, op.cit., p.150.

[19]It is interesting that the Adam playwright apparently also introduced the figures of Aaron and Balaam into the drama. These Prophets do not appear in the lectio, and they are not included in the Limoges text of the Prophet play - the only liturgical Prophet play to pre-date Adam. They do, however, unlike the figures of Abraham and Solomon, find their way into other Prophet plays of the liturgical drama at a later date.

[20]Adam, p.81.

[21]Southern, St.Anselm, p.92.

[22]Adam, ll. 747-50

[23]Adam, ll. 751-56.

[24]Adam, ll. 615-17.

[25]Adam, ll. 757-60

[26]Adam, ll. 763-68.

[27]Paul Studer, ed., Le Mystère d'Adam.

6."Mater Restitutionis Omnium".

> And that women may not despair of attaining the inheritance of the blessed, because that so dire an evil arose from woman, it is proper that from woman also so great a blessing should arise, that their hopes may be revived. Take also this view. If it was a virgin which brought all evil upon the human race, it is much more appropriate that a virgin should be the occasion of all good. And this also. If woman, whom God made from man alone, was made of a virgin, it is peculiarly fitting for that man also, who shall spring from a woman, to be born of a woman without man.
>
> St. Anselm, Cur Deus Homo.

The mention at the conclusion of the last chapter of the dispute with the Jews concerning the Incarnation, brings us to another facet of Adam, and to yet another probable factor in its genesis. This is the Marian emphasis in the play, and the role which Mariolatry may have had in contributing to its structure. It is difficult, of course, to be sure whether or not the figure of Mary herself may have been involved in later sections of the play. If, as will be argued in the next chapter, the play did not conclude with the Prophet section but extended to the Harrowing of Hell, then it seems highly likely that Mary was actually represented and that God's line to the serpent regarding Eve, "oncore raïz de lui istra/Qui tos tes vertuz confundra," (From her, in time to come, a root shall issue/Which will confound all your enemies), was actually given a dramatic realization.[1]

But whether this was so or not, it cannot be denied that there is a Marian emphasis in the play. When Adam laments his sin, after eating the apple, he says

> Ne me ferat ja nul aïe,
> For le filz que istra de Marie. 2
>
> (No one will ever bring me help,
> Except the son who will come from Mary.)

Throughout the Prophet sequence, the verbal play on "virga", "virgo", "virge", "verge", and so on, is conspicuous. Such a word-play in respect of the Virgin was nothing new, of course, but it was given an uncommonly strong emphasis here which was clearly in line with the teaching function of the play. And Isaiah's prophecies and his argument with the Jew seem a plain attempt to explain fully the importance of the Virgin in the context of the play. Significantly, both Isaiah's familiar prophecies regarding Christ's coming are given, and the second is used, as it were, to explain the first. Isaiah begins by quoting his "Et egredietur de radice Jesse ..." prophecy from Isaiah 11: 1-2, and follows this with a vernacular speech which is simply a paraphrase of the Latin with no additional explanation. The Jew then comes forward and attempts to ridicule his words, but becoming himself ridiculous in the process, since he fails to see the true kernel of meaning hidden in the word "verge":

> Or nus redi ta vision,
> Si ço est verge ou baston ... 3
>
> (Come, tell us once more of your dream,
> If what you saw were shoot, or stick ...)

But Isaiah silences him finally with the second prophecy, making everything quite clear to all in an extended and absolutely explicit exposition of its meaning. The prophecy is the familiar "Ecce virgo concipiet in utero et pariet filium, et vocabitur nomen ejus Emanuehl." (Behold, a virgin shall conceive in her womb and shall bring forth a son, and shall call his name Emmanuel.)(This is based on the Vulgate Isaiah 7: 14, and Matthew 1: 23, though not following either of them precisely.) The vernacular exposition of this leaves nothing to the imaginations of the audience - or the Jew - to misconstrue:

...une virge concevra
E virge un filz emfantera.
Il avra nom Emanuehl,
Message en iert Saint Gabriël.
La pucele iert virge Marie
Si portera le fruit de vie,
Jhesu, le nostre salvaor
Qui Adam trarra de grant dolor
E remetra en parais. 4

(...a virgin shall conceive
And, virgin still, shall bear a son.
He shall have the name Emmanuel,
The herald shall be Saint Gabriel.
The maid shall be the Virgin Mary,
Who shall bear the fruit of life,
Jesus, our Saviour,
Who shall draw Adam from his great sorrow
And set him back in Paradise.)

Again, however, as with Abraham, one suspects a significant choice of words in the playwright's phrasing of Isaiah's vernacular explanation - a word-play which will serve to remind the audience of what has gone before in the play, and what they should be recalling to their minds at this moment. Isaiah's words to the audience about the"fruit of life" which will draw Adam back from Hell must immediately recall that other fruit which won him to the Devil. But the method is even more apparent in the first vernacular prophetic speech, where Isaiah speaks of Jesse:

Jesse verra de sa _raïz_
Verge en _istra_ ...etc. 5

(Jesse shall cause from his root
A shoot to come forth ...)

These words echo God's words to the serpent regarding Eve:

Oncore _raïz_ de lui _istra_
Qui tos tes vertuz confundra ...etc. 6

(In time to come a root shall come forth from her,
Which will confound all your powers...)

And of course just previous to Isaiah's speech, Aaron has also just remarked in very similar terms, that

> Tel verge istra de mon lignage
> Qui a Satan fra damage ...etc. 7
>
> (Such a shoot shall come forth from my line
> That it will do great harm to Satan ...)

The Eve-Mary antithesis seems to be very much at the forefront of the playwright's mind in all of this.

But there is one further Marian reference of great interest, and it is one which to my knowledge has never previously been commented upon. When Satan tempts Eve, one of the delights he holds before her, as a lure to eat the apple, is that she will have the crown of heaven:

> Del ciel averez sempres corone:
> Al creator serrez pareil ... [8]
>
> (At once you will have the Crown of Heaven:
> Be equal with your creator ...)

This is a fascinating reference in view of one of the changes occurring in the treatment of the image of Mary during precisely the period in which the play was written. The cult of the Virgin had been strong in England since the beginning of the eleventh century, when several English monasteries introduced the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, under the influence of Greek monasteries in Italy. They were, indeed, the first in the Latin Church to do so.[9] But the Marian cult reached much greater proportions in the early eleventh century when, after a Norman suppression, the feast was reinstated with full official recognition. Other popular manifestations of Marian worship began to appear, such as the collection of "Miracles of the Virgin" made by a nephew of St.Anselm

who was abbot of Bury St.Edmund's in Suffolk, one of the most powerful monasteries in England.[10] G.Zarnecki points out that "this English episode in the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, which was accompanied by theological disputes and writings, created a suitable atmosphere for advanced iconographical inventions."[11] One of these "inventions" was the Coronation of the Virgin, more usually associated with the tympana of such great French Gothic cathedrals as Senlis, Laon, Notre Dame de Paris, Chartres, and Rheims. The earliest of these French representations of the scene, however, is that at Senlis, of ca. 1170, and this is not a Coronation proper, but one in which the Virgin sits with Christ already crowned. There are no twelfth century French examples extant of the actual crowning of Mary. Zarnecki has shown, however, that English examples of the Coronation of Mary date to as early as ca. 1130-50. A capital from Reading Abbey, ca. 1130, and a tympanum from Quenington, Gloucestershire, of ca. 1150, both show the scene.[12]

The lines in which Satan tempts Eve with the Crown of Heaven in Adam have not, to my knowledge, ever been distinguished from the general temptation to vainglory which he offers her. In the light of the contemporary English iconography which we have discussed here, however, these lines seem to be much more specific in their meaning. Eve is being tempted with the Crown which Mary - the New Eve - will one day receive as Queen of Heaven. The reference may perhaps seem slight; yet there can surely be little doubt that this is what it signifies. Its importance lies in the clear indication it gives of the links of Adam with the theological and popular pressures of rising Mary-worship.

S.Sticca has pointed out the impact of Mariolatry on the drama in Italy, where the earliest known Passion

Play was written, ca. 1150,[13] and Sticca shows that once again St.Anselm was at the centre of the theological movement which gave Mary such importance in the scheme of the Fall, Incarnation, and Redemption, as mediator for man:

> It is Anselm of Canterbury ...who defines the main features of this mediation by pointing out that Mary is the gate of life and the door of salvation for all: *Mater restitutionis omnium*. 14

Footnotes to 6.

[1]*Adam*, ll. 489-90.

[2]*Adam*, ll. 381-82.

[3]*Adam*, ll. 907-08.

[4]*Adam*, ll. 919-27.

[5]*Adam*, ll. 878-79.

[6]*Adam*, ll. 489-90.

[7]*Adam*, ll. 777-78.

[8]*Adam*, ll. 264-65.

[9]George Zarnecki, "The Coronation of the Virgin on a Capital from Reading Abbey," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 13, (1950), pp.11-12.

[10]R.W.Southern, "The English Origins of the Miracles of the Virgin," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 4 (1958), pp. 176-216.

[11]Zarnecki, *op.cit.*, p.12.

[12]*Ibid.*, pp.1-12.

[13]Sticca, "Literary Genesis", pp.49-63.

[14]*Ibid.*, pp.57-58.

7. Adam, the Urban Situation, and the Jews.

As was noted earlier, the theological changes in the picture of man's salvation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries corresponded with great changes in society as a whole. The extent of these changes has been the subject of many notable studies in medieval history, the most enlightening of which are still perhaps the classic studies by Henri Pirenne.[1] In a sense, it was the kind of changes which Pirenne has shown taking place in society during this period which made possible, and even demanded the new theology. St.Anselm, it has been said, was of the old-style monastic world by inclination and temperament, and yet became chief architect of the new-style approach of the Church to the world. Yet he was in many ways only articulating theologically what many in the traditional monastic world knew, and which was being made necessary by social changes which were, in M.-D.Chenu's words, profoundly altering "not only the material side of life but also the modes of perception, sensibility, and representation that pertain to the life of the spirit."[2] The world of the twelfth century was no longer the same kind of monastic world: " ...the definition of the Christian life, far from being shaped about the monastic life as in Rupert of Deutz, on the contrary came to be formulated in its own terms, independent of the peculiarities of this or that state. The monastery could no longer be considered the 'city of God' to which one would lead society. Society existed and Christians lived in it; to do so was their calling. Secular callings or states of life were matter for grace and salvation."[3] A consideration of this secular world with which the Church was feeling the need to come terms in this way, is thus vital to our study, particularly in so far as its social forms are reflected in Adam.

We have noted the strongly feudal framework which underlies Adam. On reflection, however, this may seem rather a

curious thing, if we are also correct in arguing that the play was almost certainly intended for an urban situation. From what we know of the towns of Northern Europe in the twelfth century, it is clear that their novel feature was largely that the major part of their inhabitants were free men. How then may we explain the feudal, "un-free" social emphasis in Adam? As Pirenne points out, the needs and tendencies of the new bourgeoisie were in opposition to the traditional organisation of Western Europe at this time, and although the kings and lay rulers were fairly content with the situation - at least in the early stages - the ecclesiastical rulers were not:

> Almost to a man they offered resistance to the municipal movement, which at times developed into an open struggle. The fact that the bishops were obliged to reside in their cities, the centres of diocesan administration, necessarily impelled them to preserve their authority and to oppose the ambitions of the bourgeoisie all the more resolutely because they were roused and directed by the merchants, ever suspect in the eyes of the Church. 4

How, in the light of this situation, and of the freedom which, despite opposition, the townsmen did gain from ecclesiastical and lay princes alike, can we account for lines in Adam such as those which God speaks to Adam after the Temptation - "tu es mon serf, e jo ton sire!" ? Two explanations suggest themselves, and perhaps both are valid. Certainly they are by no means contradictory.

The first is that, despite the fact that the free merchants and artisans of "tun" and "burh" were by the mid-twelfth century technically outside the feudal structure, this structure still formed the ideal and the de facto basis of the social framework for the overwhelming majority of men in England, and in Northern Europe as a whole. One should , of course, be careful not to imply that it necessarily determined their sympathies, but it could be related to as a "norm" even by those technically outside it. This

must have been particularly strong when it was God's "seigneurie" which was in question, and not the local bishop's or lord's. Such a state of affairs, moreover, lasted a long time. A feudal expression of the kind of relationships which are found in Adam, and which have been treated at length in chapter 4, persists in literature and drama until at least the time of Chaucer and the English Corpus Christi cycle-plays.[5] Noah, for instance, in the Wakefield Cycle still seems to be in a feudal vassal's relationship to God. He refers both to his own "menye" and to that of Satan. "Menye" was the term used to denote the feudal household, and in its Anglo-Norman form, "maisnee", is used in exactly the same sense in Adam: "Vus chi estes de sa maisnee," says Jeremiah to the audience, "Par ceste porte volez entrer/ Por nostre seignor aourer?" (You who are of his feudal household,/ Will you enter by this door/ To adore your feudal lord?)[6]

The kind of "dualism" of thought which this usage implies - free men conceiving certain relationships in terms of an un-free social system - is fairly easy to reconcile with twelfth century modes of thought in general. During this period there was a growing sense of dualism, stemming perhaps from the massive efforts being made by the Church to reconcile faith with reason. There was no longer only a need for all men to know how to prepare themselves for the next world, but an urgent need for them to know also how to live in this world. St. Bernard of Clairvaux was not only a great ascetic and mystic, but also a man who felt the need to make passionate efforts to reach and awaken to true faith the ordinary man in the workaday world. "Think you then that it is a little thing, to know how to live?" he said, "It is the greatest thing of all."

The core of this seemingly paradoxical situation, according to Chenu,

> can be seen in the dialectic between the gospel and the world. This dialectic evoked a dual response from the individual Christian as he both returned to the gospel and remained in the world. A dual response and not two responses, for history shows that it was the Christian's return to the gospel which guaranteed his prsence in the world and that it was this presence in the world which secured the efficacy of the gospel. 7

Such a dualism, whose manifestations in Gothic art have also been commented on by many scholars,[8] and which embraced and tried to reconcile the material and the transcendental worlds, might well have contributed to an urban audience's natural acceptance of the role of God, the Church, and the bishop, as spiritual "seignors", whilst they knew quite clearly on another level that they were personally free of material feudal obligations.

The second explanation is that suggested by the growing conflict of material interests between Church and State in England, as elsewhere in Europe. It would be foolish to suggest that overt political considerations are the underlying motive for the explicitly feudal frame of reference in _Adam_, although such considerations were not absolutely unknown in drama during this period.[9] However, it is certainly true that the general Church-State which had become an issue of overriding consequence in Western Europe during the eleventh century with the reforms of Popes Nicholas II and particularly Gregory VII,[10] had certainly strongly affected England under the Norman and Angevin kings. G.S.Barrow remarks that

> during our period, the Western Church as a whole, through its governing minority of zealous reformers, was enlarging its influence, extending its functions of moral and spiritual guidance, of supervision and correction, into every sphere of human activity. This was not to be achieved without a hard struggle with secular authorities often out of sympathy with the more extreme aims of ecclesiastical reform. 11

The most spectacular struggle in England during this period, and the best-remembered today, was the clash between Henry II and Thomas Becket. But just as important in many ways were the struggles which preceded it: those of William Rufus and St.Anselm, and particularly of the latter and Henry I. Even the period of the Anarchy, under Stephen, had many overtones of the Church-State struggle for supremacy.

It has been argued that ecclesiastical "seigneurie" in a material sense is one of the issues stressed in Adam, and if we relate this to the struggle outlined above it seems just possible that the play may have some political undertones. The "tithing" issue discussed in chapter 4 is perhaps the clearest demonstration of this possibility. If the play does in fact have any such political motivations then this would be an argument for it being the product of an urban situation and intended for presentation to an urban audience. The struggle for supremacy concerned primarily the secular and not the regular clergy, and the former performed their duties almost solely in the urban centres.

A further piece of evidence linking the play to an urban context is the part played in it by the Jewish question. This I have already briefly dealt with in connection with the theological background of the play. It was noted that theological disputes in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries between Christian and Jewish thinkers, regarding the Incarnation and Redemption doctrines, may have been a reason for the inclusion of the scene between Isaiah and the Jew, as well as for the anti-Semitic emphasis in the play as whole. But it also seems possible that the presence of growing numbers of Jews in urban centres in northern Europe was a second determining factor in this anti-Jewish emphasis. It was only in the towns and cities that the Jews were of influence or imp in northern Europe in the twelfth century. This

is particularly true for England, where the Jewish community was established late. According to William of Malmesbury in the *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, the first English Jews came from Rouen in Normandy sometime after the Norman Conquest. By the twelfth century there were important Jewish communities in most of the major towns - London, Lincoln, York, Bury, Norwich, Winchester, and so on. Their lives, according to a recent scholar,

> were patterned like the lives of the higher military, clerical and mercantile classes, with whom they had the closest contacts and with whom they shared a common speech. They adopted French names. All belonged to that aristocratic French society which governed Europe to the West of the Rhine and North of the Mediterranean and in some Mediterranean lands as well. 12

The chief purpose of the Angevin kings in giving support to the Jews seems to have beem their considerable value to the Crown as a source of revenue. But though they were protected by the State for this reason, they were certainly not liked or made welcome by most of the urban population. During the course of the twelfth century they became the unfortunate victims of many vicious anti-Semitic outbursts such as those at Norwich, Lincoln and Bury, and they were the subjects of a good deal of anti-Semitic art such as the famous "Bury Cross".[13]

There is much of this kind of feeling about the Prophet section of *Adam*. In considering this section of the play one is struck by the fact that the dispute between Isaiah and the Jew seems curiously like a somewhat undeveloped forerunner of the great public disputations between Christian and Jewish orators, which were staged in many European cities during the thirteenth century. The purpose of these public disputations was not, of course, to give a fair hearing to Jewish views, but to prove the superiority of the Christian faith and to pour scorn on Jewish beliefs and practices. The most common method of doing

this was to cite Biblical passages (usually prophetic passages) from the Old Testament, which were manipulated to show that they really referred to Christ, whom the Jews had killed, and "that the fulfillment offered by the New Covenant displaced the dead letter of the Law."[14]

Apart from the actual "disputatio" structure of the scene between Isaiah and the Jew, which is admittedly rudimentary, since the Jew is given no Biblical passages with which to argue himself but only attempts ineffectually to ridicule those of Isaiah, the vernacular speeches of Solomon and Daniel must be particularly noted as containing strong anti-Jewish polemic. The Isaiah-Jew debate is mild by comparison, though scornful enough in tone.

It must be admitted that in the liturgical Prophet plays and in the _lectio_ which was their source, the Jewish-Christian conflict also played a part. This is particularly true of the _lectio_, where the polemic is strong. In the case of the plays, however, the Christian-Jewish conflict seems to partake of the general nature of the liturgical Prophet plays, discussed earlier. That is to say the anti-Jewish passages, in keeping with the "evidential" mode of the plays as a whole, are not arguments but affirmative statements. There is a world of difference between this passage from the Laon play, for instance, and the equivalent passage from _Adam_, though both concern the prophecies of Daniel:

Daniel: Sanctus sanctorum veniet,
Et unctio defitiet.

Duo Appellatores:
Iste cetus
Psallat letus
Error vetus
Condempnetur.

Omnis Chorus:
Quod Judea
Perit rea
Hec chorea
Gratulatur. 15

(D: The saint of saints shall come,
And the oil of anointing shall be wanting.

D.A: Let this gathering
Chant in gladness
Let ancient error
Be condemned.

O.C: That Judea,
The guilty is destroyed
This choir
Is rejoiced.)

Perhaps a parallel might be drawn here with what H.Kraus calls "conversion-art", found inside churches of the twelfth century.[16] Like the passage quoted above, this anti-Semitic art too is affirmative of the superiority of the New Law, rather than directed in a didactic sense at the contemporary social situation.

The polemic in Adam is of a different kind. Here is a part of Daniel's scene from the play:

A vus, Judei, di ma raison,
Qui envers Deu estes trop felon ...

Ço est Crist que li saint signifie;
Qui vold par lui avront vie,
Por son pople vendra en terre,
Vostre gent li frunt grant guere,
Il le mettront a passion:
Por ce perdrunt lor oncion
Evesque n'averont pois ne roi
Ainz perira par els lor lei. [17]

(To you, Jews, I address my argument,
Who are so wicked against God ...

It is Christ that "saint" signifies:
Who wishes the faithful to have life by Him
For His people He shall come on earth,
But your race shall make war on Him,
Shall put him to death:
For this they shall lose their anointing.
They shall no more have bishop or king,
And so shall perish the Law through their own doing.)

Solomon's speech is similar in many respects, but considerably more vituperative - almost to the point where one

might describe it as "rabble-rousing". The effect of this kind of rhetoric on an urban audience can only have helped to harden the Christian population in their attitude of opposition to the Jewish communities living in their midst, and contributed more fuel to the smouldering fires of anti-Semitism which from time to time burst into flame in the sudden bloody and violent massacres we have noted. In the next chapter I shall mention the "Bury Cross" in connection with the structure of Adam. It is interesting to note here, however, that just as the iconographic structure of the cross parallels that of the play, so also is the specific manner in which the Jews are presented and attacked in the two works of art closely related.

Although the town of Bury St.Edmund's was centred on one of the greatest monasteries in the land, it was also one one of the busiest towns and trade centres in eastern England. It had a considerable Jewish community, and it seems to have been against this community that part of the "message" of the Cross was directed. T.Hoving has connected the production of this magnificently conceived and executed work of art with the anti-Semitic outburst in Bury in the 1180's.[18] It is, of course, some decades later than Adam, but nevertheless demonstrates the currency and strength of the ideas we have discussed: the manner in which the subject matter of the Fall, Incarnation, and Redemption, and the significance of the Jews in this process, was put together artistically in the twelfth century under the stimulus of an urban environment.

Footnotes to 7.

[1]See Henri Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, trans. I.E.Clegg, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, n.d:); Early Democracies in the Low Countries, trans. J.V.Saunders, (1915, rpt. New York: Harper and Row, 1963); Medieval Cities, trans. F.D.Halsey, (1925, rpt. New York: Anchor Books, 1956.) For a recent re-evaluation of Pirenne's views, see Robert Latouche, The Birth of Western Economy, trans. E.M.Wilkinson, (London: Methuen, 1967)

[2]M.-D.Chenu, Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century, ed. and trans. J.Taylor, L.K.Little,(Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1968.), p.39

[3]Ibid. p.222.

[4]Pirenne, Economic and Social History, pp.55-56..

[5]See David L.Jeffery, "Stewardship in the Wakefield Mactatio Abel and Noe Plays," American Benedictine Review, 22 (1971), pp. 64-76; and "The Friar's Rent," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, Oct. 1971, pp.600-06.

[6]Adam, ll.858-60.

[7]Chenu, op.cit. p.238.

[8]See especially Wylie Sypher, Four Stages of Renaissance Style, (New York: Anchor Books, 1955)

[9]For instance see the play of Antichristus in Young, op.cit., II, pp.371-94.

[10]R.H.C.Davis, A History of Medieval Europe, (London: Longmans, 1957), pp.232-258.

[11]Barrow, op.cit., p.111.

[12]H.G.Richardson, The English Jewry Under Angevin Kings, (London: Methuen, 1961), p.4.

[13]Thomas Hoving,"The Bury St.Edmunds Cross", The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, 22 (1964), pp.317-340.

[14]Chenu, op.cit. p.159.

[15]Young, op.cit., II, p.147.

[16] Henry Kraus, <u>The Living Theatre of Medieval Art</u>, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967), p.159.

[17] <u>Adam</u>, ll.827-8, 833-40.

[18] Hoving, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp.327-38.

8. Adam and the Cycle Form

We have seen that the revival of trade and the subsequent growth of towns and cities with their populations of free men, had created a strong and growing awareness on a popular level, of the importance of the workings of a world of secular activity. This, we saw, was being recognized by at least a part of the Church, which had responded by re-evaluating its own approach to the nature and purpose of man's life in this world. No longer was the monastic life regarded as the only sure means of salvation, even though it remained the ideal for many. The subject of the Fall and Redemption of Man was given a radically new theological interpretation. The whole process of man's fall into sin, and redemption through Christ's suffering as the deus-homo, was given a more human emphasis in which man's own responsibilities in this life were stressed. Changes were made in liturgical forms. The homiletic tradition was drastically overhauled, and vernacular preaching came to be regarded by many churchmen as an essential means of bringing the populace to a proper understanding and a deeper affirmation of their Christian faith. Finally, we have seen that a new drama was created which partook of this revolutionary spirit and aimed to act as a powerful aid to the church in helping satisfy the urgent new needs being felt. This drama assumed a new form, which seemed to be demanded by these imperatives, and it encompassed a new range of subject-matter necessary to fulfil its particular didactic purpose effectively. It is to the relationship between this new dramatic form and the new subject-matter that we must now turn.

Most recent scholars, as we noted earlier, with the notable exception of R.Woolf,[1] have argued against the "cyclic" interpretation of Adam. W.Noomen, O.Jodogne, and O.B.Hardison have all, for different reasons, rejected the

idea that the Adam playwright wished to create a cycle-play.[2]

Jodogne and Noomen share basically the same viewpoint in attacking earlier critics of Adam who saw it as a play with cyclic tendencies. Jodogne, for example, takes P. Aebischer to task for this:

> Il faut ajouter que M.Aebischer croit que le drame primitif a perdu trois 'actes' (naissance, passion, résurrection). C'est imaginer une oeuvre considérable pour l'époque, c'est croire que notre dramaturge du XIIe siècle avait les mêmes ambitions que les auteurs ou compilateurs du XVe. C'est oublier surtout que le jeu est plus proches des drames liturgiques que des mystères urbains; nous n'avons vu d'ailleurs, que des drames antérieurs se satisfaisaient de la succession de deux ou trois sujets. En fait notre auteur n'a vraiment élaboré que deux épisodes bibliques et, très facilement, il leur a annexé une adaptation d'une pièce traditionelle. 3

There are a number of points here which must be answered. Some of the answers are implicit in what has already been said in this study, others are given here for the first time. Firstly, Jodogne argues that to believe Adam has lost a number of additional sections such as the Passion and Resurrection of Christ is to imagine "une oeuvre considérable pour l'époque". This seems a rather unreasonable assessment of the age which produced men capable of making the mental leap necessary to create Cur Deus Homo, early Gothic architecture, or the iconographic programme for the early sculptures of Chartres. The first half of the twelfth century was surely not incapable of producing a playwright who could create a play complex enough to encompass the Nativity, Passion, and Resurrection of Christ as well as the Fall, the first murder, and the Prophets.

Again, Jodogne says that there is no justification for ascribing to a twelfth-century playwright the same ambitions as those of a playwright of the fifteenth century.

But the argument is not that the Adam playwright was, as it were, anticipating the introduction of the feast of Corpus Christi, simply that the stimulus towards the general idea of a cyclic form began in the twelfth century. The subject matter of the Fall and Redemption, one of the most urgent preoccupations of the period, seems almost to necessitate such cyclic "ambitions" on the part of the playwright. In any case, we know from a purely chronological viewpoint that such a cyclic form appeared in a play much closer in time to Adam than to the cycles and Mysteres of the fifteenth century. In 1204 a play was performed in Riga which had a cyclic structure containing Old and New Testament episodes, as well as a Prophet play.[4] Woolf points out that "the description of the play is allusive and its exact scope cannot therefore be known, but in that its intention was to instruct the native inhabitants through a dramatization of the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments, it must at least have begun with the Fall of Man and extended to the Resurrection."[5]

Jodogne's third point, that three or four episodes had served to satisfy the needs of the liturgical drama, hardly needs further comment after the demonstration which has been given in this study of the tremendous difference in purpose which separates Adam from liturgical drama.

On Jodogne's last statement, we have clearly shown that the Prophet section of Adam, though owing its inspiration to the lectio and to liturgical Prophet plays, is far from being merely "une adaptation d'une pièce traditionelle" which has been cleverly joined to the first two episodes of the play. It is integrally linked to them in a tightly-wrought verbal, theological, and iconographic structure which in many ways parallels the methods of the later Corpus Christi plays.

A number of examples of this kind of figural linkage have already been cited. A further example which is particularly germane to our arguments in this chapter is the

following figural sequence which connects the three extant sections of the play:

a) After Adam and Eve have fallen into sin, God curses the earth. He says it will be unfruitful despite Adam's efforts when he tries to grow his corn. Finally, He says that it is only with the greatest hardship and toil that Adam will ever win bread to eat:

> La terre avrat maleicon
> Ou tu voldras ton ble semer:
> Il te faldrat al fruit porter,
> Ele est maleite sor ta main:
> Tu le cotiveras en vain ...
>
> Od grand travail, od grant hahan
> Toi covendra manger ton pan. 6
>
> (The earth shall bear a curse
> Where you wish to sow your corn;
> It will fail you when harvest comes,
> It will be cursed beneath your hand:
> You shall work the soil in vain ...
>
> With great hardship, with great pain
> You will work to get your bread.)

b) In the second section of the play, Abel takes on personal responsibility for the sin of his mother and father, and he willingly works the soil to prove himself worthy of salvation. Cain refuses to do God's will, he resents the unfruitful earth, and says he needs his good corn to make his own bread, and will sacrifice bad corn to God:

> Abel: Tu, que offriras?
>
> Chaim: Jo, de mon blé,
> Itel cum Deus le m'a doné.
>
> Abel: Iert del meillor?
>
> Chaim: Nenil, por voir,
> De cel frai jo pain al soir! 7
>
> (A: What will you offer?

C: I? Some of my corn,
   The same stuff that God's given me.

A: Will it be of the best?

C: Certainly it won't,
   I'll need that tonight to make my bread!)

c) In the third section of the play, David prophesies that through Christ the earth will become <u>fruitful</u> again and produce <u>good corn</u> to make the bread which will save "the sons of Eve":

De terre istra la verité
E justice, de majesté.
Deus durra benignité
Nostre terre dorra son blé
De son furment dorra son pain
Qui salvera le filz Evain. 8

(From the earth will come truth,
And justice in majesty.
God shall give His blessing,
Our land shall yield its corn
Of its increase shall give the bread
Which will save the sons of Eve.)

The use of this figural motif strongly suggests its repetition in further sections of the play, to bring it to dramatic completion and doctrinal fulfilment. The eucharistic symbolism of the bread is transparent.[9]

O.B.Hardison's objections to the cyclic idea of <u>Adam</u> are more substantial, yet fall down because his frame of reference is excessively narrow. He agrees that the play is clearly independent from the liturgical tradition, but argues that

> the Gregorian responsory is more than the source of a few Latin verses in a vernacular play. It is the outline of the play itself ...The inclusion of two Old Testament episodes does not warrant the notion that the <u>Mystere</u> is "an early and incomplete attempt at cycle building" ...The "universal form" of the drama is provided by a set liturgical piece; instead of organizing his play around a single action, the dramatist turned to an already extant outline, and

> filled it in with dialogue based partly on suggestions in the responsory itself and partly on relevant passages in Genesis.10

This is only a partial view of the truth. Hardison does not cast so much as a glance at the verbal and iconographic structure of the play, and barely mentions the Prophets in his analysis. This is unfortunate, because his remarks concerning the origins of the material the Adam playwright used for the Adam and Eve, and Cain and Abel sections of the play are convincing and useful. What is of primary importance, however, is not the precise source of the original readings and responses from various services in the liturgical calendar, but what the playwright has done with them. The Prophet play, as we have seen, is not just "tacked on" to the first two sections; it is an integrated part of a whole conceptual structure in which its content is just as important in determining a "universal form" as is the content and original defining framework of the first two sections. To maintain that the universal form of the play is determined by a set of responses for Septuagesima ignores one third of even the incomplete version of Adam which remains to us. The lectio, or liturgical Prophet plays, which may have been the source for the Adam Adam Prophet section,do not belong to Septuagesima, but to Advent or Christmas.

The Septuagesima responses cannot therefore be said to control the form of Adam. The playwright has taken certain materials and imposed a new pattern on them which is an interpretative pattern expressing the new meaning and purpose of the play. The adherence to the traditional formal patterns of the source materials he has combined into this new pattern is undoubtedly a result of deep-rooted notions of how a play should be constructed, inherited from the only previous religious drama available as a formal model: the liturgical drama. But all this is saying is that the full implications of the new dramatic purpose apparant in Adam has not yet been fully worked out in terms of a totally coherent new formal

framework which was eventually to modify or replace the series of individual formal frameworks borrowed from tradition, and which vary stylistically from one section of the play to another. It is apparent that in the _Resurrection_, which we will shortly examine from this point of view, the next step has been taken, and the play as a consequence has a new formal unity. The _Resurrection_ playwright has conceived all the episodes of the play within a single stylistic framework appropriate to his purpose, and the play thus shows a considerable advance on the dramatic method of _Adam_ in this particular respect.

Nevertheless, the new interpretative pattern which the _Adam_ playwright has sought to achieve is quite clear. It is partially revealed by the dialogue, which, as we have seen, is carefully structured throughout the extant portion of the play. The remarks of Adam and Eve prepare the audience both for certain aspects of the Cain and Abel story, and for the further stages in man's movement from Fall to Redemption. In the Cain and Abel section of the play, the audience is referred back to Adam and Eve, by Abel's introductory speech, and forward once more to the idea of Christ's Passion and man's salvation. The Prophets' speeches act as a bridge to make quite sure that the significance of the links between Adam's sin, the first murder, the Incarnation, and the Redemption, are made quite clear to the audience. Hardison's argument, as we have seen, fails even to account for the addition of the Prophet section, which he barely mentions, let alone for the possibility of further scenes. Neither does it account for the way in which the author of _Adam_ has provided the kind of internal figural linkage which has been demonstrated between the different episodes of the play.

Perhaps it might be said, however, that Hardison's arguments would apply more justly to an earlier play of the Fall. As he points out, plays of this kind probably

did exist prior to the writing of Adam. But what would have motivated a playwright to present the Fall and the first murder on their own? From the twelfth-century homiletic point of view the Adam and Eve, and Cain and Abel stories are incomplete as they stand. The whole point of the Church going out into the world with a play like Adam, was to show man the possibilities of his salvation through Christ, not his inevitable damnation through Original Sin. The idea of staging a play of the Fall, just like the idea of preaching a vernacular sermon on the Fall, seems to contain within it the absolute necessity of concluding with a further statement: the fulfilment of the Old Law through the New.

It might, of course, be argued that this kind of completion or fulfilment is achieved in Adam through the inclusion of the Prophet section. This, after all, does speak of the coming of Christ to save man, and might therefore be regarded as a fitting conclusion to the play in this respect. To argue in this way, however, would be to approach the play in too literary a way. Adam, as we have seen, is a play which shows a powerful concern to "real-ize" dramatically the doctrine it is setting forth, in strikingly sensual or visual images. Paradise is not just a symbolic *locus* for the Temptation and Fall: it is plainly intended to be constructed as a beautiful, sensually attractive theatrical image of what Paradise means to man. Similarly the stage Hell is plainly intended to be a powerful theatrical image of what the horrors of Hell mean. Adam and Eve labour with real tools in a real patch of earth, and act-out (in what the stage directions lead us to believe must have been intended as a fairly realistic manner[11]) the sorrow and weary toil which God has pronounced as their immediate punishment for sin. The play's methods are limited in the degree of this "realism", as we have noted, but it is quite clear that Adam proceeds by creating

strong theatrical images of a strikingly temporal nature to demonstrate in terms which every man may understand precisely what is meant by its theological doctrine.

To use two more relevant illustrations of the method outlined above, there must have been a telling moment when God told Eve, after she had eaten the apple,

> Toit ceals qui de toi istrunt
> Li ton pecché ploreront 12
>
> (All who shall issue from your seed
> Shall weep for your sinful deed.)

The "toit" were of course standing before God as he spoke these lines. They were the "filz Evain", the twelfth century audience, witnessing in a performance of Biblical history localized in time and place to the context of Anglo-Norman England their own inheritance of, and continued involvement in the process of sin which the actions of Adam and Eve had loosed into the world. It is in order to emphasize this very point that the devils who tempt Adam and Eve in the play are also instructed in the stage-directions to make sallies into the audience. There seems little reason to doubt Jodogne's remarks to this effect. He says "les démons ne cessent de rôder dans le monde, voilà ce que veut dire l'auteur."[13] V.A.Kolve has pointed out in respect of the later English Corpus Christi cycles that one of their most striking and characteristic modes is the conscious and careful use of "medieval time and English place," which "makes the Old Testament beginnings relate directly to those peoples who later became Christian."[14] This is surely true for Adam also. The twelfth-century audience was intended by God's words to be drawn into a fuller realization of their own part in the scheme of the play and of divine history.

The second, and in many ways even more striking example of this method is the wonderfully conceived moment when the prophet Jeremiah, standing by the great portal of the church front, asked the audience

> Vus chi estes de sa maisnee
> Par ceste porte volez entrer
> Por nostre seignor aourer? [15]
>
> (You who are of His feudal household,
> Will you enter by this door
> To adore your Lord?)

The "porte" was an actual, as well as a symbolic one. We are told by the stage directions that as Jeremiah speaks, he should extend his had to indicate the door of the church: "Et manu monstrabit portas ecclesie."[16] The intention was that the twelfth-century audience should be invited as real people to enter the Church - the material manifestation of the means to salvation in this worldly life, as well as a symbolic structre which was "mystically and liturgically an image of heaven."[17] This moment in Jeremiah's speech represents a magnificently imaginative synthesis of dramatic convention and theological meaning. The combination of the "reality" of the material, temporal, worldly object - the "porte" - and the "reality" of its transcendent, immaterial meaning is precisely what we should expect of the mentality of the new age which brought Adam into being, a mentality which Chenu has characterized thus:

> Simultaneous with such attention to the literal sense of scripture was renewed respect for the value of things in various fields employing symbolism. Paradox-ical though it may seem, the new interests in nature provided a guarantee for the materials of symbolism;and in itself the concern with explanation by matural causes did not prejudice the imposition of "meaning" upon realities through their ultimate reference to the transcendent. [18]

A dramatist as accomplished as the writer of Adam, who

was capable of the dramatic methods we have described here, would not prepare his audience - even a fairly ignorant, illiterate audience such as we have posited for this play - for the <u>scène à faire</u>, and then omit to "real-ize" the very scene he had so carefully built up to. The <u>scène à faire</u> in <u>Adam</u> is quite clearly the Harrowing of Hell by the <u>Figura</u> in His "salvator" aspect; and this scene was probably preceded by others representing the Nativity and the Passion.

Not only the verbal emphasis in the play suggests this. The stage directions seem to indicate clearly a large Hell Mouth of the kind we are accustomed to associate with the elaborate stage craft of the later medieval plays. It is obviously large enough for the actors to walk and out of, and from time to time smoke and noises of different kinds come from within. The theatricality of
the scenes in which the devils lead the various characters off into this Hell Mouth is quite clear from the stage-directions, and much play is made with the chaining and fettering which precedes the leading-off into Hell. All these means were at the playwright's disposal to indicate the awful fate of man before the Incarnation of Christ, and the fate awaiting unregenerate sinners even after the Incarnation. Yet the continuous emphasis of the play is not on the terrors of the Last Judgement - except for the Jews - but on the Redemption. It seems almost inconceivable that the play could have ended with all the characters locked securely in Hell, and smoke and noise billowing forth. This argument is not based on a false modern theatrical viewpoint, or even a later medieval one, as Jodogne would have us believe, but firmly rooted in the construction of the play - even in the incomplete version remaining to us.

In arguing for the likelihood of the inclusion of this scene, we are not in any case faced with an isolated occurrence of an outdoor vernacular play written in the Anglo-

Norman area, and showing New Testament scenes including the Harrowing of Hell. The _Resurrection_, written perhaps thirty years later than _Adam_, and also in England, seems almost certain to have included this scene among others from the New Testament.[19]

Another possibility for the structure of the play in its original, complete form, is suggested by G.Frank by analogy with one of the earliest representations of the Genesis story as part of a "cycle" in monumental sculpture. At Notre Dame de la Grande, at Poitiers, we have the following scheme carved in about 1130, (see Plate 4):

a) God, Adam and Eve, the Tree, and the Serpent.

b) Five Prophets: Nebuchadnezzar, Moses, Jeremiah, Daniel, and Isaiah.

c) The Annunciation, with Gabriel and Mary.

d) A Tree of Jesse.

e) The Nativity.

f) The bathing of the infant Christ.

g) Wrestling figures.

Frank suggests that in view of the correspondence in dates between the appearance of _Adam_, and the carving of the Poitiers "cycle", which A.K.Porter assigns to ca. 1130,[21] the indications are that it is quite possible for the cyclic concept and such a cyclic scheme to have appeared in a play like _Adam_ at this time. Mâle goes further, and says that

> nous croirions donc volontiers que l'on jouait a Poitiers au XIIe siècle, un drame sacre fort analogue au drame anglo-normande d'Adam, et que le souvenir en est reste inscrit a la facade de Notre Dame de la Grande. 22

The possibilities of a causal connection between the Poitiers facade and a play such as _Adam_ seem likely.Poitiers

was closely politically connected to England through the Angevin empire, and although Adam itself dates to 1146 or later, it is quite likely that other plays on the subject of the Fall and Redemption existed before Adam and even before the 1130 date of the Poitiers facade. Whether or not there is an actual causal connection it is sufficient for is to note here that the implications of the cyclic form found in the Poitiers sculpture are that such a cyclic form is possible in the drama of the period.

There are two other twelfth-century facades which we may usefully consider here, as throwing some light on our investigations. The first is that of Modena in northern Italy, the second that of Lincoln, in eastern England. Both include extensive scenes from the Genesis story, and have a number of other similarities. Indeed, according to many art historians, it is possible that the sculptures are stylistically linked. Zarnecki, among others, suggests Modena as the direct source for many of the Lincoln ideas. There are also, however, many differences in their sculptural schemes, and these differences are crucial to our arguments. Since Modena seems to antedate Lincoln, and may be a source for it, let us deal with it first.

The Modena frieze consists of four large panels which show events solely from the early part of the Genesis narrative: the Creation of Adam and Eve, the Temptation and Fall, Cain and Abel, the murder of Abel, the death of Cain, and Noah's flood. The work is heavily Byzantine in style, and appears to be complete as it stands - that is to say, the four panels appear to be the whole of the sculptural scheme as it was originally conceived for the west facade.[23]

In the case of Lincoln, we are faced with a somewhat different situation. Firstly, the sculptural scheme of the west front frieze is incomplete, and it is not possible to tell with any finality what scenes are missing, nor if

some of the scenes in the remaining sections of the frieze have been displaced from their original positions in the narrative sequence. What we do have is a series of panels to the north of the central doorway illustrating various New Testament subjects including the feast of Dives, the death of Lazarus, and the Harrowing of Hell. In these scenes there is no immediately apparent narrative sequence. To the south of the central doorway, however, there is a strongly narrative sequence (though this is now incomplete), which consists of Old Testament scenes from the book of Genesis, and a single panel showing Daniel in the lion's den. We may assume as a matter of reasonable certainty that the full sequence of the original frieze included the Creation and Temptation, a Tree of Jesse, and a Christ in Majesty.[24] Fragments from both of the latter scenes have been found.[25] The original frieze also probably included Prophets, and a number of New Testament scenes in addition to those which have been described above. A fragment of one of the latter exists to the north of the central doorway in the corresponding position to the Cain and Abel scene to the south.[26]

In view of the remarks that have already been made regarding the concurrent appearance of Adam and such sculptural scenes it is tempting to try and relate the Lincoln frieze to the structure of the play. No such comparison works precisely in terms of either iconography or choice of scenes. Even if we accept the evidence that other scenes originally formed part of the frieze, there are many differences between the sculptural programme and the dramatic sequence of Adam, or even the full sequence of scenes in the "complete" form of the play which we have discussed. However, a number of very significant parallels do exist between the play and the frieze, and regardless of where in England the play was written and performed, these are worth pointing out as background to our general

argument.

Firstly, the dating of the frieze, according to the latest scholarly opinion, is likely to be ca. 1145, the approximate date of the restoration of the facade of the cathedral by Bishop Alexander.[27] This corresponds almost exactly with the earliest date given by most scholars for the composition of Adam: 1146.

Secondly, we have a progression from Old Testament to New Testament scenes indicated by both frieze and play. This progression has as its pivotal point a Prophet sequence (extant in the play, and probably on the frieze in its original form), or a tree of Jesse (on the frieze, and included in Isaiah's prophecies from the play) which normally carries many of the prophets and kings who appear in the Prophet section of the play. Such a progression is not found at Modena (ca.1099 -1106), where the sculptures end with Noah and his family leaving the Ark after the Flood, but is found at Poitiers (ca. 1130), where there is, as we noted earlier, some structural similarity to the form of Adam.

Thirdly, to return to earlier arguments, in regard to Jewish influence on the emergence of the play, and Anselm's reasons for for writing Cur Deus Homo, it is clear that Lincoln was one of the great Jewish centres in England in the twelfth century. This was probably because of the town's rapidly increasing business prosperity in this period. Aaron of Lincoln's business transactions extended into twenty-five counties, and at his death he was Henry II's biggest creditor.[28]

Lastly, there are some important novelties in the iconography of the scenes on the Lincoln frieze. These find a ready explanation of we assume a dramatic influence upon them from a play such as Adam, and in any case they clearly show the same kind of conceptual pattern at work in "teaching" the onlooker the meaning of the Fall and Redemption.

The first of these iconographic changes is seen in the panel containing the scene of the Harrowing of Hell, which is interesting for a number of reasons. It appears to be the earliest monumental sculpture showing the Harrowing of Hell based on the idea of an upright Hell Mouth like those we are used to seeing in later art. The Lincoln Hell Mouth is in its basic design rather like earlier Anglo-Saxon grotesques such as those found, for example, at the centre of the "B" initial of the Beatus Vir in illuminated psalters.[29] The continuity of Anglo-Saxon traditions in the representation of such forms through the Norman period has been shown by a number of scholars. But, if the basic design has a long lineage, the form as we see it used at Lincoln has not. Iconographically, Zarnecki finds prototypes for the scene in Byzantine representations. However, if these are examined, no trace will be found of anything resembling the Hell Mouth of Anglo-Saxon art or the Lincoln frieze. In the scene Zarnecki illustrates from the mosaics at Daphni, the saved souls are shown emerging from a tomb-like structure at ground level, and the scene is clearly schematized.[30] In the Lincoln Harrowing of Hell, on the other hand, Christ and John the Baptist stand upon the figure of the chained, prostrate, man-sized Devil, in front of an obviously "practical" Hell Mouth. In stage terms this Hell Mouth is of a size and form which would make exit from it perfectly easy by figures the size of Christ or John. (See Plate 5.)[31]

It is clear that the sculptor of the Lincoln frieze could have been influenced by dramatic form in his decision to represent the Hell Mouth and the Harrowing in this way. There are at any rate no known prototypes in art for the form in which he represents the scene.

Once again we are also faced with a situation in which there are no known sources for the scene in liturgical drama at this date. Symbolic scenes representing the Harrowing of Hell are found attached to the ceremonies of the Depositio Crucis and the Elevatio Crucis, particularly later in the Middle Ages. But, as Young points out, although the Harrowing of Hell was "eventually to be treated with impressive amplitude in the vernacular drama of Western Europe," it was never given effective dramatic form in liturgical drama. He goes on to say that

> in view of the opening of the way towards impersonation in the Elevatio from Bamberg, one is at a loss to account for the general absence of this essential dramatic element from the sepulchre during the Middle Ages ...This celebration of the happiest event in human history might have been expected to cast off the mourning which necessarily surrounds the Depositio and to have shared in the public enthusiasm of Easter. In reality, the Elevatio was often performed almost privately, in a subdued voice, and behind closed doors. The performance was usually given not for rejoicing throngs of laymen, but rather for small groups of penitent clerics. Reticence such as this does not make for effectual drama. 32

Long before before these liturgical ceremonies began to take on an elaboration of form, moreover, the Harrowing of Hell had been played outside churches in a vernacular version as part of a play of considerable complexity of action and staging. This is evident in the Expositor's explanation at the beginning of the Resurrection, probably written ca. 1175 by an Anglo-Norman clerk in England. Amongst the "lius e les mansions" is detailed the following:

Del une part i soit enfer mis,
Leinz serrunt les enemis
Ensemble od les anciens
Ke la serrunt mis en liens. 33

(On one side should be set up Hell,
Which shall be occupied by Devils,
And by the Patriarchs,
Who are restrained by fettering them there in chains.)

The part played by the scene of the Harrowing of Hell in completing the cyclic structure of Adam is easy to understand, and it comes as the obvious climax to a play concerned with the Fall and Redemption of Man. It has a similar "completing" function in the Resurrection, as we shall see in chapter 9, even though the latter play is not immediately concerned with the Fall.

To conclude our "cyclic" arguments, let us briefly examine the "Bury Cross" referred to earlier. There are sculptural schemes which correspond more closely in date with Adam than this Cross, and which perhaps form an even more striking conceptual parallel to the play in subject-matter, organization, and "humanization", such as the sculptures of the Portail Royal at Chartres.[34] However, we are concerned to come a little closer to the home of the play, and to try to find a surviving English work from roughly the same period which will indicate the same conceptual thrust. The Bury Cross, an English ivory of ca. 1180, provides the closest parallel I have been able to find in English sculptural art to that conceptual structure which the Adam playwright created. The carver's approach to forms, and the manner in which he organized his material, strikingly corroborates the argument that such a cyclic concept was one logical outcome of the new twelfth-century vision of the world and the scheme of man's salvation.[35]

The Cross, which is illustrated in Plates 2 and 3 of this study, is about eighteen inches high and carved from walrus ivory. The shafts are carved on both faces and are inscribed on the sides. On both faces there is a carved medallion at the intersection of the shafts, and there were originally plaques on either face at the extremities of the shafts. One of these is now missing - the representation of the symbol of Matthew from the rear of the base. There was originally also a figure of the crucified Christ

which hung from one face of the Cross, but this is also now missing.

On the front face, the shafts are carved to represent the "tree" of the Crucifixion. To the base of this tree cling Adam and Eve. The figure of Adam is carved in such a way that the tree almost appears to grow from his loins, in much the same manner that the "Jesse tree" is represented in mid-twelfth century art. It seems at least possible that this is an intentional reference to Christ's lineage and the necessity of the deus-homo. Adam and Eve gaze upwards at the scenes of their salvation - the three plaques representing the Passion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension - and to the central plaque which shows an Old Testament prefiguration of the Crucifixion. This is not, as in Adam, the murder of Abel, but the raising of the brazen serpent in the desert by Moses. The scene is surrounded by five Prophets, explaining the events of the Passion. At the base of the Cross, below Adam and Eve, is a plaque showing Christ led before Pilate.

On the reverse face of the Cross, the shafts are carved with the figures of Old Testament Prophets, holding scrolls foretelling Christ's coming. At the intersection of the shafts on this side, at the focus of the Prophets, as it were, is a medallion showing the Lamb of God being pierced with a lance by a figure of Synagoga, who turns away, head bowed, her eyes close in blindness. At the extremities of the shafts are three of the four figures of the Evangelists, represented in their symbolic forms.[36]

Apart from the obvious similarities of subject matter, and the similar anti-Semitic emphasis to Adam, the treatment of forms shows " the inexorable and fascinating change from a Romanesque to a decidedly early-Gothic point of view, implicit in the development of increasing attenuation, and

a dramatic movement away from the confining surface."[37] This is again an important conceptual parallel to the dramatic mode of Adam, whose newly humanized figures move dramatically out from the Romanesque confining surface of the Gregorian responses and the lections.

But most important, from the point of view of our present argument, is the organization of the subject matter of the Cross, which demonstrates clearly the new relationship of form to function and the new need to clarify conceptually.[38] By form, as well as by iconography, the Cross demonstrates the comprehension of the Old Law within the New, and the completion this entails. And by form, as well as by iconography, the Cross expresses the relationship of Adam and Eve, and all of sinful mankind to the deus-homo. There in the rising movement from Adam and Eve, through the tree-of Life and the Passion - through the Old Testament prefiguration of the Crucifixion, through the Passion itself, to the Resurrection and Ascension, the whole process of man's Fall and Redemption is depicted.

Footnotes to 8.

[1] Woolf, The English Mystery Plays, pp.56-8.

[2] Noomen, op.cit., pp.145-6; Jodogne, "Recherches sur les débuts", pp.23-4; Hardison, op.cit., pp.258-61.

[3] Jodogne, "Recherches sur les débuts", p.24: "It must be added that M.Aebischer believs that the primitive play has lost three "acts" (Nativity, Passion, Resurrection). This is to imagine a considerable work for its time; it is to believe that our playwright of the twelfth century had the same ambitions as the writers or compilers of the fifteenth. It is to forget, above all, that the play is closer to the liturgical plays than to the urban Mystères; besides, we have seen that previous plays were regarded as complete with a succession of two or three episodes. In fact, our author has truly done nothing more than elaborate two Biblical episodes and, very skilfully, he has joined to them an adaptation of a traditional piece."

[4] For the Riga play, see Young, op.cit., II, p.542.

[5] Woolf, The English Mystery Plays, p.57.

[6] Adam, ll.426-30, 435-6.

[7] Adam, ll.649-52.

[8] Adam, ll.783-8

[9] Commentators on the Bible and on liturgical usage in the Middle Ages often connected Mary and Christ figurally through the symbolism of the earth, the corn, and the bread. The idea of the bread comes, of course, chiefly from St.John, 2: 36-58, and the eucharistic connotations of bread symbolism stemming from this are usually quite explicit in medieval usage, but Mary is drawn into the symbolic pattern early. George Galavaris describes an eighth-century liturgical commentary by Pseudo-Germanus, which serves as an excellent model of the kind of figural connexions we might expect to have been continued in Adam through the scenes with Mary and Christ:

> Pseudo-Germanus ...considers the entire loaf of bread as a symbol of the body of the Virgin Mary. From this body, he tells us, the body of the Lord has been extracted, as it were, from the womb of Mary; that is, the Lamb has been drawn from the centre of the eucharistic loaf. The remaining part of the loaf, which he specifically called "bread of the body of the Virgin," is distributed to the faithful and is the source of spiritual blessing and other benefits for the recipient ...The extraction of the Lamb from the body of the Virgin obviously refers

directly to the mystery of the Incarnation and the role of Mary."

(George Galavaris, Bread and the Liturgy, (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1970), p.183.

[10]Hardison, op.cit., p.261.

[11]Adam, pp.65-7.

[12]Adam, ll.459-60.

[13]Jodogne, "Recherches sur les débuts," p.14: "The devils roam the world without ceasing: this is what the author wishes to say."

[14]V.A.Kolve, The Play Called Corpus Christi, (London: Edward Arnold, 1966), p.114.

[15]Adam, ll.858-60.

[16]Adam, p.87.

[17]Otto von Simson, The Gothic Cathedral, (New York: Bollingen, 1956), p.8.

[18]Chenu, op.cit., p.133.

[19]See the introductory exposition to the Resurrection, ll. 1-38. (All line references are to the Canterbury version.)

[20]A.K.Porter, Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads, (1923, rpt. New York: Hacker Art Books, 1966), II, 320-9.

[21]Ibid., p.320.

[22]Mâle, op.cit., p.144.

[23]G.H.Crichton, Romanesque Sculpture in Italy, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954.)

[24]George Zarnecki, Romanesque Sculpture at Lincoln Cathedral, (Lincoln: Lincoln Minster Pamphlets Second Series No. 2. 2nd. edn., 1970), pp.1-12.

[25]Ibid., pp.10-13.

[26]Ibid., p.8.

[27]Ibid., pp.1-2.

[28]Alan Rogers, A History of Lincolnshire, (Henley-on-Thames: Darwen Finlayson, 1970), p.43.

[29]C.R.Dodwell, The Canterbury School of Illumination, 1066-1200, (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1954), pp. 21-32. For typical psalters of this type, see Rickert, op.cit., plates 21a and 21b.

[30]Zarnecki, op.cit., plate 15c.

[31]Apart from Christ and John, the other figures in the scene - those shown emerging from Hell - are too damaged to tell with certainty who they are. The standard iconography of the scene, however, would show Adam and Eve at the head of the line of Patriarchs.

[32]Young, op.cit., I, p.177.

[33]Resurrection, II, 25-8.

[34]Katzenellenbogen refers to the sculptures and the sculptural scheme of the Portail Royal, works very close in date to Adam, in very much the same terms as we have used of the play:

> It should not be forgotten that this incipient humanization of sculptured figures took place at the very time when the concept of the eucharistic reality underwent a decisive change: from the concept of Christ removed from earth and no longer suffering to that of Christ born on earth so as to suffer death for mankind.

(Katzenellenbogen, op.cit., p.49.)

[35]See Plates 2 and 3.

[36]Hoving, op.cit., p.324.

[37]Ibid., p.328.

[38]von Simson, op.cit., p.3.

9. The Resurrection.

Far less controversy has surrounded the Anglo-Norman Resurrection than has surrounded Adam, largely because it is more clearly independent of the liturgical tradition.[1] The entire extant portion of the play is in the Anglo-Norman vernacular. There is no framework of liturgical chant, and, as Hardison points out "the contents of the play are as independent of the liturgical tradition as its technique."[2] It includes several episodes never treated in Latin drama, such as the imprisonment of Longinus and the episode of the guards swearing fidelity on the "Law of Moses", and "in those few places where its action overlaps the action of liturgical drama its mode of treatment is unique."[3]

Most of Hardison's analysis of the Resurrection is excellent. There are, however, a number of points on which the particular considerations of this study may throw some new light. These are: the nature of the framework of the play; the playwright's use of "realistic" detail; and the relationship of the play to the cyclic concept we argued for Adam.

In examining the defining framework, it was argued that the liturgical responses and the lectio formed a structure which functioned as a set of formal characteristics inherited from the liturgical dramatic tradition, but which had not really been adapted to the play's new function. Similarly there is a formal pattern in the Resurrection, and this seems to support such an argument, by demonstrating the next step, as it were, in the dramatic process. For in the passages spoken by the Resurrection expositor, we have a framework very similar in many respects to that of the Latin responses of Adam, except that they are now intended to be spoken in the the vernacular, instead of sung in Latin.

The change from Latin to the vernacular seems to indicate one further adaptation to the "didactic" mode which was

argued for Adam. What made this adaptation vital perhaps, was the considerably more complex staging of the Resurrection, which requires ten or eleven separate "mansions", and has a plot necessitating a great deal more movement than Adam from one "mansion" to another. These various loci and the movements between them needed to be explained to the audience. The expositor's official voice describing each action just before it was about to take place kept the audience fully conversant with exactly who they were seeing, and what was being done at any one time. Here for instance is the passage spoken as Joseph of Arimathea goes to take down the body from the Cross:

> Ver la croiz s'en vunt ambedous,
> E dui vassal ensemble od els,
> Dunt l'un portat le ustilement,
> L'altre la boiste od le uignement.
> Quant il vindrent devant la croiz,
> Joseph se escria od halte voiz: 4
>
> (The two of them went towards the Cross,
> Taking with them a pair of servants,
> One who carried the instruments
> The other a box with the ointment in.
> And when they came to the foot of the Cross,
> Joseph cried out in a loud voice:)

The expositor's part is not an interpretative one: he simply makes clear what the action is, and who is involved in it. If we were right in arguing that the play of Adam had a didactic purpose, then it is fair to say that here the Resurrection shows an advance in technique over Adam in creating a structure all of whose elements seem to contribute more coherently to the didactic mode.

Although the expositor's role is not interpretative, however, there is still an official interpretative voice which informs all the action of the play. This finds expression in the mouths of some of the "good" characters - Joseph and Nichodemus, for example, or Longinus after his

miraculous cure. The method is perhaps less subtle than in Adam. Here is Joseph's speech as he takes Christ down from the Cross:

> Jesu! le filz Marie,
> Seinte virgine duze e pie
> Tant fist Judas felunie
> E a sun os grant folie,
> Quant toi vendi par envie
> A cels ke ne te amerent mie.
> L'alme de li est perie
> Quant sei meimes toli la vie.
> Mult savoir poi cum grant aïe
> Aver pot te merci crie.
> Keitif Jeu, le men parent
> Mult par poent estre dolent:
> Plus sunt maluré ke altre gent
> Quant cesti un mis a turment.
> Mult lur ert rendu dolerusement,
> Quant vendrunt al grant jugement. 5

> (Jesus, son of Mary,
> Blessed virgin, sweet and holy,
> Judas did a dreadful crime
> To you, and did himself great wrong,
> When out of spite he traded you
> To those who bore you little love.
> Judas' soul perished in Hell
> When he committed suicide,
> He did not know what powerful help
> Those who ask for mercy have.
> Poor wretched Jews, they are my people,
> How they shall suffer for this deed!
> More cursed than any other race,
> Because they put this man to death
> Their punishment shall be severe
> When they shall come to judgement day.)

The speech could perhaps be taken as a soliloquy, as Joseph voices his own thoughts "in character" over Christ's broken body; but the content indicates that it is much more likely that it was the "official" interpretative voice of the clerical playwright expounding the meaning of the scene.

The second point to consider in relating the Resurrection and Adam, is the manner in which the former follows the methods of the latter in "real-izing" the incidents it deals

There are no stage directions of the comprehensive nature of those in Adam, unfortunately. Apart from the details given in the prologue of the arrangement of playing-places, most other details of stage-setting and properties must be inferred from the remarks of the expositor or the dialogue. These are quite revealing, however, and show that the methods of staging and acting the play had many of the same characteristics we have described for Adam. The scene in which Longinus is persuaded to thrust a spear into Christ's side, for instance, shows that the action here was intended to be highly realistic in some of the vital details, and indeed goes far beyond even the killing of Abel in Adam in its concentration on the physical details of the action:

Miles: Pren ceste lance, durement le fer.
Longinus:
Jeo la mettrai endroit le quer.
Miles: Leez cure tresque al pomum
Si saverum se il est mort u non.
Expositor:
Il prist la lance, al quer le feri,
Dunt ensemble sanc e eve en issi
Dever val li est a mains avalee,
Dunt il ad sa face muillee,
E cum il a ses oilz le mist,
An eire vit ... 6

(Soldier:
Hold this lance, and shove it hard.
Longinus:
I'll push it right into the heart.
Soldier:
Make it go through into his lungs,
Then we shall know if he's dead or not.
Expositor:
He took the lance and pierced the heart;
Blood and water burst out at once,
Flowed down the spear onto his hands.
With the moisture he wetted his face;
When the blood and water touched his eyes,
Longinus recovered his sight ...)

Hardison simply comments here that "the cross has a detachable figure, presumably life-size, which can be made to bleed when struck."[7] This rather under-emphasizes the impact of the scene which, although one can hardly compare it with the incredible brutality of later medieval Passion sequences, must quite obviously have been one of some power. On the question of whether or not the figure of Christ was a dummy, as Hardison suggests, or was actually played by an actor, there is no certain means of telling. Yet it is by no means impossible that this figure of a crucified Christ was impersonated by an actor, since an actor would obviously have been required to impersonate Him in later scenes - the Resurrection, the meeting on the road to Emmaus, and so on.[8] At any rate, one can justifiably claim that the dramatic mode employed here uses some highly "realistic" details to achieve its didactic ends, and that although the Crucifixion itself was not performed, the human aspect of Christ's suffering and death was powerfully conveyed.

Other "realistic" properties and set pieces required in the play included the tomb out of which Christ was intended to rise in a later section of the play (now missing but referred to in the prologue), the tongs and hammer used by Joseph to extract the nails, the ladder needed for this scene, the soldiers' armour, swords and spears and so on. Again, of course, it should be stressed that what was involved here was a limited "realism". But it is quite clear that the Resurrection playwright was concerned to use a number of details from the everyday world of men's experience, which were germane to his purposes.

Lastly we must ask whether nor not the Resurrection shows a structural form which helps to confirm the "cyclic" arguments advamced for Adam. Obviously the Resurrection has not the same scope as Adam in one sense. It represents a much smaller span of Biblical history and liturgical

time. There is not the same careful use of figural linkage between events and characters in the extant portion of the play because this only includes New Testament figures, and not their figural counterparts from the Old Testament. One cannot know for certain whether Adam and Eve led the line of Patriarchs out of the Hell Mouth, when Christ harrowed Hell in the Resurrection, or what their words to Christ were. One assumes that they must have been present in this scene, however, to judge by the contemporary iconography of the scene in art. And it seems highly likely that their words, and the words of the other Patriarchs, as they greeted Christ, did point out their figural significance in the scheme of the Fall and Redemption. We have seen the plain intention of the Resurrection playwright to make clear the meaning of the play to his audience at each moment, and one cannot doubt that in pursuing this intention throughout the rest of the play in its complete form he would have given to the Patriarchs (or perhaps to the Expositor on their behalf) words to make their own significance in the divine scheme quite clear. The kind of speeches which they may have made are suggested by the early thirteenth century Middle English poem of the Harrowing of Hell, which seems quite plainly to be based upon a dramatic representation of the scene.[9]

The limited evidence which we have suggests therefore that although the Resurrection does not demonstrate the cyclic form as such, it is based upon precisely the same perspectives, and shows the same concerns in finding a suitable structure to make clear the workings of sin and redemption for man, and his place within the divine plan. The very representation of the Harrowing of Hell as the apparent climax of the play implies the same idea of presenting in dramatically "real-ized" form the completion of the divine scheme. The Patriarchs whom Christ led out of Hell in the Resurrection were Adam's line - sinful

man doomed until that moment by Adam's Fall, and now led forth from the Devil's clutch by the _Deus-Homo_ who had suffered and died as man to redeem all men.

Footnotes to 9.

[1]For recent critical studies of the *Resurrection*, see O.B.Hardison, *op.cit.*, Essay 7; Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, chapter 12; Omer Jodogne, "Recherches sur les débuts", pp. 179-89; and W.Noomen, "Passages narratifs dans les drames médiévaux francais: essai d'interpretation", *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 31 (1958), pp.761-85.

[2]Hardison, *op.cit.*, p.255.

[3]*Ibid.* p.255.

[4]Resurrection, ll. 251-56. (Translations of passages from the *Resurrection* are not my own, but those of Richard Axton and John Stevens, *Medieval French Drama*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971).

[5]*Resurrection*, ll. 257-72.

[6]*Resurrection*, ll. 117-32.

[7]Hardison, *op.cit.*, p.283.

[8]For the evidence that these scenes formed part of the original play in its full and complete form, see the description of the "lius e les mansions" in the prologue, and the discussion of this in the *Resurrection*, intro, cvii-cxx, and in Hardison, *op.cit.*, pp.262-66.

[9]W.H.Hulme, ed. *The Middle English Harrowing of Hell, and the Gospel of Nichodemus*, EETS, Extra Series, 100,(London: O.U.P., 1961), intro. pp.vii-xv; and pp. 2-23.

10. Conclusion.

The twelfth century presents us with two kinds of religious plays: those of the liturgical dramatic tradition, and those which for want of a better term we have simply called "vernacular plays".

The liturgical plays of the twelfth century are often more elaborate than earlier liturgical plays. In overall treatment of subject matter and style, however, there is a continuity from early liturgical dramas of the tenth century to those of the twelfth century. This continuity persists in later liturgical plays, but these really lie outside the area of this study. The vernacular plays, on the other hand, do not appear until near the end of the first half of the twelfth century. The earliest example of the form is Adam, probably written in England just before 1150.

There are formal elements in the vernacular plays which appear at first sight to link them to the liturgical tradition; and there are short passages in some liturgical dramas which appear to link them to the emergence of the vernacular plays. Both these elements have led critics to refer to plays like the liturgical Sponsus and the vernacular Adam as "transitional plays" which demonstrate an "evolutionary stage" between the liturgical and the vernacular drama. It has been shown, however, that this is a false perspective. Despite the apparent stylistic similarities, the actual differences between the two modes are profound.

The real difference between the liturgical and vernacular modes has been demonstrated to be that of purpose. Reduced to essentials, the purpose of the liturgical plays is "evidential" or "presentational". That of the vernacular plays is "didactic" or "homiletic".

The reasons for the difference in mode were found to be rooted in a radical change in mental attitude which occurred around the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth. From fairly early in this

period, religious art in northern Europe showed signs that, in its new expressive form and new emotional content, it was reflecting new cultural needs. In particular, portrayals of Christ were "humanized", and He became a suffering figure rather than a triumphant God. These changes remained largely in the the air, felt rather than articulated, until towards the end of the eleventh century. At that time, there emerged strong social movements to form urban communes of "free" men. There also emerged a radically new theological view of the meaning of the Fall and Redemption of Man, and of the Incarnation of Christ, first articulated fully by St.Anselm of Canterbury.

The further implications of these changes were realized during the first half of the twelfth century, which saw the emergence of coherent new attitudes to man, the meaning of his life in this world, and the nature if his salvation. The church began to recognize the need to make its methods more relevant to the temporal world, in order to affirm more effectively the true and orthodox Christian faith in ordinary men and women, who were finding a new freedom of action and thought opening to them

Religious art also began to reflect these changes in its depiction of a more "realistic" spatial context in which figures could move; in a more "humanized" treatment of the human form; and particularly in the organization of its subject matter, which showed a strong appeal to human reason in a new relationship between form and content.

As far as drama in both the liturgical and the vernacular mode is concerned, there is little direct written evidence surviving from the twelfth century for the mental attitudes informing

a) the writing of liturgical and vernacular plays from this period.

b) the production of these plays.

c) the response of the audience to their presentation.

In the surviving playtexts themselves, which are often fragmentary, there is no evidence for (c), though there are actual practical details of (a) and (b) in the rubrics. Taking these details together with the sung or spoken texts of the plays, it is possible to reconstruct the apparent approach of the playwrights to character and action.

In doing this there is of course the danger of making a "modern" response to the texts, and therefore making the same kind of mistake as that of the "evolutionary" theorists, who saw medieval drama slowly developing towards an ideal of eventual total realism. However, when the texts are examined in the light of the changes in general mental attitude to man, nature, the world, and salvation, in the early twelfth century, there is a firm corroboration of our original statement of the difference between liturgical and vernacular plays: that the former are "presentational", the latter "didactic"; and also that a definite though limited realism characterizes certain aspects of vernacular drama. More important, however, is the fact that the reasons for the difference, and for the creation of a vernacular drama in the mid-twelfth century, become clear.

The vernacular plays differ in form and essential nature from the liturgical plays because they were created to serve a new purpose. They recognize the "setting" of this world, and represent it in a more realistic fashion in order that man might recognize the relationship of divine history to his own everyday life in the contemporary world. They humanize character and action to the same end - because Christ was incarnated as man, from man, and suffered and died as man, so that through Him man could could personally atone for his original sin. Finally the organization of the plays' subject matter is thought out in terms which clarify the relationships between certain episodes in divine history, and, most important of all, between God and man.

Their purpose was to teach clearly to an audience a way through this world to salvation in the next. In St. Anselm's words from Cur Deus Homo:

> ...as if nothing were known of Christ, it is moreover shown by plain reasoning and fact that human nature was ordained for this purpose: viz., that every man should enjoy a happy immortality, both in body and soul; and that it was necessary that this design for which man was made should be fulfilled; but that it could not be fulfilled unless God became man, and unless all things were to take place which we hold with regard to Christ.

Bibliography

Auerbach, Erich. Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Art. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1968.

Barrow, G.W.S. Feudal Britain: The Completion of the Medieval Kingdoms, 1066-1314. London: Edward Arnold, 1956.

Beckwith, John. Early Medieval Art. New York: Praeger, 1964.

Bloch, Marc. Feudal Society. Trans. L.A.Manyon. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1961.

Calin, William. "Cain and Abel in the Mystère d'Adam." Modern Language Review, 58 (1963), 172-76.

____ "Structural and Doctrinal Unity in the Jeu d'Adam." Neophilogus, 46 (1962), 249-54.

Chanson de Roland. Ed. Joseph Bédier. 2 vols. Paris, 1921-27.

Chenu, M.-D. Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West. Ed. and trans. J.Taylor and L.K.Little. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968.

Clark, Kenneth. Landscape into Art. 1949; rpt. Harmondsworth, Middx: Pelican Books, 1966.

Collins, Fletcher. The Production of Medieval Church Music-Drama. Charlottesville: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1972.

Constable, Giles. Monastic Tithes: From their Origins to the Twelfth Century. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1964.

Crichton, G.H. Romanesque Sculpture in Italy. London: Hacker Art Books, 1954.

Dargan, Edwin Charles. A History of Preaching. 2 vols. 1905; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, 1968.

Davis, R.H.C. A History of Medieval Europe: From Constantine to Saint Louis. London: Longmans, 1957.

Dodwell, C.R. The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066-1200. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1954.

Donovan, Richard. "Celebrated Centres of Medieval Liturgical Drama." *Medieval Drama and its Claudelian Revival*. Eds. C.Dunn, Fotitch, R.Peebles. Washington D.C.: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1970.

_____ *The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain.* Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1958.

Dvořák, Max. *Idealism and Naturalism in Gothic Art*. Trans. Randolph J.Klawitzer. Notre Dame, Indiana: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1967.

Frank, Grace."The Genesis and Staging of the Jeu d'Adam." *P.M.L.A.*, 59 (1954), pp. 7-17.

_____ *The Medieval French Drama*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1954.

Ganshof, F.L. *Feudalism*. Trans. Philip Grierson. London: Longmans, 1952.

Gildea, Sister Marianna. *Expressions of Religious Thought and Feeling in the Chansons de Geste*. Washington D.C.: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1943.

Hardison, O.B. *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965.

Hauser, Arnold. *The Social History of Art*. Trans. S.Godman. 4 vols. New York: Vintage Books, 1957.

Hoving, Thomas. "The Bury St.Edmunds Cross." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 22 (1964) pp.317-40.

Hunningher, Benjamin. *The Origin of the Theatre*. 1955; rpt. New York: Hill and Wang, 1968.

Jeffery, David L. "The Friar's Rent." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 70 (1971), pp.600-06.

_____ "Stewardship in the Wakefield *Mactatio Abel* and *Noe* Plays." *American Benedictine Review*, 22

Jodogne, Omer. "Le théâtre Francais du Moyen Age: Recherches sur l'aspect dramatique des textes." *The Medieval Drama*. Ed. S.Sticca. New York: State Univ. of New York Press, 1972. pp.1-21

_____ "Le théâtre médiévale et sa transmission par le livre." *Research Studies*, 32 (1964), pp.63-75.

_____ "Recherches sur les débuts du théâtre religieux en France." Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale, 8 (1965), pp.1-24, 179-89.

Katzenellenbogen, Adolf. The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral: Christ; Mary; Ecclesia. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1959.

Kennedy, Charles W. The Caedmon Poems, Translated into English Prose. Gloucester, Mass.:Peter Smith, 1965.

Kolve, V.A. The Play Called Corpus Christi. London: Edward Arnold, 1966.

Kraus, Henry. The Living Theatre of Medieval Art. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana Univ.Press, 1967.

Kretzmann, Paul Edward. The Liturgical Element in the Earliest Forms of the Medieval Drama. University of Minnesota Studies in Language and Literature. No.4. 1916

Latouche, Robert. The Birth of Western Economy. Trans. E.M. Wilkinson. London: Methuen, 1967.

Legge, Dominica. Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ.Press, 1950.

_____ Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background. Oxford: Oxford Univ.Press, 1963.

Marshall, Mary Hatch. "Aesthetic Values of the Liturgical Drama." English Institute Essays (1950);rpt. in Medieval English Drama, Eds. Jerome Taylor and Alan H. Nelson. Chicago: Univ.of Chicago Press, 1972. pp. 28-43.

Male, Émile. L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France. 4th ed. Paris, 1940.

Michael, Wolfgang. "Tradition and Originality in the Medieval Drama in Germany." The Medieval Drama. Ed. S.Sticca. Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 1972. pp.23-37.

Middle English Harrowing of Hell and the Gospel of Nichodemus. Ed. W.H.Hulme. E.E.T.S. Extra Series, 100.

Le Mystère d'Adam (Ordo Representacionis Ade). Ed. Paul Aebischer. Paris: Librairie Minard, 1964.

Le Mystère d'Adam. Ed. Paul Studer. Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1918.

Noomen, Willem. "Le Jeu d'Adam: Étude descriptive et analytique." Romania, 89 (1968), 145-93.

_____ "Passages narratifs dans les drames médiévaux francais: essai d'interpretation." Revue Belge de Philologie et d' Histoire, 31 (1958) pp. 761-85

Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, Second Series. Ed. R.Morris. 1873. E.E.T.S. o.s. 53.

Patrologiae cursus completus: Patrologia Latina. Ed. J.P.Migne. 221 vols. Paris, 1844-64.

Pächt, Otto. The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-Century England. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1962.

Painter, Sidney. "The Family and the Feudal System in Twelfth-Century England." Speculum, 35 (1960) pp. 1-16.

Panofsky, Erwin. Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism. New York: Meridian Books, 1957.

Pascal, Roy. "On the Origins of the Liturgical Drama of the Middle Ages." Modern Language Review, 36 (1941), pp. 369-87.

Pirenne, Henri. Early Democracies in the Low Countries. Trans. J.V.Saunders. 1915; rpt. New York: Harper and Row, 1963.

____ Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe. Trans. I.E.Clegg. New York: Harcourt, Brace, n.d.

____ Medieval Cities. Trans. F.D.Halsey. 1925; rpt. New York: Anchor Books, 1956.

Porter, Arthur Kingsley. Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads. 3 vols. New York: Hacker Art Books, 1966.

Regularis Concordia: the Monastic Agreement. Trans. Dom Thomas Symons. London: Thomas Nelson, 1953.

Rice, David Talbot. Art of the Byzantine Era. New York: Praeger, 1963.

Rickert, Margaret. Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages. London: Pelican Books, 1954.

Righter, Anne. Shakespeare and the Idea of the Play. Harmondsworth, Middx: Penguin Books, 1967.

Robertson, D.W. "The Doctrine of Charity in Medieval Literary Gardens: A Topical Approach through Symbolism and Allegory." Speculum, 26 (1951) pp.24-29.

Russell, Bertrand. History of Western Philosophy. 1946; rpt. London: Allen and Unwin, 1969.

La Seinte Resureccion. Eds. T.A.Jenkins, J.M.Manly, M.K.Pope, J.G.Wright. Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1943.

Simson, Otto von. The Gothic Cathedral. New York: Bollingen, 1956.

Southern, R.W."The English Origins of the Miracles of the Virgin." Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 4 (1958), pp.176-216.

___ The Making of the Middle Ages. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1953.

___ Medieval Humanism and Other Studies. Oxford: Blackwell, 1970.

___ "The Place of England in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance." History, 45 (1960), pp.201-16.

___ St.Anselm and His Biographer. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1963.

___ "St.Anselm and Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster." Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 3 (1954), pp.78-115.

Steadman, J.M. "Adam's Tunica Rubea: Vestiary Symbolism in the Anglo-Norman Adam." Modern Language Notes, 72 (1957), pp. 497-99.

Stevens, John. "Music in some Early Medieval Plays." Studies in the Arts. Ed. Francis Warner. Oxford: Blackwell, 1968. pp.21-40.

Stevens, Martin. "Illusion and Reality in the Medieval Drama." College English, 32 (1971) pp. 448-464.

Sticca, Sandro. The Latin Passion Play. Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 1970.

___ "The Literary Genesis of the Latin Passion Play and the Planctus Mariae: a New Christocentric and Marian Theology." The Medieval Drama. Ed. S.Sticca. Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 1972.

Sypher, Wylie. Four Stages of Renaissance Style. New York: Doubleday, 1955.

Urwin, Kenneth. "The Mystere d'Adam: two Problems." Modern Language Review, 34 (1939), pp.70-2.

___ A Short Old French Dictionary for Students. Oxford: Blackwell, 1963.

Wickham, Glynne. "Drama and Religion in the Middle Ages." Forum for Modern Language Studies, 3 (1967), pp.319-33.

Woolf, Rosemary. "The Fall of Man in Genesis B and the Mystere d'Adam." Studies in Old English Literature in Honor of Arthur G.Brodeur. Ed. S.B.Greenfield. Oregon, 1963. pp.187-99.

___ The English Mystery Plays. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.

Young, Karl. The Drama of the Medieval Church. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxfford Univ. Press, 1933.

Zarnecki, George."The Corontation of the Virgin on a Capital from Reading Abbey." Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 13 (1950), pp. 1-12.

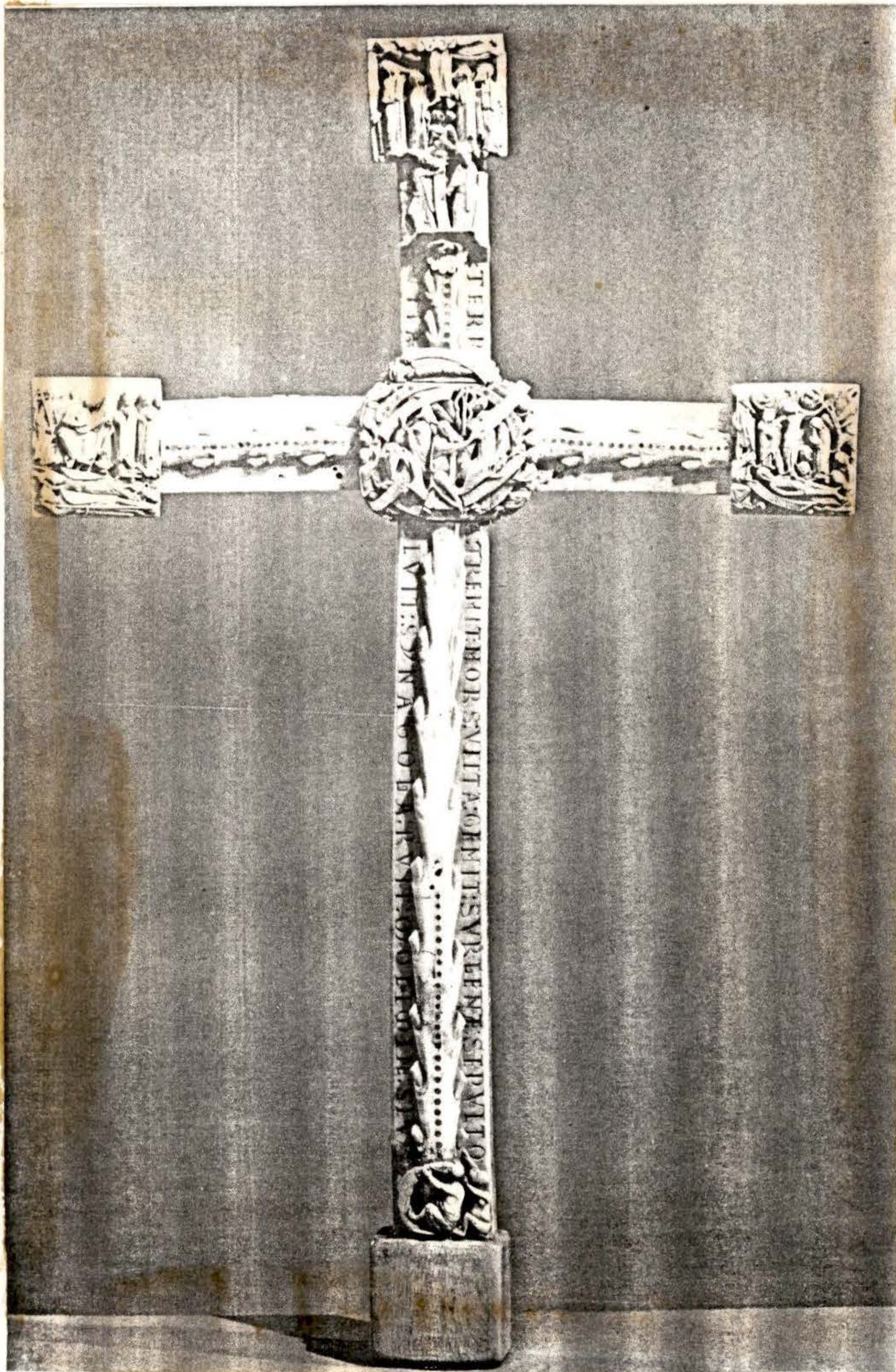
___ Romanesque Sculpture at Lincoln Cathedral. Lincoln Minster Pamphlets, Second Series. No.2. 2nd. revd. edn. Lincoln, 1970.

Plates

An early example of the "suffering" type of the crucified Christ.

The Crucifixion from the Gospels of Countess Judith. English, ca. 1050-65. Pierpoint Morgan Library, New York, Morgan MS. 709, f.16. (Reproduced from R.W.Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages.)

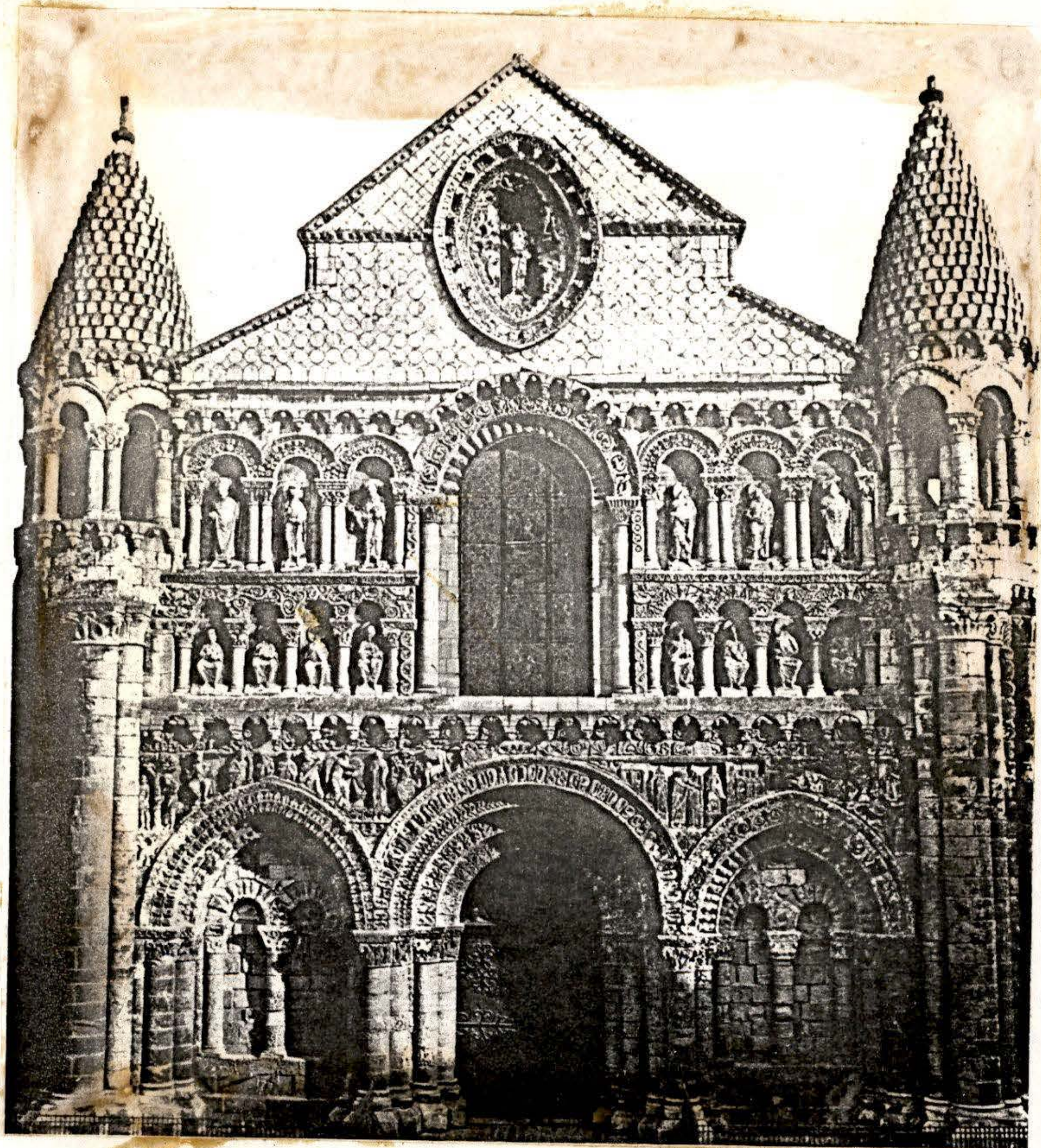
Plate 2.



The "Bury St.Edmund's Cross". New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 63.12; 63.127. Face of the Cross. Ca. 1180. (Reproduced from The Year 1200, ed. K.Hoffman, [New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.])

Plate 3.

The "Bury St.Edmund's Cross". Reverse side.



Facade of Notre Dame de la Grande, Poitiers, France, ca. 1130. Frieze above arches shows the following scenes: Temptation; Prophets; Annunciation; Tree of Jesse; Nativity; Bathing of Infant Christ; Wrestlers. (Reproduced from Henri Focillon, The Art of the West, trans. Donald King, [London: Phaidon, 1963.])

Plate 5.

The Harrowing of Hell, from the facade frieze of Lincoln Cathedral, Lincoln, England. Ca. 1145. (Reproduced from George Zarnecki, Romanesque Sculpture at Lincoln Cathedral.)

Appendix 1.

Notes on the Staging of Adam.

In an important article entitled "The Genesis and Staging of the Jeu d'Adam" (P.M.L.A., 59 (1954), pp. 7-17), G.Frank offers a generally most convincing and common-sense analysis of the staging of Adam. In one respect, however, her analysis seems to offer an unreasonable interpretation of an important stage direction, which leads her to suggest a rather odd piece of dramatic action quite out of keeping with the method of the rest of the play. This is the interpretation she gives to the stage direction "legatur in choro lectio" found at the opening of the Prophet section of the play.

Frank notes the view of some scholars (Grass, Ebert), that the lector who read both the lection referred to in the above stage direction, and that which opens the play, was positioned in the midst of the choir of singers who stood just inside the main doorway of the church. She goes on to state, however, that this view ignores the distinction which should properly be made between the choral responses and the reading of the lessons, and that "moreover, we are distinctly told that the famous prose, Vos,inquam, from the pseudo-Augustinian sermon, was read in the choir of the church: Legatur in choro lectio, Vos, inquam, convenio, O Judei." She concludes that "the position of the lector in the choir and the reading that took place there apparently preclude the main portal as the scene of action," and argues that the play must therefore have in all likelihood have been staged on the steps of one of the transept portals:

> Many transepts of medieval churches had portals of large proportions with steps leading up to them, some were entered through porches, and all of course were much nearer the choir than the western entrance could have been. If windows and doors were left open, reading as well as singing in the choir could readily be heard outside the church.

The first point which must be made in respect of this interpretation is a purely semantic one: there is surely nothing in the words of the stage direction in question which forces us to conclude that the "choro" referred to was the choir of the church building rather than the choir of singers who were an integral part of the play. The term "chorus" is used throughout the play to denote these singers. The second point is that the manner in which the

"chorus" is used in the play suggests that they must have been stationed just inside the doorway of the church - whether the main doorway or that of one of the transept portals. The choir were conceived of in some senses at least as "actors". John Stevens has pointed out that "All the singing is associated with the appearances of God as an actor in his own drama," and that "the singers of the choir, bunched before the main door of the church, represent in some sense the heavenly host. Satan has his devilish assistants in the play; it is only right that God, too, should have his army." (Stevens, op.cit.). The third point, related to this, is purely practical. One of the things which the present study demonstrates is the skill with which all the elements used by the playwright are knit into a tight and coherent dramatic structure. There are, as has been pointed out, dramatic shortcomings too, but nothing else in the play which remotely suggests that the playwright would have made so great a dramatic blunder as to remove part of the action of the play from the "stage" and perform it out of sight and practically out of hearing of the audience. There seems no good reason why he should have done so, and every good reason why he should not.

It seems clear, then, that the earlier interpretation of the staging of the lections is the correct one, and that the lessons were read by a lector standing within the body of the group of singers standing just inside the doorway of the church. This also makes it possible for us to revert to the idea that it was the main doorway, and main steps of the church which were used in the staging of the play - a rather more likely setting for a play of the elaborate and spectacular nature of Adam, as it must surely have seemed in its own day.

Finally a note in respect of W.Noomen's interpretation of the play, ("Le Jeu d'Adam. Étude Descriptive ..." op.cit.) in which he argues that it was intended for presentation inside a church, in the manner of the liturgical plays. His argument is based on the view that the play is very close to the liturgical drama in form and function - a view which has been shown in the present study to be erroneous - and on an interpretation of the word "ecclesia" as one of the "sedes" of the play, like Paradise, Hell, etc. This use of the word "ecclesia", however, depends upon a "liturgical" interpretation of the play, and must therefore be incorrect. On a more practical level, his interpretation of the word "ecclesia" as simply designating a symbolic locus, leads him into great difficulties in explaining the stage direction for Jeremiah's prophecy: "Et manu monstrabit portas ecclesiae." He argues that this must mean that "Jérémie, en montrant l'ecclesia, montrerait en même temps l'autel et le tabernacle, où habite Dieu." (Noomen, op. cit., p.193). Throughout the play, as we have seen, stage directions generally are so explicit that, if for no other reason, this view must be rejected on the

grounds that it makes a simple stage direction, included in the text for the benefit of "producer" and actors in respect of the practical staging of the play, highly obscure. It would be one thing to argue that Jeremiah's reference in his prophetic speech might be to a symbolic "ecclesia" and a symbolic door; but it is quite another to argue that a stage direction would be set down in this manner. Such a usage would be quite pointless, of no value at all to the future reader, "producer", or actor.

Appendix 2.

A suggested text for the missing portions of *Adam*, based upon sources in other contemporary, or near-contemporary English vernacular literature, and an attempted reconstruction of the play in modern production.

The text included in this appendix is not intended to be a definitive answer to the question of what is missing from the incomplete text of the Tours manuscript. No such answer is possible, and it would be foolish to suggest otherwise. The text given here represents one of a number of possibilities, the range of which should be apparent from the analysis and discussion of the play in the foregoing study. The theological and sociological purposes of the writer of *Adam* have been shown, as has the nature of the play he wished to create. We have seen that the resulting dramatic structure necessitated the inclusion of some kind of representation of the Nativity, the Passion, and the Harrowing of Hell. It is possible, as has been noted, that the Resurrection was also included, and even remotely conceivable that the play extended beyond that - perhaps as far as Doomsday. But it is more likely, as this study has demonstrated, that the climax and resolution of *Adam* was the scene of the Harrowing of Hell, and that in this particular play the playwright did not wish to include scenes beyond it. The text given here therefore concludes with the Harrowing of Hell.

The Prophet section of the original, which breaks off in the middle of Nebuchadnezzar's prophecy, has been extended in a manner suggested by the structure of the pseudo-Augustinian *lectio* and the liturgical Prophet plays. That is to say, it includes New Testament Prophets - in this case, Simeon, and John the Baptist. Now, it will be noticed that in the *lectio* and in the liturgical Prophet plays, the New Testament Prophets follow those of the Old Testament, but are themselves followed by the prophecies of Virgil, Nebuchadnezzar, and the Sibyl (except in the case of Laon, where the text appears to have been carelessly copied, perhaps from a disordered original: *q.v.* Young, *op.cit.*, II, p.151). It might be argued that this indicates the *Adam* Prophet section did not include New Testament Prophets, but concluded with the prophecies of Nebuchadnezzar and the Sibyl, having omitted that of Virgil. We have seen, however, that although the *Adam* playwright derived the ideas for his Prophet section from the *lectio* and the liturgical plays, he carefully recast the basic elements taken from these sources into a form suited to his own, rather different dramatic purposes. The evidence therefore seems to indicate two possibilities: either he did not omit the New Testament

Prophets, but rearranged the traditional series so that the New Testament figures appeared after Nebuchadnezzar and the Sibyl; or he did omit the New Testament Prophets from the traditional series, because he intended to include them in scenes at a later point in the play.

The first of these possibilities is the one represented in the present text. It is based upon the argument that the Adam playwright rearranged the Prophet sequence, probably omitting the Sibyl and Virgil altogether. The Prophet section here shows a series in which the Prophets up to Nebuchadnezzar are all Old Testament figures, and those after him are New Testament figures. This is in keeping with the dramatic method which characterizes the play as a whole, and demonstrates the wish to adhere to a "Biblical" structure. Nebuchadnezzar now takes his place before Simeon and John the Baptist, instead of after them as in the lectio and the liturgical plays, because he is a representative of the time of the Old Law, not that of the New. The Nativity and the Ministry are represented in this version by the "prophetic" scenes of Simeon and John the Baptist, and after them the text proceeds with the next part of the "cycle" - the Passion - as a separate episode.

The second possibility referred to above - that the New Testament Prophets were omitted from the sequence found in the lectio and the liturgical plays - is based upon an alternative interpretation of the way in which the play continued. The New Testament Prophets may in fact have been omitted because the playwright followed his Prophet section with sections showing the Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, and so on, conceived as quite separate episodes, and not as part of the Prophet sequence itself. In this case, to have included the New Testament Prophets in their traditional places in the Prophet sequence would have been quite out of keeping with the rest of the formal structure of Adam, since they would then have had to appear twice: once as part of a series organized according to category (Jewish Prophets, Christian Prophets, Pagan Prophets), and once as part of a structure organized according to a Biblical time-scheme. The Prophet section would therefore probably have concluded with the prophecy of Nebuchadnezzar, or those of Nebuchadnezzar and the Sibyl. Although the version offered in this appendix does not explore this line of approach, it does seem to me a valid alternative.

The sources for the prophecies, and for the dialogue used in the Simeon and John the Baptist scenes, are Biblical. In the case of the prophecies, they are also the ones used in the the lectio and the liturgical plays (q.v. Young, op.cit. II, pp.125 ff.). The Biblical dialogue has been adapted in a way that is in keeping with the playwright's method of treating his Biblical sources in the extant prophetic speeches. That

is to say, the figural pattern is maintained. John, for example, refers to Adam, and to the salvation of the "sons of Eve" - not direct references from the Bible, of course, but the kind of adaptation of source material which the playwright continually uses in the extant portions of the play.

Mary is included in both the Simeon scene, and the Passion sequence. It seems almost certain that she would have appeared in the New Testament scenes of the play, to judge by the manner in which she is referred to in the extant scenes. It is also possible that her figural significance - particularly as the "novus Eva" - would have been the subject of rather more complex word-play than has been attempted in this reconstruction. The treatment of Mary, and that of John the Evangelist, are largely derived from the Bible - again adapted in accordance with the apparent requirements of the playwright - and, in the case of Mary, from early vernacular Planctus Mariae. The earliest of these in English dates from before 1250, and has been used in constructing the Passion dialogue referred to below. (For the text of this early Planctus, and a list of references to other early English versions, see George C.Taylor, "The English Planctus Mariae," Modern Philology, 4 [1906-07], 605-637.)

The Passion section has been conceived in a way which suggests the means that might have been employed to present the Crucifixion in the earliest vernacular plays. Stylistically it retains some of the symbolic approach, and much of the restraint of the liturgical plays, although it actually represents something quite different from them in essence. It should be clear that this text is not intended to indicate an "evolutionary stage" in the development of the dramatic representation of the Passion. Instead, it shows a new approach which, however, still demonstrates the influence of authoritative stylistic tradition in its overall restraint, and in the retention of certain conservative elements. This kind of adherence to formal or stylistic tradition has been shown to be responsible for features of the extant portion of Adam, such as the choral responses, for example.

In the Resurrection, as we have seen, there was staged a fairly "realistic" version of the Longinus incident, though the playwright in this case did not portray the whole Passion sequence. The Resurrection was written only some thirty years or so after Adam, and it must be admitted that a "realistic" version of the Passion wholly conceived along the lines indicated by the Longinus scene in the Resurrection would by no means have been impossible in the case of Adam. Yet it does seem unlikely on the whole. We have noted the conservative elements in Adam, as well as its revolutionary aspects, and it would, perhaps, be arguing rather too great a break with tradition to suggest that the playwright wrote a Passion

sequence of a fully "realistic" nature. The version of the Passion offered here is an attempt to suggest the kind of solution the playwright may have found to the problem of representing in recognizably human terms the Deus-Homo suffering as man, for man's sin, whilst acknowledging the weight of formal dramatic tradition which must also have moulded that solution. The dialogue used in the scene is adapted from a number of early English Planctus Mariae, particularly those of The Assumption of Our Lady, ll. 36-42 (Cambridge Univ. MS.G 9.4.27.2), and Stond wel moder under rode, (MS. Harl. 2253), and from the opening lines of the early English poem on the Harrowing of Hell, discussed below. References to the texts of the different Planctus may be found in G.C.Taylor, op.cit.

As far as the staging of the Passion is concerned, it might be objected that there is nothing in the stage directions of the extant portion of Adam which asks for a Cross to be set up on one side of Paradise. However, it is a significant feature of the stage directions of this particular play, that the scenic elements are not mentioned until the point at which they are actually required to be used for the first time. Thus, Hell is not mentioned until the devils first appear; the "hidden place" from which the Prophets emerge is not referred to until the beginning of the Prophet section, and so on. It is obvious that within the context of this general pattern of stage directions, it is very likely that the Cross, or any other scenic unit required, would not be referred to until it was actually brought into use in the course of the dramatic action, and that there is therefore no positive evidence against the presentation of Passion scenes as far as the stage directions are concerned.

The source of the final section of the present text is an early Middle English poem, whose original version was written before 1250 (q.v. The Middle English Harrowing of Hell and the Gospel of Nichodemus, Ed. W.H.Hulme,1908, E.E.T.S. Extra Series, 100). This poem is in the form of what is apparently a dramatic dialogue, and is thought to have been originally written as a play, or perhaps as a poem based upon the author's experience of a play on the subject. The subject matter is, of course, apocryphal, and comes from the Gospel of Nichodemus, a work of very great influence and popularity in England from an early period, and of particular and long-lasting influence on English medieval drama (q.v. Hulme, op. cit., intro., pp. lxvi-lxx). The contents of the speeches of Adam and Eve, and the Prophets, are so close to what we we might expect these characters to have said at this point in Adam, that relatively little adaptation has been required in integrating parts of this poem into the present text. The iconographic details which form the basis of the stage directions, are all from contemporary or near-contemporary sources in sculpture or manuscript illuminations. The use of the oriflamme by Christ at the point where He actually comes

to the mouth of Hell, for example, comes from a Winchester wall-painting of ca. 1180, and the details of the iconography of the chaining of the Devil, and his prostration under Christ's feet before the Hell Mouth as the Patriarchs are led out, come from sources such as the Lincoln frieze referred to earlier, dated ca. 1145.

The text concludes with a procession from Hell, through Paradise, and into the Church - the symbol of Heaven - and with the singing of the Te Deum Laudamus. The Te Deum was the normal conclusion to the service of Matins, but became incorporated into many liturgical plays performed at the Matins service, as a concluding part of the plays themselves. From there it seems to have become a traditional ending to many vernacular plays, performed without connection to any specific church service, and outside the church building. It is, however, particularly appropriate here, because of its associations with the conclusion of the liturgical Easter plays. The joyful ideas of the risen Christ, and the salvation of man, are central issues in Adam, and surely informed its conclusion in this way.

Finally, a word about the reasons for attempting an actual textual reconstruction of this kind, rather than simply suggesting a schematic outline for the ending of the play. Though the theoretical basis upon which the reconstruction rests is a purely scholarly one, the detailed reconstruction itself is the result of an attempt made to produce the play on stage in a "complete" version. This production was undertaken in the Theatre Department of the University of Victoria in 1973, and the text offered here is therefore a theoretically based reconstruction which has, as it were, been through the "mill" of practical theatrical necessity. The text has been modified in certain details by the process of staging it, and many modifications have, for example, been made to the figural and iconographic structure simply as a result of seeing, as the medieval playwright must have seen, the possibilities for "real-izing" figural or iconographic motifs and patterns through dramatic action, gesture, and visual effect.

The text begins after the speech of Nebuchadnezzar has been concluded, and he has been taken off to Hell by the devils.

Lector:

Come forth, Simeon!

(Simeon steps forward, wearing the costume of a bishop, and carrying a small figure of a child in his arms. He stands facing the audience. After him come Mary and Joseph, who stand, one on either side of Simeon, and at a somewhat lower level, facing towards him. He speaks his prophecy.)

Simeon:

Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word: for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people, Israel.

Behold, Mary, this child you bear
Shall heal full many a heart that's sore,
For He is come to see the fall
And rise of many in Israel.
A sign by him there shall be shown,
Which shall be spoken against, disowned;
Yet in that sign, in that dark hour,
For many who pine in Satan's power,
Shall spring new hope, of life indeed:
Hell's gates shall burst, and Adam be freed.
But your own soul a sword shall pierce;
Your heart be filled with sorrow fierce.

(As Simeon speaks the words referring to the "sign" which will be shown, he gestures to the Cross, which occupies a position to the right of Paradise, and at a similar distance from it as Hell is to the left.)

Mary:

I thrill, I fear, at what will be;
Strange are the words of prophecy:
Comfort from them all men may borrow,
Yet His mother must grieve, with bitter sorrow.

Simeon:

Take comfort, Mary, all this shall pass,
Though you will suffer grievous loss.
Your heart this son in grief must yield,
That the hearts of many may be revealed.

(Mary and Joseph turn away from Simeon, and walk slowly back to the place from which they made their entrance. The devils come and take Simeon to Hell.)

Lector:

Come forth, John the Baptist!

(John the Baptist steps forward, wearing a coat of hair, and carrying a round plaque upon which is carved and painted the Lamb of God, carrying a Cross. John's hair is long, and he has the aspect of a hermit. He walks strongly to the Cross, hangs the plaque at the intersection of the shafts, and turns to the audience to deliver his prophecy, gesturing to the plaque of the crucified Lamb of God as he does so.)

John:

Behold the Lamb of God; behold Him who takes away the sins of the world.

I am John the Baptist, sent
To call upon man to repent.
The Lord commanded I should come
As herald to His only Son.
I am the voice of one who cries
In the wilderness: "prepare the ways,
Prepare for the coming of your Lord;
Make straight His paths and meet your God."
For I baptize in water clear,
But He shall baptize you in fire!
The Holy Ghost shall with Him be;
To loose His shoe I am not worthy.
He is the Lamb of God, the Son,
Who gives Himself for sinful man.
What once was lost in Paradise,
He will redeem, He'll pay the price.
Satan the fiend He'll overthrow,
The sons of Eve lead from their woe.
Man, for man, upon the the Cross,
He'll die, to win what Adam lost.

(The devils come and lead John away to Hell. The Figura appears, costumed this time in a simple white alb, and having a gilded crown of thorns upon His head. He is accompanied by an angel, also clothed in white, and carrying a spear which bears an oriflamme. The Figura takes up a position to one side of the Cross, and the angel stands slightly behind Him. Mary comes forward, led slowly by St. John the Evangelist. They come to the foot of the Cross, at the opposite side to the Figura, and Mary kneels, gazing up at the Lamb on the Cross.)

Mary:

Alas, my son, how may this be?
I see you nailed upon the tree:
Why have they stripped and used you thus?
Hung you to die, upon the Cross?
Your hands so white, your feet, your head,
Are torn and broken - oh! they bleed!

My lovely son, dear have you bought!
I knew of sorrow never nought
Until this day: how can I live?
My son, what comfort can you give?

Figura:

Have comfort, mother, this must be:
I have to suffer on this tree.
Here, for mankind's sake, I die;
Adam from Hell here shall I buy.
All of mankind in Satan's power,
Shall be released, this very hour.

Mary:

My son, I feel your death draw near;
I weep, I mourn, for very fear.
The sword which Simeon prophesied -
I feel it prick my heart and side.

Figura:

Mother, you mourn an only son;
Yet better far it is that one
Should feel the pain of earthly grave,
And with that death all mankind save.
Here, at your hand, is John, my friend,
Whom now as son to you I send.
John, love your mother, take her part,
Comfort and heal her sorrowing heart.
I feel death's pain pierce heart and side
The hour is come, as prophesied.

(He raises his arms, extending them on either side of him in a representation of the Crucifixion position.)

I may no longer with you dwell;
The time has come, I shall to Hell,
To ransom Adam and all his kin,
And on the third day rise again.

(He drops his head slowly to one side, in a representation of the position of the head of the crucified Christ.)

Mary:

My gentle son, so white and fair,
My tender son, beyond compare,
With you in death I would be found -
I die with you for each deep wound.
Oh John, dear son, your Lord is dead -

John:

Come, mother, rest your weary head;

He died today to conquer Hell:
To vanquish Satan, ring his knell,
All men should tell this with loud voice:
We sorrow now, but then - rejoice!

(Mary rises, and she and John go off slowly, back to the place from which they made their entrance. The Figura comes forward, having assumed a normal posture, and takes up a position in front of the Cross. As he speaks, he gestures to the Cross.)

Figura:

Hard are the ways that I have gone:
I've suffered torments, many a one.
For more than three and thirty years
As man on earth I have lived here.
This many years have come and gone
Since I was born, became a man.
I've known what hunger means, and thirst,
And heat and cold, at last and first;
And men have treated me with shame -
With wicked deeds have played their game:
Arrested me, though cause they lacked,
And bound my hands behind my back.
They beat me till I ran with blood,
Judged me to die, upon the rood.
For Adam's sin, and yours, no less,
I've born and suffered all of this.
Adam, thus dearly have I paid
Because you once from my love strayed.
But, Adam, you've also paid full dear,
And I shall not allow that more.

(He steps forward from the Cross. The angel takes the plaque from the Cross, and hands it to the Figura as a shield, and also hands him the spear with the oriflamme.)

Today, I shall lead out of Hell
You, and the just who with you dwell.

(The gates of Hell open and Satan comes out, accompanied by other devils. The devils see the Figura and flee back into Hell. The angel also goes off, back to the place from which he entered.)

Satan:

Whose is that voice that bothers me?
I command it stop, immediately!
You're making so much fuss and noise,
You'll end up joining my dear "boys"!
Pray come in as our guest, my dear,
And find out how we play in here!

Figura:

You soon shall find that by my play
All of my own I'll bring away.
Do you not know who I might be?
Don't you remember tempting me -
Trying to discover what I was,
To bring me under your cruel laws?
But sins you never found a one
In me, as are in other men.
Now you shall understand today
All of my own I'll win away -
Those whom you thought you'd set free never -
But you shall weep and groan for ever!

Satan:

By Hell! I shall hold onto them,
And keep them here, locked tightly in!
I'll give good reasons for that, too,
Why you shall never lay me low:
Don't you agree that all a man
Does in his life affects his son?
Well, Adam once asked me for food,
And for it, took me as his lord.

(Satan extends his hand to indicate the Tree of Knowledge in Paradise.)

The pledge? - an apple I gave to him:
Now he is mine, and all his kin!

Figura:

Satan, the pledge you gave was mine:
The apple which you offered him -
The apple and the apple tree -
Both were formed and made by me.
How could you buy a servant's word
With pledge owned by another lord?
Since he was bought with my own love,
With good reason I shall him have.

Satan:

Jesus! Why now I know you well!
And now I hear my own death-knell.
You are the lord of each and all,
Oh, woe to him who hears your call!
I grant you heaven and earth, quite free:
These souls in Hell - leave them for me!
Let me keep that which now I hold:
You rule all else, with power bold.

(Satan raises his dart and chain against the Figura, who raises the oriflamme and shield and drives Satan back towards the gates of Hell, and down to the ground.)

Figura:

Silence, Satan! And listen now:
You are fallen, laid forever low.
Did you think I died for nought?
By my death, all mankind is bought.
All who throughout their lives served me,
With me in heaven now shall be.
But you in greater pain shall dwell
Than any poor soul you've locked in Hell.

Satan:

You never could do worse to me
Than I have suffered every day.
I've writhed in dreadful pain and woe,
This way and that - where shall I go?
If you steal all my souls from me,
I shall attack yours constantly.
I'll go each day from man to man,
And snare and snatch all that I can.

Figura:

These words may have some truth, and so
Satan, this I promise you:
So tightly here your limbs I'll bind
That you shall snare few of mankind.
I know quite well if you were free,
Many you'd snatch away from me.

(The Figura takes the chain which Satan has carried in his hands, and binds it around his neck, and his wrists. This done, he places one foot on Satan's neck and addresses the audience.)

The smaller fiends, who are not strong,
I shall allow the world to roam,
Where they shall snare all wicked men
Who cannot keep themselves from sin.

(The Figura turns to the gates of Hell, raise the oriflamme, and knocks loudly on the gates with the butt of the spear.)

Now at Hell's gates I stand and knock:
I here command, draw back the lock!
Where is the keeper there within?
Is he a coward, and all his kin?

(The Keeper of Hell, a devil carrying a large bunch of keys on a great iron ring, appears at the gates, within.)

Keeper:

This was a dreadful, awesome sound:
I dare no longer stand my ground.
Keep now these gates whoever may -
Let him be bold, I shall not stay!

(The Figura strikes the gates a mighty blow with the butt of the spear, and they give way. As they do so, a fearful commotion arises from within: the clashing of pots and kettles as previously, but surmounted by the awful shrieking and wailing of the devils in despair, as Hell is harrowed. The noise of the devils subsides, as the Figura speaks.)

Figura:

These fearful iron gates I fell,
And enter in to harrow Hell!

(He steps inside the Hell Mouth, and leads Adam out by the hand. Adam is followed closely by Eve. They step over the prostrate figure of Satan, who groans.)

You, Satan, I leave here, bound in chain:
From here you'll never roam again.
In Hell you'll lie in chains for aye,
Until the last, dread Judgement Day.

Adam:

Welcome, dear Lord of every land,
Of earth and heaven, of sea and strand.
More welcome, Lord, you could not prove:
We long have waited for your love.
Deliver us, Lord, from this foul place;
Deliver us, Lord, of your sweet grace
Do you know me, Lord, your servant Adam?
From earth you shaped me, with your hand.
Because your Law I did transgress,
In Hell I suffer great distress.
Oh Son of God, have mercy now!
Let us no more pine here below!
All we that here in hell now stand
Have long awaited your command.
By your sweet loving grace we'll live,
Who only can our sins forgive.

Eve:

Know me, dear Lord, my name is Eve;
To Adam and I great love you gave,
Granted us joy in Paradise;
But we were sinful and unwise.
We did forget your stern commands,
The apple took into our hands.
Long,here in Hell, we've been confined,
For sin have suffered and have pined.
Dear Lord, give us your gracious leave,
Adam, your servant, and his wife, Eve,
To go from Hell, this dreadful place,
And live with you, in heavenly bliss.

Figura:

Of love I freely gave my life
For you, Adam, and Eve, your wife.
Did you think I died for nought?
By my death, all mankind was bought.

(Abraham walks slowly out of Hell Mouth, and takes up a place by Adam and Eve.)

Abraham:

Oh, my Lord Christ, I am that man
Whom you did once name Abraham.
To me you promised that of me
A child would one day come, who'd be
The man to lead us all from pain:
Me, and with me all of mine.
You are that child, you are that man
That was born of Abraham.
Do now, Lord, what you then did promise:
Take me with you to live in bliss.

Figura:

Abraham, I say to you
That every word you speak is true:
My own dear mother Mary was
Born and shaped from your own flesh.

(John the Baptist walks out of Hell Mouth, and takes up a position by the other Patriarchs.)

John:

Lord Christ, I am your servant, John,
Who baptized you, in Jordan stream.
A full twelvemonth has come and gone
Since I suffered martyrdom.
I came to Hell upon that day:
Followed for your sake mankind's way
Because I knew that God's dear son
Should soon to these foul Hell gates come,
To break these bars in that same hour,
And lead us all from Satan's power.
Now you are come, we pray you this:
Lead us from hence to your sweet bliss.

Figura:

John, I remember this full well,
That for my sake you suffered Hell.
You now shall see that I shall do
All that once I promised you.

(Moses walks out of the Hell Mouth, and takes up a position by the other Patriarchs.)

Moses:

Lord, you gave me with such skill
The Law, on Sinai's mighty hill.
My name is Moses, prophet of God;
I kept the Law, just as you bad:
The Law that man should fight and beat
That sin, which Adam found so sweet.

Figura:

Moses, all I commanded you
In the Old Law, you held it true.
Now you, and those who hold it so,
From Hell to Heaven with me shall go.
But those who will not have me now,
Shall stay with Satan, here below,
Where they shall burn in pain for aye,
Until the wrath of Judgement day.

(The Figura turns and leads the Patriarchs up the steps into Paradise, and from there into the doorway of the Church. As this is happening, the choir sing the Te Deum Laudamus. Abel, Aaron, David, Solomon, and all the other Patriarchs who were earlier taken to Hell by the devils, walk out of the Hell Mouth, and join the procession led by the Figura. After the last of them has joined the procession and left the vicinity of Hell, the minor devils come out slowly and with downcast looks, and drag the chained figure of Satan back inside Hell. When they have done so, they close the gates. The play concludes as the choir finish singing the Te Deum.)

VITA

Surname: PARRY Given Names: DAVID MACKENZIE

Place of Birth: LONDON, ENGLAND. Date of Birth: JUNE 18, 1942

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

UNIVERSITY OF HULL, HULL, ENGLAND	1969	1972

Degrees, Diplomas, Etc., Awarded, with Dates and Names of Institutions:

B.A.(Hons. 1st Class)	1972	University of Hull

Honors and Awards:

Drama Department Prize, 1972, University of Hull.

University of Victoria Fellowship, 1972/73

Gwen Downs Memorial Book Prize, University if Victoria, 1973

University of Victoria Fellowship, 1973/74

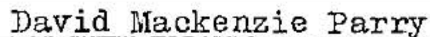
Publications:

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant the right to lend my thesis (the title of which is shown below) to users of the University of Victoria Library, and to make single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or similar institution, on its behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or a member of the University designated by me. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis

THE PLAY OF ADAM: DRAMA, ART, AND SOCIETY IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Author 

David Mackenzie Parry

15th April, 1974.