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"REGULARIS CONCORDIA" AND THEATRE AND DRAMA OF THE EARLY  
MIDDLE AGES

*City University of New York*

PH.D. 1987

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**REGULARIS CONCORDIA AND THEATRE AND DRAMA  
OF THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES**

by

**MICHAL ANDRZEJ KOBIALKA**

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty  
in Theatre in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1987

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Theatre in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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## Abstract

### REGULARIS CONCORDIA AND THEATRE AND DRAMA OF THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

by

Michal A. Kobialka

Adviser: Professor Charles Gattnig

This study reexamines the existing evidence concerning the origin of medieval theatre and drama. Its major objective is to offer a fresh analysis of the Regularis Concordia, a tenth-century monastic consuetudinary (a rule for the daily activities of monks) in which the Quem quaeritis is housed. The manuscript is viewed in the context of the history of the Church and monasticism in order to ascertain its value as a document in the history of theatre. The close examination of the evidence indicates that the Regularis Concordia had little or nothing to do with the origin of drama.

This thesis is substantiated by the close textual and contextual study of the Quem quaeritis passage. The dissertation addresses the nature of the Quem quaeritis: is it a play, a drama, a music-drama, or a ritual? The problem of its shift from the Introit of the Easter Mass to Nocturns (Matins, according to modern terminology) on Easter Day is discussed. The findings show that, even though the Quem quaeritis does contain the basic elements of drama, there is no evidence in the Regularis Concordia that it was regarded as drama in its own day or that it contributed to the development of

liturgical drama. In fact, the available historical evidence points in the opposite direction; the Quem quaeritis was reserved for the private devotions of monks, and it disappeared from later consuetudinaries.

Therefore, the Quem quaeritis was a private monastic Easter service written into the Regularis Concordia at the Synod of Winchester (ca. A.D. 965-975). There is no indication in the document itself that drama or theatre was intended either as a product or by-product of that consuetudinary.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study could never have been accomplished without the help of a number of teachers and friends.

Foremost, there is Dr. Charles Gattnig. Professor Gattnig's knowledge of medieval drama and theatre and his skill as an editor have been invaluable to the completion of this study. His personal interest in my work, his stimulating comments, as well as his encouragement and reassurance have made my entire course of doctoral studies and especially the work on this dissertation a very pleasant and fruitful experience.

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The problems are solved, not by giving  
new information, but by arranging what  
we have always known.

Ludwig Wittgenstein, Philosophical  
Investigations

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Our knowledge of the Middle Ages is often derived from information which is fragmented and incomplete. Scholars, therefore, find it difficult to construct a complete and accurate picture of the period because of the lack of documents; crucial evidence essential to any serious attempt to unveil the mystery which surrounds medieval civilization is all too often missing. Theatre historians, among others, have been struggling with this problem of insufficient data while trying to explain the origins of European theatre and drama during this period. Attempts to propose a plausible theory, even though the evidence is scanty, border precariously on conjecture. Looking at many hypotheses, one can see that the demarcation line between a well-proven theory and a fallacy is frequently surprisingly fine. Nevertheless, this issue seems to be ignored by most authors of theatre history books who choose to adhere to the one thesis which has, by now, received general acceptance. While many, often contradictory, theories have been published, the popular consensus is that with the fall of the Roman Empire, circa A. D. 476, legitimate drama and theatre came to an end in Europe and that these arts were rediscovered or reinvented in church services during the tenth century. In other words, the vulgar argument is that since the

earliest extant manuscripts which seem to represent dramaturgical activity come from the tenth century and are ecclesiastical in origin, drama and theatre were born or reborn in the tenth century via the liturgical celebrations of the Christian Church. Although some historians have discovered examples of earlier theatrical activity, the popular belief of tenth-century ecclesiastical origin holds fast and often seems to be taken for granted in many textbooks.

The basic scholarly framework of the investigations concerning the origin of medieval drama and theatre has been delineated by the approach towards the Quem quaeritis trope which was a part of the Easter ceremonies of medieval monasteries. There is agreement among many scholars that the signs of drama can be found in the antiphonal dialogue of this Easter trope.<sup>1</sup> Further support has been found in the Regularis Concordia, a monastic document from the tenth century. Many scholars treat it as early evidence of drama in the Middle Ages because it prescribes the transfer of the Quem quaeritis trope from the Easter Mass to the Night Office or Nocturns (Matins, according to modern monastic terminology) on Easter Day. This transfer was of great significance. The Quem quaeritis trope as part of the Easter Mass merely contained signs of drama; however, the Quem quaeritis in the Easter Nocturns was an example of a trope which had all of the elements of drama, i.e, a dialogue form, a setting, a mimetic action, etc. As a corollary of these statements, it is often maintained that medieval drama grew out of a modified version of a trope whose new version was housed in the Regularis Concordia and that theatre

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<sup>1</sup>A trope can be defined as a literary and musical embellishment of liturgical texts. A detailed analysis of tropes will be provided in chapter 2 of this study.

originated in the church building which itself had come to be recognized as a kind of theatre. This perception of both the Quem quaeritis and the Regularis Concordia prevails in the most salient studies of the twentieth century. Even though they differ in particular details concerning the question of, at least, what the Quem quaeritis is,<sup>2</sup> Chambers, Young, Craig, Sticca, Anderson, Hardison, Smoldon, Wickham, and Bryan shared and canonized this hypothesis.<sup>3</sup> Needless to say, generations of theatre historians have preached this theory to their students and solidified it in their anthologies of

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<sup>2</sup>The taxonomy used to define the Quem quaeritis is an interesting source of information regarding the development of medieval scholarship. It indicates its various stages and particular trends. Therefore, the Quem quaeritis has been perceived either as drama (e.g., Chambers), play (e.g., Young, Sticca, Anderson), music-drama (e.g., Smoldon), or dramatic office (e.g., Wickham). The most recent scholarship by Johann Drumbl (Easter ceremony) and James Gibson (Christmas celebration) opens yet another perspective of the interpretation of extra-liturgical ceremonies because they stress their liturgical rather than dramatic or musical context. See Johann Drumbl Quem Quaeritis: Teatro Sacro dell'Alto Medioevo (Rome: Bulzoni, 1981) and James M. Gibson, "Quem quaeritis in prespere: Christmas Drama or Christmas Liturgy," Comparative Drama 15 (Winter 1981-1982): 65-75.

<sup>3</sup>See, for example, Edmund K. Chambers, The Mediaeval Stage, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1903); Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1933); Hardin Craig, English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages (London: Oxford University Press, 1955); Sandro Sticca, The Latin Passion Play: Its Origin and Development (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1970); Mary Desiree Anderson, Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Church (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963); O. B. Hardison, Jr., Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965); William L. Smoldon, "Melodies of the Medieval Church Drama and Their Significance," Medieval English Drama, eds. Jerome Taylor and Alan H. Nelson (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1972): 64-80; Glynne Wickham, The Medieval Theatre (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974; reprint ed., Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977; paperback ed., Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1980); George B. Bryan, Ethelwold and Medieval Music-Drama at Winchester (Bern: Peter Lang, 1981).

medieval drama.<sup>4</sup>

However, not all scholars agree with this widespread theory. Opposing voices suggest an alternative approach towards the medieval origins of drama and theatre or, at least, stress the importance of secular activities.<sup>5</sup> But the absence of additional written evidence, has prevented any substantial research into the issues and the established theory. Therefore, for many scholars the Quem quaeritis remains an example of dramatic activities and the Regularis Concordia has been the crucial and, at the same time, the earliest document which could explain the development of medieval drama.

The purpose of this study is to reexamine the existing materials, especially the Regularis Concordia, to establish the validity of these accepted attitudes. Its objective is to offer a fresh analysis of the Regularis Concordia because the historical conditions which led to its creation have been frequently overlooked. Even when mentioned, the historical background has not been explored thoroughly enough to enhance our understanding of the medieval tradition. Those scholars who quote the passage referring to a "theatrical representation" of the Quem quaeritis do not clearly define the nature of the entire document. However, my close examination of the evidence shows that the Regularis Concordia had little or nothing to do with the origin of drama. In order to substantiate this hypothesis the following subjects

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<sup>4</sup>David Bevington, ed., Medieval Drama (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1975).

<sup>5</sup>For example, Benjamin Hunnigher, The Origin of the Theatre (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961; reprint. ed., Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978); Oscar Cargill, Drama and Liturgy (New York: Octagon Books, 1969); Richard Axton, European Drama of the Early Middle Ages (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1974).

will be treated: (1) the history of the medieval Church will be explored for a better understanding of the relationship of the early Church to theatre, and (2) the Regularis Concordia will be examined to ascertain its place in Church history and its value as a document in the history of theatre. The question concerning the nature of the Quem quaeritis which is contained in the Regularis Concordia will be posed: Is the Quem quaeritis a play, a drama, a music-drama, or a ritual?

In order to answer this question, the Regularis Concordia will be viewed in the context of: (1) movements towards the secularization of religious life in the ninth and tenth centuries, (2) the traditional institutions of the Church, and (3) the rise of European and English monasticism. This particular approach has been selected in order to argue for the treatment of the Regularis Concordia as a monastic consuetudinary, i.e., a code of monastic observances, rather than to view it merely as a series of rubrics which contain rules for the theatrical representation of the Quem quaeritis.<sup>6</sup>

The dissertation will follow this sequence of chapters. Chapter 2 offers a brief survey of theories and methodologies of medieval drama and theatre. Chapter 3 examines the history of the

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<sup>6</sup>I do not know of any other publication that uses a similar methodology. Neither am I aware of any doctoral dissertation which deals with this subject in a similar fashion. George Bryan's dissertation—"The Monastic Community at Winchester and the Origin of English Liturgical Drama" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1971)—discusses tenth-century English monasticism; however, it does not provide an in-depth study of the Regularis Concordia nor an analysis of the extant copies of the manuscript. His study deals with the music-drama, the Quem quaeritis, which is seen in the context of medieval English society, liturgical practices, reformation, and the fine arts and learning. His conclusions concerning both the author of the music-drama and the music-drama itself are far-reaching; however, they do not explain thoroughly the meaning and the significance of the Regularis Concordia.

state the Church, and monasticism in Europe during the ninth and tenth centuries. Chapter 4 presents the political situation in tenth-century England and the conditions under which the English monastic movement evolved. Chapter 5 is a detailed discussion of the content of the Regularis Concordia. Chapters 6 and 7 provide theoretical, contextual, and historical analyses of the Regularis Concordia and the Quem quaeritis and concentrate on the problem of mapping the original text with its modern renderings. Chapter 8 is the conclusion.

## CHAPTER II

### THEORIES AND METHODOLOGIES OF MEDIEVAL SCHOLARSHIP

The origin of theatre in the Middle Ages has been debated over the last one hundred years, and numerous theories have resulted from this dispute. These theories, in turn, indicate that in each generation scholars have felt a pressing need to combine old evidence with new discoveries by applying contemporary cognitive methodologies to shed light on the murky beginnings of medieval theatre and drama. Thus, for example, scholarship in the second half of the nineteenth century was dominated by so-called "cultural Darwinism," that is, the application of Darwin's theory of biological evolution to cultural developments.<sup>1</sup> The first decades of the twentieth century brought about new anthropological approaches--whether functionalist<sup>2</sup> or structuralist<sup>3</sup>--which rejected the deductive method in favour of an

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<sup>1</sup>One important conclusion in Darwin's theory is that all species evolve through an ineluctable process of development from simple to complex forms. Thus, some theatre historians assumed that drama must also grow from simple to more complex forms.

<sup>2</sup>Functionalism is a term used to describe the anthropological school led by Bronislaw Malinowski. Functionalists view each culture as highly individual; therefore, they oppose the earlier belief that the evidence of the organization of life in so-called "primitive" societies can be used to explain the development of other societies.

<sup>3</sup>Structuralism is the name of the anthropological school founded by Claude Lévi-Strauss. Structuralists are concerned with universal patterns and with the problem of how the mind functions.

inductive one. Those approaches have also made a tremendous impact on the scholarship and the theory of cultural and artistic developments. However, while theatre scholars have benefitted from the theories of anthropology, the question of the origins of medieval drama remains unresolved. One explanation of this problem is that very fragmented, if not obscure, knowledge of the medieval period coupled with the lack of a sufficient number of written texts or records preclude the selection of one indisputable theory that could explain the advent of drama and theatre in the Middle Ages.

At the same time, this effort to provide some answers combined with the unavoidable fact that every historian must rely on incomplete and often secondary information, led to a palpable and inescapable concurrence among many scholars: since the earliest extant manuscripts which refer to drama were written in the tenth century, there was little point in discussing the art of theatre which may have been practiced in Europe at an earlier date--during the so-called "Dark Ages." Moreover, because these tenth-century documents are ecclesiastical, the concept of medieval drama and theatre is based entirely on the unproved assumption that medieval theatre arose out of the liturgical celebrations of the Christian Church,<sup>4</sup> i.e., that

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They focus on the analysis of myths which they consider a form of logic, whose complexity can be equated with the logic of scientific inquiry used by advanced societies. Structuralists and functionalists repudiate the theory of cultural Darwinism.

<sup>4</sup>Some scholars have argued that drama and theatre continued to be practiced in Europe after the Fall of Rome and that the tradition was upheld for centuries in the performance of folk plays. Unfortunately, no written records survive and, thus, the concept of Roman Catholic origins prevails. See the discussion of Chambers's and Hunningher's works in this chapter.

. . . the theatre was born and developed in the shadow of the cathedrals of the Christian era.<sup>5</sup>

This hypothesis was canonized in the mid-nineteenth century by Sepet in his seminal Les prophètes du Christ<sup>6</sup> and validated by Chambers<sup>7</sup> and Young<sup>8</sup> in their monumental studies of the available sources. The modern historiography of medieval drama provides numerous variations which tackle, in a more or less critical manner, the problem of the validity of this widely accepted theory. Suffice it to mention O. B. Hardison's Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages,<sup>9</sup> Richard Axton's European Drama of the Early Middle Ages,<sup>10</sup> or William Tydeman's The Theatre in the Middle Ages<sup>11</sup> to obtain a composite picture of the recent scholarship in the area. Although, for example, Hardison's theory of the Easter ritual goes against Young's theory of the Easter service, the basic framework of

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<sup>5</sup>Address of Pope Paul VI to Members of the Italian Theatre Center, July 16, 1965, trans. NCWC News Service (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1965), p. 5.

<sup>6</sup>Marius Sepet, Les prophètes du Christ (Paris: Didier et Cie, 1878). According to Sepet, the development of theatre in the Middle Ages evolved in the following pattern: (1) assimilation of liturgical texts; (2) désagregation, i.e., new words are added, leading to liturgical drama; (3) juxtaposition, i.e., scenes which are not in the Old Testament are added, e.g., Adam et Eve, Abel et Cain.

<sup>7</sup>Edmund K. Chambers, The Mediaeval Stage, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1903).

<sup>8</sup>Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1933).

<sup>9</sup>O. B. Hardison, Jr., Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965).

<sup>10</sup>Richard Axton, European Drama of the Early Middle Ages (London: Hutchinson Library Press, 1974).

<sup>11</sup>William Tydeman, The Theatre in the Middle Ages (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

their theses remains the same—most scholars seem to agree that the signs of drama can be found in the recorded dialogue of the Easter Quem quaeritis and that the origin of medieval theatre lies in the theatrical practices of the Christian Church.

Moreover, an investigation of the methodology used in scholarly research in the development of theatre and drama in the Middle Ages reveals that the key to each particular approach can be found in the prevailing social, philosophical, and scientific theories of a given historical period. One can perceive those different methodologies of research by evaluating, for example, the works of:

1. Chambers and Young, in terms of evolution theories
2. Hardison, in terms of ritual theories
3. Smoldon<sup>12</sup> and Flanigan,<sup>13</sup> in terms of interdisciplinary studies, concentrating on music theories

Each of these methodologies contributed in a significant way to the development of the scholarly investigations concerning theatre in the Middle Ages. Chambers's and Young's theses were acceptable at the time because most scholars believed that Darwin's biological theory of evolution could be applied to cultural phenomena. Hardison's study would have been confusing to anyone who was unfamiliar with the theories of Chambers and Young.<sup>14</sup> At the same

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<sup>12</sup>William Smoldon, "The Origin of the Quem Quaeritis and the Easter Sepulchre Music-Drama as Demonstrated by Their Musical Settings," in The Medieval Drama, ed. Sandro Sticca (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1972), pp. 121-54.

<sup>13</sup>Clifford C. Flanigan, "The Liturgical Context of the Quem Quaeritis Trope," Comparative Drama 8 (Spring 1974): 45-62.

<sup>14</sup>In his first essay or chapter, Hardison makes a great effort to explain Chambers's and Young's Darwinistic stances and to refute their approach. Obviously, he felt it was a necessary introduction and essential to his treatise.

time, his novel treatment of the liturgy of the Mass in terms of ritual opened and directed attention to a more sympathetic view of the Christian Church and its observances, adding support in this way to Young's approach. The studies of Smoldon and Flanigan drew on the previous scholarship--its findings and methodologies--and introduced yet another element, an interdisciplinary approach which examined medieval music, allowing us to leave the plane of literary analysis of texts and shift to those musical elements in the Mass which had been overlooked by Chambers, Young, and Hardison. Today's perspective on the previous research and new findings might help us to enrich and possibly to advance the theses of those eminent scholars in the field.

In order to illuminate the above-mentioned considerations let us turn now to a brief analysis of the major twentieth-century theories of the origin of medieval theatre and drama.

Edmund K. Chambers can be perceived as the initiator of the modern dispute concerning the origin of medieval theatre. An examination of contemporary theories clearly indicates that many twentieth-century historians are fully indebted to Chambers's studies. References and cross-references to his scholarship, which can be found in most publications concerning the topic, lead to the conclusion that the English historian's study can be treated as a springboard for any further speculations. For example, some scholars acknowledge their full support of Chambers's thesis; others give it scathing criticism; however, all of them admit its influence and significance by the mere fact of constantly referring to his work.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>The scholars who support Chambers's thesis and those who refute it will be discussed in the latter part of this chapter.

Chambers's The Mediaeval Stage was published in 1903. The purpose of his treatise was to "state and explain the pre-existing conditions which, by the latter half of the sixteenth-century, made the great Shakespearean stage possible. The story is one of a sudden dissolution and a slow upbuilding."<sup>16</sup>

His methodology is clearly developed in the arrangement of the material with which he deals. His work is divided into two volumes and further subdivided into a set of four "books." To apprehend Chambers's method it is necessary to examine the main thrust of each part. Thus, an attempt will be made to provide a brief summary of each book with the understanding that these summaries are not intended to be comprehensive of the entire work but rather to isolate those specific elements which might enlighten the reader about Chambers's methodology.

Book I, entitled "Minstrelsy," focuses on the Roman tradition of scenici (entertainers) from the third century B.C. to the thirteenth century A.D. It analyses the historical conditions which contributed to the flourishing of the mimetic instinct in the Roman Empire and those which led to the waning of the Greco-Roman theatre in the early Christian era. According to Chambers, farce and pantomime were the most popular forms of entertainment in Rome, reflecting the tastes of the vast popular audiences who cared little for literary

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<sup>16</sup>Chambers, 1:vi. Subsequent references will appear as page numbers in the text. This statement by Chambers allows us to draw certain conclusions about his work: (1) he takes the position of the theatre historian; (2) he is reconstructing the history of medieval theatre in order to lead us to the Elizabethan stage. It is important here to note that the title of his publication is The Mediaeval Stage, i.e., he is primarily concerned with theatre and performance not with drama as literature.

drama (1:3). The emergence and development of Christianity is perceived by him as the immediate factor which led to the banning of mime performances and, thus, to the prejudice against actors. This thesis is supported by the fact that the actors who took part in the war between the old and new religions exposed themselves to the attacks of the Church by ridiculing its most sacred symbols and mysteries (1:10). To prove the validity of his observation, Chambers quotes numerous legislations against theatre or its actors and concludes that the history of minstrelsy can only be traced by analysing the written attacks of the ever more powerful ecclesiastical groups (1:38). The remaining part of this book is devoted to the history of the histriones, mimi, and joculatores, and later wandering scholars. Chambers tries to offer a probable explanation for the hostile attacks by the Church on the poetry and songs which in later centuries were thought to be devoid of immorality and coarseness, and full of anti-Christian elements. He claims that the Church's attitude against any form of representation of the mimetic instinct could be explained: (1) by the ascetic tendency of the ecclesiastics to regard any form of secular amusement as barely compatible with the religious life, and (2) by the degenerative aspects of the old Teutonic tradition in the eighth century (1:33).

Book II, "Folk Drama," discusses yet another secular tradition, the ludi of the village feasts. Ludi were any kind of sport, play, or game, including stage plays. Village feasts were the ceremonies connected with the celebration of the four seasons of the year. As in the case of the minstrels' spectacula, so did the ludi endure the hostility of the Church before they made peace with the

dominant religion. Chambers analyses numerous pagan rituals, especially those of the Teutonic tradition, and demonstrates how they were transformed to serve the needs of Christianity. He explains this phenomenon in terms of the new tactics adapted by the Church. Having recognized its failure to completely suppress heathenism, the Church was forced to alter its policy. Rather than uproot what Chambers calls the "mimetic instinct," it decided to purify the old sites to serve the new God.<sup>17</sup> Thus, the old sites became part of the parochial organization and, as such, were administered by the parochial machinery. Chambers provides ample examples of festivals which entered the Catholic calendar of annual celebrations after having been "christened." He divides them into five separate categories: agricultural customs of summer (e.g., the May-Game) and the winter feasts (e.g., the Mummers' Play or the Sword-Dance); domestic customs (e.g., feasts of the family hearth and of the dead ancestors); New Year customs (e.g., rites whose aim was to foretell and to determine the fortune for the whole year); and a small group of legends which owe their origin not to heathenism transformed by Christianity, but to Christianity itself (e.g., the Feast of Fools, the Boy Bishop, Masks, and Misrule). All these examples lead Chambers to the conclusion that

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<sup>17</sup>Chambers writes: "Two letters of Gregory the Great, written at the time of the mission of St. Augustine [c. 601-603], are the key to the methods adopted by the apostles of the West. . . . Before Mellitus could reach England, he received a letter instructing him to expound to Augustine a new policy. 'Do not, after all,' wrote Gregory, 'pull down the fanes. Destroy the idols; purify the buildings with holy water; set relics there; and let them become temples of the true God. So the people will have no need to change their places of concourse, and where of old they were wont to sacrifice cattle to demons, thither let them continue to resort on the day of the saint to whom the church is dedicated, and slay their beasts no longer as a sacrifice, but for a social meal in honour of Him whom they now worship.'" See Chambers, 1:95-96.

the Church did not succeed in suppressing the mimetic tradition. On the contrary, the mimetic instinct was preserved in pre-Christian charms, rites, and games whose symbolic meanings he equates with the dramatic element existing in man's subconscious instinct for imitation. Perhaps this is an idea which Chambers derived from Aristotle's Poetics in which the Stagirite says that imitation is a natural instinct in man:

. . . the instinct of imitation is implanted in man from childhood, one difference between him and other animals being that he is the most imitative of living creatures, and through imitation learns his earliest lessons.<sup>18</sup>

Book III, "Religious Drama," examines liturgical plays and the process of secularization. The first chapters detail the history "by which the Church itself, through the introduction of dramatic elements into its liturgy, came to make its own appeal to this same mimetic instinct" (1:vi). Chambers is primarily interested in the sociological implications of the compromise between the Church and the folk tradition as well as in the forces that influenced the merger of the two traditions. In the previous two books, he proves that the Church was unable to suppress the histrionic sensibility of the ludi performers and, therefore, it adopted certain village festivals for the purpose of converting pagans into faithful Christians. Thus, as he seems to suggest, the Church recognized the necessity to admit the elements of heathen rituals into a spiritual service in order to appeal to the majority of the churchgoers. It is here that he discusses the dramatic elements of the liturgical services. According to Chambers, Christian worship contains dramatic tendencies. As the

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<sup>18</sup>Aristotle, Poetics 4. 2-6 (trans. S. H. Butcher).

service of the Mass evolved, it was seen as an actual repetition of Christ's original suffering, rather than as a metaphorical ceremony. This element of actual repetition further intensified the dramatic character of the Mass as well as of other observances (2:3-4). For example, the Antiphon (usually a psalm whose successive verses are sung in alternation by two choruses) lends itself naturally to dialogue thanks to the above-mentioned element of repetition. That is why Chambers claims that it is from the antiphon that the actual evolution of liturgical drama begins (2:7). The Quem quaeritis illustrates this evolution. First, it was a plain chant which in the tenth century acquired the distinct form of a dialogue chant. The second stage of the evolution of the Quem quaeritis took place when it had ceased to be an Introit trope in the Easter Mass and became attached to the ceremony of the sepulchre in the tenth century.<sup>19</sup> The Regularis Concordia, a monastic document from the tenth century, contains an example of the Quem quaeritis which has been identified as the merging of dialogue chant and mimetic action. At that point, according to Chambers, the first liturgical drama was, "in all its essentials, complete" (2:15). The next stages of this evolution from simple to complex forms were marked: (1) by the addition of scenes and free adaptations of the text of the Vulgate rather than by the further development of this trope; (2) by a slow process of secularization, i.e., the contamination of the liturgical texts by secular elements

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<sup>19</sup>The Roman Mass consists of five parts: (1) the Preparation, (2) the Oblation, (3) the Consecration, (4) the Communion, and (5) the Dismissal. The Introit is the first part of the Preparation. It is a chant sung by the chorus after the celebrant has reached the altar. See appendix D.

introduced by clerici vagantes (wandering clerics); (3) by the appearance of the popular religious drama, i.e., the cycle or mystery plays; and (4) by the development of morality plays which, though religious in intention, were concerned with ethical or abstract concepts.

The final book, "The Interlude," concentrates, on the one hand, on the social and economic implications of the emergence from the remnants of the minstrel tradition of a new class of professional players, "in whose hands the theatre was destined to recover a stable organization upon lines which had been departed from since the days of Tertullian" (1:vi). On the other hand, it focuses on the influence of humanism and on changes in medieval traditions, i.e., on the growing impact of the classical model upon vernacular interludes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. "These [were] precisely the dry bones which one day, beneath the breath of genius, should spring up into the wanton life of the Shakespearean drama" (2:225).

This brief outline of the content of each of the books delineates Chambers's approach to theatre and drama in the Middle Ages. As is apparent, the key phrase in his work is "mimetic instinct." He applies this term to typical groups rather than to individual performers, and combines the notion of mimetic instinct with the sociological changes which occurred in the period from the fall of the Roman Empire to the advent of the Renaissance. His theory is based on two clear-cut phenomena. The first one is the non-literary tradition of mimi and folk performers which was never destroyed by the Church but endured its attacks and its tendency to suppress natural instincts. The second phenomenon is the supposedly unprecedented co-existence of two opposed forces—the secular and the

ecclesiastical traditions—in relation to the development of dramatic literature which could serve as an example of what he calls "an object lesson in literary evolution" (2:3).

The meaning of the phrase "an object lesson in literary evolution" can be explained as the process of growth of dramatic literature from simple to complex forms. According to Chambers, this process was possible because of the existence of the mimetic instinct which could not be inhibited by an alien society nor by the stringent rules promulgated by the Christian religion (books I and II). As a result, the Church modified pagan rites to serve its own purposes and, at the same time, developed new ceremonies which were abundantly dramatic. However, it was only the development of the Quem quaeritis into a liturgical play, which occurred when chanted dialogue was combined with mimetic action, that initiated the first stage of the literary evolution of drama (tenth century). The second stage was a slow process of secularization of liturgical drama by the elaboration of scenes and characters from the Old and New Testament (twelfth century). The third stage was the appearance of cycle plays in which the thematic scope was increased, performances were held outdoors, and the vernacular language rather than Latin was used (fourteenth century). The fourth stage was marked by morality plays whose primary purpose was to inculcate good morals rather than to preach Christian dogma (fifteenth century). The last stage was the outburst of dramatic activities whose subject matter was derived from classical models and all forms of medieval plays and which prepared the ground for and culminated in Shakespearean drama (sixteenth century). In compliance with Darwin's theory this model of theatrical development

is preceded by similar Greek and Roman models.

The second publication which left an immense imprint on medieval scholarship is Karl Young's The Drama of the Medieval Church, published in 1933. Although Young is considered Chambers's follower, it is my intention to review his methodology as a separate theory. The title of his book indicates the primary framework of his approach. Whereas Chambers is concerned with the medieval stage, i.e., theatre and performance, Young intends to focus on the drama, i.e., the literary compositions of the medieval Church. Thus, the essential purpose of his book is not to discuss theatre arts, as was Chambers's intention, but "to assemble, in their authentic form, the dramatic compositions which were employed by the Church in Western Europe as a part of a public worship, and which are commonly regarded as the origins of modern theatre."<sup>20</sup> Treated as such, his two volumes can be perceived as a compendium of the writings of ecclesiastical playwrights with the means provided for interpreting them. Such a perception of medieval drama has its roots in Young's thesis that liturgical plays were to be regarded not as a contamination of an ancient tradition, but as a spontaneous new genre which originated within the confines of the Christian religion (1:1). This spontaneous development adhered to the rules of cultural Darwinism; i.e., Young arranged the primary documents in a "logical" order of development, from the simplest to the most complex and elaborate forms. Having established the significance of written materials as primary reference, Young explains the distribution of the discussed texts:

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<sup>20</sup>Young, 1:vii. Subsequent references will appear as page numbers in the text.

since certain Easter plays are the earliest extant dramatic pieces and served as models for some of the ecclesiastical plays, the dramatization of the theme of Easter Day is to be discussed first (1:viii).

Such a conscious act of drawing a sharp demarcation line between literary and non-literary forms requires further elaboration. Young explains his scanty treatment of "the popular entertainers of antiquity" and folk performers, suggesting that their theatrical performances were nothing more than mere "dramatic impulses." Therefore, they cannot be appropriately placed in his framework since their interpretation cannot be substantiated by any written examples or records but only by isolated references open to several interpretations (1:8). It is worth mentioning here that *The Feast of Fools*, which has been referred to in discussing Chambers's text, does not occupy a significant place in Young's considerations because he treats it as a form of licensed misbehaviour rather than as a theatrical representation (1:104-05). When compared with the Latin drama of the Church, the literary drama of the secular tradition seems to Young less elevated and appealing; thus, to suggest that the latter originated from the former would be an unjustified generalization:

The dramatic manifestations to be considered in these volumes were the independent creation and possession of the medieval Church in Western Europe. They are to be regarded not as a continuation of an ancient tradition from outside, but as a spontaneous new birth and growth within the confines of Christian worship. From the date of its beginning, in the tenth century, throughout the Middle Ages and into modern times, this drama remained essentially free from the contamination of alien forms. The vernacular drama which emerged from the Church during the later Middle Ages, to be sure, was freely modified under secular influences; but the germinal plays of the Church itself, written in Latin, and worshipfully performed by ecclesiastics within the Church walls, persisted in their independence until they were gradually removed from the service-books altogether, during the generations following the Reformation (1:1).

According to Young, the Church invented a new dramatic form whose products survived till today, presenting theatre historians with a unique opportunity to observe drama in the process of creation that started and continued in isolation from any external influence until the twelfth century.<sup>21</sup>

This theory is presented by means of a methodology which is based on three assumptions elevated to the position of axioms:

1. Medieval drama originated in the Church
2. dramatic development shows a logical transition from simple to complex forms
3. Latin liturgical drama developed independently, i.e., separate from secular vernacular drama

In order to prove the validity of his approach, Young focuses on the integral parts of the liturgy of the Roman Mass, the Canonical Office, and the ceremonies of the liturgical year as well as their inherent dramatic aspects. These dramatic aspects of the Roman liturgy are clearly visible in a large portion of liturgical utterances which take the form of dialogue, in the movements and gestures of the participants, as well as in the element of the symbolic impersonation of the Christ figure (1:79-80). Young finds further support for such an interpretation of the Offices in the

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<sup>21</sup>In Chapter III, Young provides his own distinction between "dramatic externalities" and genuine drama. He considers speech, movement, and representation as the elements of dramatic externalities. Genuine drama, according to him, has an additional element, impersonation, which is the most essential one. "The performer must do more than merely represent the chosen personage; he must also resemble him, or at least show his intention of doing so." Having defined drama in these terms, Young is correct in his conclusion that the Church invented a new dramatic form, since he perceives a celebrant, for example, in the Quem quaeritis ceremony, as a person who "pretends to be the character in this story." See Young, 1:80-81.

twentieth-century scholarship of Westlake and Lefebvre who maintained that the Mass was the highest drama of all (1:81). Although the observances were often highly theatrical, they did not lead into the main current of dramatic development. Simply stated, they lacked the element of impersonation and setting. These two elements seem to have been reserved for the Easter trope, Quem quaeritis, which originally functioned as the Introit to the Easter Mass. The Easter trope of St. Gall (ca. 950) is perceived by Young as the simplest version, even though it is not the earliest one.<sup>22</sup> The trope contained a very important dramatic quality, i.e., it seems that parts were assigned to specific actors. However, as long as this trope was a part of the service, it lacked an indispensable element for a full dramatic development--the setting. According to Young, once the trope was detached from the Introit and the Mass altogether, its dramatic potential was fully realized (1:231). When the Quem quaeritis was placed as a part of Matins (Nocturns), it achieved literary freedom and developed into an authentic Easter play, the Visitatio Sepulchri (the visit of the three Marys to the tomb during which they discover that Christ has risen).<sup>23</sup> This independent dramatic ceremony recorded in the Regularis Concordia possessed two crucial elements, i.e., a

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<sup>22</sup>The oldest extant text of the Quem quaeritis trope is found in St. Martial at Limoges (923-934). However, according to Young, this text cannot be treated as the trope in its simplest version. See Young, 1:204-05.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 1:231. Matins is the first and earliest Canonical Hour celebrated in monasteries at about 3:00 A.M. in winter and at about 2:00 A.M. in summer. Throughout this study I will refer to this service either as the Night Office or Nocturns which was a tenth-century equivalent of Matins. The only exception is this chapter in which, to avoid confusion, both terms are provided. See tables 2 and 3.

setting (the sepulchre) and impersonation (the three Marys and the Angel), that fully classify it as drama. "The Mass, then has never been a drama, nor did it ever directly give rise to drama" (1:85). Thus, the point Young is making is that the Quem quaeritis became drama after it was removed from the Mass and placed in the Hours services. The process of transformation and expansion of the Easter play followed the same pattern of development from simple to expanded forms which was characteristic for the tropes. Thus, Young differentiates three stages of the evolution. In the first stage, the dialogue between the three Marys and the Angel was further elaborated upon (1:279-80). In the second stage, a new scene and new characters were added, i. e., Peter and John (1:309-10). In the third stage of the development of the Visitatio Sepulchri, a role for a person impersonating the risen Christ was introduced (1:370-71).

It should be noted here that, as in the case of the evolution of the trope, the chapters concerning the development of the Easter play do not abide by the rules of chronological order. Young stresses the priority of his logical order, since the simplest forms are not always found in the earliest manuscripts, but sometimes appear in later ones. Moreover, this methodology is deeply rooted in his attempt "to describe and interpret the texts rather than to implicate them in a web of theorizing as to Urformen and cross-influences" (1:ix).

Young's The Drama of the Medieval Church is another example of "an object lesson in literary evolution." Darwin's theory, however, is now implemented in a significantly different way. It is used to explain the phenomenon of Latin liturgical drama in terms of its

evolutionary development which was bereft of any secular influences. For Young, this creation of drama took place in the isolation of the Church. Treated as such it provides us with the possibility of tracing both its origin and its progression. The chain of development from the trope, Visitatio Sepulchri to Visitatio Sepulchri—Stage I, Stage II, and Stage III is the example of this process.

These two models of the development, first, of the medieval stage and, second, of the drama of the medieval Church typify the application of a scientific theory to cultural developments. Even though, both Chambers and Young make use of the concept of the object lesson in literary evolution, i.e., the expansion of the trope from simple to complex forms, their basic assumptions make us perceive their theories as totally juxtaposed. Chambers's model which is shaped by the concept of the mimetic instinct and which discusses at length primarily non-literary forms, cannot be matched with Young's model based on the literary forms of an independent Latin drama. Therefore, the works of the two scholars should be analysed separately, though the methodology they use as well as the basic assumption of the ecclesiastic origin of literary drama in the Middle Ages is similar. Despite these obvious differences in approach, Chambers's and Young's studies solidified the argument which has since become orthodox in literary histories, that the Quem quaeritis trope should be treated as the nucleus of the origin of medieval drama. The extent of their influence upon the scholarship in the twentieth century can be traced in numerous international publications, for

example, Bartholomaeis in Italy,<sup>24</sup> Knudsen in Germany,<sup>25</sup> Hamelin in France,<sup>26</sup> Wickham in England,<sup>27</sup> and Sticca in America,<sup>28</sup> which supported and further developed the notion of an ecclesiastical origin for modern drama.

In 1965, sixty-two years after Chambers's The Medieval Stage and thirty-two years after Young's The Drama of the Medieval Church, there appeared a third publication that indubitably influenced contemporary perceptions and theories about medieval theatre and drama: O. B. Hardison's Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages. On the one hand, it shows its indebtedness to the fundamental research which was conducted by Chambers and Young in the first three decades of the twentieth century; on the other hand, his book stands in sharp opposition and ultimately rejects previously accepted scholarship in the area. Hardison's publication is also important for another reason. It presents us with a new methodology of research which rejected the concept of evolutionary development and substituted for the concepts provided by theories of ritual. Hardison argues that the Christian liturgy should be perceived as ritual. The Mass, thus, should be treated as other dramatic rituals which are

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<sup>24</sup>Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis, Origini della poesia drammatica italiana (Turin: Societa Editrice Internazionale, 1952).

<sup>25</sup>Hans Knudsen, Deutsche Teatergeschichte (Stuttgart: Alfred Kroner Verlag, 1959).

<sup>26</sup>Jeanne Hamelin, Le théâtre chrétien (Paris: Librairie A. Fayard, 1957).

<sup>27</sup>Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages, 1300-1600, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959-1972).

<sup>28</sup>Sandro Sticca, The Latin Passion Play (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1970).

universal in tribal societies and common among the various mystery cults that existed in the West between the first and fourth centuries.<sup>29</sup> This shift in approach had an immense impact on his perception of the origin of drama and theatre in the Middle Ages. It opened up new possibilities for the interpretation of the available materials and led to a new treatment of the liturgy of the Christian Church. Chambers and especially Young had viewed the liturgy as a literary form which could be analysed from an historical perspective. Hardison claims that the only satisfactory way to make us understand how the liturgy functioned is to analyse it in terms of comparative religion.

For this very reason, he considers previous scholarship as attractive but nothing more than that because, as he states:

If there is a single defining difference between the attitude of the nineteenth-century literary scholarship and the scholar writing after World War II, it is the greater willingness of the contemporary to recognize the close bond between the huge area of experience conventionally labeled "religion" and that labeled "literature." Although Chambers and Young both recognized that medieval drama developed out of a religious context, neither was willing to accept the implications of this fact (vii-viii).

Hardison is willing to accept this close bond between religion and literature. In five chapters, which are called essays, he presents his theory on the interrelationship between Christian rite and Christian drama. To be more precise, Hardison deletes the boundary between religion (ritual) and literature (drama of the Church) and shows that religious ritual was the drama of the early Middle Ages:

Just as the Mass is a sacred drama encompassing all history and

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<sup>29</sup>Hardison, p. 43. Subsequent references will appear as page numbers in the text.

embodying in its structure the central pattern of Christian life on which all Christian drama must draw, the celebration of the Mass contains all elements necessary to secular performances (79).

It might be noted here that Hardison's belief that the Mass is drama is directly opposed to Young's perception of this service. To support this assumption, Hardison refers to the Liber officialis (833) by Amalarius, Bishop of Metz, and indicates that the Mass was a sacred drama in which the idea of commemoration merged with the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ. This doctrine can be explained by the statement that if the bread and the wine are changed at the moment of consecration into the flesh and blood of Christ, then Christ must be present at every Mass. Thus in this respect, Hardison, although he cites Amalarius, is developing his ideas along the same lines as Chambers who described the dramatic character of the Mass when it was seen as an actual repetition of Christ's suffering and not merely as a symbolic act.<sup>30</sup> At the same time, such an interpretation of the Mass emphasizes its similarity to other dramatic rituals of all so-called "primitive" societies.

Furthermore, Hardison points to Gilbert Murray's classification of ritual forms in order to draw parallels between the Mass and ritual forms preserved in Greek drama.<sup>31</sup> In the light of this classification, the Mass becomes a two-act drama with definite

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<sup>30</sup>Chambers, 2:3-4.

<sup>31</sup>Having analysed Greek drama, Murray distinguishes six ritual forms: (1) an agon (a struggle or contest), (2) a pathos (involving suffering and death), (3) a messenger who announces the death, (4) a threnos (lamentation), (5) an anagnorisis (discovery and recognition) (6) a theophany (a period of joy occasioned by re-birth). For a detailed discussion of these forms see Gilbert Murray's "Excursus on the Ritual Forms Preserved in Greek Tragedy" in Jane Ellen Harrison's Themis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), pp. 341-69.

roles assigned to the participants and a plot which is based on the "plan of redemption," through the re-creation of the "life, death, and resurrection of Christ."<sup>32</sup> Moreover, by increasing emphasis on the Passion after the ninth century, the Mass was given a comic structure which has a descending action, a crisis, a reversal, and a joyful resolution.<sup>33</sup>

The Gemma Aminae (c. 1100) by Honorius of Autun is quoted to support such a perspective of the liturgy and to reinforce Hardison's belief that the dramatic instinct did not disappear during the earlier Middle Ages, as has been claimed by some drama historians, but "found its expression in the central ceremony of Christian worship, the Mass."<sup>34</sup> Since "the Mass was consciously interpreted as drama during the ninth century," the "representational ceremonies" must have been "common in the Roman liturgy long before the earliest manuscripts of the Quem quaeritis play" (viii).

Having established the significance of all the elements of the Mass in terms of an agon, a pathos, a threnos, an anagnorisis, and a theophany, Hardison proceeds to an examination of the Easter liturgy. His analysis indicates that the Mass and the Easter liturgy have the same structure, the same emotional pattern, and the same historical association—renewal and restatement of faith. They are restatements of the same drama in terms of two varieties of time: absolute (the Mass) and cyclical (the Easter Ceremony). Therefore, according to Hardison, the Quem quaeritis is not a trope, as it has been perceived

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<sup>32</sup>Sister Teresa Clare Goode, cited by Hardison, p. 39.

<sup>33</sup>Hardison, p. 46.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 41.

by many scholars, but a ceremony associated with the Easter Drama (198). This ceremony was not assigned to one particular part of the Easter celebration; rather, its position varied. It could have been associated with the Easter Introit or Matins (Nocturns). When attached to the Easter Mass, it was normally used as a processional ceremony without rubrics and without elaborate action. When used with the Matins (Nocturns) service, it retained its identity as an extra-liturgical or representational ceremony which made use of dialogue and stage properties (199).

Moreover, according to Hardison, when considered from the point of view of dramatic structure the Quem quaeritis is a resurrection play because of its dialogue form. If one were to use the terminology provided in Aristotle's Poetics and Murray's "Excursus," the Quem quaeritis makes use of anagnorisis and peripeteia, i.e., of the recognition and reversal of the Christian mythos. Therefore, Hardison concludes that "as study of the Resurrection play shows, liturgical drama is the outcome of a search for representational modes which preserve a vital relation to ritual" rather than an accidental outcome of a haphazard mutation out of mimetic instinct; nor is it an isolated literary phenomenon of Church origin (252).

Hardison's Christian Rite and Christian Drama introduces yet another model of the origin of drama and theatre in the Middle Ages. His methodology of research, which is based on the studies of comparative religion, combines theories of ritual and theatre. On the one hand, he is immersed in meticulous research into ecclesiastical sources from the eighth to the twelfth centuries, e.g., Amalarius of

Metz and Honorius of Autun. On the other hand, he is a theatre historian who analyses the available data in terms of the germinal studies in the theory of theatre, i.e., Aristotle and Murray. The ecclesiastical scholars provided Hardison with a sound background concerning the treatment of Christian religion as ritual, while the philosopher and the literary critic provided Hardison with an appropriate taxonomy to classify ritual as drama. A new significant theory of medieval drama and theatre was the ultimate outcome of this espousal of the two traditions.

Having briefly examined the contributions of Chambers, Young, and Hardison, we should now turn to more recent developments in medieval drama research. An investigation of the scholarship of the last two decades indicates that the origin of theatre and drama in the Middle Ages has ceased to be the sole domain of literary and theatre historians. An entirely new group, musicologists, joined the dispute. Their contributions, though not commonly recognized nor fully accepted, can be viewed as a proverbial touchstone in considerations of medieval ecclesiastical drama. They introduced the concept of the treatment of theatre as an activity whose perception should not be limited to literary or historical perspectives. More importantly, they pointed out that the analysis of tropes as literary creations is inadequate. At least two works should be mentioned here to present this new approach: William Smoldon's "The Origin of the Quem Quaeritis and the Easter Sepulchre Music Drama, as Demonstrated by Their Musical Settings," published in 1969, and Clifford C. Flanigan's "The Liturgical Context of the Quem Quaeritis Trope," published in 1974.

As early as 1860, the famous musicologist and literary scholar Edouard de Coussemaker had voiced his concern about the treatment of

the trope as merely a literary creation as was proposed by the numerous scholars of his time. In his Drames liturgiques du moyen âge, he asserted that

. . . their publications which reproduce the dramatic pieces are incomplete: there is a regrettable omission. The editors have despoiled them of the music which accompanied them, and which is an integral and substantial part of them. . . . What would I think of a writer who wishing to initiate us into the operas that were played before (for example) Louis XIV would be contented to reproduce the libretti of Quinault.<sup>35</sup>

The concern raised in Coussemaker's statement has also been voiced and brought to the fore by Smoldon. In his analysis of tropes, he indicates that music was their essential aspect. This point was either not adequately treated or entirely ignored by Chambers, Young, and Hardison, who viewed the trope as either a literary ornamentation or as a part of pre-existing Church ceremonies. Smoldon feels the need to redefine the meaning of tropes. According to him, they were additions to various parts of the Christian liturgy which originated in the ninth century or earlier. Three categories of tropes are distinguished:<sup>36</sup>

1. musical tropes, i.e., a vocal embellishment, or a melisma which is a term used with reference to passages in plainsong, or in other songs in which one syllable is extended into a passage of several notes

2. textual tropes, i.e., the addition of a new text which is fitted to the notes of an already existing melisma

3. musical-textual tropes, i.e., the addition of both new text and new music

The third type was most frequently employed for troping Introits and

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<sup>35</sup>De Coussemaker, quoted in Smoldon, p. 123.

<sup>36</sup>Smoldon, pp. 132-33.

some other chants of the Mass.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, the troping could be in the form of phrases which were inserted between the original liturgical phrases, or in the form of some relevant motif inserted into the beginning of the Introit.<sup>38</sup> The Quem quaeritis thus belongs to the third category of tropes, since, as the records indicate, it was placed as the introduction to the Introit of the Easter Mass. Furthermore, its concomitant music, which was written above the syllables, indicates that the text was chanted.<sup>39</sup> Having established the nature of the Quem quaeritis, Smoldon turns to an analysis of the Quem quaeritis dialogue which can be found in the Regularis Concordia. He claims that the dialogue is a "shorthand version" that could have been expanded into the form containing the text and the music, since the music which was its inherent part was contained in the collection of tropes.<sup>40</sup> Smoldon argues that the Visitatio Sepulchri, whose core was the trope, cannot be considered as drama but should be viewed as music-drama.

Taking a different approach, Flanigan's study, "The Liturgical Context of the Quem Quaeritis Trope," combines the musicologists' stance with the ritualistic-liturgical studies of Mircea Eliade and Dom Odo Casel, the founder of the Mysterientheologieschule. After discussing the works of Young and Hardison, Flanigan suggests that even though it has been accepted that the Quem quaeritis trope was the nucleus of Latin medieval drama, little is known about the way the

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 133.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., pp. 144-45.

trope functioned within the context of the liturgy of the Mass. The purpose of his study is to concentrate on the nature and function of the liturgy. Flanigan defines the trope as an addition of text and music to the beginning of a liturgical chant.<sup>41</sup> Such an understanding of tropes finds its support in the studies of another musicologist, Paul Evans, who has pointed out that:

. . . tropes as we know them from even the earliest of Western manuscripts appear to have been conceived, not as extensions of a line of plainchant . . . but rather as introduction to it. . . . The introductory nature of the trope lines is made clear by the frequent use of such connective expressions as "saying," "singing," and "proclaiming," a particle like "and," or the subject of the verb which occurs in the subsequent line of chant. Furthermore . . . the final line of a chant is never followed by a line of trope. . . . Tropes originally functioned primarily as introductions to liturgical actions.<sup>42</sup>

The final statement which asserts that tropes provided commentary on liturgical texts and actions is the hypothesis in Flanigan's theory. He proves it by analysing the Quem quaeritis in the text of the Introit to the Easter Mass, and by looking at the Quem quaeritis dialogue that is written in the Regularis Concordia. His findings unequivocally lead to the conclusion that this trope, which can be perceived as a commemoration of the life and passion of Christ, was nothing more than a commentary on the significance of the Easter liturgy. Therefore, it served the same ritual function whether it appeared as an introit trope, as a processional ceremony, or as a quasi-independent Visitatio Sepulchri.<sup>43</sup> Even though the execution of the text of the Quem quaeritis might have varied, i.e., words or

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<sup>41</sup>Flanigan, p. 47.

<sup>42</sup>Evans cited by Flanigan, p. 47.

<sup>43</sup>Flanigan, p. 60.

actions could have been employed to achieve its purpose, these means were only secondary to the message.<sup>44</sup> And the message of the trope was clear—it was a liturgical commemoration of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. According to Flanigan, to consider the Quem quaeritis as the nucleus of the medieval drama is unjustified; such a view only reflects the lack of effort to understand the true function of the Christian liturgy.

Although Smoldon's and Flanigan's studies did not provide an answer to the question of the origin of Latin medieval drama, they provided a new interpretation of the trope by drawing attention to its musical settings (Smoldon) and liturgical context (Flanigan). Moreover, their scholarship seems to make it clear that only an interdisciplinary approach to the drama of the Middle Ages can lead us to a composite picture of its origin. As Flanigan aptly concludes:

Whether or not subsequent scholarship will confirm such a view remains to be seen. In any case it has certainly become evident in the last few years that we are only beginning to understand liturgical drama; there is very much to be done yet, and there are probably surprises in store for us.<sup>45</sup>

This brief review of the influential texts of Chambers, Young, Hardison, Smoldon, and Flanigan points out that our perception of the origin of theatre and drama in the Middle Ages depends to a great extent on the methodology which is used by scholars. Chambers's evolution of drama, Young's literary analysis of the tropes, Hardison's theory of Christian rite, and the musicologists' studies of musical settings are a sufficient proof of this assumption. Moreover,

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

each of these methodologies provided a different set of definitions of the basic concepts. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to examine the relationship between the methodologies and the Mass, the Easter Mass, and the Quem quaeritis trope, which are the fundamental parts of all the theories.

Let us begin with summaries of the various definitions of these terms by the above-mentioned scholars.

According to Chambers, the Mass is a dramatic commemoration of one of the most critical moments in the life of Christ, which has been the central rite of the Christian worship since the fourth century.<sup>46</sup> "And when the conception of the Mass developed until instead of a mere symbolical commemoration it was looked upon as an actual repetition of the initial sacrifice, its dramatic character was only intensified."<sup>47</sup> Therefore, Chambers seems to view the Mass as a ritual of worship, and he believes it contained elements which were pregnant with dramatic tendencies.

Young considers the Mass the most sacred of all the ceremonies of Christian worship which, from the ninth-century Liber Officialis by Amalarius of Metz, has been frequently compared with drama. He was aware that many modern religious scholars considered the Mass to be the supreme example of drama. According to Young, however, although the action and physical aspects of the service resemble the actual life of Jesus Christ in which liturgical details are symbols of biographical episodes, the Mass has never been a drama, because the celebrant always remains a celebrant and never impersonates Jesus

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<sup>46</sup>Chambers, 2:3.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 2:4.

Christ. The priest is only an instrument through which Christ acts in the genuine repetition of the Last Supper. Therefore, Young differs from Chambers in that he believes that the Mass never evolved into drama:

The Mass, then, has never been a drama, nor did it ever directly give rise to drama. The dramatic features of this service, along with those of the Canonical Office, and the symbolizing of virtually every sentence, gesture and physical accompaniment--these phenomena may have contributed suggestions as to the possibility of inventing drama, and may, indirectly have encouraged it; but the liturgy itself, in its ordinary observances, remained always merely worship.<sup>48</sup>

The title of Hardison's second essay, "The Mass as Sacred Drama," fully explains his perception of the service. The Mass is an elaborate drama with definite roles distributed among the participants whose plot is the "renewal of the whole plan of redemption" through the recreation of the "life, death, and resurrection of Christ."<sup>49</sup> This thematic development and dramatic structure give the Mass a comic rather than a tragic character because it is an action that "begins in adversity and ends in peace."<sup>50</sup> Hardison comes to the conclusion that the Mass moves forward on two visible planes, or what he calls "stages," the presbyterium and the altar. Moreover, "the deployment of the celebrant, the deacons, and the subdeacons around the altar . . . [implies an almost conscious act of] choreography of the Mass."<sup>51</sup> Therefore, he concludes, it is a ritual drama which contains all the elements necessary to secular performances. And in

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<sup>48</sup>Young, 1:85.

<sup>49</sup>Goode, cited by Hardison, p. 39.

<sup>50</sup>Euanthius, cited by Hardison, p. 46.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

this point of view, Hardison is directly opposed to both Young and Chambers.

Flanigan defines the Mass as a reactualization of the commemoration of the life and passion of Christ. Following the interpretation of the Mysterientheologieschule, he states that the aim of the Mass is to bring to the faithful the temporal dimension of the deeds of Christ.<sup>52</sup> Thus, Flanigan avoids the question of whether or not the Mass is drama.

The second service which will be discussed here is the Easter Mass. It should be pointed out, however, that neither Chambers nor Young give it significant coverage in their publications. Chambers's anti-clerical stance precludes extensive discussion of the Easter service. Young mentions it while describing the various parts of the Roman Mass. It is Hardison who devotes a considerable part of his book to the Easter Mass.

According to Hardison the Easter Mass is similar to the regular Mass in that its structure has a crisis, a reversal, and a joyful resolution. The only difference between the two services is the time factor. The Mass is performed in a daily cycle, whereas, the Easter Mass is repeated as an annual cyclical sequence. Moreover, unlike the Mass, "it includes representational episodes. . . . Their characteristic feature is their use of linear or chronological time. For this reason they have the quality of germinal history plays, and they employ devices of verisimilitude such as pantomime, stage props, costume, and dialogue taken from their historical source, i.e., the

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<sup>52</sup>Flanigan, p. 49.

Gospels."<sup>53</sup> Thus, the Easter Mass has a very intricate dramatic structure focusing on Christ who is the protagonist of the Lenten Agon.

The last term to be discussed is the Quem quaeritis trope.

According to Chambers, the period from the ninth to the eleventh centuries was a time of liturgical elaboration. It was also the time when the first tropes appeared in written form. Chambers defines them as texts which were written for pre-existing melodies. He claims that tropes attached themselves in varying degrees to most of the choral portions of the Mass.<sup>54</sup> Several Introit tropes take a dialogue form, e.g., the ninth-century Christmas trope ascribed to Tutilo. However, the evolution of drama is closely connected only with the Easter trope, which was an adaptation of the story told by Matthew and Mark that was presented in the form of a dialogue between the three Marys and the angel at the tomb.<sup>55</sup>

Young defined the trope as a literary addition, "a verbal amplification of a passage in the authorized liturgy, in the form of an introduction, an interpolation, or a conclusion, or in the form of any combination of these."<sup>56</sup> Many tropes showed dramatic promise due to the dialogue form, but only one particular trope used for Easter made use of impersonation—an indispensable element for the further evolution of dramatic forms.

Hardison rejects the assumption that the Quem quaeritis is a

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<sup>53</sup>Hardison, p. 176.

<sup>54</sup>Chambers, 2:8.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 2:9.

<sup>56</sup>Young, 1:178.

trope. It is "above all a resurrection play, and recognition of its context in Church ceremonial serves to dispel any notion that it originated by accident or through haphazard 'mutation.'"<sup>57</sup> Hardison suggests that the Quem Quaeritis was created as a ceremony rather than as a trope whose content was a resurrection ceremony. Its aim was to instruct and prepare for the Vigil Mass.

Smoldon and Flanigan perceive the Quem quaeritis as a trope which was a literary and musical embellishment for liturgical texts and liturgical actions.

These summaries of different attitudes towards selected terminology indicate that there exists a close relationship between the above-mentioned definitions and the theories of the scholars. Chambers's approach towards medieval theatre has its roots in a mimetic instinct of man which the Church attempted to suppress. Therefore, his definition of the Mass as "an actual repetition of the initial sacrifice" is close to the characteristic features of the religion of the folk and village festivals, such as, for example, the fertility rituals, which were abundantly dramatic in nature. The trope Quem quaeritis labeled as an example of a liturgical embellishment evolves from an Introit chant to a dialogue with mimetic action. This expanded form was, later on, transferred to the end of Matins (Nocturns) on Easter morning and, in this position, the gradual process of accretion and development was completed in the mid-thirteenth century, i.e., the period of the secularization of the liturgical plays.

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<sup>57</sup>Hardison, p. 162.

In his analysis of the Mass (or Easter Mass) and the Canonical Office, Young points out that, though they are dramatic, drama could not be created out of them. According to him, those services lack the element of impersonation and the setting which are two indispensable elements of any play. The Quem quaeritis trope contains these factors in its structure and, therefore, any evolution of dramatic forms could only have started after it was detached from the Mass and was moved to Matins (Nocturns) where it gained literary freedom.

Hardison's methodology is reflected in his classification of the Mass, the Easter Mass, and the Quem quaeritis. He claims that the Mass is a sacred drama. Since there exists an immense similarity between the Mass and Easter Week, he calls the latter the Easter Drama. Thus the Quem quaeritis, which is associated with the Easter Drama, cannot be a trope but is a resurrection play instead, which evolved from ritual to representational drama. Moreover, this argument is further developed by the fact that the Quem quaeritis contains elements of imitation, plot, character, and action—all the necessary characteristics of dramatic structure as mentioned in the Poetics.

It is difficult to suggest that Smoldon and Flanigan offer a new methodology in dealing with the question of the origin of medieval drama. We are indebted to them for pointing out a new perspective concerning the tropes and the liturgy in general. However, their contribution cannot be overlooked, since, as Flanigan asserted, establishing a proper context for the Quem quaeritis may lead to valuable findings and a better understanding of Christian tradition.

This discussion of the relationship between the definitions and methodologies leads to the following conclusions: first, there

exists a very close correlation between the particular approach and the issues which are discussed in relation to it. Second, the terminology which is used is selective—the choice and the definition of terms depend on the nature of the theory which is being advanced. And third, due to the presentation of only those elements that provide the evidence for the validity of a given approach, the reader is given only a partial picture of the phenomenon.

In order to complete this review of the literature, let us turn to yet another group of scholars who have attempted to tackle the question of the origin of medieval drama and theatre. According to recent investigations, a link can be found between classical theatre and that of the Middle Ages in the old tradition of mimes and vernacular performers. The major contributions in this area of research were made by Benjamin Hunningher, Oscar Cargill, and Richard Axton. Although, mainstream theoreticians discard the value of the scholarship presented by the opposition, the unorthodox theories of these scholars require due consideration and analysis.<sup>58</sup>

Hunningher's The Origin of the Theatre, published in 1955, seems to suggest that religious drama came into being through the dramatic tradition represented by the mimes.<sup>59</sup> They were employed by the clergy in the presentation of tropes and actually performed them. Thus, Hunningher rejects the concept that drama was developed in isolation inside the monastery. His assumption is based on the

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<sup>58</sup>See, for example, Sandro Sticca's The Latin Passion Play (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1970).

<sup>59</sup>Benjamin Hunningher, The Origin of the Theatre (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961; reprint ed., Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978).

contradiction between the spirit of Christian faith, the nature of the Church, and the spirit of theatre. This contradiction is at best reflected in the many interdictions hurled at the theatre by the Church. Hunningher proves the validity of his argument by presenting numerous instances in which lay-songs intruded into the divine service and by quoting various warnings of the councils against clerici vagantes. He also draws attention to the fallibility of the law formulated by Gustave Cohen that "every religion spontaneously produces drama, every religious service shows by its nature dramatic and theatrical aspects."<sup>60</sup>

Comparing the nature of primitive and ancient rites and the characteristics of Church worship, Hunningher concludes, first, that the Christian Church celebrations of the Quem quaertis at Matins (Nocturns) were intended only for a limited number of monks who lived in a monastery rather than for the whole village/town community, and, second, that

the force behind primitive worship and the Dionysus cult appears to have been the lust for life, the sharp desire for eternal continuity in this earthly existence. On this score, too, the contrast of primitive with Christian belief cannot be more pronounced.<sup>61</sup>

So, where can we look for the forces that led to the rise of the Latin medieval drama? Hunningher believes that the necessity to pull the masses away from the forms of secular entertainment, which had already been cursed by Tertullian, led the clergy to use the mimes and to develop theatrical attractions for the congregation. "This is

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<sup>60</sup>Cohen cited by Hunningher, p. 43.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 61.

precisely what took place in the Church between the tenth and thirteenth centuries."<sup>62</sup>

A similar attitude is held by Cargill in his Drama and Liturgy which was published in 1969.<sup>63</sup> In a "Preliminary Survey," he reviews the previous scholarship with an emphasis on the nineteenth-century hypothesis advanced by Sepet who made it possible to believe that ecclesiastical plays were a growth from or a duplication of the material already existing in the liturgy of the Church. This theory was developed further and substantiated by Chambers and Young in the twentieth century. However, Cargill's primary goal is to direct the reader's attention to a study of the liturgical history of the Middle Ages to determine whether or not the liturgical theory is permissible in the light of ritualistic development. He also focuses on the comparison between the tropes and drama to determine what relationship existed between the two. Such an approach was dictated by scattered information concerning minstrelsy and unproved theories of its influence upon liturgy which had already been advanced by Warton, La Rue, and Boileau in the eighteenth century.<sup>64</sup>

Comparing the sources of the Easter trope with the resurrection Play in the Chester Mystery Cycle, Cargill indicates that if the liturgical theory were correct, there should be a close parallel in the development of the theme. The evidence shows that the mystery play makes use of the Easter theme as presented in the Four

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid., pp. 61-62.

<sup>63</sup>Oscar Cargill, Drama and Liturgy (New York: Octagon Books, 1969).

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

Gospels rather than that of the trope. This conclusion and additional analysis of Les Vierges Sages et les Vierges Folles convinces him that one should look for the forces that stimulated the liturgical drama outside the Church. Cargill maintains that the liturgy was contaminated by the activities of the minstrels and clerici vagantes. His arguments could be supported by the pictorial illuminations of the tropes and the papal instructions against secular forces infiltrating the Church throughout the centuries:

Confirmatory of this influence of the minstrels upon the liturgy is the fact that the ancient Tropes contain portraits of minstrels and entertainers. . . . It is significant that the change in trope form came when the troubadours were just beginning to exert an influence upon poetry. There are two explanations, both of which may be valid, of how these tropes came to be corrupted by lay stanza forms and by rime. It may be that the liturgiologists welcomed the new metrical devices because of their popularity and novelty. . . . These new rimes were composed by persons who had the best reasons in the world for composing them, namely, the minstrels themselves. They had no reason to venerate liturgical custom. It is a notable fact that the twelfth century witnessed a tremendous decline of interest on the part of the ecclesiastics in their liturgy, and particularly in these extra-liturgical practices. Furthermore, it is well known that lay-cans were hired at this time to replace the vicar-choral, and even the praecentors, in the choir.<sup>65</sup>

The third publication which stands in opposition to commonly accepted theories is Axton's European Drama of the Early Middle Ages published in 1974. He also attempts to stress the importance of the activities that took place outside the church; however, he rejects the argument that mimi could have had any influence on the activities within its walls. The diversity of the earliest drama in medieval Europe makes him believe that its different forms evolved independently and only when fully grown did they enrich each other.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup>Ibid., pp. 40-41.

<sup>66</sup>Axton, p. 11.

He provides ample examples of plays in Latin,<sup>67</sup> and plays in the vernacular languages,<sup>68</sup> to support his thesis. Having analysed some thirteen plays from these two groups which, he maintains, represented, distinctively different traditions, Axton claims that a balanced critical view of medieval drama can only be achieved by investigating the clerical perspective, by examining scattered and fragmentary sources, and by a comparative study of plays in different languages. Only such an extensive analysis might bring out the elements of the common traditions upon which drama depends.<sup>69</sup>

In the first part of his book, "Origins and Traditions," he focuses and reconstructs three traditions of secular drama: mimicry, combat, and the dancing game. He draws attention to a distinct "idea of drama" and the conventions which make it possible to classify them as theatrical, even though they are entirely different from those of ecclesiastical drama. At the same time, this methodology of approaching the church drama through the secular drama leads Axton to the conclusion that the evolution of all medieval and Renaissance drama from one common source, i.e., ecclesiastical tradition, is quite untenable.<sup>70</sup> Instead, he seems to suggest that the liturgical drama was a separate tradition which evolved independently from the three

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<sup>67</sup>Axton analyses plays which were written in monasteries (Herod), cathedral schools (Ludus Danielis), at imperial courts (Ludus de Antichristo), and in convents (Ordo Virtutum).

<sup>68</sup>Vernacular plays are represented by texts from Provence (the Sponsus), Spain (El Auto de los Reyes Magos), and two Anglo-Norman plays (La Sainte Resurreccion, Le Mystère d'Adam).

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

secular traditions. It stayed in isolation due to its unique convention of "a world in which historical events are filtered through a prism of liturgical practice, historical words patterned to chants associated with the immemorial authority of the Church."<sup>71</sup> Therefore Axton seems to suggest, the idea that "the infiltration of mimi into the monastic church was for the purpose of acting the Visitatio Sepulchri is as absurd as it is groundless."<sup>72</sup> Such a hypothesis must be unwarranted for, at least, two reasons: (1) the mimi were an inherent part of the secular tradition in which the thematic scope and the manner of presenting plays differed widely from the ecclesiastical tradition, and (2) Church plays were a part of liturgical practice and had nothing to do with village festivities.

Thus, the works of Hunningher, Cargill, and Axton offer yet another perspective on the origin of drama and theatre in the Middle Ages. It varies considerably from the one presented by the first group of scholars. However, Hunningher's, Cargill's, and Axton's studies introduce an element which cannot be dismissed—the importance of the secular tradition in shaping the drama of the Church.

To summarize, the review of the scholarship of medieval drama and theatre indicates the variety of methodologies used to untangle the web of mystery surrounding its origin. Each of the approaches discussed reflects the prevailing trend in the scholarly investigations of the time. And although each theory can be challenged, each has contributed something new to our perception of

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid.

the Middle Ages. Therefore, the purpose of this survey was not to indicate where the scholars failed but to draw attention to those elements in their theories that might expand our understanding of medieval culture.

Yet another conclusion which can be drawn from this study is that, all controversial theories notwithstanding, most scholars and texts seem to claim that medieval drama and theatre grew out of the liturgical activities associated with Easter Day. This conviction is centered on the evidence of the Quem quaeritis in the tenth-century monastic document, the Regularis Concordia. Before this evidence is examined, we should look at the manuscript itself. However, in order to understand its nature, we must first discuss state, church, and monastic history of the ninth and tenth centuries.

## CHAPTER III

### A BRIEF HISTORY OF STATE, CHURCH, AND MONASTICISM IN EUROPE DURING THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES

The Synodal Council of Winchester was held in Southern England sometime between A.D. 965 and 975. This meeting produced a document commonly known as the Regularis Concordia. In order to better understand the religious and political conditions which made the Council of Winchester necessary, one should focus first on the major trends in European history during the ninth and tenth centuries. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to provide background information which attempts to explain the influences that spread from the European continent to England. The next chapter will concentrate on those aspects of English monasticism in the tenth century which made the gathering of the Synod essential and which should help to clarify the meaning and purpose of the Regularis Concordia.

Certain important events in the early history of the Holy Roman Empire foreshadow developments in English religious institutions. Therefore, the first part of this chapter will be devoted to a brief history of state and church in Europe and to the reasons for the movement towards the secularization of religious life; the second part will concentrate on the rise of European monasticism whose aim was to revive the spiritual unity of Christendom.

State and Church

One way of discussing the medieval history of ninth- and tenth-century Europe is to treat this period as the history of the empire and the papacy. As Schaff noted in his History of the Christian Church:

They were regarded as the two arms of God in governing the church and the world. This twofold government was upon the whole the best training-school of the barbarian races for Christian civilization and freedom. The papacy acted as a wholesome check upon military despotism, the empire as a check upon the abuses of priestcraft. Both secured order and unity against the disintegrate tendencies of society.... The tendency of both was ultimately self destructive; they fostered, while seeming to oppose, the spirit of ecclesiastical and national independence.<sup>1</sup>

This statement is especially significant and true in reference to the reign of Charlemagne and his successors which seems an appropriate starting point for this historical outline. The reason for beginning this inquiry with the Carolingian era has been dictated by the fact that Charlemagne's reign can be perceived as a demarcation line between two historical events: the eighth-century attempt to rescue the Church from secularization and the ninth-century disintegration of certain Church institutions. The first half of the eighth century, i.e., the reign of Charles Martel (719-741), is often described as a period of constant struggle for power between the new aristocracy of warriors, landed men, and bishops.<sup>2</sup> Martel's sons, Carloman and

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<sup>1</sup>Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church, 8 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 4:256.

<sup>2</sup>"Among these, bishops were often found as powerful and factious elements; they had in many cases paid for their appointment and appropriated monasteries to support their position. The level of discipline fell; worldly bishops and the secularization of church property became common, especially under the stress of campaigns against the Saracens and the other wars of Charles Martel, whose

Pepin, attempted to introduce some order into their kingdoms and especially to rescue the Church from lay proprietorship by establishing bishops as the supreme power in their dioceses.<sup>3</sup> However, their reforms were only partial. And it was only their successor, Pepin's son Charlemagne, who managed to establish a stable government in a rising Christian commonwealth. Charlemagne was the first ruler who consolidated in himself both secular and ecclesiastical power. As Knowles has asserted in The Christian Centuries:

From first to last he behaved as the supreme ruler of the Christian realm or, as he himself with a fine disregard for history and geography consistently proclaimed, of the Christian Church. In that task he made extensive use of ecclesiastics as both agents and counsellors and, one had almost said, departmental ministers. When circumstances demanded, he also used the book of canon law of Denis the Short augmented by Hadrian I, the so-called Dionysio-Hadriana, presented to the king by the pope in 774, but in the main he treated every matter that arose, practical and theoretical, as something to be decided by himself with such advice as could be obtained, whether privately and personally or in synods and councils. Neither in personnel, nor in the

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period of effective rule (719-41) is often taken as the moment when medieval feudalism as a recognisable species first appears. The need to equip and to endow large numbers of horsed warriors and commanders led both to the marriage of military service with a gift of land and to the insertion of an oath of fealty as part of the transaction, while the necessity of finding lands with which to reward or endow supporters led to the bestowal of church lands and monasteries on lay magnates who enjoyed the revenues and gave, if they gave anything, no more than a subsistence to the monks. Pluralism and the usurpation of abbeys were common practices among the bishops of Gaul in the middle decades of the eighth century. St. Boniface could write to the pope in 742 that metropolitans no longer existed and that synods were unknown; the churches were possessed by laymen." See David Knowles's The Christian Centuries, 2 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1968), 2:30-31.

<sup>3</sup>For example, Carloman held a series of national synods in northern Gaul and the Rhineland (742, 744, 745, and 747) which attempted to restore the office of archbishop. Pepin, who was aware of the consequences of lay ownership of churches, leased lands to churches.

circumstances of decision and action, was any clear distinction made between civil and ecclesiastical affairs.<sup>4</sup>

This model of government established by Charlemagne was to become an inspiration for his successors in the ninth century who, as it will be shown in the later part of this chapter, would frequently refer to his reign in order to justify their conduct towards the Church. However, before we embark on analysing the historical conditions that led to a "disintegration of society," as Schaff noted, let us focus on the period which preceded it—the reign of Charlemagne as the Emperor of Christendom.

On Christmas Day, A.D. 800, Pope Leo III placed a diadem on Charlemagne's head and thus acclaimed him as "Charles Augustus, crowned by God as the great and pacific Emperor."<sup>5</sup> The interpretation of this event still raises many questions among historians. Some of them perceive the act of coronation as the pope's final declaration of independence and self-emancipation from the Greek emperor—the legal ruler of Rome.<sup>6</sup> Other historians oppose this explanation and argue that Leo's action was in effect an act of "reasserting his own superior authority by giving Charles what, by the testament of Constantine himself, only the pope could convey: the status and authority of emperor of the Romans."<sup>7</sup> In any case, the coronation inaugurated a new era, referred to as the Holy Roman German Empire,

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<sup>4</sup>Knowles, The Christian Centuries, 2:31.

<sup>5</sup>A detailed description of this event is reported in Einhard's "The Life of Charlemagne," in Two Lives of Charlemagne, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1969), p. 81.

<sup>6</sup>Schaff, 4:252.

<sup>7</sup>Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), p. 242.

whose policy, and thus Charlemagne's mission, was to "defend the Holy Church of Christ against the attacks of infidels from without and to sustain it within by the profession of the Catholic Church."<sup>8</sup>

During the forty-six years of his reign (768-814), Charles the Great accomplished this mission of giving the Church its territorial, political, and social security. When he died his Empire encompassed what is now France, Belgium, Holland, Austria, parts of Germany and Italy, and the northeastern part of Spain. This territorial expansion was a result of his annual military campaigns which protected Europe against the raids of the Normans, the Saxons, and the Saracens.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, in compliance with the mission which Charlemagne had accepted, those campaigns imposed the rule of Christianity and confirmed this conversion by building monasteries and bishoprics throughout the land.

Mourret suggests that Charlemagne found the ideal of his empire in St. Augustine's City of God.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, the ruler believed that the best guarantee of loyal and faithful service of the subjects to their king and their country was a loyal and faithful service to their God. This idea was realized in the national assemblies whose aim was to sound public opinion for the purpose of

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<sup>8</sup>Fernand Mourret, A History of the Catholic Church, 8 vols. (St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder Book Co., 1946), 3:369.

<sup>9</sup>See, for example, Einhard's "The Life of Charlemagne," Book II which deals with the Saxon wars, Spain (the famous Roncesvalle episode, the focal point of chanson de Roland), Bavaria, the Huns, and the Northmen.

<sup>10</sup>Mourret, 3:371.

issuing capitularies.<sup>11</sup>

There was no law putting limits to the monarch's power, but the power itself fixed such limits and respected them. Charlemagne wished in all matters to act only with the consent of the people. . . . In his mind the law should be merely the result of an accord between the ruler and the subjects, and the expression of their united will. It was this view of his that prompted one of his successors to utter this fine principle: lex consensu populi fit et constitutione regis. When we compare this Christian formula with the famous definition of the Digest (quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem), we can form some idea of the progress realized for human liberty under the auspices of the Gospel, since the dark days when Ulpian codified the axioms of pagan government for the use of despotism.<sup>12</sup>

However, the capitularies promulgated by Charlemagne were not limited only to the administrative or legal decisions concerning the state and its subjects.<sup>13</sup> Many of them concerned yet another institution which was under his aegis, the Church, and especially its internal organization, hierarchy, public worship, property, charity

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<sup>11</sup>Those national assemblies, the so-called "Field of May" gathered, usually every year, at a royal manor or township to decide on the year's campaign or to hear new laws. See Henry Royston Loyn and John Percival, The Reign of Charlemagne: Documents on Carolingian Government and Administration (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975).

<sup>12</sup>Mourret, 3:372.

<sup>13</sup>The aim of the administrative reforms of Charlemagne was to re-establish the king's authority. It should be pointed out here that ever since the Merovingian epoch, local administration had been in the hands of local counts. Therefore, Charlemagne began his reform by imposing his authority on them. First of all, he refused to accept the old tradition and practice which allowed for the office of a count to be inherited. Instead, the high position and lands were distributed to subjects for their loyal services to the king. Thus, counts were to be the king's vassals and representatives in both judicial and fiscal matters. They were supervised by the missi dominici, i.e., inspectors sent out by the government who acted as the king's immediate authority. Besides this method of administrative control, Charlemagne introduced a new way of ruling the Empire, carried out by an active correspondence between the king and his local administrators. A detailed study of the reconstruction of central authority can be found in Jacques Boussard, The Civilization of Charlemagne (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1968).

work and education, and even its theological discussions.<sup>14</sup> Those laws and regulations are the major source material with which one may attempt to reconstruct the major problems of the Church at that period of time. Analysing the body of those capitularies, it seems that the problem of church property and the morality of clergy were of significant importance to Charlemagne and his mission to defend the Holy Church of Christ.

In the Carolingian period, most of the rural churches belonged to the person upon whose land they were built.<sup>15</sup> That meant that the owner had the right to sell or exchange the church and its property for money or land. Thus, for example, at the beginning of the ninth century in the diocese of Chur, the bishop owned 31 churches, while the king and nobility owned 200 churches.<sup>16</sup> The existence of such a system made it possible for landowners to exercise their power of appointing the clergy of their own choice. As a corollary, the clergy of the private churches, although they recognized the bishop as their spiritual leader, were forced to submit themselves to the local authority from whom they received their positions. Charlemagne, as it

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<sup>14</sup>"Charlemagne did not confine his attention to conduct and administration. He regarded himself also as the moderator of doctrine and the defender of the faith against error. In three considerable controversies, those of the worship of Images, of Adoptionism and of the procession of the Holy Ghost, he stood forward as the official defender of the faith and, in council with his bishops and advisers, promulgated what he considered to be Catholic truth. That in two of these questions he and his experts were both ill-informed and theologically ill-instructed, and that in all three the last word lay with the pope, does not alter the fact that Charlemagne, both in council and by writing, behaved as the established judge of orthodoxy." See Knowles, The Christian Centuries, 2:33.

<sup>15</sup>Mourret, 4:30.

<sup>16</sup>Charles A. Frazee, "The Origins of Clerical Celibacy in the Western Church," Church History 41 (June 1972): 158.

seems, must have been aware of the implacable side effects of such a system of choosing ecclesiastics; a capitulary of 803 ordered that the bishops should be elected by the clergy and people in the diocese itself without any regard for persons and gifts.<sup>17</sup> However, it should be mentioned that the bishop-elect was never consecrated until the king had first accepted his nomination. It was also Charlemagne's action to restore the bishop's right to ordain, supervise, and punish clergy employed in village or estate churches.<sup>18</sup> As a result of this new law, the lay owner of the church was bereft of his power to elect a priest; instead, the growing parochial system was integrated into the governmental structures of the church.

In addition, the emperor was interested in the life of priests. During his reign thirty-three councils discussed the

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<sup>17</sup>Mourret, 3:376. A word should be said here about the Church hierarchy. A pope is at its top. Then, in terms of importance, there are cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and priests. During the discussed period, a pope elected both cardinals and archbishops. Bishops and priests, as the source indicates, were elected by the clergy and people of the diocese and parish. Therefore, it seems appropriate to suggest that the power of bishops was limited since they were dependent on those from whom they received the position.

<sup>18</sup>"It was ordained by our lord the king and by the holy synod that bishops should administer justice in their parishes. And if any person from among the abbots, deacons, sub-deacons, monks, and other clerics, or anyone else in the parish should refuse to obey his bishop, let them come to their metropolitan, and let him decide the case along with his suffragans." See Loyn, p. 58.

questions of clerical discipline,<sup>19</sup> duties,<sup>20</sup> and celibacy.<sup>21</sup> In order to safeguard their morality, it seemed necessary that he encourage adoption of the system of vita canonica (canonical life) which had been devised by Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz. The system favoured a semimonastic discipline for clergy which bound them to a common life and to common recitation of the daily Offices but which allowed them to own property and to carry out duties which were excluded from a strict monastic vocation. One of the duties of this new model of priesthood, which was excluded from the Benedictine Rule, was that of providing education to lay people. It was Charlemagne's ideal to have an educated clergy who would not only serve as instructors in Christian faith, but also as schoolmasters to the village community.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>"Concerning clerks, that they should under no circumstances move from one church to another, nor be taken in without the knowledge of the bishop and letters of commendation from the diocese to which they belonged, lest it should happen that discord arise in the Church as a result. And whenever such men are found, they must all return to their own church; and no one dare to keep such a man by him once his bishop or abbot has indicated his wish to have him back. And if it should happen that the lord does not know where he should look for his clerk, let the man with whom he is staying keep him in custody and not allow him to wander elsewhere, until such time as he is restored to his lord." See Loyn, p. 60.

<sup>20</sup>"That each and every bishop should give good teaching and instruction to those placed in his charge, so that there will always in God's house be found men who are worthy to be chosen according to the canons." See Loyn, p. 61.

<sup>21</sup>"That all bishops and their priests should be accorded all honour and respect in their service of God's will. They should not dare to stain themselves or others with incestuous unions." See Loyn, p. 78.

<sup>22</sup>By 789, Charlemagne was already dealing with the problem of education. In Admonitio Generalis, he commanded: "Let the ministers of the altar of God adorn their ministry by good behaviour, and likewise the other orders who observe a rule, and the congregations of monks. We implore them to lead such a life as befits their profession

Other changes which occurred during the reign of Charles the Great concerned public worship and changes in the image of the church building which, in spite of the canons, was occasionally used as a place to sell merchandise.<sup>23</sup> He aimed at securing conformity to a single rule which would become the custom. Many ceremonies such as

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as God himself commanded in the gospel. . . . Let them join and associate to themselves not only children of servile condition, but also sons of freemen. And let schools be established in which boys may learn to read. Correct carefully the psalm, the signs in writing, the songs, the calendar, the grammar, in each monastery or bishopric, and the catholic books; because often men desire to pray to God properly, but they pray badly because of incorrect books. And do not permit mere boys to corrupt them in reading or writing. If the Gospel, Psalter, and Missal have to be copied, let men of mature age do the copying, with the greatest care." Quoted in Henry Bettenson, ed., Documents of the Christian Church (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 135. See also Mourret, 3:390.

<sup>23</sup>Mourret, 3:392.

baptism,<sup>24</sup> the administration of the Eucharist,<sup>25</sup> matrimony,<sup>26</sup> and the liturgy<sup>27</sup> were unified. So was preaching, in which the native language was introduced for the instruction of the laity.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>"Up to the eighth century, baptism was administered, in the West as well as in the East, by immersion, if not complete immersion, at least partial, accompanied by pouring. The ceremony was performed either in streams or in baptisteries. But in [the times of Charlemagne], priests were satisfied to use simple pouring. Immersion became more and more abandoned; there was no longer any question at all of total immersion (iconography does not furnish a single example of total immersion after the eighth century). Instead of the baptisteries of early days, baptismal fonts or putei sacri were built in the churches." See Mourret, 3:394.

<sup>25</sup>"A like evolution took place in the administration of the Eucharist. In the ancient basilicas only solemn public masses were celebrated. Whereas in the East this usage persisted, in the West an increasing number of priests celebrated private mass at any hour of the morning, regardless of whether any people were present or not. At sight of this practice, many of the faithful were astonished, many bishops promulgated prohibitions, considering as essential the participation of the people in the sacrifice. But the custom of private masses, tolerated by the Church, spread. At the same time, despite the protests of the Easterners, the use of unleavened bread for the hosts became general; a special ceremonial became fixed for masses said for the dead; communion was still given under both species, the precious blood being taken by means of a tube." See Mourret, 3:395.

<sup>26</sup>"In conformity with the ancient traditions, the most authentic spokesmen of the Church continually proclaimed the absolute indissolubility of the marital bond. A capitulary of Charlemagne, published in 789, forbids husband and wife, though separated from each other, to contract a new marriage. Another capitulary (802), renewing a law of Pepin (755), decides that all marriages must be contracted publicly, after serious inquiry as to the degree of consanguinity of the future couple." See Mourret, 3:396-97.

<sup>27</sup>"Charlemagne was zealous in the promotion of plain chant and the liturgy. . . . Feast days increased in number. The notable development of the cult of the saints, which has its theological justification in the dogma of the communion of saints, is also to be explained at this period by the need to combat numerous local superstitions and pagan feasts. . . . In a capitulary of 794, Charlemagne, in accord with the bishops, forbade the 'honoring of new saints or the erection of monuments to them along the roads unless they are particularly well known for their suffering or their virtue.'" See Mourret, 3:397.

<sup>28</sup>Mourret, 3:399.

It seems that the introduction of all these changes in the internal structure of the church and its observances was possible because of Charlemagne's interest in reviving the cultural life of the Frankish Empire and his concept of establishing the central government.<sup>29</sup> Whereas the first factor could be argued interminably, the second one becomes a tangible argument when one looks at Latin Christendom in the century following the death of Charles the Great in 814, a period which was marked by the accelerated political and spiritual disintegration of the empire. Such a situation was the direct result of a combination of customs and politics. In part, this new development could be attributed to the ineptitude of many of Charles's followers and the Frankish custom of dividing the land among male heirs. On the other hand, this disintegration of the empire was enhanced by numerous invasions of Normans, Saracens, and Hungarians who attacked Europe and Britain from the sea.

It was Charles's successor, Louis (814-840), surnamed "the

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<sup>29</sup>Charlemagne's interest in the cultural revival manifested itself in the fact that the emperor surrounded himself with learned men, and especially monks. This study would be incomplete without mentioning at least one name which had a tremendous impact on this revival which was in the hands of ecclesiastics, i.e., the name of Alcuin. Let me quote Notker the Stammerer, also known as Notker Balbulus or the Monk of St. Gall: "A certain Alcuin, an Englishman, heard that the holy Emperor Charlemagne was keen to welcome men of learning; he put to sea and came to meet the Emperor. Alcuin, a man more skilled in all branches of knowledge than any other person of modern times, was, moreover, a pupil of Bede, the priest of great learning, himself the most accomplished interpreter of the Scriptures since Saint Gregory. Charlemagne received Alcuin with great kindness and kept him close at his side as long as he lived, except on the frequent occasions when he set out with his armies on mighty wars. The emperor went so far as to have himself called Alcuin's pupil, and to call Alcuin his master. . . . His [Alcuin's] teaching bore such fruit among his pupils that the modern Gauls or Franks came to equal the Romans and the Athenians." See Two Lives of Charlemagne, pp. 94-95.

Pious," who, in spite of his loyalty to the Christian empire, divided the patrimony among his three sons. The treaty of Verdun in 843 marks the start of the separate histories of the empire split into three parts. Louis (843-875) was given the area east of the Rhine; Charles (843-877), called "the Bald," acquired the land of today's France; and Lothair I (843-855) received a territory that stretched from the mouth of the Rhine to the Lombard kingdom in the northern Italy. In the years to come, those territories would further be divided after the death of each of the three rulers. However, even though

in Germany and France, monarchy formally survived, real central authority did not. When Louis the Child, last of the Carolingian kings of Germany, died in 911, the substance of power had fallen into the hands of the tribal chiefs of Bavaria, Franconia, Swabia, and Saxony, to whom the Carolingians had accorded official rank by conferring on them the ancient Roman title of *dux*—"duke." Similarly, the later Carolingian kings of France, of whom the last was Louis V (986-987), exercised less real power than many of the other magnates of their realm. The disintegration of the political unity achieved by Charles the Great was all but lost.<sup>30</sup>

Due to this political disintegration, Europe became an easy prey to the external assaults which took place in the ninth century. The Norman tribes from today's Denmark and Norway plundered the coast of Germany and France, burning cities and villages. They also occupied and controlled the greater part of England until they were compelled by Alfred the Great to accept the territory, called "Danelaw," which consisted of most of central and northeastern England. The Saracens invaded Sicily and southern Italy. The Hungarians took possession of the northern parts of Germany and southern Italy.

In addition, this political disintegration, which weakened the

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<sup>30</sup>Walker, p. 244.

power of the king and thus made the invasions successful, was accompanied by the further development of the so-called "feudal system." This was primarily a political and social system which was based on the personal bond of service and loyalty to the king. In return, the vassal was endowed with a life tenure of land as the means of his support. However, in reality, the land became hereditary and the increasing wealth and power of the vassals made them independent of the king.<sup>31</sup> They became the owners of the land and the sole creators of their own judicial systems which structured the life of the people who lived on it. Needless to say, monasteries and bishoprics alike fell increasingly under the rules of this parochial system and the control of local feudal magnates who, due to the lack of a strong central power, were able to act according to their whims. Schaff comments on this new situation in which the Church found itself:

The kings and nobles quarreled among themselves, oppressed the people and distributed bishoprics and abbeys among their favourites or pocketed the income.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>"In 877, when Louis the Stammerer succeeded his father and claimed the right to distribute honours as he chose, he was confronted by a general revolt of the nobility, and had no choice but to abandon his pretensions and accept the protection—but also the tutelage—of Hincmar. Thenceforth the counties remained in the hands of dynasties, and sons usually succeeded their fathers . . . counts were no longer officers of the king, but hereditary seigneurs who had appropriated the estates and regalian rights of the county—to administer justice at first, and later on also to mint money. In Burgundy, for instance, a count still presided over the tribunal with the ancient title of mallus in the tenth century, but in his own name instead of the king's. Power passed into the hands of local potentates of greater or lesser importance, but whether dukes or counts they always held it on a hereditary basis, even though they were still in theory pledged to fidelity to the king." See Boussard, pp. 228-29.

<sup>32</sup>Schaff, 4:282.

Obviously, such a situation was a direct outcome of the abuses of the feudal system. During the reign of Charlemagne, the founder of a church on his estates had the canonical right to present his candidate for a bishop. However, in later periods, the landowner went far beyond his rights and appointed people of his choice to churches. Like any other feudal tenant, priests were supposed to do homage and swear fealty. Frequently, the clergy, or to be more precise, the tenants, were often untrained and were hastily ordained even though they were married or lived with women:

. . . the parish priest might be simply one of the peasants or tenants of an estate. He was not distinguished from his fellow villagers except for his function within the community. He supported his wife from farming the piece of land attached to the church and from the offerings made by parishioners of bread and wine, an annual gift at Easter, and from the tithe.<sup>33</sup>

In the case of married clergy, which became one of the most pressing problems of the Church, there was a danger that lands and the office might become hereditary possessions.<sup>34</sup> Many councils attempted to deal with this problem. For example, the Councils of Vienne (892) and Tribur (895) specifically issued canons against the intrusion of the laity into the affairs of the Church, i.e., against lay usurpation of ecclesiastical property and mistreatment of clerics, and against the common practice of expecting bishops and clergy to pay for the conferring of ecclesiastical offices.<sup>35</sup>

Moreover, as Walker maintains, this feudal control of local lay magnates led to a spiritual disintegration or "a sometimes

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<sup>33</sup>Frazer, "The Origins of Clerical Celibacy," p. 159.

<sup>34</sup>Margaret Deansley, A History of the Medieval Church, 590-1500, 8th ed. (London: Methuen, 1954), p. 94.

<sup>35</sup>Mourret, 3:499.

scandalous moral disciplinary laxity on the part of monks and clergy generally, which was further encouraged by the confusion and material destruction that followed in the wake of Norse and Saracen raids."<sup>36</sup> Councils at Pavia (850) and Rome (853), to give two examples, remarked that many bishops gave sumptuous dinners, provided entertainment and were usurers.<sup>37</sup> Those practices seem to have resulted directly from the imposition of the feudal system. Priests and bishops were often forced to turn over the ownership of their property to the local nobility due to high costs of maintenance. In many cases such a procedure was to the advantage of the priest who "after leasing his lands and tithes to a layman, lived in idleness off the income from the church, while the church itself was served by a hired priest or cleric on a meager stipend from the lay patron."<sup>38</sup> Historians of the Church report numerous scandals concerning laxity, simony, defiance of law, and the decay of ecclesiastical life. In order to perceive the abominable side-effects of the virtual disappearance of central authority in the state, one should mention the case of the Archbishop of Ravenna, who, according to his whim, seized the property of the clergy, despoiled beneficiaries of their tithes, deposed clerics without any legal formality, and refused to participate in councils.<sup>39</sup>

However, it should be emphasized that the same period of confusion and disorder was also the period of two movements for

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<sup>36</sup>Walker, p. 252.

<sup>37</sup>Mourret, 3:440.

<sup>38</sup>Catherine Boyd, Titles and Parishes in Medieval Italy (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1952), p. 92.

<sup>39</sup>Mourret, 3:450.

restoration: the monastic movement<sup>40</sup> and the Pseudo-Isidore Decretals.<sup>41</sup> Both of them aimed at the purification of ecclesiastical life and strengthening of the power of bishops against the counts and vassals. Interestingly enough, this desire for reforms did not originate in the papal establishment. By that time, the papacy had lost its independence trying to defend itself against feudal control in a struggle for power.

As has been stated, the Treaty of Verdun in 843 established a definite break with Charlemagne's concept of a Western empire unified with the Latin Church. The papacy attempted to separate itself from the civil authority of Louis the Pious's successors and was involved or interfered in political quarrels, claiming the right to dispose of royal and imperial crowns. After the downfall of the Carolingian dynasty and in the times of a renewal of Saracen raids on Italy, the popes fell under the influence of the Italian dukes Berenger of Friuli and Guido of Spoleto who alternately filled the papal chair, according to their success in the political conflict. In order to realize the dire consequences of the lack of balance between the state and the

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<sup>40</sup>The monastic revival, and especially the reforms concerning the moral and ecclesiastical life of clergy, was instigated by Hincmar of Reims who became the archbishop of Reims in 844. The regulations he issued enable us to reconstruct the daily life of the priest of the middle of the ninth century. The priests lived under an elder priest who served as their leader. They devoted their time to celebrating the Canonical Hours of Prime, Tierce, Sext, None, and the Mass. After the Mass, they were supposed to work in the fields and attend the sick, the poor, and pilgrims. Whether or not these regulations were fully executed is questionable. In his letters, Hincmar kept fighting against lay owners of the churches and monasteries.

<sup>41</sup>Between 847 and 852 a collection known as the False Decretals or the Pseudo-Isidore Decretals was produced at Le Mans. It consisted of early papal and conciliar rulings, some genuine and some forged, which it was claimed were assembled by Isidore of Seville.

papacy, it is sufficient to examine the history of the Holy See at the turn of the ninth and tenth centuries.

It is commonly accepted among Church historians that "with the death of Pope Formosus (896) there begins an era of deepest humiliation for the Holy See."<sup>42</sup> In the years 896-904, nine popes were elected and ended their careers in either deposition, prison, or violent death. Pope Boniface VI occupied the office only fifteen days. Due to the action of the Spoleto party, he was deposed and Stephen VI was elected. Stephen VI is remembered for the outrage committed to the body of Formosus which, on his command, was disinterred, subjected to a sham trial and thrown into the river.<sup>43</sup> In 897, Stephen VI was murdered and his place taken by Romanus and later in the same year by Theodorus II. Theodorus II was followed by John IX (898-900), Benedict IV (900-903), Leo V, who a month after his election was imprisoned by Christopher, who half a year later received the same treatment from Sergius III. Sergius III's election took place in 904 and this date is perceived by many historians as the starting point for the infamous period which is called the papal "pornocracy" or "heterocracy" that ended with the death of Pope John XIII in 972.<sup>44</sup> This is the period in which the papacy became a victim of violence and intrigue instigated by the rich and powerful family of Theophylact, whose wife Theodora and her two daughters, Marozia and

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<sup>42</sup>Mourret, 3:499.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 500.

<sup>44</sup>Table 1 should help the reader to avoid confusion which might result from the number of popes who were elected during the discussed period.

Theodora, were the driving forces behind all the plottings. This Tuscan family held control over Rome and its institutions for more than half of the century.

It would not be farfetched to say that they acted as almost absolute masters in the Papal States. Their power was uncontested; they had their say in the election of popes as well as in their deposition. Thus, for example, Sergius III, Marozia's lover, came to Rome in 904 under the protection of Tuscan soldiers and deposed Christopher. On the other hand, John X (914-928), first elected contrary to all canons in obedience to the will of Theodora, was later cast into prison and smothered to death when he opposed Marozia and her lover. After the death of John X, Marozia appointed three other popes, Leo VI, Stephen VII (VIII), and John XI (her own illegitimate son), before she relinquished her power to her other child, Alberic. From 936 to 955, he ruled Rome and appointed four insignificant pontiffs who were obviously restricted in their actions. After the death of Alberic, his son Octavian combined the secular and papal office in one person having been elected as John XII (955-963) at the age of eighteen. John XII is considered to be one of the most immoral popes, and was charged by a Roman Synod with almost every possible crime:

Among the charges of the Synod against him were that he appeared constantly armed with sword, lance, helmet, and breastplate, that he neglected matins and vespers, that he never signed himself with the sign of the cross, that he was fond of hunting, that he had made a boy of ten years a bishop, and ordained a bishop or deacon in a stable, that he had mutilated a priest, that he had set houses on fire, like Nero, that he had committed homicide and adultery, had violated virgins and widows high and low, lived with his father's mistress, converted the pontifical palace into a brothel, drank to the health of the devil, and invoked at the gambling-table the help of Jupiter and Venus and other heathen demons. . . . Before the Synod convened John XII he made his escape from Rome, carrying with him the portable part of the

treasury of St. Peter. But after the departure of the emperor [Otto I] he was readmitted to the city, restored for a short time, and killed in an act of adultery.<sup>45</sup>

The pontificate of John XII was also the time of the movement for restoration. In 962, Otto I, a German king, was anointed Roman emperor and promised to revive the spirit of the Empire as conceived by Charlemagne. He deposed John XII in 963 and with the help of the Synod elected a new pope, Leo VIII; however, he was not recognized by the Roman party, because he had surrendered the freedom of the papacy to the empire. This anti-imperial party readmitted John XII and, after his death, elected an anti-pope Benedict V. When the emperor returned to Rome, Benedict V was degraded to the order of deacon and banished to Germany.

After the death of Leo VIII, the bishop of Narni was elected as John XIII (965-972) by the Roman clergy and the laymen who, according to the custom, had first consulted the emperor. John XIII will probably be remembered for his attempt to restore morality to the papacy. The grand scale of his reform can be seen in the thirty-three documents he issued in which he commanded:

all the dukes, marquises, counts, and judges of the district of Bologna to cease their unjust vexation against the clergy; sent into Germany a sentence of excommunication against Archbishop Harold of Salzburg, who had joined with the Magyars for the pillage of the cities, monasteries, churches, and countryside of his own district. In general he fought against the spirit of laxity among the clergy and even in the monasteries as well as among the people. The pope expressed his gratitude to Edgar I for restoring to the bishops and the monasteries all the property that had been taken away from them and revoking the decrees hostile to the Church by Edwin.<sup>46</sup>

However, this program of reforms was only temporary and after

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<sup>45</sup>Schaff, 4:287.

<sup>46</sup>Mourret, 4:30.

the death of John XIII the so-called second period of disgrace, which lasted until the Synod of Sutri (1046), followed. The year 1046 seems to mark the end of one hundred and sixty years of notorious clerical activity during which thirty-seven popes were elected and simony and fornication were frequent sins not only of the popes but also of bishops and minor clerics.<sup>47</sup>

TABLE 1  
THE PAPACY IN THE PERIOD OF 891-972

| A. D.   | POPES          | COMMENTS              |
|---------|----------------|-----------------------|
| 891-896 | Formosus       |                       |
| 896     | Boniface VI    | 15 days in the office |
| 896-897 | Stephen VII    | murdered              |
| 897     | Romanus        |                       |
| 897     | Theodorus II   | 20 days in the office |
| 898-900 | John IX        |                       |
| 900-903 | Benedict IV    |                       |
| 903     | Leo V          | imprisoned            |
| 903-904 | Christophorus  | deposed               |
| 904-911 | Sergius III    |                       |
| 911-913 | Anastasius III |                       |
| 913-914 | Lando          |                       |
| 914-928 | John X         | murdered              |
| 928-929 | Leo VI         |                       |
| 929-931 | Stephen VIII   |                       |
| 931-936 | John XI        | Marozia's bastard son |
| 936-939 | Leo VII        |                       |
| 939-942 | Stephen IX     |                       |
| 942-946 | Marinus II     |                       |
| 946-955 | Agapetus II    |                       |
| 955-963 | John XII       | deposed               |
| 963-965 | Leo VIII       | layman                |
| 964     | Benedict V     | deposed               |
| 965-972 | John XIII      |                       |

This period of pornocracy, which refers to and describes the behaviour of both the popes and clergy in the period of feudal anarchy that followed Charlemagne's reign, can be best summarized by the

<sup>47</sup>Schaff, 4:301.

complaint and the call for some legislation voiced by Atton of Vercelli:

I am embarrassed to say it but I believe it dangerous to ignore that there are several among you who are overwhelmed by passion and allow indecent women to live in your homes, partake of your meals, and be seen in public with you. You let them manage your households, conquered by their charms, and install their children for heirs . . . while the women are well dressed the churches are despoiled and the poor suffer.<sup>48</sup>

### A Brief History of Monasticism

Roughly contemporaneous with the period of papal pornocracy and the complaints verbalized by Atton of Vercelli was the appearance in the monastic world of an institution that played a seminal role in the reform movements of the tenth century: the abbey of Cluny. The foundation of Cluny in Burgundy (910) and the imposition of a strictly interpreted monastic rule contributed immensely to the moral and religious reform of other church institutions in the western part of Christendom.

Monasticism began in Egypt in the fourth century A.D.<sup>49</sup> In the first formative period, early monks and nuns were often simple peasants who had little education. Their eremitical form of life soon made them popular with the common people who were well acquainted with the splendour of the lives of the urbanized episcopate and clergy. Late in the fourth century, after Theodosius had made Christianity the

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<sup>48</sup>Atton of Vercelli cited in Frazee's "The Origin of Clerical Celibacy," p. 160.

<sup>49</sup>The term monasticism is derived from the Greek word monachos which means "solitary." Saint Anthony is believed to be the first monk who lived the eremitical form of life.

official Roman religion, monasteries and solitaries were established closer to cities where they started to exert a strong influence upon the urban population. Bishops objected to this new movement, first, because it had originated outside of a Christian institution and, second, because it stood in opposition to the life of the clergy. Therefore, in 390, Theodosius forbade monks to come into cities or to live within their boundaries and gave them his permission to inhabit only deserted places.<sup>50</sup> However, the monks' influence on the emperor was so powerful that two years later he rescinded this law. After his death, his sons issued a rule stipulating that when a bishop had a vacancy among his clergy he should appoint someone who was a monk. In 451, the Council of Chalcedon finally recognized the monastic movement. Canon 4 stated that "those who willingly and sincerely live the monastic life should be held in esteem."<sup>51</sup> The moment monasticism became an integral part of the Church's life, the Church accepted all the previous privileges that had been bestowed upon monasticism, and the state treated the two institutions as one. For example, both monks and regular clergy were freed from the duties of furnishing food and transportation to the army or civil service, of delivering grain to the cities, and of paying taxes. Clerics and monks were legally under the authority of bishops. Justinian in 535 confirmed previous laws and ordered a three-year novitiate for those entering the monastic vocation. He also issued further regulations concerning a

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<sup>50</sup>Charles A. Frazee, "Late Roman and Byzantine Legislation on the Monastic Life from the Fourth to the Eighth Centuries," Church History 51 (September 1982): 265.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 268.

cenobitic life, e.g., regulations regarding eating together, sleeping in a dormitory, celibacy, and also address the problem of double monasteries for monks and nuns.<sup>52</sup>

Besides these regulations which provide specific information about the rise, history, and development of monasticism, there exists the whole spectrum of names of people whose monastic work left an imprint on and shaped this particular institution. The sixth century was a significant period for the movement because that was the time when monastic life styles were clearly defined and the difference between monastic and ecclesiastical orders was established. St. Benedict, St. Columban, and St. Gregory (Gregory the Great) were the men who exercised a paramount influence on the spiritual, intellectual, liturgical, and apostolic life of the Western Church.

St. Benedict (ca. 480-550), originally a hermit, founded a cenobite monastery in Monte Cassino for which he designed the Rule—a code explaining the basic principles of monasticism.<sup>53</sup> The Rule is a relatively short piece of writing which consists of four parts dealing with: the formation and nature of the monastery (detailed liturgical and penal provisions),<sup>54</sup> its administration (legislation covering

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<sup>52</sup>Frazer, "Late Roman and Byzantine Legislation," p. 272.

<sup>53</sup>David Parry, Households of God. The Rule of St. Benedict with Explanations for Monks and Lay-people Today (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1980). The Rule consists of 73 canons which can be divided into four groups: canons 2-30 deal with the formation and nature of the monastery and specifically with work and observances of the day; canons 31-57 deal with the administration of the monastery, i.e., specify meal-times, refer to manual labour and punishments for mistakes and faults committed by brethren; canons 58-66 deal with the renovation of the monastery, i.e., rules for receiving and expulsion of monks; and canons 67-73 deal with codes of general behaviour for the monks.

<sup>54</sup>For example, Chapter XVI, "How Divine Office shall be Said

every department of the life of the monastery),<sup>55</sup> its renovation (rules for receiving brethren, pilgrims, etc.),<sup>56</sup> and behaviour of all the members and officials of a monastic family.<sup>57</sup> Benedict's idea of a monastery can be described as a self-contained, self-sufficient, and self-supporting community of monks who were devoted to and joined together by the worship of Christ. Its members were to renounce their earthly possessions, to serve God, and remain in their community for life. The head of the community was the abbot who was elected by the monks for life. All the monks were required to obey him implicitly. Moreover, they were supposed to participate in communal praise of God in the sevenfold daily Office, manual labour in the fields, and in lectio divina--the study of Scripture. It should be mentioned here that the Rule was strict but not severe and left sufficient room for

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in the Daytime," states: "As the prophet says: 'Seven times in the day do I praise Thee.' This sacred number seven will thus be fulfilled by us if, at lauds [Matins], at the first, third, sixth, ninth hours, at vesper time and at 'completorium' we perform the duties of our service. . . . For, concerning the night hours, the same prophet says: 'At midnight I arose to confess unto thee.' Therefore, at these times, let us give thanks to our Creator concerning the judgements of the righteousness; that is, at matins [Nocturns], etc., . . . and at night we will rise and confess to him." See Bettenson, p. 163.

<sup>55</sup>For example Chapter XXXV, "Of the Weekly Officers of the Kitchen," asserts: "The brothers shall wait on each other in turn that no one shall be excused from the kitchen work, unless he be prevented by sickness, or by preoccupation with some matter of great necessity whereby is gained a greater reward and increase of charity. . ." See Bettenson, p. 167.

<sup>56</sup>Here are some of the titles of the chapters that belong to this group: "The Rules for Receiving Brethren," "The Sons of the Rich or Poor who are Offered," "How Pilgrim Monks are to be Received," "The Institution of the Abbot," "The Prior of the Monastery."

<sup>57</sup>The following chapters belong to this group: "Brethren Sent on a Journey," "If a Brother Is Set Impossible Tasks," "That in the Monastery One Must Not Defend Another," "That No One May Hit Another," "On the Good Zeal which Monks Ought to Have."

changes that might be necessary when the code would be used by other monasteries. Those changes might occur due to different traditions, climate, and the location of a particular community. Thus, the life within the monastery was a life of absolute regularity, of strict discipline, and of day-to-day routine. "It [had] no function in the life of the Church save to provide an ordered way of life based on the teaching of the gospel, according to which its inmates [could] serve God and sanctify their souls apart from the life of the world. No work done within it, whether manual, intellectual, or charitable, [was] directed to an end outside its walls."<sup>58</sup>

St. Columban (543-615), an Irish missionary, is a representative of a different type of monasticism. His Rule for Monks serves as an example of an exceedingly severe kind of monasticism. It enjoined the monks to fast, pray, read, and work every day. It demanded absolute humility, patience, and silence. A monk "[went] to bed so tired that he [would] fall asleep on the way, and he [had to] rise before he [had had] as much sleep as he [wanted]. When he [was] ill-treated, he [had to stay] silent. Manual labour was demanded, since the monks depended on their agriculture."<sup>59</sup> This ascetic life, which had been introduced in Ireland, spread and was accepted in Gaul (France) and Italy. Columban's Rule was gradually modified however by its contact with the Benedictine Rule which, in the time of Charlemagne, became the standard for monastic centres in Europe.

St. Gregory (540-604) had been a monk before he was elected

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<sup>58</sup>Dom David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), p. 4.

<sup>59</sup>Deansley, pp. 37-38.

pope. His writings and especially his Dialogues indicate in an explicit way that he was well acquainted with and an avid promoter of the monastic tradition as defined by St. Benedict. Knowles in his The Monastic Order in England asserts that:

. . . Gregory when pope exercised a preponderant influence in determining the future character of Western monasticism, both by taking the Rule as his guide in the many actions, constitutions and decretals by which he wove the monastic body into the life of the Church and into canon law, and by his initiative, so pregnant with consequences, in sending monks to convert the heathen in England. With Gregory the Great the Rule, which . . . was itself inspired so deeply with the principles of the Church's law, became in turn the source par excellence for all subsequent ecclesiastical legislation on monasticism.<sup>60</sup>

Moreover, it was also Gregory the Great who introduced a clear distinction between the two religious traditions. Since the time of his papacy, the monastic and clerical vocations have been treated as separate entities. This separation had a direct source in his conviction that no one should be considered fit to perform both ecclesiastical and monastic duties.<sup>61</sup> An earlier discussion of the Benedictine Rule clearly indicates that the monk's life was entirely devoted to rendering services to God. Generally speaking, the seven daily Canonical Hours as well as manual and intellectual labour were designed for no other purpose than the worship of Christ. On the other hand, the clergy served the needs of the town population. Those services were of a twofold nature: spiritual (weekly Sunday Mass) and educational (pastoral work). This emphasis on the separate nature of monastic and clerical traditions was to become significant in the following centuries when a judicial line was drawn between a

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<sup>60</sup>Knowles, The Monastic Order, p. 18.

<sup>61</sup>Deansley, p. 41.

monastery, whose abbot was responsible directly to the pope, and a town church, whose priest was a part of a parochial system.

The history of monasticism between the death of Pope Gregory (604) and the foundation of the Abbey of Cluny (910) is the history of numerous houses which appeared and then disappeared in the various disorders that swept western civilization in that period of time. As was the case with the institution of the Church, so were the religious orders susceptible to the pressing problems of the period. The Councils of Trullo (692) and Nicea (778), specifically referring to monks guilty of fornication or marriage, forbade them to go to the baths when women were present, prohibited them from attending plays performed at weddings, and called for the rules against double monasteries.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, the gradual dissolution of the Carolingian system brought disorder and corruption to many centers of monastic life. On the other hand, one should not assume that monasticism lost its ascetic spirit. The Rule of St. Benedict gradually achieved universal acceptance which was accelerated by Benedict of Aniane (751-821) who, on behalf of Louis the Pious, was authorized to impose it on all the monasteries of the king's territory to revive the idea of a strict and regular monastic life. Benedict of Aniane modified the code and introduced new standards which profoundly influenced the future history of the monastic order. First of all, agricultural work was perceived by him as extraordinary for monks who should only concentrate on the necessary work of the house. Secondly, since Charlemagne had issued a legislation that the education of the laity

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<sup>62</sup>Frazer, "Late Roman and Byzantine Legislation," p. 278.

was a duty of the clergy, teaching by monks of anyone except oblates was forbidden. And thirdly, a considerable addition was made to the daily liturgical prayers of the Rule which was a consequence of the two former orders and aimed at filling up the free time of monks who no longer had to be involved in manual labour or teaching.

Thus, ninth-century Benedictine life differed from its sixth-century original. Throughout the centuries, and especially in the time of Charlemagne and his successor, Louis the Pious, monastic centres grew to be vast territorial and economic institutions. This growth brought some other developments. One was the gradual introduction of the custom that the members were no longer lay persons but clergy. The other was the disappearance of manual labour which had been one of the duties of monks in the past. Their estates were now tended by serfs, so that monks could devote themselves to praying, learning, and copying of manuscripts. These changes resulted in the ultimate crystallization of St. Benedict's ideal.

[A monastery] was to be spiritually and actually a family living for God apart from the world as truly, though less remotely, than the monks of Egypt or the hermits of Enfide. Those who attribute to the legislator farsighted design of regenerating a crumbling society or of reasserting the nobility of work and communal service not only fail to see St. Benedict and the Rule in true historical perspective, but fail also to see that he was concerned solely with the monastic life as a spiritual discipline for the service of God, and not at all with work, however necessary, of religion and charity undertaken for the world outside the walls of the monastery.<sup>63</sup>

All those crucial characteristic features of a monastery and monastic life were brought to the fore once again at the beginning of the tenth century, during the period of the Church's spiritual disintegration caused by feudal control of ecclesiastical properties

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<sup>63</sup>Knowles, The Monastic Order, p. 20.

by lay magnates, the involvement of the papacy in the struggle for power in the world of politics, and the numerous invasions that took place in the last decades of the ninth century. Needless to say, monastic virtue also suffered from the confusion of the period. For example, the monastery of St. Martin at Tours was described by Odo as the house in which discipline was lax, religion conventional, and the canons unworthy of respect.<sup>64</sup> However, Odo and his friend Adhegrin were to find their ideal of Benedictine monasticism in a monastery which was founded at Cluny in 910. In the early autumn of that year William of Aquitaine, Marquise of Gothia, Count of Auvergne, Velay, and Bourges, signed the charter which was to give the abbey of Cluny its independence from lay and episcopal supervision in terms of both administration and jurisdiction:

. . . I make known that for the love of God and of our Saviour Christ Jesus I give and deliver to the Apostoles of Peter and Paul the village of Cluny, on the river Grosne, with its curtilage and its house, with the chapel that is dedicated in honour of St. Mary mother of God and St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, with all the property that depends thereon, cottages, chapels, serfs both men and women, vines, fields, meadows, forests, water and watercourses, mills, crops, and revenues, lands tilled and untilled, with no reservations. . . . I give on condition that a Regular Monastery be established at Cluny in honour of the apostles Peter and Paul; that monks shall form a congregation there living under the rule of St. Benedict; that they shall for ever possess, hold and order the property given in such wise that this honourable house shall be unceasingly full of vows and prayers. . . . We ordain also that our foundation shall serve for ever as a refuge for those who having renounced the world as poor men bring nothing with them but their good will, and we desire that our superfluity shall become their abundance. May the monks and all the aforesaid possessions be under the power and dominion of Abbot Berno, who shall rule according to his knowledge and power as long as he shall live. After his death may the monks have the power and liberty to elect as abbot and ruler the monk of their order whom they shall prefer, according to the good pleasure

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<sup>64</sup>Joan Evans, Monastic Life at Cluny, 910-1157 (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 1.

of God and the rule laid by St. Benedict, with no contradiction or impediment of this election by our power or that of any man. . . . We also desire that in our time and in the time of our successors, as much at least as the circumstances of the time and the situation of the place admit, they may each day perform with fervent zeal works of mercy to the poor, to beggars, strangers, and travellers. It has pleased us to set forth in this testament that from this day forward the monks united in congregation at Cluny shall be wholly freed from our power, from that of our kindred, and from the jurisdiction of royal greatness, and shall never submit to the yoke of any other power. I beg and pray that no secular Prince, no Count, no Bishop, no Pontiff of the Roman Church, by God and through God and all his saints, under threat of the awful day of judgement, may ever invade the possessions of these servants of God. Let him not sell, nor diminish, nor exchange, nor take any thing which is theirs: let him set up no ruler over them against their will.<sup>65</sup>

The charter thus introduced the rights, exceptional for the time, of the free election of the abbot by monks, of the independence of the monastery from ecclesiastical and lay power, and of the immunity of its possessions and status. These provisions in themselves made Cluny a unique establishment at the beginning of the tenth century. Moreover, its uniqueness was enhanced by its first abbots: Berno (910-926), Odo (926-942), Maieul (943-994), Odilo (994-1049), and Hugh (1049-1109) who introduced and strengthened the spirit of Benedictine monasticism by a strict observance of the Rule and its modified version, the Capitula of Aachen.

The Rule set up the principal framework regarding the formation and nature of the monastery. Monks were not allowed to have personal property. They all slept in a dormitory and dined together at times which were specified by tradition and the seasons of the year. Privacy as such did not exist. All the matters connected with life in a monastery, i.e, regarding its administration as well as the behaviour of monks, was discussed during the Chapter meeting which was

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<sup>65</sup>Ibid., pp. 5-6. (Emphasis mine.)

usually held after the morning Mass. Moreover, the brethren were obliged to abide by the rules of keeping silence, humility, and of uncontested obedience to the abbot.

The primary precept of the house was that the life of monks was completely and entirely devoted to the service of God. Therefore, they never left their cloisters and spent their time attending Offices throughout the day. Due to this pattern of everyday life, the balance between spiritual and manual labour, as stipulated in the Rule, was changed. Psalm-singing and prayer became the labour of monks, while, the cultivation of their lands was left to lay brethren, serfs, and servants. If the necessary work of the monastery was performed by monks, it had but spiritual value.

Yet another feature that made Cluny unique was the fact that it was not just an island surrounded by a sea of decay but, because of the life it offered, it soon became a model institution for other orders which aimed at reviving the old tradition. Therefore, the Cluny abbots were consulted regularly and asked for help to reform and found other monasteries. As a result of their actions, an affiliation was created between these houses which were subjected to a single common superior, the Abbot of Cluny. As a corollary to this strict union, the spreading of the ideal of the Rule enhanced the spiritual revival of Christendom. Among the houses so reformed was the ancient monastery at Fleury (ca. 930) which would play a crucial role in the development of English monasticism in the years to come.

Simultaneously with the rise of Cluny, two other revivals in Upper and Lower Lorraine occurred. The monasticism of Upper Lorraine, which was much more physically severe than Cluny spread throughout the

districts of Cologne, Metz, Verdun, and Toul. The rule of Lower Lorraine was accepted in Flanders and especially in St. Omer and Ghent. Ghent was the second centre which would supply a model for the monastic revival in England. It is worth mentioning that the more physically severe monasticism of Upper Lorraine was not the only characteristic distinguishing it from the one at Cluny. Unlike Cluny, these monasteries were allowed to keep their self-government and so were independent from each other. Also unlike Cluny, these houses were patronised by Otto the Great and Otto II and were the property of their secular founders. Moreover, they were under the jurisdiction of a diocesan bishop rather than of the pope. Consequently, many of the monks had an opportunity to become bishops, and their influence on the secular clergy was thus greater than the one of secluded Cluny.<sup>66</sup> These characteristics of monastic life of the Upper Lorraine are important to note here because they will find their equivalent in England.

However, before we move to tenth-century England, certain aspects from the history of the Church and monasticism should be recapitulated. First, the historians of the Church provided us with numerous source materials indicating that by the end of the ninth century the Church in Western Europe presented a scene resembling the Tower of Babel, a scene of chaos with a few scattered monastic houses which tried to defend themselves against endless disorder among the clergy. Second, this moral destruction and spiritual disintegration was mainly due to the feudal control of ecclesiastical properties by

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<sup>66</sup> Knowles, The Christian Centuries, 2:126.

vassals, the involvement of the papacy in the struggle for power, the lack of central authority, and the numerous invasions that took place in the last decades of the ninth century. Third, the reestablishment of Benedictine monasticism heralded a new era in the revival of ecclesiastical life, according to the holy Rule strictly interpreted.

The major focus of this chapter was directed at secular and ecclesiastical forces that operated in the times of the tenth-century European monastic revival. The next chapter, chapter 4, will demonstrate how the issues discussed here, and especially those concerning monasticism, were translated to England. Also, an attempt will be made to indicate the impact of these forces upon English monasticism in general and the Council of Winchester in particular. Such an approach is mandated by historical evidence which points out that the trends in the European history of the state and Church stimulated the revival of the monastic movement in England. Therefore, the significance of both the Synodal Council and its outcome--the Regularis Concordia--can only be established and ascertained when viewed through the history of prior events.

## CHAPTER IV

### A BRIEF HISTORY OF ENGLISH MONASTICISM IN THE TENTH CENTURY

Monasteries were first established in England with the arrival of Augustine and his companions in 596, the year when Christianity was reintroduced into the country.<sup>1</sup> During the next three hundred and fifty years the seeds of monasticism were planted and its fruits were uprooted. Bede Venerabilis provides us with a detailed record concerning some of those years. Unfortunately, his Ecclesiastical History ended in 731. Although it might be a pure historical coincidence, this date also marks the beginning of a period when all other extant records are so limited that it is difficult to know exactly what happened during the next two hundred years. However, it might be suggested that from the time of Bede, many of the monasteries disappeared either because of a violent and complete destruction at the hands of pagan invaders or because of the process of gradual secularization, which was similar to what happened on the Continent in the ninth and tenth centuries.

For example, canons passed by a synod held at Clofeshoh in 747 referred to priests prating in church like secular bards, to monks

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<sup>1</sup>Augustine was a Benedictine monk of the monastery of St. Andrew on the Coelian Hill in Rome which was founded by Gregory the Great. The Rule of St. Benedict was the governing code in this abbey. See Peter Hunter Blair, Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), p. 117.

and nuns dressing themselves in gorgeous apparel, to monasteries becoming retreats for versifiers, harpers and buffoons, and to nunneries becoming secret meeting-places for evil talk, drunkenness and luxury. At about the same time Boniface wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury inveighing strongly against the evils of drunkenness and fine clothing. Not only did bishops get drunk, he had been told, but they forced others to drunkenness as well by offering them overlarge cups. The English Church was also being brought into disrepute abroad by nuns who went on pilgrimage and succumbed to temptation by the way, so that English harlots were to be found in most towns of Gaul and Lombardy. Later in the century Alcuin wrote frequently from abroad exhorting monks to observe their vows, to avoid luxury in dress and listen in the refectory to holy Scripture rather than to heathen songs.<sup>2</sup>

This growing laxity among clergy and monks, moreover, exerted a pernicious influence on the numerous houses of God. As Knowles states, many of the monasteriola

were so only in name, being actually the family strongholds of those who hoped to attain immunity from taxation and public service by the nominal consecration of an estate to God; others, in origin genuine monasteries, fell down the scale, as did so many all over Europe in periods of decay, and became first houses of clerics and then the residence of one or two priests, of which the owner and titular abbot was often a lay landowner or magnate.<sup>3</sup>

This general trend towards the secularization of ecclesiastical life, which was discussed in the previous chapter, was not, however, the only factor that contributed to a virtual disappearance of organized observances of the Rule. Viking attacks and the settlements which followed them accelerated the complete destruction of all forms of monastic life throughout the eastern part of England from the Thames in the south to Coldingham in the north. This destruction of the orders also meant the disappearance of libraries and thus records that could have provided a history of the monastic movement. It is for this reason that the history of East Anglia and the eastern midlands

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 161-62.

<sup>3</sup>Dom David Knowles, The Religious Houses of Medieval England (London: Sheed & Ward, 1940), p. 14.

is very scanty, and the history of Northumbria is known to us only from the writings of King Alfred and Asser.

Evidence which is provided by them clearly indicates that because of either warfare or decay in the monasteries themselves, regular life according to the Rule of St. Benedict had ceased to exist in the South and West with the possible exception of Canterbury.<sup>4</sup> Asser, in his Life of King Alfred, refers to this situation when he writes about Alfred's attempt to build two monasteries:

At first he [Alfred] had no one of his own nation, noble and free by birth, who was willing to enter the monastic life, except children, who as yet could neither choose good nor reject evil by reason of their tender years. This was the case because for many years previous the love of a monastic life had utterly decayed in that as well as many other nations; for though many monasteries still remain in that country, yet no one kept the rule of that kind of life in an orderly way, whether because of the invasions of foreigners, which took place so frequently both by sea and land, or because that people abounded in riches of every kind, and so looked with contempt on the monastic life.<sup>5</sup>

King Alfred's account of the situation in his kingdom in the times of the Danish invasion, referring to the state of learning in England, is also far from optimistic. Thus, for example, in the year 895, he complained about illiterate clergy and secular clerks in the preface to his translation of the Pastoral Care of Gregory the Great. Moreover, King Alfred stated there that he did not hear of a single clerk south of the Thames who was able to conduct the Mass in Latin or translate a letter from that language into English.<sup>6</sup> He understood

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<sup>4</sup>The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation, trans. from the Latin with Introduction and Notes by Dom Thomas Symons (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1953), p. x.

<sup>5</sup>Asser's Life of King Alfred, trans. Albert S. Cook (London: Ginn, 1906), p. 55.

<sup>6</sup>Dom David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England (Cambridge:

that, in order to recreate the ideals of the Christian faith, the education of the younger generation should be the prime necessity. Therefore, he gathered around himself a group of teachers, of which only Asser and two foreigners, Grimald and John, were monks.<sup>7</sup> Alfred did not attempt to reform any of the old monasteries, since Asser claimed none of them kept the monastic rule properly, but established new foundations in Athelney and Shaftesbury.<sup>8</sup> However, the lack of native monks did not bring the hoped-for revival. Its beginning could be dated from the time when Athelstan came to the throne in 924. He was the proponent of a close relationship between England and the Continent.<sup>9</sup> His political endeavours to advance the international prestige of the country led to and had its counterpart in the increase

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Cambridge University Press, 1950), p. 32.

<sup>7</sup>"First he [King Alfred] placed there [Athelney] John the priest and monk, an Old Saxon by birth, making him abbot; and then certain priests and deacons from beyond the sea. Finding that he had not so large a number of these as he wished, he procured as many as possible of the same Gallic race; some of whom, being children, he ordered to be taught in the same monastery, and at a later period to be admitted to the monastic habit." See Asser's Life of King Alfred, p. 55.

<sup>8</sup>"Concerning his desire and intent of excellent meditation, which, in the midst both of prosperity and adversity, he [King Alfred] never in any way neglected, I cannot in this place with advantage forbear to speak. For when he was reflecting, according to his wont, upon the need of his soul, he ordered, among the other good deeds to which his thoughts were by night and day especially turned, that two monasteries should be built, one of them being for monks at Athelney. This is a place surrounded by impassable fens and waters on every hand, where no one can enter but by boats, or by a bridge laboriously constructed between two fortresses, at the western end of which bridge was erected a strong citadel, of beautiful work, by command of the aforesaid king. In this monastery he collected monks of all kinds from every quarter, and there settled them." See Asser's Life of King Alfred, p. 54.

<sup>9</sup>Symons, The Monastic Agreement, p. xi.

of ecclesiastical contacts at about the period of the great monastic revival in France, Germany, and Italy. Thus, Bishop Cenwald of Worcester visited the monasteries of Germany in 929; refugee monks from Flanders found their freedom in Bath; and Godelscalc, a foreign priest, lived in Abingdon.<sup>10</sup>

Generally speaking, this was the atmosphere in which three outstanding men, who inspired and directed a monastic revival in England, grew up and worked. They were Dunstan, who was born in or about the year 909 of a family some of whose members were related to the English Royal Family and played a prominent role in the Church;<sup>11</sup> Ethelwold,<sup>12</sup> the greatest of Dunstan's disciples, who was born in Winchester; and Oswald, a man of Danish family whose two uncles were archbishops of Canterbury and York.

Dunstan spent his first fourteen years in the village of

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<sup>10</sup>It should be mentioned, however, that the date of 924 marks only a beginning of the monastic revival in terms of the spreading of new reforms throughout the Continent and England. The foreign policy of Athelstan made ecclesiastical contacts easier, but the extent of the changes that might have resulted from these contacts is questionable. The evidence which is provided by the Regularis Concordia indicates that, at that time, monastic life ceased nearly to exist: "When therefore he [King Edgar] learned that the holy monasteries in all quarters of his kingdom, brought low, and almost wholly lacking in the service of our Lord Jesus Christ, were wasting away and neglected, moved by the grace of the Lord he most gladly set himself to restore them everywhere to their former good estate." See The Monastic Agreement, pp. 1-2.

<sup>11</sup>Dunstan's paternal uncle Anthelm was the first bishop of the See of Wells from 909 until he was transferred to Canterbury in 923. Two of his other relatives, Aelfheah and Kynesige, became bishops, and another one, the Lady Ethelfleda, was the niece of King Athelstan.

<sup>12</sup>The spelling of the name is either Aethelwold or Ethelwold. Here and throughout the next chapters, the latter spelling of the name has been employed.

Baltonsbury.<sup>13</sup> In 923, his parents allowed him to take the tonsure and he was admitted into membership in the community of Glastonbury. At that time Glastonbury was still a religious community, a place of pilgrimage, and a centre of learning. After taking the tonsure, Dunstan spent some time with his uncle, Archbishop Anthelm. It was Anthelm who introduced him to King Athelstan. However, it is difficult to assert anything specific about the relations between the royal household and Dunstan. We are told by one of Dunstan's biographers that he devoted his time mainly to studies and that that brought him into conflict with his young kinsmen at the court who accused him of occult knowledge. As a result of this charge, he was expelled from the court.<sup>14</sup> That was also the time of the turning point in his life. A severe illness ended his indecision whether to get married or devote himself to the religious life. He promised Bishop Aelfheah to agree to receive the monastic habit. In 939, the last year of Athelstan's reign, Dunstan was ordained a priest. The new king, Edmund, gave him a place in the royal household, but because of the action of his enemies, Dunstan was banished again. However, when the king narrowly escaped death while hunting in Cheddar, he swore to bring Dunstan back and to repair the injuries he had done to him. Auctore B states that the king kept his vow, and that Dunstan

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<sup>13</sup>All the information regarding Dunstan's life can be found in five biographies which were written by Auctore B, Adelard, William of Malmesbury, Eadmero, and Osbern, and are printed in Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland, 99 vols. (London: Longman, 1858-1896), vol. 63: Memorials of Saint Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury, ed. William Stubbs.

<sup>14</sup>Auctore B tells us that Dunstan, having been expelled from court, was pulled about by his enemies and half smothered in a muddy pond. Half-dead, he managed to escape from his oppressors.

was recalled from exile and promoted to the position of the abbot of Glastonbury in 940. Thus the year 940 and Dunstan's promotion to the position of abbot could be perceived as the date of his effective involvement in the monastic revival. However, the available records are far from satisfactory and do not allow a clear description of the observances at Glastonbury or the reforms that he introduced there.<sup>15</sup>

We may assume that the Rule was followed and as Symons states:

. . . the want of detailed and ceremonious observance affords no indication that the early reform at Glastonbury differed essentially from those of twenty or thirty years later when Continental ideas were exercising a direct influence in this country. Particular devotional practices, ritual splendour and the like have always been dependent on the fashion of the day, and our early authorities for this period lend no support to the view that any essential change in the character of its monasticism took place at some further stage of the movement.<sup>16</sup>

Among those who joined Dunstan's community at Glastonbury was Ethelwold. Ethelwold's biographer, Aelfric, provides little information about his early life.<sup>17</sup> However, what we can gather from the biography permits us to suggest that Ethelwold spent at least part of his youth at the court of Athelstan. The king, as Aelfric explains, commended him to Aelfheah who ordained him and Dunstan priests. Later on, Ethelwold became a monk at Glastonbury, but did not stay there for a long period of time. Dissuaded by King Eadred from leaving for one of the Continental centres of monastic reform, he accepted the task of restoring Abington in 954. The monastery at

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<sup>15</sup>The status of Glastonbury previous to Dunstan's appointment and the first years of Dunstan's rule there as abbot are discussed by Knowles in The Monastic Order in England, pp. 695-96.

<sup>16</sup>Symons, The Monastic Agreement, p. xvi.

<sup>17</sup>Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland, 99 vols. (London: Longman, 1858-1896), vol. 2 (2): Chronicon Monasterii de Abington, ed. Joseph Stevenson, 2:255-66.

Abington became a house of strict observance of the Rule.<sup>18</sup> Monks were brought from Corbie to instruct the community in chant and Ethelwold sent one of his monks, Osgar, to study the type of monasticism practiced at Fleury. It is important to remember that Fleury was already famous at that time for its reforms as well as for its use of the Rule as a code regulating monastic life.

In 955, King Eadred died and a partial setback to the movement set in. The new ruler, Eadwig, was under the influence of those who resented the power of Dunstan. As a result of their plottings, on the day of coronation the abbot had to flee the country and take refuge at the monastery of St. Peter of Ghent in Flanders in order to escape from the king's anger.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, judging by the words expressed by Pope John XIII (965-972) in his letter to Edgar, Eadwig was against the Church and monasticism.<sup>20</sup> Eadwig's hostile attitude towards the

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<sup>18</sup>It should be mentioned here that some historians question this concept of the strict observance of the Rule. Hohler states: "It will be recalled how the Abington chronicler in the twelfth century, writing for private circulation only, explains with gratitude how St. Aethelwold, by moderating the rigours of St. Benedictine's stern Rule, made it possible for gentlemen to live in monasteries." Hohler refers here to three passages which can be found in the Chronicon Monasterii de Abington. The first two, 1:346, and 2:279, refer to refreshments served in the monastery and especially to three gallons of beer a day which were customary. The third one, 2:279, refers to the fur bed-covers for monks. In C. E. Hohler's "Some Service-Books of the Later Saxon Church," Tenth Century Studies. Essays in Commemoration of the Millenium of the Council of Winchester and "Regularis Concordia," ed. David Parsons (London: Phillimore, 1975), chapter V.

<sup>19</sup>We are told by Auctore B that, on his coronation day, Eadwig left the hall where the bishops and nobles were gathered and spent his time with two ladies, Aethelgifu and her daughter. Dunstan was sent to bring the young king back. The sudden appearance of the abbot angered the king and the two women who incited him against Dunstan.

<sup>20</sup>The letter of John XIII to Edgar has already been quoted in chapter 3 of this study. Let me repeat the relevant part of this quotation: "The pope expressed his gratitude to Edgar I for restoring

Church and monasticism manifested itself through his actions of confiscating their property and establishing the decrees hostile to both institutions.

Eadwig's rule lasted only four years and ended with a revolt in Mercia and with the election of his younger brother, Edgar, as the king of the country north of the Thames and, a year later, of the whole country.<sup>21</sup> Edgar recalled Dunstan and appointed him to the vacant see of Worcester, London, and Canterbury. He also revoked the decrees against the Church that had been established by Eadwig.<sup>22</sup>

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to the bishops and the monasteries all the property that had been taken away from them and revoking the decrees hostile to Church by Edwig." Also see Fernand Mourret, A History of the Catholic Church, 8 vols. (St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder Book Co., 1946), 4:30.

<sup>21</sup>Below are the names of the rulers of England during the period which is discussed in this chapter:

|                  |         |
|------------------|---------|
| Alfred           | 871-899 |
| Edward the Elder | 899-924 |
| Althelstan       | 924-939 |
| Aedmund          | 939-946 |
| Eadred           | 946-955 |
| Eadwig           | 955-959 |
| Edgar            | 960-975 |

<sup>22</sup>In about 960, Edgar issued ordinances "for the glory of God, and his own royal dignity, and the good of all his people.

I. This is the first provision, that God's churches shall be entitled to all their prerogatives.

1. And all the tithes shall be paid to the old churches to which obedience is due; and payment shall be made both from the thegn's demesne land and the land held by his tenants—all that is under the plough.

II. If, however, there is a thegn who, on the land which he holds by title-deed, has a church to which is attached a graveyard, he shall pay the third part of his own tithes to his church. . . .

III. And the tithe of all young animals shall be rendered by Pentecost, and that of the fruits of the earth by the Equinox, and every church due shall be rendered by Martinmas, under pain of the full penalty which the written law prescribes. . . .

V. And every Sunday shall be observed as a festival from noonday on Saturday till dawn on Monday, under pain of penalty which the written law prescribes; and every other feast-day according to the regulations appointed for it. . . .

Moreover, the reign of Edgar (959-975) was the period of the greatest extension of the movement. In terms of the monastic revival, the lines of demarcation seem to follow this pattern: (1) Dunstan's return from exile at Ghent in 960; and (2) the Promiso Regis (975), the first document of this sort in England guaranteeing the king's support for Christians.<sup>23</sup> During this time, according to Symons,

episcopal sees were filled with monks; secular clerks were removed from some of the old religious foundations and their place taken by monks; religious houses were established or restored all over the country by the unified efforts of Dunstan, Aethelwold, and a new leader, Oswald. . . . It is from this period that we may date the beginnings of effective external contacts with the reformed monasticism of the Continent.<sup>24</sup>

Dunstan's reforming activities were recorded by his biographers. Auctore B clearly indicates that Dunstan was not only

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3. And every right of sanctuary possessed by the church shall be maintained according to the highest standards of the past."

See Agnes Jane Robertson, ed., The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925), pp. 21-23.

<sup>23</sup>This document resembles Charlemagne's mission to defend the Holy Church of Christ against the attacks of pagans and to sustain it within by the profession of the Catholic Church:

"This document has been copied, letter by letter, from that which Archbishop Dunstan gave to our Lord at Kingston, on the day when he was consecrated as king, forbidding him to give any pledge except this one on which he laid upon Christ's altar, as the bishop directed him:

I. In the name of Holy Trinity! I promise three things to the Christian people who are under my authority:

1. Firstly, that true peace shall be assured to the church of God and all Christian people in my dominions.

2. Secondly, I forbid robbery and all unrighteous deeds by all classes of society.

3. Thirdly, I promise and enjoin justice and mercy in the decision of all cases, in order that God, who liveth and reigneth, may in his grace and mercy be brought thereby to grant us all his eternal compassion."

See Robertson, The Laws of the Kings of England, p. 43.

<sup>24</sup>Symons, The Monastic Agreement, pp. xix-xx.

interested in reforming monasteries but in introducing reforms into the Church. Their scope embraced general reforms as well as those regarding the discipline of the clergy. Dunstan was against unlawful marriages of the clerks, their corruption, and their immoral life style.<sup>25</sup> The testimony of his biographer focuses on the abominations that became commonplace in many of the monasteries in England. We are told that only Glastonbury and Abington were inhabited by monks.<sup>26</sup> Other monastic houses had fallen into ruin or were inhabited by the secular clergy with their wives. The standard of morality must have been very low if we accept statements reproving not only marriages but also systematic bigamy.<sup>27</sup> Dunstan using his influence upon Edgar, convinced him to issue the canons which were to regularize the behaviour of monks. Thus, for example, canons 26, 32, 45, 52, 60, and 64 state:

26. And we enjoin, that priests keep their churches, with all reverence, for divine ministry and for pure service, and for no other things; and that they allow not anything useless, either within or near; neither idle speech, nor idle deed, nor useless drinking, nor even any frivolity; nor within the church enclosure let there come any dog, nor yet more a swine, if it can be so ordered. . . .

32. And we enjoin, that no priest ever celebrate mass without book; but let the canon be ever before his eyes, let him look to it, if he will, lest aught escape him. . . .

45. And we enjoin, that at the night time the hours be rung, and every priest then attend his canonical hours in the church, and

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<sup>25</sup>Memorials of Saint Dunstan, pp. 110-13.

<sup>26</sup>"Nam hactenus in gente Anglorum ea tempestate non habebantur monachi nisi in Glastonia et Abedonia [For at that time there had been no monks in England except at Glastonbury and Abington]." See "Vita S. Aethelwoldi," Chronicon Monasterii de Abington, 2:261.

<sup>27</sup>Henry Charles Lea, History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church (New York: University Books, 1966), p. 134.

there, with fear of God, fervently pray, and intercede for all people. . . .

52. And we enjoin, that priests, every Sunday, preach to the people, and always set a good example. . . .

60. And we enjoin, that no priest love over much the presence of women, but love his lawful spouse, that is, his Church. . . .

64. And we enjoin, that a priest be not a hunter, nor hawker, nor a dicer, but apply to his books, as becomes his order. . . .<sup>28</sup>

Moreover, Dunstan introduced the ideal of monastic reform, which must have been modified and developed by his stay at Ghent, into the monasteries in Bath, Westminster, and five others, all of which he kept under his rule.<sup>29</sup>

Ethelwold became the bishop of Winchester cathedral in 963. In the following two years, he changed the management of this cathedral. Having substituted monks from Abington for clerks of the Old and New Minsters, Ethelwold introduced a specifically English concept of a monastic cathedral. In Winchester, a monastic house was no longer located in an isolated place, as was the case in Cluny, for example, but it functioned within the town limits as both a community church and a monastery. Ethelwold thus combined in one person the office of both a bishop and an abbot. Aelfric mentions in his biography that all the clerks were expelled except for those who decided to abide by the rules which were introduced:

At that time there were in the old monastery clergy of bad morals [i.e., married clergy], beset with pride, arrogance, and self-indulgence, so much so that many of them disdained to celebrate the Masses in the proper order, putting away their wives, whom they had married contrary to law, and taking others, being constantly given to greediness and intemperance. The holy man

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<sup>28</sup> Benjamin Thorpe, ed., Ancient Laws and Institutes of England (London: George, Eyre, & Andrew Spottiswoode, 1840), 396-402.

<sup>29</sup> Symons, The Monastic Agreement, p. xx.

Aethelwold could not endure this, and obtaining the sanction of King Edgar he very quickly drove out these abominable blasphemers of God from the monastery, and bringing in monks from Abington he placed them there, being himself abbot and bishop over them.<sup>30</sup>

For this action he was poisoned by the clerks; however, his faith in God saved him from death.<sup>31</sup>

Aelfric also informs us that Ethelwold founded and introduced his monastic ideal into the houses of Ely, Medeshapstead (Peterborough), and Thorney. He was also an abbot of these three houses.

The third reformer was Oswald. He was brought up by his uncle, Oda, archbishop of Canterbury. Later on, Oswald was made a canon and dean at Winchester. However, having experienced the laxity of clerical life, he decided to become a monk. For this reason, he went to Fleury and stayed there until recalled by his uncle in 958. On his arrival in England he learned that Oda had passed away and that Dunstan had been nominated the new archbishop. In 961, Dunstan induced Edgar to make Oswald bishop of Worcester. At that time,

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<sup>30</sup>Harvey S. Gem, An Anglo-Saxon Abbot, Aelfric of Eynsham (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912), pp. 172-73.

<sup>31</sup>"Eventually from the ill-will of the clerks, it happened that poison was given to the bishop when he was dining with his guests in his hall, they [the clerks] thinking when he was dead they could enjoy their former vices. Now it was his habit, on account of his weak health, after three or four mouthfuls to take a moderate sip; he drank without knowing that poison had been brought to him, and swallowed all the contents of the cup. Immediately his face turned pale, and his bowels were greatly tormented by the force of the poison. then he rose up, with difficulty getting from the table to his bed, and the poison ran through all his limbs, threatening death. But after awhile he began to remonstrate with himself, saying to his soul, 'Where is now thy faith? Where are the words of Christ, in which He said, If they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them?' With this and the like words the faith kindled in him extinguished the deadliness of the draft he had swallowed, and he soon rose up, and went back to the hall cheerfully enough, inflicting no punishment on his poisoner." See Gem, p. 174.

Oswald began to take a significant part in the monastic movement. He recalled Germanus from France to join him in his work. Also, following Ethelwold's practice in Winchester, he attempted to assign monks to his own cathedral instead of secular clerks. The record of this incident can be found in the Charter of Oswald's Law (964) which confirmed the ejection of the recusants who refused to part with their wives and the transfer of all their rights and possessions to the newcomers.<sup>32</sup> Even though the new laws were very strict, it seems that their execution was not always satisfactory. Thus, for example, the clerks at Worcester refused to be reformed and, therefore, Oswald was forced to begin a new monastery. In 962, Oswald established a small offshoot from Worcester at Westbury, and later on, at Ramsey, Winchcombe, Pershore, and at four other monasteries whose names are not known to us.<sup>33</sup>

This progress in the monastic revival in England in the years 940-975 can be summarized as the period in which many of England's principal monasteries were founded (Glastonbury, Abington, Ramsey) on the basis of the Continental model by which English monasticism was shaped and acquired its specific characteristics. The institution of monastic cathedrals (Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester) was an English invention. So was the concept of pluralism of ecclesiastical positions. Oswald was the abbot of Worcester but lived in Ramsey; Ethelwold was the actual abbot of Peterborough, Ely, and Thorney while

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<sup>32</sup>Lea, p. 135.

<sup>33</sup>Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland, 99 vols. (London: Longman, 1858-1896), vol. 71 (3): Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops, ed. James Raine, 2:492-93.

still ruling Winchester; Dunstan was the abbot of Glastonbury and Archbishop of Canterbury. Such a situation was possible because of the specific role the three reformers played in the political life of England. Because of the close dependence on the West Saxon royal family, the monks became the bishops of England and held the two metropolitan Sees. Edgar needed them as his advisors, they needed Edgar to protect them and to reform the Church and its servants.<sup>34</sup>

It seems that this cooperation brought benefits to both sides, and by 970, monasticism was a growing force with foundations deeply rooted in the English soil.<sup>35</sup> Dunstan was the archbishop; Ethelwold and Oswald were abbots. Their disciples were continuing the work of these leaders in the monasteries which they had established in the previous twenty years. Even though monastic movement was in the hands of Dunstan, the reformed houses constituted three groups which were respectively dominated by the ideals introduced by Dunstan, who had spent some time in Ghent; Oswald, who had visited Fleury; and Ethelwold, who had been a proponent of strict monasticism. Needless to say, although the Rule was the primary code of monastic life, its interpretation by the three leaders seems to have varied in different places. Moreover, each of the monastic houses was practically

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<sup>34</sup>For example Ethelwold, besides being an abbot of Winchester, Peterborough, Ely, and Thorney, was a privy councillor of King Edgar.

<sup>35</sup>There were about twenty monasteries in England by 970. These were: Abington, Alhelney, Bath, Chertsey, Chester, Ely, Glastonbury, Horton, Hoxne, Malmesbury, Milton, Muchelney, Pershore, Peterborough, Ramsey, St. Albans, Westbury-upon-Trym, Westminster, Winchester, and Worcester. Even though the records are scanty, we know that nuns also actively participated in introducing the Rule in England. Among the principal houses were those at Nunnminster, Romsey, Wilton, Shaftesbury, Reading, Berkeley, and Exeter. See David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales (London: Longman Group, 1971), pp. 52-58, 253-55.

independent in its observances of the code. Therefore, in order to prevent a great diversity of practice among the many religious houses which then existed in England, the need arose for the unification of the whole movement.<sup>36</sup> This need for unification resulted in a call for a synodal council. The Council of Winchester and its record, the extant manuscript of the Regularis Concordia, is the subject of the next chapter.

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<sup>36</sup>Another reason for the Council of Winchester, besides the unification of the monastic movement, was to discuss the claims of the clerks who had attempted to recover their churches with the help of the nobles. It should be remembered that Ethelwold had substituted the monks for the clerks in Winchester in 963; Oswald had attempted to do the same in Worcester (the Charter of Oswald's Law--964). Thus, the clerks constituted a serious threat to the growing monastic movement and, therefore, there was a pressing need for the institutionalization of the movement under the aegis of King Edgar. See Memorials of Saint Dunstan, p. 212 ("Vita Sancti Dunstani" by Eadmero) and p. 307 ("Vita Sancti Dunstani" by Willelmo Malmesberiensis).

## CHAPTER V

### REGULARIS CONCORDIA

The Synodal Council of Winchester (ca. 965-975), at which abbots and abbesses assembled, gave birth to a document which is commonly known as the Regularis Concordia. Its full title, which is rarely quoted in theatre history books, Regularis Concordia Anglicae Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque (The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation), specifically delineates the nature of the document.<sup>1</sup> The title makes it clear that the manuscript was a written agreement which is monastic in nature. The phrase "monastic" also implies that the rules were to be applied only to life in a monastery rather than to life in the town church.<sup>2</sup> This

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<sup>1</sup>It is interesting to observe that although the Regularis Concordia is frequently quoted by Chambers, Young, and Hardison, none provides the full title of the document.

<sup>2</sup>The difference between a town church and a monastery has frequently been overlooked by theatre historians. It should be pointed out here that, especially in the tenth century, the town churches were filled with secular clerks who were accused by the monastic leaders of all possible abominations. Through his disciplines, Dunstan was trying to reestablish in monastic churches the strict order which had been suggested by St. Benedict. While describing the Rule of Saint Benedict, Knowles wrote: "Although some details of the Rule have given rise to controversies among both monks and scholars, it is not difficult to grasp the broad lines of the monastic life for which it was written, and which, therefore, it always tended of itself to reproduce. The monastery which it describes is a unit, completely self-contained and self-sufficient, both economically and constitutionally. A community, ruled by an abbot elected by the monks for life, is supported by the produce of

agreement was drawn up by the monks and nuns who belonged to the growing ecclesiastical group in England. Moreover, judging from the words of the Preface, called the Proem, the monks and nuns were to abide by its rulings.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, having taken these factors into consideration, it is fair to assume that the Regularis Concordia can be classified as one of the consuetudinaries binding together Abington, Glastonbury, Worcester, and the other houses of the tenth century. Further support for such an interpretation of the document can be found in the scholarship presented by Symons who maintains that the Concordia is probably the oldest of the codes and gives the most complete account of the duties and organization of monastic life in England at that time.<sup>4</sup> The following discussion will focus on the

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its fields and garden and has within the wall of its enclosure all that is necessary to convert the produce into food and to make and repair clothing and other articles of common use. It has no function in the life of the Church save to provide an ordered way of life based on the teaching of the gospel, according to which its inmates may serve God and sanctify their souls apart from the life of the world. No work done within it, whether manual, intellectual or charitable, is directed to an end outside its walls. It is the home of a spiritual family whose life and work begins and ends in the family circle; like other families it may on occasion support dependents, give hospitality and relieve the spiritual and bodily necessities of those who dwell in its neighbourhood or who seek from it such relief, but its primary concern is with itself, not with others, and the evils of corporate selfishness are excluded by its raison d'être, which is the service of God in simplicity of life and without contact with the world." See Dom David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), pp. 3-4.

<sup>3</sup>"... the assembly as one man made a solemn vow to our Lord Jesus Christ, confirming their oath with a spiritual act, that, living all their life under the yoke of the Rule, they would carry out these self same monastic customs openly and with one uniform observance." See The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation, trans. from the Latin with Introduction and Notes by Dom Thomas Symons (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1933), p. 4.

<sup>4</sup>Symons, Monastic Agreement, p. xxix.

analysis and presentation of the prescriptions of the manuscript in order to shed light on its unique nature.

Only two texts of the Regularis Concordia are extant.<sup>5</sup> One of them, called "Faustina B<sub>3</sub>," is from the late tenth century; the other text, called "Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>," is from the second half of the eleventh century.<sup>6</sup> The document, which is in medieval Latin, is divided into a preface, twelve chapters, and an epilogue.<sup>7</sup> As far as its sources are concerned, the manuscript combines in itself elements of both native and alien origin. This twofold nature of the sources is due to the fact that the English monks brought back certain traditions from their trips to the monasteries in Ghent and Fleury.<sup>8</sup> The monks from these

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<sup>5</sup>The text of the Regularis Concordia is found in two medieval MSS: British Museum, Cotton MS Faustina B<sub>3</sub>, folios 159a-198a and Cotton MS Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>, folio 177a and b, of the late tenth century and Cotton MS Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>, folios 3a-27b of the second half of the eleventh century. See appendices A, B, and C for excerpts from the MSS.

<sup>6</sup>The tenth-century manuscript (Faustina B<sub>3</sub>) does not have a title and begins with the first words of the Proem. The Proem is followed by twelve chapters (it breaks in the course of Chapter XII with the words "quibus fuerit unitus"; the end of this chapter can be found in Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>, folio 177 a and b). The tenth-century Concordia is written in medieval Latin. The manuscript from the second half of the eleventh century (Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>) has a title, a full-page illustration, a list of chapters, the Proem, twelve chapters, and the Epilogue. Anglo-Saxon glosses are placed above the Latin text. For the full description of the manuscripts see Symons's "Introduction" in The Monastic Agreement, pp. liii-lix.

<sup>7</sup>This chapter is based on Symons's bi-lingual publication. His edition of The Monastic Agreement is mainly based on Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>. Symons's book presents the Latin text on the left page and an English translation on the right page. Each chapter is divided into paragraphs which are numbered. Texts, page numbers, and paragraph numbers which are quoted in my chapter follow Symons's edition. A comparative study of the manuscripts and Symons's edition will be presented in chapter 6 of this study.

<sup>8</sup>See chapter 4 of this study.

two monasteries were invited to participate in the Synod.<sup>9</sup> Certain native English monastic customs can be traced in the internal evidence provided by the Concordia itself. Numerous references to the Benedictine Rule,<sup>10</sup> Cluniac<sup>11</sup> and Lotharingian codes,<sup>12</sup> as well as to the Ordo qualiter<sup>13</sup> and the Capitula of Aachen are intertwined with solely English traditions. Thus, generally speaking, the consuetudinary is a combination of native customs which are usually introduced by phrases such as the "as is the custom,"<sup>14</sup> "according to custom,"<sup>15</sup> "goodly religious customs of this land,"<sup>16</sup> and of customs

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<sup>9</sup>"Straightway, then, they [the monks] obeyed his [Edgar's] commands with the utmost gladness; and calling to mind the letters in which our holy patron Gregory instructed the blessed Augustine that, for the advancement of the rude English Church, he should establish therein the seemly customs of the Gallic Churches as well as those of Rome, they summoned monks from St. Benedict's monastery [The Abbey of Fleury-sur-Loire, reformed in 930 by St Odo of Cluny] at Fleury and from that eminent monastery which is known by the renowned name of Ghent [The Abbey of St. Peter (Blandinium) at Ghent, reformed by Gerard of Brogne, about 937], gathered from their praiseworthy customs much that was good and thus, even as honey is gathered by bees from all manner of wild flowers and collected into one hive, so also the said monastic customs, tempered by great and subtle judgement of reason were, by the grace of Christ the Saviour of the world, embodied in this small book." See The Monastic Agreement, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup>See, for example, The Monastic Agreement, p. 7 (arrangement for saying the Office when journeying on horseback) and p. 27 (drink after None).

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 8 (the relations between master and boys), p. 20 (silence on feast days), p. 39 (blessing of the New Fire), and pp. 49-50 (Easter celebrations).

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 20-21 (the psalmody during the manual work), p. 29 (confession on Christmas Eve), and p. 67 (the recording of the name of a dead brother).

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, Chapter I *passim*.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 30.

of Continental origin. The latter can be further divided into those which were consonant with early Benedictine usage,<sup>17</sup> those copied from the documents of the Anianian reform,<sup>18</sup> and finally, those which indicate a close relationship between the Regularis Concordia and stereotyped observances contained in other consuetudinaries of the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>19</sup>

It is commonly maintained that Ethelwold was the author of the document.<sup>20</sup> However, according to Symons,

The Concordia is an anonymous document. The Proem merely says that the "bishops, abbots and abbesses" assembled at the Council of Winchester gathered customs from all quarters, "edited" them and embodied them "in this little book." Some thirty years or so later, Aelfric, writing to the monks of Eynsham, tells them that the Concordia had been "put together from various sources and 'imposed' on all the monasteries" by Ethelwold and his fellow bishops and abbots: he makes no reference to the Council. Aelfric is not clear; but his words are commonly quoted as evidence that Ethelwold was the "author" of the Concordia.

Seventy years after Aelfric penned his Letter we find St. Anselm writing to Archbishop Lefranc as follows: "I have heard that St. Dunstan drew up a rule of monastic life: I should like, if it be possible, to see the Life and Instituta of so great a father." This suggests that in the course of a hundred years or so the Concordia had come to be looked upon as Dunstan's.<sup>21</sup>

The question of the "authorship" of the document will probably never be resolved. Aelfric's letter only suggests that the Concordia

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 63 (the observance of claustral enclosure).

<sup>18</sup>The Regularis Concordia makes use of one short citation from Amalar's Rule of Canons (Ibid., p. 5) and two from Benedict's of Aniane's Capitula (Ibid., pp. 8, 62).

<sup>19</sup>To this group belong observances discussed with reference to the consuetudinaries of Cluniac and Lotharingian type.

<sup>20</sup>At least, this is an interpretation which is provided in theatre history books. See, for example, Oscar G. Brockett, History of the Theatre, 4th ed. (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1982), pp. 108-09.

<sup>21</sup>Symons, The Monastic Agreement, pp. li-lii.

was put together and imposed on all the monasteries by Ethelwold and other bishops. St. Anselm implies that it was Dunstan who had written it. Whoever the author of the document was, it is beyond any doubt that these two great men stood behind it. "Dunstan the mind, Ethelwold the pen" wrote Edmund Bishop in a letter to J. Armitage Robinson and this statement best expresses the core of the argument.<sup>22</sup>

Regarding the Regularis Concordia itself, the document begins with a moderately long preface (the Proem). It explains the reasons for the meeting at Winchester which was instigated, according to the document, by King Edgar:

When therefore he [King Edgar] learned that the holy monasteries in all quarters of his kingdom, brought low, and almost wholly lacking in the service of our Lord Jesus Christ, were wasting away and neglected, moved by the grace of the Lord he most gladly set himself to restore them everywhere to their former good estate. Wherefore he drove out the negligent clerks with their abominations, placing in their stead for the service of God, throughout the length and breadth of his dominions, not only monks but also nuns, under abbots and abbesses. . . . Exceedingly delighted with such great zeal the aforesaid king, after deep and careful study of the matter, commanded a Synodal Council to be held at Winchester.<sup>23</sup>

The particular resolutions and recommendations made by Dunstan or the assembly and approved by the King constitute the remaining part of the preface. Thus, the monks and nuns are obliged to obey and openly observe the ordinances of the Rule "for the advancement of the rude English Church (3)" and for the glory of His benefactors:

And this one thing we have thought ought to be looked to by the

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. lii (from an unpublished letter of Edmund Bishop to J. Armitage Robinson, July 10, 1916).

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 1-2. Subsequent references will be given as page numbers in the text. For the sake of clarity, I have underlined certain Latin words and phrases.

faithful who live under the yoke of the Rule, namely, that those prayers of intercession which, following the usage of our fathers before us, we are accustomed to say for the king and benefactors by whose bounty, under Christ, we are maintained, shall not be chanted at excessive speed lest rashly we provoke God to anger, which God forbid, instead of wisely beseeching Him to forgive us our sins (5).

Not only is this advancement of the Church limited to spiritual practices, but a special emphasis is laid on the instructions regulating the behaviour of monks and nuns. Dunstan, "the noble archbishop moved by the spirit of prophesy,"(4) ordered, in the interest of discipline, that no monk will enter and frequent the places visited and inhabited by nuns. Moreover, the assembly forbade possession of private property and meeting with laymen for the purpose of feasting together. Other regulations which were put forth by the assembly referred to the behaviour of brethren who, while on a journey

will not waste time in idle talk but shall busy themselves with psalms or, at the proper time, speak on necessary matters (7).

Rules also were made regarding general comportment:

In the monastery moreover let neither monks nor abbots embrace or kiss, as it were, youths or children. . . . Not even on the excuse of some spiritual matter shall any monk presume to take with him a young boy alone for any private purpose but . . . let the children always remain under the care of their master. Nor shall the master himself be allowed to be in company with a boy without a third person as witness (7-8).

Another decision of the Synod concerned the election of abbots and abbesses, which with the consent of the assembly was subject to royal prerogative (6). The Proem ends with a call for brotherly unity and a conviction that those who will observe the customs of the Rule will receive the reward of eternal life.

The preface is followed by a series of chapters describing in detail the liturgical functions of the day and the duties of some of

the monastic officials. A short outline of the chapters based upon the original may be useful for further consideration of the nature of the Regularis Concordia:

- |              |   |
|--------------|---|
| Chapter I    | the regular duties to be observed by monks day and night throughout the year  |
| Chapter II   | the order of the hymns in winter and the manner in which certain other monastic duties should be fulfilled  |
| Chapter III  | the manner of the vigil of Christmas and of other Offices of the period from solemnity to Septuagesima  |
| Chapter IV   | the order of the regular life from Septuagesima to the end of Lent  |
| Chapter V    | the manner in which the day and Night Office should be carried out on the feast of Easter   |
| Chapter VI   | the manner in which Saturday, the Octave of Easter, and the whole of summer time should be observed   |
| Chapter VII  | the duties of the brother who is called <u>Circa</u>  |
| Chapter VIII | the manner in which the day and Night Office should be celebrated in Whit week  |
| Chapter IX   | the manner of the Quarter Tense days  |
| Chapter X    | the order in which the daily maundy shall be offered to the poor by the brethren and the manner in which the Abbot shall entertain strangers              |
| Chapter XI   | the order in which the brethren shall carry out the <u>Mundiatiae</u> on Saturday and certain other duties they shall perform for the good of their souls |
| Chapter XII  | the care of a sick brother and the manner in which the death of one of the brethren will be celebrated  |

As is apparent from the division of the chapters, Chapter I is a description of the customs observed in a monastery. It is worth mentioning that these customs are not only connected with the communal religious observations but also refer to the private and personal

behaviour of the monks. This can clearly be seen in a paragraph referring to the order of the day in a monk's life. Thus, for example,

at all times when a brother arises from bed in the night hours for the work of God, he shall first of all sign himself with the sign of the Holy Cross, invoking the Holy Trinity. Next, he shall say the verse, Domine labia mea aperies, and then the whole of the psalm Deus in adiutorium meum intende with Gloria. After this, having provided for the necessity of nature, if at that time he must, he shall hasten to the oratory (11-12). . . .

This curious amalgamation of spiritual duties and everyday necessities of life is a characteristic feature both of this and of the other thirteen paragraphs in this chapter which concerns the Winter Horarium.

After "having provided for the necessity of nature," the monk was supposed to direct his steps to the oratory. On his arrival there, he was to kneel down in "his proper and accustomed place (12)" and recite the first three Penitential psalms as well as the prayer for the King, Queen, and benefactors. The text of the prayers was provided by the Concordia.<sup>24</sup> Then the bell was to be rung until the schola (a monastic school for children who were being trained to become monks in the future) children entered the church and joined the Trina oratio. The second bell indicated the time when the fifteen Gradual psalms should be said. When the psalms had been ended, the

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<sup>24</sup>For example: "Deus qui caritatis dona per gratiam Sancti Spiritus tuorum cordibus fidelium infudisti; da famulis et famulanis tuis, pro quibus tuam deprecamur elementiam, salutem mentis et corporis ut te tota uirtute diligant et quae tibi placita sunt tota dilectione perficiant ["O God Who hast poured forth the gifts of love into the hearts of thy faithful through the grace of the Holy Ghost, grant to Thy servants, for whom we beseech Thy clemency, health of mind and body that they may love Thee with all their strength, and with all their love to those things which are pleasing to Thee. Through our Lord.]." See The Monastic Agreement, pp. 12-13.

Night Office, Nocturns, took place.<sup>25</sup> After Nocturns, the monks were to say two psalms; the first, especially for the King; the second, for the King, Queen, and benefactors. Once again, the texts were provided. A short interval followed, during which the schola, with their master, left the church for "the necessity of nature" (14). The others remained in prayer awaiting Matins, which was comprised of a regular body of prayer, the Miserere, and the two psalms for the royal house followed by the antiphons. After these, Matins of All Saints, and, later, Matins of the Dead were sung. The latter Office should have ended at daybreak, when Prime was to be celebrated. When Prime was over, two psalms, against fleshly temptation and for dead brethren, as well as the Penitential Psalms were recited. The ringing of the bell announced the Litany at which all without exception would humbly prostrate themselves, "as was the custom." The sound of the bell was a sign that the brethren were to put on their day shoes. At the same time, the entire schola with their master, the abbot, and the seniors went to wash their faces "as is customary, intent on the psalms as they do so" (16). After the ringing of the bell, they all returned to church for Tierce (Terce), followed by the prayers for the royal house and benefactors, and Morrow Mass, after which the Chapter, i.e., the Monastic Parliament was held. The Chapter was designed as a daily public confession by the brethren. In other words, it was a

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<sup>25</sup>The framework of monastic life was constituted by the celebration of the Night Office, Nocturns (Matins, according to modern terminology), and the seven day Hours: Matins (Lauds, according to modern terminology), Prime, Tierce (Terce), Sext, None (Nones), Vespers, and Compline. The monks also observed daily Morrow Mass (celebrated after Tierce and before the Chapter in winter and after Prime and before the Chapter in summer) and Principal Mass. See tables 2 and 3 for the schedules.

symbol of utter obedience and submission to the abbot. Therefore,

any brother who [was] conscious of having committed some fault [would] humbly ask forgiveness and indulgence. But a brother that [was] accused, no matter for what reason, by the abbot or by any of the senior officials [would] prostrate himself before speaking. . . . If he acts in any other wise he shall be deemed guilty (17).

The time after the Chapter and before Sext, i.e., from about 10:00 A.M. to 12 Noon, was devoted to work.<sup>26</sup> After Sext and psalms for the royal house, the Principal Mass was celebrated. Then, None (Nones) and psalms for the royal house, after which the cena, the feasting meal, took place. The period of a few hours between the cena and Vespers was devoted to reading or to work in the monastery. After Vespers of the Day, psalms for the royal house, and Anthems, followed by Vespers of All Saints, Vespers of the Dead were held. When all these prayers had been said, the brethren would retire to exchange their day shoes for night ones. On Saturdays the monks would wash their feet, for which purpose each had a suitable basin. Having washed their feet, those who needed to would also wash their shoes. Afterwards, the measure of drink was distributed and the bell was rung for collatio. Compline, confession, Miserere mei Deus and the psalms for the royal house were next. Trina oratio, whose prayers are prescribed by the Concordia, was part of Compline, the last Canonical Hour of the day. "When these prayers [were] finished, the brethren [would] be sprinkled with blessed water . . . and then go to their rest with reverence and the utmost quiet. . . . Moreover, every night after Compline, when the brethren [were] in bed, the dormitory [would] be sprinkled, on account of the illusions of the

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<sup>26</sup>See The Winter Horarium (table 2).

evil one" (24).

Tables 2 and 3 show the monk's daily duties in the period from November 1st to Lent (Winter Horarium) and from Easter to the end of September (Summer Horarium), as presented in Chapter I of the Concordia. The hours listed are approximate because the monk's day was regulated by the rising and setting of the sun. Therefore, there was a difference between the hours for the Winter and the Summer Horarium.<sup>27</sup>

TABLE 2

WINTER HORARIUM

|                 |   |                |
|-----------------|---|----------------|
| about 2:30 A.M. | Rise<br><u>Trina oratio</u><br>Gradual Psalms   |                |
| 3:00 A.M.       | NOCTURNS<br>Psalms, etc., for the Royal House<br>Vigil of the Dead<br>Matins of the Dead<br>Matins of all Saints              | (Night Office) |
| 5:00 A.M.       | <u>Lectio</u>   |                |
| 6:00 A.M.       | MATINS of the day (at dawn)<br><u>Miserere</u><br>Psalms, etc., for the Royal House<br>Anthems                                | (first Hour)   |
| 6:45 A.M.       | PRIME<br>Four psalms, Penitential Psalms, Litany  | (second Hour)  |
| 7:30 A.M.       | <u>lectio</u>   |                |
| 8:00 A.M.       | Interval (change shoes, wash)<br><u>Trina oratio</u><br>TIERCE<br>Psalms, etc., for the Royal House<br>Morrow Mass<br>Chapter | (third Hour)   |

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<sup>27</sup>For example, during the summer months, the monks would rise at about 1:30 A.M. and go to bed at about 8:15 P.M., and, respectively, at about 2:30 A.M. and 6:30 P.M. during the winter months. The hours of the day would be longer in the summer than those in the winter. Therefore, for example, there would be a short interval between Nocturns and Matins in the Summer, since the Office of Matins was to be celebrated at dawn. Also, according to the Concordia, due to the fact that the length of the day was regulated by the rising and the setting of the sun, longer hymns were sung in the summer and shorter in the winter. See The Monastic Agreement, p. 25.

|                 |                                   |                |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| about 9:45 A.M. | Five psalms (for the Dead)        |                |
| 12 Noon         | Work                              |                |
|                 | SEXT                              | (fourth Hour)  |
|                 | Psalms, etc., for the Royal House |                |
|                 | PRINCIPAL MASS                    |                |
| about 1:30 P.M. | NONE                              | (fifth Hour)   |
|                 | Psalms, etc., for the Royal House |                |
| about 2:00 P.M. | <u>Cena</u>                       |                |
| about 2:45 P.M. | <u>Lectio</u> or Work             |                |
|                 | VESPERS of the day                | (sixth Hour)   |
|                 | Psalms, etc., for the Royal House |                |
|                 | Anthems                           |                |
|                 | Vespers of All Saints             |                |
|                 | Vespers of All the Dead           |                |
|                 | Change to night shoes             |                |
|                 | Drink                             |                |
| 6:00 P.M.       | <u>Collatio</u>                   |                |
| 6:15 P.M.       | COMPLINE                          | (seventh Hour) |
|                 | <u>Miserere</u>                   |                |
|                 | Psalms, etc., for the Royal House |                |
|                 | <u>Trina oratio</u>               |                |
| 6:30 P.M.       | Retire                            |                |

TABLE 3

SUMMER HORARIUM

|                 |   |                |
|-----------------|---|----------------|
| about 1:30 A.M. | Rise  |                |
|                 | <u>Trina oratio</u>   |                |
|                 | Gradual Psalms  |                |
| 2:00 A.M.       | NOCTURNS  | (Night Office) |
|                 | Psalms, etc., for the Royal House   |                |
|                 | Short Interval  |                |
| 3:30 or         | MATINS of the day   | (first Hour)   |
| 4:00 A.M.       | <u>Miserere</u>   |                |
|                 | Psalms, etc., for the Royal House   |                |
|                 | Anthems (of the Cross, B.V.M., and Patron of the House)   |                |
|                 | Matins of All Saints  |                |
|                 | Matins of the Dead  |                |
|                 | Interval (if day: change shoes, wash, etc; if dark: sleep for those who wish, change shoes, wash, etc.) |                |
| about 5:00 A.M. | <u>Trina oratio</u>   |                |
|                 | <u>Lectio</u>   |                |
| 6:00 A.M.       | PRIME   | (second Hour)  |
|                 | Four psalms, Penitential Psalms, Litany   |                |
|                 | Morrow Mass   |                |
|                 | Chapter   |                |
|                 | Five Psalms (for the Dead)  |                |
| 7:30 A.M.       | Work  |                |
| 8:00 A.M.       | TIERCE  | (third Hour)   |
|                 | Psalms, etc., for the Royal House   |                |
|                 | PRINCIPAL MASS  |                |
| 9:30 A.M.       | <u>Lectio</u>   |                |

|                 |                                   |                |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| 11:30 A.M.      | SEXT                              | (fourth Hour)  |
|                 | Psalms, etc., for the Royal House |                |
| 12 Noon         | <u>Prandium</u>                   |                |
| about 1:30 P.M. | Siesta                            |                |
| 2:30 P.M.       | NONE                              | (fifth Hour)   |
|                 | Psalms, etc., for the Royal House |                |
|                 | Drink                             |                |
| about 3:00 P.M. | Work                              |                |
|                 | VESPERS of the day                | (sixth Hour)   |
|                 | <u>Miserere</u>                   |                |
|                 | Psalms, etc., for the Royal House |                |
|                 | Anthems (as after MATINS)         |                |
|                 | Vespers of All Saints             |                |
|                 | Vespers of the Dead               |                |
|                 | <u>Cena</u>                       |                |
|                 | Vigils of the Dead                |                |
| 7:30 P.M.       | Change into night shoes           |                |
|                 | <u>Collatio</u>                   |                |
| 8:00 P.M.       | COMPLINE                          | (seventh Hour) |
|                 | <u>Miserere</u>                   |                |
|                 | Psalms, etc., for the Royal House |                |
| about 8:15 P.M. | <u>Trina oratio</u>               |                |
|                 | Retire <sup>28</sup>              |                |

Such a detailed description of daily life behind the walls of the monastery is followed in Chapter II with additional information regarding the Horarium. This information is of a twofold nature: it concerns the particulars of the Office as well as the alteration in daily routine due to the seasonal changes of the weather.

Thus, the Concordia tells us that

from the Calends of November until the beginning of Lent one general rule for the distribution of the hymns shall be followed, namely, that on short days shorter hymns shall be sung and on long days longer ones(25).

During the winter months, the brethren were allowed to have a fire in a suitable room assigned especially for this purpose, where

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<sup>28</sup>Both the Winter and Summer Horaria are based on Symons's tables. See Symons, The Monastic Agreement, pp. xliii-xliv. These two tables might explain the confusion concerning the time of celebrating Nocturns. According to the Horarium, Nocturns was celebrated at about 3:00 A.M. in winter and about 2:00 A.M. in summer. Thus Easter Nocturns, which contained the Quem quaeritis, was celebrated at about 3-3:30 A.M. in the morning according to the Summer Horarium.

they could gather in order to fulfill their monastic duties (25-26).

However,

And when it is necessary for them to leave the cloister and to enter the special room of which we have spoken, there let them keep in all the things the observance which is kept in the cloister. Nor shall anyone, at any time whatsoever, dare to leave the cloister and go to the aforesaid building in order to dwell therein, nor leave that building without the permission of the prior (26).

Chapters III through VI deal with the proper manner in which the observances starting at the Vigil of Christmas and ending in the summer should be celebrated. Special attention is given to the most important days in the Christian religion: the Vigil of Christmas, Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Holy Saturday, and Easter Sunday. The Offices on each of these days are described with the utmost reverence, which is an indispensable adjunct insuring proper and solemn execution. At the same time, the Concordia presents us with the extra-liturgical references required for the proper celebrations of the Nativity, Passion, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ. The following passage is the rule for the Vigil of Christmas:

On the Vigil of Christmas, when the feast itself is announced in Chapter by the reader, the brethren shall all rise together and then genuflect, giving thanks for the unspeakable loving kindness of Our Lord Who came down to redeem the world from the snares of the devil. . . . At Vespers the psalms shall be sung with proper antiphons suitable to the fullness of time. At Nocturns on Christmas night the fourth respond shall, for extra solemnity, be sung by two cantors. After the Te Deum laudamus the gospel shall be read by the abbot, as is usual. . . . On the Purification of St Mary candles shall be set out ready in the church to which the brethren are to go to get their lights. . . . On entering the church, having prayed awhile, they shall say the antiphon and collect in honour of the saint to whom this same church is dedicated. Then the abbot, vested in stole and cope, shall bless the candles, sprinkling them with holy water and incensing them (28-31).

It should be observed that this passage referring to the Christmas Vigil clearly shows that the cosuetudinary indicates the order of

processions, specifies prayers to be said, provides texts to be sung, and describes vestments to be worn.

The method of the presentation of the other observances is very similar. Moreover, in addition to giving information concerning monastic celebrations, the code also regulates more mundane matters, such as, for example, giving the time when the monks should change their shoes, shave, and have their hair cut (38, 34). For a better understanding of the structure and significance of the Concordia an exemplary paragraph from Chapter IV, Of the Order of the Regular Life from Septuagesima to the End of Lent, is quoted:

34. From Septuagesima until Quinquagesima pinguedo [fats] shall be given up, and from Quinquagesima the brethren shall observe the Lenten abstinence in the accustomed way. From Septuagesima until Maundy Thursday, when the three lessons have been read, the six psalms of the second nocturn, like those of the first, shall be most carefully sung with three antiphons taken from the psalms themselves. On Wednesdays and Fridays from the beginning of Lent until Maundy Thursday and from the Octave of Pentacost until the Calends of October processions shall be as follows: on Ash Wednesday, when None has been sung, the abbot, wearing a stole, shall bless the ashes and shall then lay the blessed ashes on the head of each brother; for to him it belongs to impose penance on his monks. Meanwhile the antiphon Exaudi nos Domine shall be sung with the psalm Salvum me fac Deus, the Gloria, Kyrie eleison, Pater noster, the psalm Deus misereatur nostri, preces and collect. They shall then proceed whithersoever they should, singing the antiphons which are in the Antiphonar. When they have reached the church to which they are bound, they shall again pray awhile and then, after the antiphon of the saint, the psalm Ad te levavi oculos, the preces and the collect, they shall there begin the Litany and return to the Mother church where the Mass shall be celebrated as usual. . . . Then the priest, deacon and subdeacon, vested in chasubles, shall fulfill their ministry. . . . Now whenever the subdeacon wears a chasuble he shall take it off when reading the epistle, and put it on again as soon as he has finished. The deacon, too, before coming forward to read the gospel, shall take off his chasuble, fold it and then adjust it crosswise about his left shoulder, making the lower end thereof fast to the girdle of his alb. When the Sacrament of Communion has been completed and before the collect is ended he shall replace the chasuble (32-33).

This passage indicates that, on the one hand, significant

stress is given to the solemnity of the Office, which was to be achieved by the proper order of prayers accompanying the symbolical events of the Holy Week, while, on the other hand, the reader should especially note the final lines where the manner in which a chasuble should be worn is explained. It seems that these details referring both to the order of the ecclesiastical prayers and to the description of liturgical paraphernalia, which constitute this and other paragraphs, develop even further Symons's statement that the Concordia was a consuetudinary. Further support for such a treatment of the document can be provided by historical evidence. As was indicated in the chapter on English monasticism in the tenth century, this unique combination of solemnity and physical elements was indispensable since the Regularis Concordia was the first ecclesiastic document in England where, at that time, laxity, simony, and secularization of Offices to an uncontrollable degree had eroded respect for Christian worship. Therefore, it seems proper to assume that the physical elements mentioned in the manuscript indicate an attempt to regulate and unify the manner, as well as the content, of the celebration of the Offices.

The two-fold purpose of this group of chapters is particularly visible in the meticulous description of the physical representation of the Cena Domini (Last Supper) on the Thursday of Holy Week and of Nocturns on Easter Sunday. The description of Nocturns is well known as it contains the famous Quem quaeritis. However, the Quem quaeritis passage has not been cited in the context of the other rules in these chapters. For this reason, it seems appropriate to present all these rulings (the descriptions of Christmas, Lent, the Cena Domini, and Easter Nocturns) together, in order to direct attention to the similarities between them and to the fact that all of them should be

viewed primarily as ordinaries concerning the proper celebration of a given Office. The Cena Domini, which is one of the services in Chapter IV, is described in the following manner:

37. On Thursday, which is called Cena Domini, the night Office shall be performed according as is set down in the Antiphonar. We have also heard that, in churches of certain religious men, a practice has grown up whereby compunction of soul is aroused by means of the outward representation of that which is spiritual, namely, that when the singing of the night is over, the antiphon of the gospel finished and all the lights put out, two children should be appointed who shall stand on the right hand side of the choir and shall sing Kyrie eleison with clear voice; two more on the left hand side who shall answer Chryste eleison; and, to the west of the choir, another two who shall say Domine miserere nobis; after which the whole choir shall respond together Christus Dominus factus est oboediens usque ad mortem. The children of the right-hand choir shall then repeat what they sang above exactly as before and, the choir having finished their response, they shall repeat the same thing once again in the same way. When this has been sung the third time the brethren shall say the preces on their knees and in silence as usual. The same order of singing shall be observed for three nights by the brethren. This manner of arousing religious compunction was, I think, devised by Catholic men for the purpose of setting forth clearly both the terror of that darkness which, at our Lord's Passion, struck the tripartite world with unwonted fear, and the consolation of that apostolic preaching which revealed to the whole world Christ obedient to His Father even unto death for the salvation of the human race. Therefore, it seemed good to us to insert these things so that if there be any to whose devotion they are pleasing, they may find therein the means of instructing those who are ignorant of this matter; no one, however, shall be forced to carry out this practice against his will (36-37).

In this quotation, the reader should specifically pay attention to the description of a new custom which was introduced by the Regularis Concordia, and the part which deals with the placement of children and which introduces an antiphonally chanted text ought especially to be noted.

Now, let us turn to Nocturns on Easter Sunday, which constitutes one of the customs observed on that day, and is presented in Chapter V. The famous Quem quaeritis passage followed appropriate antiphons, psalms, and lessons of the Night Office:

51. 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. Then, while the third respond is being sung, the other three brethren, vested in copes and holding thuribles [censers] in their hands, shall enter in their turn and go to the place of the "sepulchre," step by step, as though searching for something. Now these things are done in imitation of the angel seated on the tomb and of the women coming with perfumes to anoint the body of Jesus. When, therefore, he that is seated shall see these three draw nigh, wandering about as it were and seeking something, he shall begin to sing softly and sweetly, Quem quaeritis. As soon as this has been sung right through, the three shall answer together, Ihesum Nazarenum. Then he that is seated shall say Non est hic. Surrexit sicut predixerat. Ite, nuntiate quia surrexit a mortuis. At this command the three shall turn to the choir saying Alleluia. Resurrexit Dominus. When this has been sung he that is seated, as though calling them back, shall say the antiphon Venite et videte locum, and then, rising and lifting up the veil, he shall show them the place void of the Cross and with only the linen in which the Cross had been wrapped. Seeing this the three shall lay down their thuribles in that same "sepulchre" and, taking the linen, shall hold it up before the clergy; and, as though showing that the Lord was risen and was no longer in it, they shall sing this antiphon: Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro. They shall then lay the linen on the altar.

52. When the antiphon is finished the prior, rejoicing in the triumph of our King in that He had conquered death and was risen, shall give out the hymn Te Deum laudamus, and thereupon all the bells shall peal. After this a priest shall say the verse Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro right through and shall begin Matins (49-50). . . .

The parallels between the presentation of the customs of the Cena Domini and the Quem quaeritis are self-evident. However, because of the descriptive rather than critical nature of this chapter, an analysis of these two Offices and the interrelationship between these four passages dealing with Christmas, Lent, Maundy Thursday, and Easter Sunday will be discussed in chapter 6 of this study.

Chapter VII describes the position of the circa, i.e., a monk who was appointed in accordance to the ordinance of the Benedictine Rule to look after the entire cloister and its inhabitants. One of his numerous duties, besides disclosing to the Chapter the names of

brethren who were "given to some vanity," was to go about the choir during Nocturns and leave his lantern in front of any brother who had fallen asleep.<sup>29</sup>

Chapters VIII and IX refer to the manner in which Offices of Whit Week and Tense Days should be celebrated. As in the case of the previous chapters referring to the most important observances of the Catholic Church, the prayers, lessons, and canticles are prescribed by the Concordia. This order was mandatory throughout the summer until the Calends of November.

Chapter X deals with hospitality to strangers, guests, and the poor, with special recommendations for charity to the poor. It is worth noting that throughout the whole of the chapter there is not a word about any but poor strangers. The Concordia specifically indicates that there should be a special place assigned for the reception of the poor, attendance on whom is treated as the common duty of all, schola, monks, and the abbot. Particularly, the abbot bears a special responsibility in this regard. As the code suggests, he should devote himself to the poor as often as "leisure and opportunity suggests" (61). In addition, in compliance with the ordinance of the Benedictine Rule, on their arrival, the service of the Maundy was rendered to the poor. On their departure, they were to be given provisions for their journey. Moreover, each monastery would support a number of poor men from whom three would be chosen each day

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<sup>29</sup>. . . and when the lessons are read at Nocturns . . . and if he finds a brother drowsy with sleep he shall put the lantern before him and return to his place. Whereupon this brother, shaking off sleep, shall do penance on his knees and, taking up the lantern, shall himself go round the choir, and if he finds another overcome by sleep, he shall do to him as was done to himself and so return to his own place." See The Monastic Agreement, p. 56.

to receive the Maundy service and food from the monks' table.

Chapter XI regulates the behaviour of the monks who are not accustomed to their duties of the Munditia on Saturday and stresses the rule of obedience and modesty:

64. On Saturday, according to the ordinance of the Rule, let the brethren carry out the Maundy and the munditia with loving care; and let those who are as ignorant of these duties study carefully how they should be performed and so, in the accustomed way, fulfill them conscientiously. Let no one presume to do anything whatsoever, however small, of his own, and as it were personal choice; neither let him leave the church during the celebration of the appointed hours nor the cloister, as the Rule enjoins, nor puffed up by overweening pride, let him dare to do the least thing without the permission of the prior. Let no one scorn to grease shoes or to wash garments or to minister water. . . . Let each one according to his strength and with thanksgiving fulfill the duties of the kitchen and bakehouse as the Rule commands (63).

The next chapter is an elaborate prescription for the ceremonies and suffrages connected with the death of a monk. When a brother could no longer endure his sickness, he was allowed to stay in the sick house where he was attended by servants. The Morrow Mass was celebrated daily for his recovery. After the Mass, the whole community would visit him and sing the Penitential psalms. When he felt better, the visiting was discontinued; however, when a monk was dying, it was customary to visit him until his death. The Concordia is very specific in providing all the pertinent information of how to arrange a funeral ceremony. It indicates the garments in which a deceased should be dressed, the appropriate time for the funeral, the text of a breve (a death notice) to be despatched to neighbouring monasteries, and the prayers which should be said for the peace of his soul.

The Concordia ends with a short postscript, or Epilogus (contained in only one of the two surviving manuscripts), freeing the

monasteries from paying the heriot (the customary tax), due to the King at the death of lay owners of extensive property. Instead, on the death of an abbot or abbess, if any superabundance of goods was found, it was to be used to furnish the needs of the brethren and the poor.<sup>30</sup>

Even from this short presentation of the content of the Regularis Concordia one may infer that the document gives a complete and detailed account of the duties of monastic life which was centered around the solemn liturgy of the Church and intercession. The Concordia, however, also mentions a number of extra devotional practices: Offices of All Saints, and of the Dead; Trinita oratio; psalms and prayers for the Royal House; the Gradual and Penitential Psalms; Litanies; the daily Morrow Mass and Principal Mass; the Chapter; and the daily Maundy for the Poor, most of which can be found in the accepted European monastic practices of the tenth century.

Some of the observances, however, have no exact parallel in medieval monastic history. These are: an Office of the Dead, which consisted of Nocturns, Matins, and Vespers; and another Office of the Dead, which consisted of Matins and Vespers. Their position in the monastic day varied and depended on the season when they were celebrated. According to Symons:

In the Summer period (Lent to November 1) Matins Of All Saints and Of the Dead were placed after Nocturns and Matins of the day, Vespers Of All Saints and Of the Dead after Vespers of the Day with Vigils of the Dead after the second meal (cena) or, when

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<sup>30</sup>As has already been mentioned, both the Benedictine Rule and the Concordia forbade possession of any property. However, this regulation suggests that the rule was not always obeyed.

there was no second meal, immediately after the three Vespers Offices. In the Winter period (November 1 to Lent) on ferial days Vigils and Matins Of the Dead together with Matins Of All Saints were said in the interval between Nocturns and Matins of the day, and Vespers Of All Saints and Of the Dead after Vespers of the day. On Sundays and feasts of twelve lessons the same order was kept except that Vigils were after the second meal (*cena*). From Maundy Thursday to Saturday in Easter week both Offices, and thence to the Octave of Pentecost that Of the Dead only, were omitted.<sup>31</sup>

Another addition which had only English usage were the prayers for the royal house celebrated after each of the Hours except Prime. The reason for this connection between the monastic and national life is explained by the first words of the *Proem*. The monks and nuns recognized their king and queen as *ex officio* patrons of the whole monastic community. As Knowles maintains, this peculiar connection between the Church and the State could not be found in any other European country at that period of time. Moreover, he believes that

the special prayers for Edgar and his consort said after every portion of the Office save Prime, together with the offering of the Matin Mass for the same intention, are quite peculiar to England and must have given to the intercessory prayers of all the monks and nuns a strongly national sentiment.<sup>32</sup>

More importantly, the royal patronage was an indispensable factor contributing to the growing force of the monastic revolution instigated by Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald. The monks needed endowments, land, and protection from the King against lay ownership of monasteries; he needed their advice in affairs of State. This close dependence on the royal house was also due to the fact that papal influence in England was minimal. By contrast, in Burgundy, where lay power was considerably weak, the abbots of Cluny defended

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<sup>31</sup>Symons, *The Monastic Agreement*, p. xxxii.

<sup>32</sup>Knowles, p. 45.

their status by forging strong links with the Papacy.<sup>33</sup> In England, as it has already been mentioned while discussing the Proem, it was the king rather than the Pope who deposed the negligent clerks of their offices and instead placed monks in the numerous churches which would become centres of monastic life in years to come.<sup>34</sup> Bearing this fact in mind, it is easier to understand yet another solely English addition to the Concordia, namely, the rule according to which the abbatial election was subject to royal approval.<sup>35</sup> There was also an inclusion made that when the community served a cathedral church, the monks would elect the bishop, who would conform his life to the monastic Rule. Then he would live in common with his clerks and would make them follow its prescriptions. Thus, it is assumed in the Concordia that the place of the clerks would be taken by the monks who would entirely rebuild the structure of Christian religion in England according to the program commanded by Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald.

Two other Offices which received an elaborate treatment in the document are the Chapter and the daily Maundy service for the Poor. The Chapter can be viewed as one of the most important spiritual

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<sup>33</sup>D. H. Farmer, "The Progress in the Monastic Revival," Tenth-Century Studies. Essays in Commemoration of the Millenium of the Council of Winchester and "Regularis Concordia," ed. David Parsons (London: Phillimore, 1975), p. 17.

<sup>34</sup>See the life of Ethelwold in the chapter on English Monasticism, or The Monastic Agreement, p. 2 which is also quoted in this chapter.

<sup>35</sup>It seems that royal patronage over English monastic life was a mixed blessing. Farmer states: "Goscelin's life of Wulfhilda [a nun who refused to accept king Edgar's love in the early 960s], besides giving evidence for hereditary ownership of monasteries, also tells us of the manoeuvres through which discontented nuns at Barking, by intriguing with Queen Aelfthryth their 'protector,' could exile their abbess of distant Horton for twenty years." See Farmer, p. 17.

exercises for monks. During it, the Martyrology and the Rule were read and, on Sundays and feasts, a spiritual conference was given. The public confession was the central part of the Chapter. Sometimes a brother accused himself, sometimes he was accused by the circa for negligence in performing his duties or for faults against a monastic discipline, but he was not allowed to defend himself unless the abbot gave him permission to speak.

The Daily Maundy of the Poor was an observance of charity which had been stressed in the Benedictine Rule because in the poor "Christ is received and must be adored."<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, as Symons states,

No doubt the poor were equally well cared for by the monks of other lands: certainly the daily washing of the feet of three or more poor men was, and had long been, of common observance. But the picture drawn by the Concordia of the love and reverent care lavished on the poor has not its like in any contemporary consuetudinary; and if perhaps the daily Maundy was itself taken from Continental monasticism there is no reason to doubt that the general admonitions of the Concordia on this point, above all the advice given to the abbot reflect the personal sanctity, the unworldliness, of one or other or all of the three leaders of the English movement.<sup>37</sup>

All these additional Offices of the Concordia indicate its significance in relation to other European consuetudinaries in terms of the monastic life. Moreover, the document is also a valuable source of information concerning the monk's everyday life: the reader is presented with a variety of regulations that specify the proper behaviour for monks and nuns following the Benedictine Rule. Those provisions refer to their behaviour both inside and outside a

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<sup>36</sup>Benedictine Rule cited in Symons, The Monastic Agreement, p. xxxvii.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

monastery. At the same time, the Concordia provides the rules which they had to follow while celebrating the Offices.

Having read the opening chapters, one is struck by the meticulous descriptions concerning daily routine and human necessities; the document indicates a proper time for washing, shaving, cutting hair, changing shoes, and going to toilets. It is also very specific about physical and intellectual work, which was an integral part of monastic life, though it was largely curtailed by the number of devotional practices. In the winter, for example, there were two short periods of work, between the Five Psalms for the Dead and Sext, and Cena and Vespers of the day. Needless to say, in the summer, these periods of work were longer; however, both in the winter and the summer, the major preoccupation of monks was reading and copying manuscripts. The manual work, as we are told, was mainly limited to work in the kitchen and bakehouse, or to necessary repairs in the monastic buildings.

Particularly stressed in the Concordia are the rules concerning the behaviour of monks. As was previously indicated, they were to abide by the rule of silence and reverence (20, 25, 55). As a corollary of these rules, recreational conversation both in the monastery and while on a journey was expressly forbidden. Also, special emphasis is laid on the fact that the monks should not kiss and embrace or be in the company of boys without a third person present. Undoubtedly, all these regulations were put forth to strengthen the morals of the brethren the same way as the sprinkling of the holy water in a dormitory before bedtime was to be done "on account of the illusions of the evil one" (24).

Yet another set of rules which can be found in the Concordia

are those which were connected with the proper celebration of the Offices. Their purpose was to unify or to increase the solemnity of the main holidays in the Christian religion. We are told that the descriptions reflected either the old customs or tradition introduced by "certain religious men" (44). Reading the chapters which are concerned with the manner in which the Vigil of Christmas, Lent, the Cena Domini, and Nocturns on Easter Sunday should be conducted, one is faced with a curious combination of religious rhetoric and descriptions of their physical representations. Paragraph 51, the passage containing the Quem quaeritis, is well known among theatre historians. However, this is not the only passage worth our attention. I have quoted all four sections dealing with the four celebrations in order to indicate the similarities in their formats.

All these regulations can be matched with those contained in either the Benedictine Rule or other European consuetudinaries of the tenth century. However, the Concordia has a few provisions in which allusions are made to English practice. Thus, for example, a fire is allowed in a special room in the winter, and the monks could work in a shelter instead of a cloister when the weather was bad. On Christmas and certain other feasts, the pealing of bells was prolonged according to national tradition.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, processions took place not in the monastic building alone, as was the custom on the Continent, but in the streets lying between the monastic church and one of the town churches.<sup>39</sup> Also, townpeople were allowed to participate in the chief

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<sup>38</sup>Knowles, p. 44.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

Mass on Sundays and feasts, which was an unprecedented regulation in the history of monasticism, since the Benedictine Rule, as it has been mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, explicitly forbade any contact with the lay population. This was also the main reason why all other celebrations took place behind the closed door of a monastery.

To summarize: this analysis of the Regularis Concordia indicates that: first, the document gives a detailed account of the everyday duties of the monks; second, it provides the rules which the brethren were to follow while celebrating the Offices and describes the manner of their execution; and third, the document is a valuable source of information concerning the monks' lives and their behaviour both outside and inside the monastery. Therefore, it seems worth repeating that the manuscript should be primarily seen as a consuetudinary. The other evidence supporting such a treatment of the Regularis Concordia will be presented in the next chapter which will focus on the analysis of the central parts of the manuscript that are often quoted in various theatre history books.

## CHAPTER VI

### REGULARIS CONCORDIA AND THE QUEM QUARTIS: PART I

#### Regularis Concordia

The major focus of the previous chapter was a description of the content of the Regularis Concordia. Having established its position as a monastic code, the next appropriate step seems to be an analysis of the contemporary scholarship which deals with it and of the data culled from the two extant copies of the document stored in the British Museum Library in London in order to discuss the prevailing attitudes towards this manuscript and its treatment by theatre historians.

#### Regularis Concordia: The Theory

The most obvious question which comes to mind is: What is the Regularis Concordia? Although now the answer seems to be quite evident, the response to this question provided by various scholars indicates that the nature of the document is not quite as clear as it would seem at first sight. It would not be farfetched to state that, although there is only one Regularis Concordia (in two extant copies), there are as many explanations of its meaning and function as there

are theories for the origin of medieval drama. In the context of chapters 4 and 5 of this study as well as of Symons's bi-lingual edition of the Monastic Agreement, the answer to the posed question seems to be that the Regularis Concordia is the consuetudinary whose twofold purpose was the unification of monastic observances and the institutionalization of monasticism in England. However, this answer does not fully agree with medieval theatre scholarship of the last eighty years. Although both Chambers and Young state that the Regularis Concordia was drawn up by St. Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, and "was intended for the use of the Benedictine monasteries in England,"<sup>1</sup> the code is more than just an ordinary for these two scholars. Chambers maintains that "it may fairly be taken for granted that it [the Regularis Concordia] fixed at least the Winchester custom"<sup>2</sup> of celebrating the Quem quaeritis ceremony. For the first time, this ceremony was described in the Regularis Concordia not as a part of the Easter Mass Introit, but of Nocturns. Moreover,

The liberal scenario of the Concordia Regularis makes plain the change which has come about in the character of the Quem Quaeritis since it was first sung by alternating half-choirs as an Introit trope. Dialogued chant and mimetic action have come together and the first liturgical drama is, in all its essentials, complete.<sup>3</sup>

Young's perception of the code is very similar to Chambers's:

The taking up and displaying of the sundary, or linteramina, are described with considerably more detail in the most familiar and famed of all versions of the Visitation; namely, that included in the Regularis Concordia of St. Ethelwold, prepared at Winchester

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<sup>1</sup>See Edmund K. Chambers, The Mediaeval Stage, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1903), 2:14; Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 1:249.

<sup>2</sup>Chambers, 2:14.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 2:15.

within the period 965-975 for the use of the Benedictine monasticism of England.<sup>4</sup>

These statements in two of the most influential studies of medieval drama and theatre have moulded to a great extent contemporary approaches towards the code. It has commonly been accepted that the importance of the Regularis Concordia to theatre scholars stems from the fact that the manuscript houses the earliest extant example of liturgical drama. Its monastic nature has become a secondary consideration when compared with the significance of the theatrical text that is included in it. Michael's claim for the document typifies the way in which the consuetudinary has been viewed. In his "Tradition and Originality in the Medieval Drama in Germany," Michael asserts that:

It is no accident that the Regularis Concordia, the out-growth of the Winchester Synod, contains the first and the only early documentation for the drama in the Middle Ages; in short, that the author of the Regularis Concordia was the creator of medieval drama. After all, the Regularis Concordia was not just one of the innumerable ordinaries that contained the locally limited liturgical traditions. It was the rule for the entire Benedictine order in England, the order that mainly, and at first exclusively, performed religious drama.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, it has been maintained that the code was the early documentation of drama and that the Benedictine monks became the actors who performed religious plays. Hunningher, though he suggests an alternative theory to the ones promulgated by Chambers and Young, agrees with them on this perception of the manuscript. In his The Origin of the Theatre he states:

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<sup>4</sup>Young, 1:249.

<sup>5</sup>Wolfgang Michael, "Tradition and Originality in the Medieval Drama in Germany," The Medieval Drama, ed. Sandro Sticca (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1972), p. 24.

Young's and Gautier's view may find its confirmation in the account of dramatic activities St. Ethelwold of Winchester gave us about the year 970 in his Regularis Concordiae.<sup>6</sup>

The phrase "dramatic activities St. Ethelwold of Winchester gave us" is undeniably significant here. It presupposes that the Quem quaeritis was a dramatic activity which was initiated, either for the first time or as part of a long tradition, by St. Ethelwold. Moreover, the Regularis Concordia ceases to function as a consuetudinary and is given the status of a record of those "dramatic activities."

Similar views are held by Craig, Smoldon, Wickham, and Tydeman. Craig, for example, tells us that:

Among the versions [of the Quem quaeritis] cited [in Young] is the familiar one from the Regularis Concordia of St. Ethelwold prepared at Winchester Synod between 965 and 975 for the guidance of Benedictine monasteries in England. It is one of the few examples of the Quem quaeritis ceremony preserved from England, although there must have been many that are now lost. The ceremony of the Visitatio Sepulchri had by this time grown very little but the full rubrics given in the Regularis Concordia make it quite plain that the dramatic office is fully represented and understood.<sup>7</sup>

Craig's opinion is important for at least two reasons. First of all, it introduces the statement that there must have been many ceremonies of the Visitatio Sepulchri of which the Quem quaeritis is but one example. Secondly, the Regularis Concordia, which has been defined as a manuscript containing a dramatic ceremony, "makes it quite plain that the dramatic office is fully represented and understood." Smoldon believes that the well-known Winchester document "is the

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<sup>6</sup>Benjamin Hunningher, The Origin of the Theatre (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961; reprint ed., Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), p. 48.

<sup>7</sup>Hardin Craig, English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 33.

earliest surviving example (or rather, examples) of a truly dramatic version of the Easter Sepulchre dialogue."<sup>8</sup> Tydeman seems to agree with Smoldon and other theatre historians in the field, and even suggests that "it has been argued that the Visitatio Sepulchri is an original piece of composition specially compiled by the authors of the Regularis Concordia."<sup>9</sup> Wickham informs us that

This Synod [in Winchester] links England with Benedictine reform on the Continent in those monastic houses where the troped Quem quaeritis Introit had first made its appearance: through the decision reached and promulgated in the Regularis Concordia this Synod also links Winchester with the rest of the Church in England since its recommendations were swiftly to be copied elsewhere . . . . It is in the wide context of this truly momentous ecclesiastical Council that St. Ethelwold's instructions for the correct conduct of the Quem quaeritis trope at Matins [Nocturns] must be viewed.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, Wickham besides providing support for the, by now, almost unanimously accepted explanation of what the manuscript is, introduces a new perspective on the Regularis Concordia: he elicits not only its literary but also its theatrical aspect. The phrase "instructions for the correct conduct" separates us even further from the ecclesiastical nature of the Concordia which is, nevertheless, dutifully mentioned in all quotations. Wickham goes on to say:

[these instructions] give us a vivid picture of the style of acting and the means adopted to identify character and locality in this "imitation of the angel sitting in the monument, and the women with spices coming to anoint the body of Jesus." It was

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<sup>8</sup>William L. Smoldon, "Melodies of the Medieval Church Drama and Their Significance," Medieval English Drama, eds. Jerome Taylor and Alan H. Nelson (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1972), p. 77.

<sup>9</sup>William Tydeman, The Theatre in the Middle Ages (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 35.

<sup>10</sup>Glynn Wickham, The Medieval Theatre (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974; reprint ed., Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977; paperback ed., Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1980), p. 39.

clearly intended that the congregation should be confronted with the double image. . . . The result is liturgical music-drama, for which the theatre is the basilica itself, the occasion a festival of rejoicing. The style is Romanesque.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, the picture which begins to form is one of the Regularis Concordia appearing not only as an early documentation of liturgical drama but also as a record of its theatrical representation. A similar attitude towards the manuscript can be observed in the works of Anderson, Sticca, and Axton. Anderson's focus is on the Easter trope and this might explain her scanty treatment of the document. In her Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches we read:

This Easter trope [from the Regularis Concordia] was not only the earliest form of a liturgical play, but was the only one for which, in English churches, a "permanent set" was later constructed.<sup>12</sup>

Sticca in his The Latin Passion Play: Its Origin and Development does mention that The Regularis Concordia was a code which describes "religious ceremonies for the edification of the masses."<sup>13</sup> However, this remark becomes obscured by the statement that "in it are found the earliest stage directions for the performance of an Easter play."<sup>14</sup> Sticca then proceeds to cite the passage containing the full text of the Quem quaeritis. Information which is provided in Axton directs our attention to the Quem quaeritis rather than giving a satisfactory explanation of the nature of the Regularis Concordia:

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 40-1.

<sup>12</sup>Mary Désirée Anderson, Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 26.

<sup>13</sup>Sandro Sticca, The Latin Passion Play: Its Origin and Development (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1970), p. 23.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

The earliest play text with rubrics for performance is the Winchester Visitatio Sepulchri (contained in St. Ethelwold's Regularis Concordia for English Benedictine monasteries c. 965-75).<sup>15</sup>

This review of recent scholarship dealing with the Regularis Concordia would be incomplete without mentioning another work, i.e., Hardison's Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages, in which the document is discussed on many pages. The first reference tells us that it was "composed for monastic use around 970."<sup>16</sup> Other references, which are scattered throughout the book, indicate that it omits the baptismal parts of the Easter vigil, combines the Easter Mass with the Vespers of Holy Saturday, describes the Mundatum and deposition of the Cross, suggests the chanting of a shortened form of Vespers when the congregation receives Communion, includes the earliest surviving version of the Visitatio, and gives detailed rubrics and the dialogue of the Quem quaeritis play which is a part of the ceremonies that begin with the Deposition of the Cross on Good Friday.<sup>17</sup> Hardison's discussion of the text is quite comprehensive. It goes beyond the statement that the Regularis Concordia was a monastic document and describes some observances which are prescribed in it. However, as in the case of earlier scholars, Hardison deals with the document insofar as it enhances an understanding of his theory of the origin of medieval drama and theatre. This approach is quite evident in his essay entitled "The Early History of the Quem

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<sup>15</sup>Richard Axton, European Drama of the Early Middle Ages (London: Hutchinson, 1974), p. 65.

<sup>16</sup>O. B. Hardison, Jr., Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), p. 95.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., essays 3 and 4 passim.

Quaeritis." In this chapter, Hardison launches his thesis concerning the ceremonial character of the Quem quaeritis. Once again, the argument is that the Regularis Concordia is the house of the "fullest and most attractive of all tenth-century texts of the Quem quaeritis," whose function is, "as the Regularis Concordia indicates, to instruct the 'unlearned common persons and neophytes.'"<sup>18</sup> He finds this element of "popular instruction" in the rubrics which "show a firm command of the significance of all parts of the ceremony, a sophisticated use of stage properties and dramatic gesture."<sup>19</sup>

This brief outline of various attitudes towards and explanations of the Regularis Concordia allows us to draw certain conclusions. First, it seems clear that the description of the document has been influenced by methodologies of research. Everyone seems to agree that the roots of drama can be discovered in the recorded Latin lines of the Quem quaeritis which for many scholars contain two indispensable constituents of drama: a dialogue form and an element of representation/impersonation. Because the Quem quaeritis is ecclesiastical in origin, it has been assumed that the origin of medieval European theatre lies in those practices of the Christian Church which were theatrical. Second, as the earliest extant example of a dialogued Quem quaeritis can be found in the Regularis Concordia, the manuscript has been treated as a theatrical source document for the origin of drama and theatre. Third, even though all the scholars rightly admit that the document was used in

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 216.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 194.

the Benedictine monasteries in England, this information loses its significance in the context of the frequently quoted section which contains the Quem quaeritis. The impression which is given to the reader is that this very section is the crucial part of the manuscript. As a result, the Regularis Concordia is equated with the Quem quaeritis and vice versa, while little attention is paid to its other parts. Fourth, due to such a perception of the manuscript, which was canonized by Chambers and Young, and copied or accepted by other theatre historians, the nature of the Regularis Concordia and the Quem quaeritis has been detached from the original, i.e., monastic, context. The extent of this change can be traced in publications, which were written by ecclesiastical scholars, and also in the addresses of popes. Pope Paul VI (1963-1978) clearly stated in his address to members of the Italian Theatre Centre that:

And is it not perhaps because of the great esteem which the Church has for the effectiveness and nobility of your art that the theatre was born and developed in the shadow of the cathedrals of the Christian era?<sup>20</sup>

Therefore, we should not be surprised that in his analysis of all the chapters of the Regularis Concordia, Symons does not hesitate to refer to the Quem quaeritis as "the famous Easter 'play'" when he provides us with the sources of the document.<sup>21</sup>

In this present discussion of the Regularis Concordia, it was

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<sup>20</sup>Address of Pope Paul VI to Members of the Italian Theatre Center, July 16, 1965, trans. NCWC News Service (Washington: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1965), p. 5. This statement was mentioned in chapter 2 of this study.

<sup>21</sup>The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation, trans. with Introduction and Notes by Dom Thomas Symons (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1953), p. 1 (lower-case letter "l" for Roman numeral 50, not page one).

decided to approach the document from a perspective that would be devoid of any theatrical prejudice. The point is that even if one accepts the hypothesis that drama did originate in liturgical activities during the celebration of the Quem quaeritis, one must still look for evidence to support this assumption in the whole manuscript that contains it rather than isolating a single page of the document and treating it as if it were the whole document. In the context of the previous chapters, and especially chapter 5 of this study, it seems that the Regularis Concordia should primarily be viewed as a consuetudinary. Therefore, to treat it as merely an "early documentation of medieval drama" only obfuscates and diminishes the true nature and value of the code.

#### Regularis Concordia: The Manuscripts

Another issue to be discussed with reference to the Regularis Concordia is the manuscript itself. The major source materials here are Symons's bi-lingual publication, on which my description of the document is based, and the two texts of the Regularis Concordia which are extant: one from the late tenth century (Cotton MSS Faustina B<sub>3</sub>, folios 159a-198a, and Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>, folio 177a and b) and one from the second half of the eleventh century (Cotton MS Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>, folios 3a-27b).

Faustina B<sub>3</sub>, which is in medieval Latin, does not have a title page nor the title of the Proem. It begins suddenly with the words: Gloriosus etenim Eadgar (Edgar the glorious).<sup>22</sup> The Proem is followed

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<sup>22</sup>London, British Museum Library, Cotton MS Faustina B<sub>3</sub>, fol.

by twelve chapters, eleven of which are complete. In the course of Chapter XII, the manuscript ends abruptly with the words quibus fuerat unitus (once united). The remaining part of this chapter can be found in Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>, folio 177a and b. This manuscript does not have an Epilogue. The titles of all the chapters are written in red ink, the text is in black ink. Illuminated letters are the only other ornamentation in the text; however, it is difficult to establish a clear pattern for these letters. For example, in the whole of the Proem, there is only one illumination which is reserved for the first letter of the text, i.e., the G in the word Gloriosus. In the next chapters, illuminations are used to begin a new paragraph with the exception of the end of Chapter IV and the beginning of Chapter V when they appear indiscriminately within a paragraph. Here is one example of this unexpected change:

. . . Quibus/peractis egrediantur diaconus/ac subdiaconus de sacrario cum/corpore Domini quod pridie remansit et ca/lice cum uino non consecration et ponant/super altare. Tunc sacerdos ueni/ant ante altare et dicat: /Oremus. praeceptis salutaribus/moniti et pater noster inde Libe/ra nos quaesumus domine usque Per omnia saecula/saeculorum. Amen. Et sumat abbas de sancto/scarificio et ponat in calicem nihil di/cens et communicent omnes cum silen/tion. Hoc expleto Vespertinum offi/cium canat unusquisque priuatim in/loco suo. Quo peracto refectorium/petant; Surgentes autem a mensa/cetera more solito peragant. . .<sup>23</sup>

The earlier two instances of the use of illumination seem clear, i.e., the use of illumination for the letter G and for initial letters which begin new paragraphs. But the examples in the above passage seem to

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159a.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., fols. 186a-186b. Certain initial letters have been bold-typed to illustrate the illuminated letters which appear in the MS.

defy explanation. This new pattern might have been clear if words of a certain significance had been illuminated. However, as the example shows, the words whose first letters are illuminated, i.e., "When" (Quibus), "Then" (Tunc), "Let us pray" (Oremus), "And" (Et), "After" (Hoc), "When" (Quo), and "Rising up" (Surgentes) are a mixture of content and functional words.

Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>, folios 3a-27b, which contains a later version of the Regularis Concordia, is also written in medieval Latin. Above the Latin text there are Anglo-Saxon glosses. It should be pointed out that the glosses are only above the descriptive text or the new prayers which were added to the traditional liturgical compendium. Thus, for example, all the prayers for the king and the benefactors are "translated"; however, names and prayers which constitute legitimate part of the Christian worship are in Latin only. This manuscript contains a full-page illustration which depicts three figures seated under a canopy.<sup>24</sup> It begins with the Proem which is followed by a list of chapters and then the twelve chapters themselves. There is also an Epilogue which ends in the middle of folio 27b. The remaining portion of this folio page is filled by a new text which is written in red ink and does not belong to the body of the Regularis Concordia. It reads "Desommori diversitate seculum ordinem Abcham Damelis Prophetae" and begins a new text which is also

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<sup>24</sup>Symons asserts: "On folio 2b is a full page illustration depicting three figures seated under a canopy of triple arcading: in the centre, a king; on the right, an archbishop with pallium; on the left, a bishop. Both archbishop and bishop are represented with the nimbus. The three figures together hold a long scroll. Below is a monk, apparently in the act of genuflecting: he is looking upwards and holds a scroll, part of which is behind his back, as though binding or girding himself with it." See Symons, The Monastic Agreement, p. lv.

compiled in this manuscript. As was the case in Faustina B<sub>3</sub>, the titles of the chapters in Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>, folios 3a-27b, are in red and the text is in black ink.

As far as the relationship between these two manuscripts is concerned, Symons states:

Both MSS are of the same family, copies perhaps of sister MSS or of one exemplar of which the original form is given by F [Faustina B<sub>3</sub>] and a revised and amplified form by T [Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>].<sup>25</sup>

Thus, the conclusion which can be drawn from this statement is that neither of the two manuscripts is the original copy of the Synodal Council of Winchester. The two existing documents are merely copies of the original. It could be argued that Faustina B<sub>3</sub> should be a more valuable source of information for the purposes of historical analysis. Symons, who is primarily interested in the essence of the document rather than in the changes which occurred in the span of time that separates the two documents, decided to base his bi-lingual edition of the Regularis Concordia on Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>, thus, on the manuscript from the second half of the eleventh century. However,

. . . not only has F [Faustina B<sub>3</sub>] been used to correct mistakes in T [Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>], but in many cases the readings of F have been preferred. The Apparatus has been reduced to the smallest possible proportions: readings which effect the text are given, but obvious copyist's mistakes are omitted except where they are of interest. The spelling of the manuscripts has been for the most part normalised in the body of the text but preserved in the Apparatus. The 'punctuation' of the MSS has been necessarily ignored.<sup>26</sup>

Having established these basic facts about the two manuscripts, let us turn now to a comparative study of the documents and, specifically, to Tiberius A<sub>3</sub> and Symons's edition. The purpose

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<sup>25</sup>Symons, The Monastic Agreement, p. lvi.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. lix.

is to deal with the issue of treating an edited version of a manuscript, such as this one, as a reliable source. This issue becomes a pertinent one in the study of historical documents whose sections are frequently quoted by various scholars and found in theatre history books. In this case, an attempt will be made to find out to what extent Symons's publication is true to the original. First, a text, from Chapter I, which has been selected at random for this comparison will be presented:

16. In prima itaque oratione decantet tres primos paenitentiae psalmos, cum oratione dominica uti in sequentibus, pro seipso primum intercendito; post hos orationem istam: Gratias tibi ago omnipotens Pater, qui me dignatus es in hac nocte custodire; deprecor clementiam tuam, misericors Domine, ut concedas mihi diem uenturum sic in tuo sancto seruitio peragere cum humilitate et discretione, ut tibi complaeceat seruitus nostra. Per Dominum. Inde ueniat ad secundam orationem ubi sequentes duos dicat psalmos pro rege et regina atque familiaribus, cum oratione Deus qui caritatis dona per gratiam Sancti Spiritus tuorum cordibus fidelium infudisti; da famulis et famulabus tuis, pro quibus tuam deprecamur clementiam, salutem mentis et corporis ut te tota uirtute diligant et quae tibi placita sunt tota dilectione perficiant. Per Dominum. Inde ad tertiam orationem ueniens, duos posteriores psalmos pro fidelibus defunctis decantet cum oratione Inueniant quaesumus Domine animae famulorum famularumque tuarum lucis aeternae consortium, qui in hac luce positi tuum consecuti sunt sacramentum. Per Dominum.

17. Et donec quidem pueri introeunt ecclesiam unum continuatum pulsetur tintinnabulum; ipsi quoque pueri ingressi, ut Trinitatis reuerentia ab omnibus legitime teneatur, trina utantur oratione. . . .<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>"For his first prayer, then, he shall recite the first three Penitential psalms with the Pater noster—which shall be repeated in the following prayers—for his own intentions. He shall then say this collect: I give thanks to Thee, Almighty Father, Who hast deigned to protect me this night: I beseech Thy clemency, merciful Lord, to grant me this day so to bear myself with humility and discretion in Thy holy service that our worship may please Thee. Through our Lord. He shall now go on to the second prayer in which he shall recite the next two Penitential psalms for the King, Queen and benefactors with this collect: O God Who has poured forth the gifts of love into the hearts of thy faithful through the grace of the Holy Ghost, grant to Thy servants, for whom we beseech Thy clemency, health of mind and body that they may love Thee with all their strength, and with all their

And now the same text which can be found in Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>:

In prima itaque oratione decantet tres primos paeniten/tiae psalmos cum oratione dominica uti in sequentibus pro seipso/ primum intercendito post hos orationem istam Gratias tibi ago/omnipotens Pater qui me dignatus es in hac nocte custodire de/precor clementiam tuam misericors Domine ut concedas mihi diem/uenturum sic in tuo sancto seruitio peragere cum humilitate et discretio/ne ut tibi complaeceat seruitus nostra. Per Dominum. Inde ueniat ad secundam orationem ubi sequentes duos dicat psalmos/pro rege et regina atque familiaribus cum oratione Deus qui carita/tis dona per gratiam Sancti Spiritus tuorum cordibus fidelium infudisti da famu/lis et famulabus tuis pro quibus tuam deprecamur clementiam/salutem mentis et corporis ut te tota uirtute diligant et quae tibi/placita sunt tota dilectione perficiant. Per Dominum nostrum. Inde ad tertiam orationem ueniens duos posteriores psalmos pro/fidelibus defunctis decantet cum oratione Inueniant quaesumus domine/animae famulorum famularumque tuarum lucis aeternae consortium/qui in hac luce positi tuum consecuti sunt sacramentum. Per Dominum./Et donec quidem pueri introeunt ecclesiam unum continua/tum pulsetur tintinnabulum; ipsi quoque pueri ingressi ut Trini/tatis reuerentia ab omnibus legitime teneatur trina utantur/oratione.<sup>28</sup>

Having looked at these two examples, some differences between Symons's rendering of the text and the original can be seen. First of all, in Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>, the paragraphs are not numbered. Secondly, the text of the prayers is not brought to the reader's attention, as is the case in Symons's edition where italics are used. The text is written in black ink, with the exception of the initial letters of In, Inde, and Inde which are marked with an illumination. Thirdly, there

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love do those things which are pleasing to Thee. Through our Lord. Passing thence to the third prayer he shall say the last two Penitential psalms, for the faithful departed with this collect: We beseech Thee O Lord that the souls of Thy servants may attain to the fellowship of eternal light of this life have followed after holiness. Through our Lord.

The Little bell shall be rung continuously until the children enter the church; and when they have all come in they too shall say the Trina oratio, so that reverence to the Trinity shall be duly observed by all." See The Monastic Agreement, pp. 12-13.

<sup>28</sup>London, British Museum Library, Cotton MS Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>, fol. 7a. The Anglo-Saxon glosses have been omitted in this passage.

is a discrepancy in the division into paragraphs. In the original, the words with the illuminated initial letters begin a new paragraph; in Symons's edition they belong to the same paragraph #16. Symons begins a new paragraph (#17) with Et donec; however, the original does not show this shift. These discrepancies in the layout of the text of the Regularis Concordia are confusing. More importantly, if these changes seem less significant in the presentation of the document as a monastic consuetudinary, which is Symons's contention, they might be of vital importance in the interpretation of the meaning of the paragraph containing the Quem quaeritis. In order to shed light on the problem, the passage will be examined.

#### Quem Quaeritis

This part of the chapter will concentrate on the problems of mapping the original text with its various modern translations. Specifically, the focus centres on the different interpretations of the Quem quaeritis and the correlation between the physical layout of the text and the approach towards both the Regularis Concordia and the famous paragraph of the celebration of the Easter Nocturns. Because of this selected methodology, the Quem quaeritis will be looked upon from a theoretical, a textual, and a contextual point of view.

#### Quem Quaeritis: The Theory

Let us look first at the various approaches towards the Quem quaeritis in the Regularis Concordia and specifically towards its texts which can be found in the most influential books on the topic.

They will be presented chronologically with respect to the year of the publication of a particular study.

Chambers (1903) describes the Quem quaeritis as the ceremony which took place during Nocturns on Easter Day. He believes that it was an instrumental source of the origin of the liturgical drama in which a dialogued chant and mimetic action have come together.<sup>29</sup> Young (1933) refers to the Quem quaeritis as a play.<sup>30</sup> Craig (1955) suggests that "the ceremony of the Visitatio Sepulchri had by this time [i.e., the time of the Synodal Council of Winchester] grown very little, but the full rubrics given in the Regularis Concordia make it quite plain that the dramatic office is fully represented and understood."<sup>31</sup> Sticca (1961) argues that the Quem quaeritis contains the earliest stage directions for the performance of an Easter play.<sup>32</sup> Anderson (1963) implies that the Quem quaeritis was the earliest form of the liturgical play.<sup>33</sup> Hardison (1965) concludes his study by saying that the Regularis Concordia contains detailed rubrics and the dialogue of the Quem quaeritis play.<sup>34</sup> Smoldon (1974) would have us believe that the Quem quaeritis is a "truly dramatic version of the Easter Sepulcher dialogue."<sup>35</sup> Axton (1974) assumes that the Quem

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<sup>29</sup>Chambers, 2:15.

<sup>30</sup>Young, 1:250.

<sup>31</sup>Craig, p. 33.

<sup>32</sup>Sticca, p. 23.

<sup>33</sup>Anderson, p. 26.

<sup>34</sup>Hardison, p. 171.

<sup>35</sup>Smoldon, p. 77.

quaeritis was the earliest play text with rubrics for performance.<sup>36</sup> And finally, Wickham (1974) refers to it as a liturgical music-drama which provides us with "a vivid picture of the style of acting."<sup>37</sup>

As these explanations demonstrate, attempts to classify the Quem quaeritis and the Regularis Concordia have not resulted in uniform terminology. One can distinguish five different theatrical terms which are used: (1) "liturgical drama" (Chambers), (2) "play" (Young, Sticca, Anderson, Axton), (3) "play of a ritual drama" (Hardison), (4) "dramatic office" (Craig), and (5) "liturgical music-drama" (Wickham). The question is: why do we have such varied terminology for the Quem quaeritis? One explanation for this phenomenon is to be found in the methodology which was used to explicate the origin of medieval drama and theatre. An examination of these approaches would show to what extent they influenced the selection of a particular phrase. However, there is also another way of answering this question, i.e., by analysing the text of the Quem quaeritis which is quoted by all those different scholars. In chapter 2 of this study, parallels were drawn between the methodologies and the theories of the origin of medieval theatre and drama. Now, let us focus on the problem of the relationship between the text and its interpretation.

There are three texts of the Quem quaeritis which are worth noting. The first one is quoted by Chambers, the second one is given by Young, and the third one is cited by Hardison.

The section which can be found in Chambers reads:

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<sup>36</sup>Axton, p. 66.

<sup>37</sup>Wickham, p. 41.

. . . Dum tertia recitatur lectio quatuor fratres induant se, quorum unus alba indutus ac si ad aliud agendum ingrediatur atque latenter sepulchri locum adeat, ibique manu tenens palmam quietus seadeat. Dumque tertium percellatur responosorium residui tres succedant, omnes quidem cappias induti turribula cum incensu manibus gestantes ac pedetemptim ad similitudinem querentium quid veriant ante locum sepulchri. Aguntur enim haec ad imitationem angeli sedentis in monumento atque mulierum cum aromatibus venientium ut ungerent corpus Ihesu. Cum ergo ille residens tres velut erraneos ac aliquid querentes viderit sibi adproximare incipiat mediocri voce dulcisono cantare Quem quaeritis: quo decantato fine tenus respondeant hi tres uno ore Ihesum Nazarenum. Quibus ille, Non est hic: surrexit sicut praedixerat. Ite nuntiate quia surrexit a mortuis. Cuius iussionis voce vertant se illi tres ad chorum dicentes Alleluia: resurrexit dominus. Dicto hoc rursus ille residens velut revocans illos dicat antiphonam Venite et videte locum: haec vero dicens surgat et erigat velum ostendatque eis locum cruce nudatum sed tantum lintheamina posita quibus crux involuta erat. Quo viso deponant turribula quae gestaverunt in eodem sepulchro sumantque lintheum et extendant contra clerum, ac veluti ostendentes quod surrexerit dominus, etiam non sit illo involutus, hanc canant antiphonam, Surrexit dominus de sepulchro, superponantque lintheum altari. Finita antiphona Prior congaudens pro triumpho regis nostri quod devicta morte surrexit, incipiat hymnum Te deum laudamus: quo incepto una pulsantur omnia signa.<sup>38</sup>

Chambers informs us that this extract was taken from the text which had been printed by W. S. Logeman in Anglia, xiii (1891) and from Cotton MS. Tiberius A III (second half of the eleventh century).<sup>39</sup> If one accepts Chambers's statement as a reliable source of information and his presentation of the text as one which is an exact copy of the original, it could be concluded that the text is divided into two parts: a descriptive part and a dialogue part. The descriptive part characterizes some form of mimetic action. The dialogue part, which here is italicised and thus our attention is directed to it, represents a dialogued chant.

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<sup>38</sup>Chambers, 2:309. The translation of this text will be provided in the discussion of the Quem quaeritis passage which is quoted by Hardison.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 2:306.

Wickham uses Chambers's extract in his book. In the notes referring to the text he states: "The original Latin text was printed by E. K. Chambers in The Mediaeval Stage (1903) vol. II, Appendix O, p. 309."<sup>40</sup> The English translation for the passage cited by Wickham is taken from Nagler's Sources of Theatrical History. There are two comments to be made with reference to the text which is presented by this scholar. First of all, Chambers, as he indicated in the footnote, did not provide the original Latin text, but the one which can be found in Logeman's edition of the Regularis Concordia. Secondly, though he was faithful to the design of the quotation, Wickham introduced extra editorial signs. The italicised line beginning with Quem quaeritis has a question mark at the end and two exclamation marks appear in Alleluia! resurrexit Dominus!<sup>41</sup> The minor changes include the spelling of Ieshu instead of Ihesum and a capital d in dominum. However, the text, as presented by Chambers and Nagler and thus in the original copy of the manuscript, allows Wickham to draw the following significant conclusions:

The importance of these instructions can scarcely be exaggerated: not only do they inform us that the Easter Introit was conceived of in the tenth century as officium, not ludus, liturgical office not play or game, but they give us a vivid picture of the style of acting and the means adopted to identify character and locality in this "imitation of the angel sitting in the monument, and the women with spices coming to anoint the body of Jesus." It was clearly intended that the congregation should be confronted with the double image. The Maries are men, not women. They wear copes, not fashionable female attire or historical "period" dress. The dialogue is in Latin, not English; chanted not spoken; and punctuated with hymns and antiphons. The climax is the Te Deum, the most famous and familiar Christian hymn of praise and thanksgiving in which actors and audience

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<sup>40</sup>Wickham, pp. 211-12.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

participate together. . . . This dichotomy of visual image exactly parallels the dichotomy that was present in the fusion of historical time with actual time to form ritual time, and resulted in a form of dramatic representation that existed simultaneously as liturgical ritual and mimetic re-enactment. The result is liturgical music-drama, for which the theatre is the basilica itself. . . .<sup>42</sup>

The second text to be discussed finds its source in Young's

The Drama of the Medieval Church:

. . . . Dum tertia recitatur lectio quatuor fratres induant se, quorum unus alba indutus ac si ad aliud agendum ingrediatur atque latenter sepulchri locum adeat, ibique manu tenens palmam quietus seadeat. Dumque tertium percelebratur responosorium residui tres succedant, omnes quidem cappias induti turribula cum incensu manibus gestantes ac pedetemptim ad similitudinem querentium quid veriant ante locum sepulchri. Aguntur enim haec ad imitationem Angeli sedentis in monumento atque Mulierum cum aromatibus venientium ut ungerent corpus Ihesu. Cum ergo ille residens tres velut erraneos ac aliquid querentes viderit sibi adproximare incipiat mediocri voce dulcissime cantare:

Quem quaeritis <in sepulchro, o Christocolae>?

Quo decantato fine tenus, respondeant hi tres uno ore:

Ihesum Nazarenum <crucifixum, o caelicola>.

Quibus ille:

Non est hic, surrexit sicut praedixerat: Ite nuntiate quia surrexit a mortuis.

Cuius iussionis voce vertant se illi tres ad chorum dicentes:

Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus <hodie resurrexit leo fortis, Christus, filius Dei.>

Dicto hoc rursus ille residens velut revocans illos dicat antiphonam:

Venite et videte locum <ubi positus erat Dominus, alleluia>.

Haec vero dicens surgat et erigat velum ostendatque eis locum Cruce nudatum sed tantum lintheamina posita quibus Crux involuta erat. Quo viso deponant turribula quae gestaverunt in eodem sepulchro sumantque lintheum et extendant contra clerum, ac veluti ostendentes quod surrexerit Dominus, etiam non sit illo involutus, hanc canant antiphonam:

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., pp. 40-41.

Surrexit dominus de sepulchro, <qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, alleluia>.

Superponantque linteum altari. Finita antiphona Prior congaudens pro triumpho regis nostri quod devicta morte surrexit, incipiat hymnum Te Deum laudamus: quo incepto una pulsantur omnia signa.<sup>43</sup>

In the footnote following the text, Young states that the original can be found in "London, Brit. Mus., MS Cotton Tiberius A. III, Regularis Concordia saec. xi, fol. 21<sup>r</sup>-21<sup>v</sup>, previously edited by W. S. Logeman in Anglia, xiii (1891), 426-8, and reprinted therefrom by Manly, i, pp. xix-xx; Chambers, ii, 309, and Adams, pp. 9-10."<sup>44</sup> Both Chambers and Young refer us to Tiberius A<sub>3</sub> and indicate that the manuscript is the source of their text. However, comparing the two excerpts, one can see the obvious differences between the two. The most significant dichotomy is the way the Quem quaeritis is presented on the page. Both contain italicized passages; however, Chambers's text seems to belong to the paragraph referring to the Easter Nocturns, whereas Young's is abstracted from it, i.e., each line of the Quem Quaeritis is separated from the rest of the text by an extra space and is indented so that its form resembles a dialogue more than Chambers's does. Some other differences are: sections which are added in brackets and signify an incomplete text, as well as some editorial changes, i.e., a question mark after "o, Christocolae," different spelling of dulcisone, and capital letters for Angeli, Mulierum, Quo, Dominus, Cruce, Crux, Deum.

Such an isolation of the text of the Quem quaeritis from the body of the paragraph draws a further demarcation line between the

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<sup>43</sup>Young, 1:249-50.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 1:249.

descriptive and dialogue parts. Simultaneously, its theatrical quality is brought to the foreground and, thus, its treatment as a play becomes fully warranted. Further support for this statement can be found in Axton, Sticca, and Tydeman, all of whom quote either an English (Axton, Tydeman) or Latin (Sticca) version of the Quem quaeritis after Young.<sup>45</sup> Thus, for example, Axton states that the Visitatio Sepulchri (the name used by him for the Quem quaeritis in the Regularis Concordia) is the play text with rubrics for performance.<sup>46</sup> Sticca argues that the earliest stage directions for the performance of the Easter play are found in this passage.<sup>47</sup> And Tydeman concludes that:

The descriptive rubrics make it at least arguable that by about 970 the Visitatio had come to be regarded no longer as a liturgical ceremony but as a piece of ritual drama, in which the participants sought (to a necessarily limited extent) to "play the parts" of the angel and the three Marys, and not merely to carry out actions symbolic of the original happenings.<sup>48</sup>

The third text to be presented is to be found in Hardison's Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages. As his source, he uses Symons's bi-lingual edition of the Regularis Concordia with the exception of two clauses which are translated by him.<sup>49</sup>

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 quietly, holding a palm in his hand. Then, while the third respond is being sung, the other three brethren, vested in copes and holding thuribles in their

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<sup>45</sup>See Axton, p. 66; Sticca, pp. 23-24; Tydeman, pp. 36-36.

<sup>46</sup>Axton, p. 65.

<sup>47</sup>Sticca, p. 23.

<sup>48</sup>Tydeman, pp. 36-37.

<sup>49</sup>Hardison, p. 193.

hands, shall enter in their turn and go to the place of the 'sepulchre,' step by step, as though searching for something. Now these things are done in imitation of the angel seated on the tomb and the women coming with perfumes to anoint the body of Jesus. When, therefore, he that is seated shall see these three draw nigh, wandering about as it were and seeking something, he shall begin to sing softly and sweetly,

Quem quaertis.

As soon as this has been sung right through, the three shall answer together,

Ihesum Nazarenum.

Then he that is seated shall say

Non est hic. Surrexit sicut predixerat.

Ite, nuntiate quia surrexit a mortuis.

At this command the three shall turn to the choir saying

Alleluia. Resurrexit Dominus.

When this has been sung he that is seated, as though calling them back, shall say the antiphon

Venite et videte locum,

and then, rising and lifting up the veil, he shall show them the place void of the Cross and with only the linen in which the Cross had been wrapped. Seeing this the three shall lay down their thuribles in the same "sepulchre" and, taking the linen, shall hold it up before the clergy; and, as though showing that the lord was risen and was no longer wrapped in it, they shall sing this antiphon:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro.

They shall then lay the linen on the altar.

When the antiphon is finished the prior, rejoicing in the triumph of our King in that He had conquered death and was risen, shall give out a hymn Te Deum laudamus, and thereupon all the bells shall peal. After this a priest shall say the verse

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro

right through and shall begin Matins saying

Deus in auditorium meum intende. . . .<sup>50</sup>

Even though Hardison uses Symons's bi-lingual edition of the Regularis Concordia, the form of the text is similar to the one which was presented by Young. This similarity should occur since both Symons and Young based their excerpts on Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>. However, this point is questionable. Hardison's and Young's texts suggest that the Quem quaeritis was written in a significantly different manner from the rest of the paragraph. A comparative perusal of Symons's and Hardison's presentations of the text indicates that Hardison did not

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., pp. 193-94.

copy the Symons text exactly. The Quem quaeritis is the prime example. Here is the Quem quaeritis paragraph from Symons's edition:

. . . he shall begin to sing softly and sweetly, Quem quaeritis. As soon as this has been sung right through, the three shall answer together, Ihesum Nazarenum. Then he that is seated shall say Non est hic. Surrexit sicut praedixerat. Ite, nuntiate quia surrexit a mortuis. At this command the three shall turn to the choir saying Alleluia. Resurrexit Dominus. When this has been sung, he that is seated, as though calling them back, shall say the antiphon Venite et videte locum. . . .<sup>51</sup>

Even this short passage clearly shows that Hardison did not, as he stated in a footnote, follow the Symons text. Hardison did follow Symons's translation; however, the layout of the text is his own choice. As in the case of Young and the scholars who referred to his publication for the reprint of the Quem quaeritis, Hardison's division of the paragraph into a descriptive and dialogue part seems to have a special importance. As the other scholars had done before, Hardison refers to the descriptive part as rubrics. He states that:

The rubrics show a firm command of the significance of all parts of the ceremony, a sophisticated use of stage properties and dramatic gesture is evident, and the dialogue has a comparatively full complement of supplementary texts, two of which, the Ite nuntiate and the Venite et videte, are fully incorporated in the action. The details of the sepulcher, the night watch, the palm held by the angel, and the ringing of the bells all suggest that the ceremony may have been still more elaborate than the rubrics themselves indicate. . . .<sup>52</sup>

Actually, all three of the texts containing the Quem quaeritis deal with the question of rubrics. The Oxford dictionary defines rubric as "title or heading printed in red or special type, especially a direction given in a Prayer book."<sup>53</sup> In the case of the three

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<sup>51</sup>The Monastic Agreement, p. 50.

<sup>52</sup>Hardison, p. 194.

<sup>53</sup>Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, ed.

quotations, the first part of the definition is not applicable, since we know that only titles and certain letters were marked in red ink in Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>, and if anything is written in special "type" it is not the description but the text of the Quem quaeritis.<sup>54</sup> Thus, only the second part of the definition is appropriate in this case--"a direction given in a Prayer book." What is the nature of these rubrics? Having presented quotations from Young, Sticca, Axton, Wickham, and Hardison, the answer seems to be that rubrics can be treated loosely as stage directions which can easily be found in numerous medieval plays from later periods.<sup>55</sup> This interpretation of the term is further supported by certain phrases which can be found in the descriptive part of the paragraph referring to the Easter Nocturns. Phrases such as: "four of the brethren shall vest, one of whom, wearing an alb as though for some different purpose, shall enter"; "turn and go to the place of the 'sepulchre,' step by step, as though searching for something"; "now these things are done in imitation of the angle seated on the tomb and of the women coming with perfumes to anoint the body of Jesus"; "he that is seated shall see these three draw nigh, wandering about as if were seeking something"; etc., are abundantly theatrical and full of mimetic action. Moreover, isolated and italicized lines of the Quem quaeritis point to a

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A. S. Hornby (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 757.

<sup>54</sup>As far as I know, it is only David Bevington who, in his Medieval Drama, used italics for the "descriptive part" and normal type for the dialogue part of the Quem quaeritis. See David Bevington, ed., Medieval Drama (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1975), pp. 27-28.

<sup>55</sup>Alois M. Nagler, The Medieval Religious Stage (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 1-15.

dialogue form which follows these carefully prepared stage directions. All these elements can be found in the Regularis Concordia which is contained in Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>. However, before we draw final conclusions about the Quem quaeritis and the rubrics, let us look at their texts once again, because the three excerpts indicate differences in the renderings of the passage from Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>.

#### Quem Quaeritis: The Text

The three printed versions of the Quem quaeritis which have been presented make use of Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>. Surprisingly, none of the scholars deals with the earlier edition from the late tenth century, which, theoretically, might have been a more exact copy of the original. For this reason, one should examine the paragraph that contains the famous text of the Quem quaeritis from both manuscripts in order to compare them with the renderings of the passage by Chambers, Young, and Symons/Hardison.

The first quotation is an excerpt from Faustina B<sub>3</sub>, folio 189a. Rather than providing the whole passage that refers to Nocturns on Easter Day once again, only the part which contains the Quem quaeritis will be cited:

... dulcione cantare. Quem queri  
tis. Quo decantato finetenus; re  
spondeant hi tres uno ore Iñm.  
Quibus ille: non est hic surrexit  
sicut praedixerat. Ite nuntiate  
quia surrexit a mortuis. Cuius iussi  
onis uoce uertant se illi tres as cho  
rum dicentes Att'a resurrexit dñs  
Dicto hoc rursus ille residens ue  
lut reuocans illos dicat antipho  
nam. Venite & videte locum  
hec uero dicens. surgat & erigat

uelū. ostendat que eis locū cruce  
 nundata. sedtantū linteamina  
 posita. quibus crux inuolata erat.  
 Quo uiso deponant turribula quae  
 gestaurent ineodem sepulchro. suma  
 ntque linteum et extendant contra  
 clerū ac ueluti ostendentes quod  
 surrexit dñs & iam non sit illo inuolu  
 tus. hanc canant antiphonam. sur  
 rexit dñs de sepulchro. Superpo  
 nantque linteum altari.<sup>56</sup>  
 finita antiphona. . . .

Looking at the text, some general comments can be made. First, there is no apparent division into a descriptive and a dialogue part. The text of the Quem quaeritis is not abstracted from the main body; on the contrary, it is part of the whole and in no way does it call attention to itself. It certainly does not have the appearance of a play's typed dialogue. For example, non in the phrase non est hic surrexit sicut predixerat is not capitalised and belongs to the phrase Quibus ille that precedes it. Second, it might be argued that an illumination of Q in Quem, I in Ihūm, A in Alleluia, and V in Venite might be the capital letters of the first lines of a dialogue. However, it should also be noted that some other words such as Quo, Cuius, Quibus, and Dicto also have illuminated letters and they definitely do not belong to a dialogue sequence. Generally speaking, the illumination of letters occurs either when the words begin what might be called a new paragraph or they appear within it. It is difficult to say that there is any rule governing the appearance of these letters. Third, because of the special design of the folio page, the Quem quaeritis is quite difficult to find. It should also be pointed that the entire text (except for illuminated letters) is

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<sup>56</sup>See Appendix A; also London, British Museum Library, Cotton MS Faustina B<sub>3</sub>, fol. 189a.

written in black ink and in the same handwriting.

The text of Faustina B<sub>3</sub> has not been quoted by these scholars, and my description of it cannot be matched with any of the passages which have been presented above. At this point, the same text from Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>, folio 21b, from the second half of the eleventh century, should be studied:

*Singan*  
 . . . cantare. *Quem quaeritis. Pam gefungenum fpende and fpa piuz*  
*Quo decantato finetenus. respondeant*  
*Va dpy anum mife*  
 hi tres uno ore. *Ihm nazarenum. Pam ne*  
*Quibus ille. Non est hic surrexit*  
*sicut predixerat. Ite nuntiate quia surrexit a mortuis. Cuius*  
*hceje fofne pendan ni pa dpy to chofe cpebende*  
 iussimus uoce uertant se illi tres ad chorum dicentes. Att. *resurrexit*  
*gegedeni pjjimeftona fe fittenda fpjice ongen cljprende hic fofe antfn*  
 dñs. *Dicto hoc rursus ille residens uelut reuocans illos dicat antiph.*  
*pas fofuice cpebende apife Jhebbeupp pæne uap*  
 Venite & videte locum. *hec uero dicens. surgat & erigat uelum.*  
*Jpeopize him fufrope rode abapude ac fan palinpaeda Japenian*  
 ostendatque eis locum cruce nundatum. Sed tantum *linreamina & exten*  
*ongea poenehiped Jfpjice atfpende pat apaf dpuhten*  
 dant contra clerum: ac ueluti ostendentes quod *surrexit dñs*  
*eac hena fi pan befealden fufne finfan antefn*  
 et iam non sic illo inuolutus. *hanc canant antiph. Surrexit*  
*Jofep lengan flin papeopode qcerdedu antfn*  
 dñs de sepulchro. *Superponantque linteum altari. Finita antiph. . . 57*

Once again, certain conclusions can be derived from the appearance of this passage which are similar to those connected with Faustina B<sub>3</sub>. First, there is no division for a descriptive and a dialogue part. Second, there is only one illumination of S of Surrexit. Thus, the argument that the illuminated letters initiate new lines becomes even more tenuous. Third, the Latin text has interlinear Anglo-Saxon glosses, except for the parts: Quem quaeritis, Ihm nazarenum, Non est hic surrexit sicut predixerat, Ite nuntiate

<sup>57</sup> See Appendix B; also London, British Museum Library, Cotton MS Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>, fol. 21b.

quia surrexit a mortuis, Att. resurrexit dñs, Venite & videte locum, and Surrexit dñs de sepulchro. These words also happen to be well-known Latin texts of the Easter Introit and the Easter Antiphon. Fourth, as in the case of Faustina B<sub>3</sub>, the text is written in black ink and in the same handwriting. Therefore, Young's and Hardison's rendering of the text, i.e., the introduction of the division into rubrics and prayers/dialogue, is unwarranted since such a division is non-existent in the document.

Moreover, comparing this text with those provided by Chambers, Young, and Symons/Hardison, one could suggest that none of the scholars has presented an exact transcription of the original. The major discrepancies are: (1) Although Chambers follows the form of the original pretty closely, he introduces italics to the Quem quaeritis part and alters its appearance, treating it as a play instead of as a trope. As a result, the text is divided into descriptive rubrics containing theatrical stage-directions (mimetic action) and a dialogued chant. (2) Young changes the layout of the folio page entirely by separating and italicising the text of the Quem quaeritis from the rest of the paragraph—thus the division into rubrics and the play becomes even more visible. (3) Hardison is guilty of a double change. He does not follow Symons's edition, which, as stated, was based on Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>, and he also abstracts the Quem quaeritis and italicizes it in order to support his theory of the representational character of the ceremony which took place during Nocturns on Easter Day.

It seems that this toying with the rubrics<sup>58</sup> and the Quem

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<sup>58</sup>The phrase "toying with the rubrics" has been taken from

quaeritis, and ultimately with the Regularis Concordia, led to some extremely significant changes in our understanding of the origin of drama and theatre in the Middle Ages. This is not to say that the physical design of the folio page was the only element which influenced these theories. Chambers's, Young's, and Hardison's findings, each in its own way, have a sound theoretical background that explains their point of view. However, what all these scholars have in common is the belief that the Quem quaeritis should be treated either as a play or as a liturgical drama. The support for this conviction has been found in the Regularis Concordia and especially in the rubrics which supposedly are to be found in it. Those rubrics contain what Chambers calls "mimetic action," which presupposes a theatrical description for the celebration of Nocturns. The phrases which might support this assumption have already been quoted in this section of the chapter. However, do those rubrics really signify a conscious use of theatre art for, as Hardison put it, popular instruction, or an incidental use of theatrical elements and, thus, should be perceived as merely directions given in a prayer book? If we agree that they reflect a conscious employment of theatrical practices, it is true that the Quem quaeritis is a liturgical drama or play and, thus, the Regularis Concordia is an early documentation of drama. However, my conviction is that the Quem quaeritis must not be isolated from its context, i.e., the twelve chapters of the document, nor can its rubrics be treated as theatre directions. To substantiate this assumption, let us look at the context in which the Quem

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Nagler. See Nagler, p. 1.

Quaeritis appears in the code.

Quem Quaeritis: The Context

Chapter 5 of this study presented a detailed discussion of all the parts which constitute the substance of the Regularis Concordia. Special attention has been paid to four ceremonies: the Vigil of Christmas, Lent, the Cena Domini, and the Easter Nocturns. The description of the celebrations of the Easter Nocturns is significant. Rather than treating it as a separate text, we should place it together with other Offices which are mentioned in the consuetudinary. In order to clarify this point, the paragraph containing the Quem quaeritis should be examined and compared to the descriptions of the other ceremonies.

The passage begins with the order of parts of Canonical Hours to be celebrated on that day and the vestments to be worn. In certain important aspects, it is similar to the description of the procession on Palm Sunday:

When that Mass is over the greater procession shall take place; and it shall be held, as we have said above, in the following manner: that is, the brethren, vested in albs, if this can be done and the weather permits, shall go to the church where the palms are, silently, in the order of procession and occupied with psalms.<sup>59</sup>

Then, the text which should be chanted is provided. Needless to say, all of the Offices have chants and antiphons prescribed for the proper celebration of a Christian worship.<sup>60</sup> Usually the titles or first

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<sup>59</sup>The Monastic Agreement, pp. 34-35.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., chapters 3-6 passim.

lines are provided because the full text would have been known by a monk or, otherwise, could have been found in either a prayer book or a Troparium. In the celebration of the Cena Domini, for example, the execution of the chant is similar to that of the Quem Quaeritis, i.e., it is sung in a form of responses to a previous line. After the chant, the hymn Te Deum Laudamus is to be sung, the bells "shall peal" and Matins will begin. We are told that the usual Office Of All Saints will not be sung after the Easter Matins and during the whole week. The description of other Canonical Hours of the day and processions follow. Such a meticulous narration of the order of prayers and processions can be seen in any part of this sequence of chapters.<sup>61</sup>

A question regarding the validity of this comparative study might be raised, since there has not been a word mentioned about "rubrics" which are significant in any analysis of the Quem quaeritis passage. However, "rubrics" can also be found in Cena Domini which was celebrated on Maundy Thursday:

On Thursday, which is called Cena Domini, the night Office shall be performed according as it is set down in the Antiphonar. We have also heard that, in churches of certain religious men, a practice has grown up whereby compunction of soul is aroused by means of the outward representation of that which is spiritual, namely, that when the singing for the night is over, the antiphon of the gospel finished and all the lights put out, two children should be appointed who shall stand on the right hand side of the choir and shall sing Kyrie eleison with clear voice; two more on the left hand side who shall answer Christe eleison; and on the west of the choir, another two who shall say Domine miserere nobis; after which the whole choir shall respond together Christus Dominus factus est oboediens usque ad mortem. The children of the right hand choir shall then repeat what they sang above exactly as before and, the choir having finished their response, they shall repeat the same thing once again in the same way. When this has been sung the third time the brethren shall say the process on

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid., chapters 3-6 passim.

their knees and in silence as usual.<sup>62</sup>

This passage is a translation of the text which can be found in both Faustina B<sub>3</sub> and Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>. However, before this Office is reviewed, the design of the Cena Domini will be altered to clarify my argument:

On Thursday, which is called Cena Domini, the night Office shall be performed according as it is set down in the Antiphonar. We have also heard that, in churches of certain religious men, a practice has grown up whereby compunction of soul is aroused by means of the outward representation of that which is spiritual, namely, that when the singing for the night is over, the antiphon of the gospel finished and all the lights put out, two children should be appointed who shall stand on the right-hand side of the choir and shall sing:

Kyrie eleison

with clear voice; two more on the left hand-side who shall answer:

Christe eleison

and on the west of the choir, another two who shall say:

Domine miserere nobis

After which the whole choir shall respond together

Christus Dominus factus est oboediens usque ad mortem.

The children of the right hand choir shall then repeat what they sang above exactly as before and, the choir having finished their response, they shall repeat the same thing once again in the same way. When this has been sung the third time the brethren shall say the process on their knees and in silence as usual. . . .

The text of the Cena Domini, which is presented in this particular form, resembles, to a great extent, the text of the celebration of the Easter Nocturns. Both of them describe some form of movement, and make use of what is specifically labelled as "outward representation." Here, two children stand on the right-hand side of the choir and two of them are positioned on the left hand side of the choir. During Nocturns on Easter Day, one of the brethren is seated near a "sepulchre," three others approach him. Both of the Offices make use

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<sup>62</sup>The translation of the Cena Domini has been taken from Symons. The only difference between this text and Symons's is the lack of italics. See The Monastic Agreement, pp. 36-37 and Appendix C of this study which provides photo copies of the original folio pages. The original can be found in London, British Museum Library, Cotton MS Faustina B<sub>3</sub>, fols. 179b-180a and Cotton MS Tiberius A<sub>3</sub>, fols. 16a-16b.

of the antiphonally sung chant. Furthermore, a division into a descriptive part ("rubrics") and a dialogued chant indicates a close relationship between the Cena Domini and the Quem quaeritis. Of course, this division is only visible when both of the texts are presented in a transformed version from the one which can be found in the two manuscripts of the Regularis Concordia.

Another element which should be mentioned regarding the context of the Easter Nocturns is the scholars' attitude towards those phrases which seem to indicate the theatrical quality of the rubrics. One of them is the statement that "these things are done in imitation of the angel seated on the tomb and of the women coming with perfumes to anoint the body of Jesus." The word "imitation" is a key to many interpretations of the Quem quaeritis passage as a documentation of early drama and theatre in the Middle Ages. However, an excerpt can be found in the description of one of the observances on Good Friday:

Now since on that day we solemnize the burial of of the Body of our Saviour, if anyone should care or think fit to follow in a becoming manner certain religious men in a practice worthy to be imitated for the strengthening of the faith of unlearned common persons and neophytes, we have decreed this only: on the part of the altar where there is space for it there shall be a representation as it were of a sepulchre, hung about with a curtain, in which the holy Cross, when it has been venerated, shall be placed in the following manner: the deacons who carried the Cross before shall come forward and, having wrapped the Cross in a napkin there where it was venerated, they shall bear it thence, singing the antiphons *In pace in indipsum, Habitabit and Caro mea requiescent in spe*, to the place of the sepulchre. When they have laid the cross therein, in imitation as it were of the burial of the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, they shall sing the antiphon *Sepulto Domino, signaltum est monumentum, ponentes milites qui custodirent eum.*<sup>63</sup>

Two phrases should be brought to the reader's attention: (1) "on the

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<sup>63</sup>The Monastic Agreement, pp. 44-45. Also in this text I have left out Symons's italics.

part of the altar where there is space for it there shall be a representation as it were of a sepulchre" and (2) "when they have laid the cross therein, in imitation as it were of the burial of the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>64</sup> Both of them refer to the same concept of representation and imitation which, so frequently, has been elicited and emphasized in the case of the Quem quaeritis text. Therefore, the argument that the rubrics in the Quem quaeritis passage justify its treatment as liturgical play/drama seems to be weakened since a similar technique is also used in the descriptions of other observances which can hardly be classified as theatre pieces.

Generally speaking, this chapter provided us with some significant observations concerning the nature of the Quem quaeritis and rubrics. First, the description of the Easter Nocturns was one of these observances to which four chapters of the Regularis Concordia are devoted. Second, its treatment is similar to the treatment of other important Offices in Christian worship, i.e., in each of them, special attention is given to the execution of the ecclesiastical prayers and to extra-liturgical elements. Third, all of them are written in a similar fashion, i.e., the order of procession is followed by the description of the vestments to be worn, then by the order of the prayers, and finally texts which should be chanted. And fourth, the phrases which might prompt a theatrical aspect of the Quem quaeritis are not only characteristic of this sequence, but also appear in other parts throughout the body of the code. Thus, it is difficult to state without some objections that they ought to be seen

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<sup>64</sup>Italics mine.

as "the first step towards a Christian theatrical art,"<sup>65</sup> since, even though they describe some form of mimetic action, the use of theatrical elements might be purely incidental. Therefore, the Quem quaeritis should be analysed in the context of these chapters rather than as a separate or unique description of Nocturns, and it should be viewed as an inherent part of the consuetudinary.

The aim of this chapter was to provide some definitions concerning both the Regularis Concordia and the Quem quaeritis and to indicate how the changes in renderings of the text of the original manuscript might influence the analysis of its content. Many questions have been posed about the treatment of the Quem quaeritis and its rubrics as either a liturgical drama or play and of the Regularis Concordia as the earliest documentation of Christian drama. However, neither textual nor contextual examination can explain why the Quem quaeritis was moved to the Night Office on Easter Day, the shift which was defined by Young as a "trope seeking dramatic freedom."<sup>66</sup> Also, study of the text does not reveal the impact which this Easter ceremony had on the liturgical drama of later periods. Finally, textual analysis alone will not resolve the important question of whether or not the Regularis Concordia should be viewed as the true source for the origin of drama and theatre in the early Middle Ages. These problems will require a separate chapter.

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<sup>65</sup>Robert Speaight, The Christian Theatre (London: Burns & Oates, 1960), p. 9.

<sup>66</sup>Young, 1:223.

## CHAPTER VII

### REGULARIS CONCORDIA AND THE QUEM QUÆRITIS: PART II

The previous chapter examined the controversy surrounding attempts to explain the meaning and function of the Regularis Concordia and the Quem quæritis. New questions were posed: (1) why was the Quem quæritis shifted from the Introit of the Easter Mass to the Night Office (Nocturns) of Easter Day? and (2) should the Regularis Concordia be treated as a theatre history source document? Before these questions are discussed, certain important points, which have been made throughout this dissertation, ought to be recapitulated.

First of all, it should be remembered that a monastic rather than a clerical tradition is being discussed. Tenth-century English monastic reform was a reaction to lax rules in churches and to clerical marriages. King Alfred complained about illiteracy among the priests in his kingdom.<sup>1</sup> King Edmund proclaimed in about 942 that

those in holy orders whose duty is to teach God's people by the example of their life should observe the celibacy befitting their estate, whether they be men or women. If they fail to do so, they shall incur that which is ordained in the canon, and they shall forfeit their worldly possessions and burial in consecrated ground,

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<sup>1</sup>See Dom David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), p. 32.

unless they make amends.<sup>2</sup>

But it was very difficult to put such rules into effect. There is ample historical evidence which indicates that they were not obeyed. Dunstan's biographers referred to unlawful marriages, excesses by secular clergy, and their involvement in power struggles.<sup>3</sup> Aelfric informed us that Ethelwold narrowly survived being poisoned for his attempt to substitute clerics for monks in Winchester.<sup>4</sup> The licentious behaviour of priests seems to have been common knowledge during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Evidence for this assumption can be found in the laws which were issued at the time; for example, King Ethelred in about 1008 tried to enforce celibacy among the clerics and attacked the lack of observance of the Christian faith, urging attendance at church festivals and feasts.<sup>5</sup> In his manual, *Byrhtferth*, a monk who lived and worked in Ramsey, was full of contempt for priests while explaining to them the notions of the solar year, seasons and months of the year, methods of finding the days of the week and the like.<sup>6</sup> It should be sufficient to quote just a sample of his writings in order to appreciate his attitude towards the clerics:

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<sup>2</sup>Agnes Jane Robertson, ed., The Laws of the Kings of England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925), p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland, 99 vols. (Longman, 1858-1896), vol. 63: Memorials of Saint Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury, ed. William Stubbs, pp. 300-301.

<sup>4</sup>Harvey S. Gem, An Anglo-Saxon Abbot, Aelfric of Eynsham (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912), pp. 172-73.

<sup>5</sup>Robertson, pp. 91-93.

<sup>6</sup>See Samuel John Crawford, ed., Byrhtferth's Manual (London: Oxford University Press, 1929).

. . . we know of a surety that there are many rustic clerks who do not know how many kinds of the year there are, but I am willing to show myself indulgent to their slothfulness, supported as I am by the protection of the Fathers with whose dogs I am not worthy to lie down. . . .

It seems to us too tedious to explain the whole of this passage [the division of a year into a solar and lunar year] in English for clerks; but we tell them as a fact that there are six kinds of year in the computus. . . .

Some ignorant clerks, alas, alas! banish measure of this kind—men who have no wish to retain their phylacteries, for example, they do not preserve their orders which they received in the bosom of Mother Church, nor do they persist in the teaching of holy learning. . . .

We have said a great deal which it is our pleasure to repeat in our own language, so that those who are unable to understand Latin may at least comprehend our discourse in the vulgar tongue.<sup>7</sup>

Monastic reform was introduced by Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald. Thereafter, the main occupation of the monks was to be the practice of the solemn liturgy and the worship of God. The Rule of St. Benedict and the monastic practices at Fleury and Ghent provided models to revive the spiritual life of England. The monasteries were designed as the places for this strict observance of the consuetudinaries. They were conceived as self-sufficient units and frequently were established away from towns and villages. Monks had nothing or little to do with the life outside the monastery. Their daily routine of life consisted of the Night Office, seven Canonical Hours, Divine Office, and intellectual or manual work for the community of monks.

The subject of monastic reform in England brings us to the Regularis Concordia. This is the second important issue which should be raised. The Concordia should be treated in the context of monastic

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

reform. It was the first code to institutionalize monasticism in England and to provide a uniform set of rules that would govern life in a monastery. As Knowles asserted in his The Monastic Order in England, its other purpose was "a perfection of clerical life and a discipline for the many, by which individuals might find salvation and the Church as a whole receive strength, dignity, and order."<sup>8</sup>

Finally, the third point is that the Quem quaeritis is not a central part of the Concordia. Easter Day, as directed by the Regularis Concordia, should be perceived in the context of the celebrations of Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday, and, therefore, the Quem quaeritis is merely one part of this total spectrum of ceremonies.

With these basic points of reference in mind, let us turn to the problem of the transfer of the Quem quaeritis from the Introit of the Easter Mass to the Night Office service on Easter Day.

#### Quem Quaeritis: The Question of the Shift

Most theatre historians have acknowledged the two explanations concerning the change of the position of the Quem quaeritis chant which were presented by Young<sup>9</sup> and Hardison.<sup>10</sup> According to Young, a dialogue between the Marys and the Angel at the sepulchre in the early

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<sup>8</sup>Knowles, p. 44.

<sup>9</sup>See Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 1:231.

<sup>10</sup>See O. B. Hardison, Jr., Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), pp. 198-99.

morning had its only appropriate place at Nocturns, the first Canonical Hour of a monastic day. In this position, the dramatic potential of the Quem quaeritis was fully realized and it "achieved a generous amount of literary freedom, and developed into an authentic Easter play."<sup>11</sup> Young's argument considers only a literary approach towards this shift. It should be noted, however, that the Quem quaeritis in this new position was chanted as a part of the Night Office, i.e., at about 2:00 A.M., according to the Summer Horarium, rather than "in the early morning." Moreover, the Office was held in isolated monasteries rather than in town churches.

Hardison's interpretation of the position of the Quem quaeritis is more complex, and it is part of his theory of the ritual character of the Christian religion. His hypothesis is explained in six points which he provides in his Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages. These are:

1. The Quem quaeritis began its career as a ceremony rather than as a trope.
2. In content it was a Resurrection ceremony in many ways similar to the ninth-century Visitation of the Font and closer to the Regularis version than any other tenth-century manuscript.
3. It functioned both as a device of instruction and as a means of preparing for the vigil Mass.
4. It was probably related to one of the candle ceremonies of the Easter vigil, though not necessarily to the blessing of the paschal candle, which took place on the afternoon of Holy Saturday rather than at night.
5. As a result of anticipation, especially in the monastic churches that are the source of all tenth-century manuscripts, it was detached from the vigil Mass and moved to the only other liturgical occasions associated closely with the Resurrection—the end of matins [Nocturns] and Easter Mass.

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<sup>11</sup>Young, 1:231.

6. When used with matins [Nocturns], it retained its identity as a representational ceremony, but when attached to Easter Mass it was normally used as a processional without rubrics and (evidently) without elaborate action.<sup>12</sup>

Hardison's fifth point seems to be the key to his explanation of the position of the Quem quaeritis near the end of the Night Office. In his opinion, the shift was a "result of anticipation" of the celebrations following the candle ceremonies which took place on Holy Saturday. It is true that the observances of Easter Day follow those of Holy Saturday. However, it is also true that the two of them are a part of several celebrations of Holy Week and cannot be abstracted from that context. Therefore, Hardison's hypothesis may only be partially true because his stress on the ceremonial link between Holy Saturday and Easter does not provide a complete picture of all the celebrations.

The Offices of Easter Day should be looked upon as part of a total ceremonial group, including Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday. The Regularis Concordia is very useful in this respect because it gives fairly complete descriptions and regulations concerning all of those days. Therefore, let us return to the manuscript for details concerning the manner of these celebrations. On Maundy Thursday:

which is called Cena Domini, the night Office [about 2 A.M.] shall be performed according as is set down in the Antiphonar. . .<sup>13</sup>

On Good Friday:

the night Office shall be performed as has been said already

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<sup>12</sup>Hardison, pp. 198-99.

<sup>13</sup>The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation, trans. with Intro. and Notes by Dom Thomas Symons (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1953), p. 36.

[i.e., according as is set in the Antiphonar]...<sup>14</sup>

On Holy Saturday:

at the hour of None [Nones, about 2:30 P.M.], when the abbot enters the church with the brethren, the new fire shall be brought in, as we said before, and the candle which has been placed before the altar shall be lit from that fire [these words are taken from or based on those of Ordo Romanus Primus].<sup>15</sup>

And on Easter Day:

the seven canonical hours are to be celebrated by monks in the Church of God after the manner of Canons, out of regard for the authority of the blessed Gregory, Pope of the Apostolic See, as set forth in his Antiphonar.<sup>16</sup>

Thus all the celebrations are to be conducted either according to the rules as set by the Antiphonar<sup>17</sup> or by the Ordo Romanus Primus.<sup>18</sup> As Symons informs us in his "Sources of the Regularis Concordia," both of these documents are examples of the employment of the secular Office in a monastery.<sup>19</sup> This change might seem to be in discord with the nature of the Regularis Concordia which attempted to draw a demarcation line between the two traditions. However, as Woerdeman and Symons indicate, such a substitution of the Roman (secular) for

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>17</sup>Also known as the Gregorian Sacramentary. The Gregorian Sacramentary was an official Mass book. In the sixth century, Gregory the Great revised Gelasianum, a mass book which had been mandatory until that time, and this could explain the title of its new version. See Henry Austin Wilson, ed., The Gregorian Sacramentary (London: Harrisons & Sons, 1915).

<sup>18</sup>Ordo Romanus Primus is a consuetudinary of the Roman Office for the secular churches. See Ordo Romanus Primus, Intro. and Notes by George Cuthbert (London: Alexander Morning, 1905).

<sup>19</sup>Dom Thomas Symons, "Sources of the Regularis Concordia," Downside Review 59 (January 1941): 16.

the monastic Office was not an uncommon occurrence at that time. For example:

Although it was not published in the Council's [Council of Aachen, 817] capitula or decrees, a statute of some kind was proposed, ordering that the monks follow the Roman Office during the three days before Easter and on the feast itself. The opposition, however, was apparently so great that the statute was not drafted as part of the capitula. Still, some communities adopted the practice, if they did not have the custom already; others adopted it after a longer or shorter period of time and hesitation; some never accepted it.<sup>20</sup>

The last statement is significant because it establishes that monastic communities literally had an option regarding the celebration of Holy Week: the monks could either follow the observances as prescribed by the Benedictine Rule or those which were specified by the Antiphonar or Ordo Romanus Primus and, thus, use the order of processions specified for secular churches. Symons informs us in his article that different monastic houses made use of either of the two traditions. The Customs of Farfa (1030-1048) show that Cluny followed the Roman order for Maundy Thursday to the Night Office on Holy Saturday, and the Benedictine Rule for Prime, Tierce, Sext, None of the Holy Saturday and for the Office on Easter.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, a Lotharingian consuetudinary suggests that the Roman Office was used from the Night Office of Maundy Thursday to the end of Easter Week.<sup>22</sup>

The celebrations of Holy Week as defined by the monastic and

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<sup>20</sup>Jude Woerdeman, "The Source of the Easter Play," Orate Fratres 20 (April 1946): 266-67.

<sup>21</sup>Symons, "Sources," p. 18.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid. This close resemblance of the Regularis Concordia to a Lotharingian consuetudinary with regard, at least, to the celebrations of Holy Week, could be explained by the fact that Dunstan spent his exile years (955-959) in Ghent, which had accepted a Lotharingian model of monasticism.

Roman codes varied considerably. The monastic Office for Easter Day as specified in the Rule provided the following directions for the Night Office: the brethren were to rise at about 1:00 A.M. and go to the church where they would chant six psalms. Then four lessons with their responses would be read. During the fourth responsory the reader would chant the Gloria and all would rise. Afterwards six other psalms with Antiphons and versicle would be sung. Four more lessons with their responsories, three canticles from the book of the prophets, and the Alleluia would follow. Then another four lessons from the New Testament and responsories would be read and when the fourth responsory would be finished Te Deum Laudamus would be chanted. When finished, the abbot would read the Gospel and all would stand with reverence. After the Gospel, the hymn, Te decet laus would be chanted and the blessing would be given. Then Matins would begin.<sup>23</sup>

The Roman Office which is included in Ordo Romanus Primus indicates that the secular observation of the Night Office was much shorter. It would begin with the hymn Deus in auditorium which would be followed by the regular invitatory psalm and its alleluias. Then three other psalms with their antiphons would be sung. Afterwards, only three lessons, each followed by a responsory, would be read. When finished, Te deum laudamus would be chanted. Then Matins would begin.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, the major difference between these two offices was that in the Roman Office, instead of twelve psalms, three canticles, twelve

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<sup>23</sup>The Rule of Saint Benedict, trans. and Notes by Dom Justin McCann (England: Stanbrook Abbey Press, 1937), pp. 31-34.

<sup>24</sup>Woerdeman, "The Source of the Easter Play," p. 264.

lessons, and twelve responsories, only three psalms, three lessons, and three responsories were prescribed. Another difference was that there was no Gospel reading in the Roman tradition of Nocturns. This change can be explained by the fact that the Gospel was read during the Divine Office, i.e., the Mass, on Easter Day. Further support for this conclusion can be found in The Benedictine Office which was written by Aelfric or Wulfstan at the beginning of the eleventh century for clerks:

The six Hours are given in their simplest form, without any of the variations which were used at particular seasons or on particular days. Also significant is the omission of Nocturns and Matins; it seems reasonable to assume that these parts of the monastic course of worship would be omitted by the secular clergy in the presence of laity.<sup>25</sup>

Even though this quotation does not specifically refer to Easter, it amplifies the fact that the Mass was the most solemn Office in the Roman tradition. It also explains the reasons for the abbreviated version of the Night Office. However, in a monastery all Canonical Hours were of equal significance and were supposed to be attended by all the monks.<sup>26</sup> The Gospel was a pivotal part of the celebrations, especially of the celebrations of the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

The Regularis Concordia followed the Ordo Romanus Primus. Therefore there was no Gospel reading prescribed for Nocturns of the Easter celebrations. Woerdeman maintains that:

Those . . . [who] would try to preserve the Roman Paschal Office, would likely try to preserve as much of the solemnity from the monastic rite as possible. The introduction of the dramatized Easter trope in the place of the Gospel does precisely that. It retains the sacred ministers, vestments, the incense, and provides

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<sup>25</sup>James Ure, The Benedictine Office (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1957), p. 63.

<sup>26</sup>The Monastic Agreement, chap. 1 passim.

the message of the Gospel itself. . . . The simplest motive which suggests itself as most plausible is that the ceremony compensated for the omission of the Gospel reading.<sup>27</sup>

Although Woerdeman offers a very attractive explanation of the shift of the Quem quaeritis, there are some parts which are not clear in it. First of all, if the monks had wanted to "preserve as much of the solemnity of the monastic rite as possible," they could have employed the Benedictine Office for Easter Day as was the case at Cluny. Secondly, was the Quem quaeritis really a substitution for the omission of the Gospel reading? The order of the observances of the Night Office in the Regularis Concordia is:

[after the opening psalms] three antiphons and three psalms shall follow; and when these are finished the proper verse shall be said; and then three lessons with the appropriate responds.<sup>28</sup>

Then after the third response one of the brethren "shall begin to sing softly and sweetly Quem Quaeritis."<sup>29</sup> When this is finished, the antiphon Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro and the Te Deum laudamus follow. Afterwards, Matins begins.

Generally speaking, this is the liturgical context of the order of the observances of the Night Office which is based on the secular code. As is apparent, the only difference in this section between the Ordo Romanus Primus and the Regularis Concordia is that two additional chants are sung before the Te Deum laudamus: the Quem Quaeritis and the Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro. The question which should be asked is whether or not they are a substitute for the Gospel which should be read after the Te Deum laudamus. To answer this

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<sup>27</sup>Woerdeman, "The Source of the Easter Play," p. 267.

<sup>28</sup>The Monastic Agreement, p. 49.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

question let us read the third responsory:

Cum transisset sabbatum, Maria Magdalena et Maria Jacobi et Salome emerunt aromata, ut venientes ungerent Jesum, alleluia. Verse. Et valde mane una sabbatorum veniunt ad monumentum, orto iam sole.<sup>30</sup>

This responsory, which occurs after the third lesson that is based on the Gospel, prepares us for the chant which is to follow, i.e., the Quem quaeritis. Therefore, the Quem quaeritis was a part of the responsory and an introduction to the Te Deum laudamus rather than a substitution for the Gospel reading. Other celebrations of Holy Week provide further evidence. Not only does the Regularis Concordia make use of the Ordo Romanus Primus but it also modifies certain parts of the offices which are not specified in this secular consuetudinary. For example, the Night Office on Maundy Thursday should follow the rules as set down in the Antiphonar. However, the Concordia introduces a new custom in the Cena Domini which was practiced "in churches of certain religious men." On Good Friday, the Night Office "shall be performed as has been said already," but the None is conducted in a manner of "certain religious men." The Concordia is not clear on who "these certain religious men" are, but what interests us is a new manner of celebration for the parts of the Office on a given day. Particularly the description of the Cena Domini is important here because it belongs to Nocturns. The order of the psalms, antiphons, lessons and responsories for this Night Office is specified by the Antiphonar of the Roman Office. Therefore, after the

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<sup>30</sup>Woerdeman, "The Source of the Easter Play," p. 269. "On Sunday, Mary Magdalene, Mary of Jacob, and Salome carried ointment, so that they might anoint Jesus. Alleluia. Verse. They approached the tomb with great feeling which arose in them on that Sunday morning." (Translation mine.)

last responsory, the Gospel, and the blessing, the next Canonical Hour should begin. However, the Concordia introduces a new custom right after the Gospel. Kyrie eleison was sung. This chant is introduced in a following manner:

We have also heard that, in churches of certain religious men, a practice has grown up whereby compunction of soul is aroused by means of the outward representation of that which is spiritual.<sup>31</sup>

A detailed description of how two groups of boys positioned on the right- and left-hand side of the choir should sing the Kyrie eleison comes next.<sup>32</sup> A similar divergence from the Roman code can be seen in the Easter Nocturns. The new custom of the Quem quaeritis is preceded by a meticulous description of how four brethren should sing the chant. Therefore, the Quem quaeritis, and likewise the Kyrie eleison, must have been employed for "the outward representation of that which is spiritual." To strengthen this argument, it should be noted that both chants were a part of the liturgy of the Mass proper, i.e., they functioned as choral pieces in the Roman Mass—the Kyrie eleison was sung before the Gloria in excelsis; the Quem quaeritis was chanted before the Introit on Easter Day.<sup>33</sup> Both were "moved" to a new position. In the context of the traditional approach towards the Quem quaeritis, one might put forth a hypothesis that not only the Quem quaeritis but also the Kyrie eleison was seeking dramatic freedom in its new position. Of course, this hypothesis will have to be rejected since there is no evidence that the Kyrie eleison evolved into

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<sup>31</sup>The Monastic Agreement, p. 36.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>See Appendix D.

something more than a chant, even though, it could be argued, it had theatrical potential.<sup>34</sup> The only plausible explanation of this new placement of the chants is that an attempt was made to elaborate on the customs which were prescribed by the Roman Office for Holy Week. Furthermore, they suggest that a step was taken in the direction of increasing the spiritual value of the Night Office in general and of those important feasts in the monastic tradition in particular.

However, these statements only partially explain the position of the Quem Quaeritis. The question which surfaces is why was the Gospel reading omitted in the Night Office of Easter Day, even though there was one on Maundy Thursday? In order to provide an answer, it is worth repeating that the Regularis Concordia presents us with a unique English practice concerning the Sunday Mass. Following Symons and Knowles, we may assume that lay people were admitted the monastery to assist at the chief Mass on Sundays and feasts.<sup>35</sup> Since the Concordia does not mention the celebration of the Mass on Easter Day, we can only speculate about it. We know that it followed the Roman Office. The Gospel is a part of the service, so the Gospel of St. Mark, which is designed for this occasion, would be read during the celebrations on Easter Day in the presence of both the monks and the lay congregation. Since the Gospel was read in Latin, it would

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<sup>34</sup>See a comparative analysis of the celebrations of the Night Office at Maundy Thursday and Easter Day in chapter 6 of this study.

<sup>35</sup>Now on feast days . . . while the Morrow Mass is being said the ministers of the following Mass shall vest and then, Tierce being said, the bells shall ring to call the faithful together and the Mass shall begin ("In diebus autem festis . . . interim enim dum ea Missa agitur, sequentis Missae ministri se induant et, Tertia peracta, mox signorum motu fidelem aduocantes plebem missam inchoent.") See The Monastic Agreement, p. 19.

have been appropriate to include the Quem Quaeritis, as it was presented during the Night Office, at the Mass. In this position, undeniably, it would have served, as Hardison suggested, its educational purpose.<sup>36</sup> However, it seems that the Quem quaeritis never performed this function and "the outward representation of that which is spiritual" was never included as a part of the chief Mass on Easter Day. Therefore, it may be assumed that the placement of the Quem quaeritis at the Night Office was not motivated by the literary potentials of the Quem Quaeritis, nor was it an act of its anticipation, nor was it a substitution for the Gospel reading. Its position can be explained by the fact that the Regularis Concordia follows a secular Office for the celebration of Holy Week.

All these considerations lead us to the following conclusions:

(1) The historical evidence shows that in the tenth century there were two ways of celebrating Easter Day in monastic houses—one based on the Rule of St. Benedict which was favoured by Cluniac houses and another one based on the Antiphonar for secular churches which was accepted in the Lotharingian model of monasticism. This license in the observance of Easter could be an explanation for the position of nine tenth-century Quem quaeritis chants. Three of them, i.e., from St. Martial of Limoges (923-34), St. Gall (?950), St. Martial of Limoges (988-94), were a part of the Easter Mass. St. Gall and St. Martial were Cluniac houses; thus, they used a Benedictine Office. Those found in the Regularis Concordia, the Bamberg troper (tenth century), and in St. Vito (tenth century) are evidently related to the Night Office. This suggests that the celebration of Easter followed

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<sup>36</sup>Hardison, p. 204.

the Ordo Romanus Primus in those houses. The position of the last three Quem quaeritis, i.e., the Winchester troper (978-80), the Bamberg gradual (tenth century), and Vienna (tenth century) is ambiguous. (2) The Regularis Concordia drew on various documents that refer to both monastic and secular consuetudinaries, even though it was a monastic document. (3) The celebrations of Holy Week did not follow the Rule of St. Benedict but made use of the Antiphonar of the Ordo Romanus Primus for secular clergy. (4) Although Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Easter Sunday follow the Ordo Romanus Primus, they differed considerably from the same Offices in the secular code. (5) The Kyrie eleison and the Quem quaeritis, which were chanted during the Night Office reserved only for monks, were two new additions to the secular code. (6) The placement of the Quem quaeritis at Nocturns was an act of elaboration on the services of Holy Week which were prescribed by a secular Ordo Romanus Primus. (7) The texts of both Night Offices at Maundy Thursday and Easter Day were descriptive because the Regularis Concordia was introducing new customs whose aim was to increase the spiritual intensity of the celebrations. Therefore, "theatrical elements" which are to be found in them are purely incidental, as they are in any ritual, and nothing implies that the Quem quaeritis should be perceived as a play, a liturgical drama, or a liturgical music-drama. First of all, it was a chant which was employed for the proper celebration of the Office by the monks living behind the walls of the monastery rather than a trope "seeking dramatic freedom"<sup>37</sup> or a ceremony which, "as a result of anticipation

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<sup>37</sup>Young, 1:223.

was detached from the vigil Mass and moved to the only other liturgical occasions associated closely with the Resurrection—the end of matins and Easter Mass.”<sup>38</sup>

This last point, however, requires a more careful explanation. Therefore, the next question is: should the Quem quaeritis be treated as a ritual or as a liturgical play?

#### Quem Quaeritis: A Ritual or a Play?

The statement that all religions make use of rituals does not require any further support. The Hindu<sup>39</sup> and Christian<sup>40</sup> religions, as well as the cults of ancient and modern societies all display certain important universal similarities when articulating their ceremonies. One of them is that they draw on the event of the creation of the world and of the birth, life, death, and resurrection of a hero or a god-figure. Those events occurred in the primordial past, space, and time. We, who live in the present time and belong to a certain group, whose religious status quo is well-defined by the specific details of those events, gather, on certain occasions, to participate in the act of their reactualization. This gathering of people who accept the same belief in the creation of the world, has the same name for the creator, share the same attitude towards birth, life, death, resurrection of a god-figure, to celebrate the primordial

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<sup>38</sup>Hardison, p. 199. Note the use of the modern term of Matins for the Night Office.

<sup>39</sup>Mircea Eliade, The Myth of the Eternal Return, trans. Willard Trask (New York: Pantheon Books, 1954).

<sup>40</sup>Hardison, pp. 35-79.

past could be labelled a ritual. During this ritual, which has different forms and shapes in various cultures, we move in time, from present to sacred,<sup>41</sup> and space, from concrete to transcendent<sup>42</sup> in order to experience the closeness to the super-natural agent. The mode of this celebration varies from orgiastic to solemn; its physical decor from poor to elaborate. Ritual, thus, could also be defined in terms of its inner (spiritual) and external (manner and decor) elements. Those external elements and specifically masks, costume, movement, and gesture, which are considered theatrical elements, made many scholars believe that the origin of drama and theatre can be traced directly to ritual forms.<sup>43</sup> It is beyond the scope of this study to argue for or against this hypothesis as this has been done by numerous people.<sup>44</sup> However, certain elements which are pertinent here should be examined.

It has been established that the Quem quaeritis in the Regularis Concordia was a part of the Night Office. The Night Office, according to the Rule of St. Benedict was designed to praise God. The Quem quaeritis was chanted by monks who participated in an act of reliving the mystery of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. The ritual

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<sup>41</sup>Sacred time, i.e., the time when the ritual was first performed by a god or a hero.

<sup>42</sup>Concrete space, i.e., the place where the ritual occurs. Transcendent space, i.e., the place where the ritual or a particular event occurred for the first time.

<sup>43</sup>See, for example, James H. Butler The Theatre and Drama of Greece and Rome (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1972), Humphrey Davy Findley Kitto Greek Tragedy (London: Methuen, 1954).

<sup>44</sup>See, for example, Gerald Else, The Origin and the Early Form of Greek Tragedy (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967).

aspect of this celebration is beyond any doubt. The monks belonged to the community which shared the same dogmatic beliefs and which was particularly established for Christian worship. Yet another close affinity between this particular act of worship and ritual was the external decor which, as it has been indicated in chapter 6 of this study, led many scholars to look for the origin of medieval drama in the Quem quaeritis in particular and in the Christian Church in general. Whereas the latter part of the statement concerning the origin might be tangible, the former one raises some objections. First of all, if one equates ritual with theatre, he or she diminishes the spiritual value of faith. For example, in attending daily services, monks, or the faithful, seek a confirmation of their faith. The service itself is for them a moment of reliving or commemorating the mystery of the life, death, and, finally, the promise of resurrection of Jesus Christ. For a non-believer, who accidentally watches the service, the same service is nothing more than a piece of theatre, because he lacks the belief in a supernatural agent. He can only perceive external actions happening in front of his eyes, elaborate gestures, and the wonderful, not to say colourful, costume which is worn by the priest. For a monk, the chasuble worn by the celebrant is more than a costume because it is a symbolic representation of the spirit of the occasion; black means death, violet—passion, green—hope, etc. Furthermore, as was the case with the Quem quaeritis, the Office took place behind a closed door of the monastery with no lay congregation attending it. This element is crucial in the examination of the Night Office at Easter. It draws a

sharp demarcation line between ritual and theatre.<sup>45</sup> If ritual means solemnity, an active participation of the congregation in an act of communication with God. Theatre, which can also contain an element of solemnity, introduces a distinction between an active (actors) and passive (audience) participation, and, especially, diminishes the value of the solemn communication with the supernatural agent.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, regardless of what we now mean by theatrical elements, ritual is not theatre and putting an equation mark between the two only impoverishes its understanding and its significant features.

All these speculations reinforce the statement that the Quem quaeritis was primarily a chant included in a monastic Office. It can only be placed at the roots of medieval drama by modern bystanders who peek through the hole of the closed door of a monastery. As a corollary, the question of the transfer of the Quem quaeritis, which, as we are told, occurred in the tenth century and which, for many scholars, is a sound justification for their theories, is not a significant one in this consideration. Two separate monastic traditions of celebrating Easter Day explain the two different positions of the Quem quaeritis. Secondly, The Regularis Concordia clearly states that new extra-liturgical elements attached to the observances of the Holy Week were copied from other sources to increase their spiritual character. As long as this spiritual element

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<sup>45</sup>I am fully indebted to Professor Gattnig and his course on "Processional Theatre in the Middle Ages" for the development of this idea.

<sup>46</sup>It could be argued that "Happenings" of the 1960s demolished this demarcation line between actors and audiences; however, they cannot be classified as rituals, as defined here, because they lack the belief in the presence of a supernatural agent.

of the observances of the resurrection of the Divine God exists, we cannot refer to the Quem quaeritis as a play, drama, or a music-drama. The Quem quaeritis was a part of the Night Office or an Introit to the Easter Mass, and it should be viewed in that context. It was a chant which cannot be separated from, as Woerdeman and Flanigan asserted, its liturgical context.<sup>47</sup>

A question might be raised regarding more elaborate versions of the Quem quaeritis and liturgical dramas which appeared in later centuries. It is not a matter of saying that the Church did not make any contribution to medieval drama and theatre. Undoubtedly, drama found its literary themes in the Church, and theatre was housed in its buildings. However, it seems that these influences only occurred in the second half of the eleventh century, or later, and that they were a direct consequence of the humanistic philosophy of St. Anselm (1033-1109).

St. Anselm is considered by many scholars to be "the most luminous and penetrating intellect between Augustine and Aquinas."<sup>48</sup> He was a Norman monk and, later, an abbot, who exerted a paramount influence on the development of monasticism and the intellectual school of Bec. He is known to us as an ecclesiastical thinker whose philosophy had a tremendous impact on the understanding of Christian religion as well as of scholasticism in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. St. Anselm was the author of Why God Became Man (Cur Deus Homo), a theological study of the nature of Jesus Christ, which was

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<sup>47</sup>See Woerdeman "The Source of the Easter Play." Also see Clifford C. Flanigan, "The Liturgical Context of the Quem Quaeritis Trope," Comparative Drama 8 (Spring 1974): 45-62.

<sup>48</sup>Knowles, p. 96.

a turning point in ecclesiastical history.<sup>49</sup>

In order to understand St. Anselm's importance to the development of Christian theology, it should be indicated that until the eleventh century Christian iconography and liturgy were primarily interested in celebrating the divine nature of Christ and in promulgating the image of a triumphant Divinity. The most typical representations of Jesus Christ were: Christ the Shepherd, Christ in Majesty, and the Crucified Christ. All those renderings were abstracted forms or symbolic images illustrating the non-human nature of God's son. The best examples are those available artifacts and paintings whose subject-matter was the crucifixion. They present Christ as a hanging figure on the cross; however, nothing indicates that he is suffering or in pain. He was a Divine Saviour who died on the cross to atone for man's original sin.<sup>50</sup>

St. Anselm introduced the shift in the Christian theology from the divine to the divine-human nature of Christ. This new theology was encapsulated in the statement that although Christ had super human qualities, he did acquire a human image and did suffer to save mankind. This shift was reflected in the iconography of the period. Christ began to be represented as a figure contorted with pain, who was wearing a crown made of thorns on his head, and with blood dripping from his wounds. The general impression which was created was that of a human drama depicted in a realistic way rather than a

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<sup>49</sup>Saint Anselm, Why God Became Man, trans. Joseph Colleran (Albany, N.Y.: Magi Books, 1969).

<sup>50</sup>See Appendix E.

symbolic or abstract representation of the Biblical text.<sup>51</sup>

In this change of the perception of Christ, Sandro Sticca finds the origin of the Latin Passion play which depicted the Virgin Mary's suffering under the Cross.<sup>52</sup> However, this shift had a more important impact. It opened a new possibility for the elaboration of certain elements within the well-defined dogma of the Christian Church and its liturgy.

At the beginning of this section, the major characteristics of ritual and the differences between ritual and theatre were discussed. It was mentioned then that as long as ritual celebrates the divine nature of a supernatural, and in this case of God or Jesus Christ, we should not equate ritual with theatre. However, when the human aspect of the divine figure is brought forth certain new possibilities appear on the surface—ritual is liberated from dogmatic interpretations and open to those elements which reflect human rather than divine nature.

This theory is based on the concept of time, which for functional purposes is divided into: (1) historic time, (2) mythical time, and (3) mimetic time. Historic time refers to rituals and the actual celebration of faith and beliefs. It means that while participating in a Christian rite, the community relives or expresses its acceptance of dogma. Solemnity is one of the crucial elements of this event. A prime example of such a rite perceived in terms of historic time is, obviously, the Mass or any other Canonical Hour which was intended to praise God and his unquestionable actions.

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<sup>51</sup>See Appendix F.

<sup>52</sup>Sandro Sticca, The Latin Passion Play: Its Origin and Development (Albany, NY.: State University of New York Press, 1970).

Mythical time embraces the process of elaboration on dogmas that cease to be treated solely as pillars of faith and religion because of the imposition of a human factor, which is an indispensable element in the myth-creation process. A good example of this process is the appearance of an element of human suffering in the interpretation of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. And mimetic time is connected with representation of those newly created myths.

For these reasons, Sticca's argument seems extremely attractive and it could be used to explain the time theory.<sup>53</sup> Before the twelfth century:

to the faithful the most important liturgical fact to be remembered during Lent was not Mary's lament, but Christ's Passion. The lament of the Virgin was an incidental element in Christ's Passion and not vice versa.<sup>54</sup>

This statement refers to the celebration of the Christian ritual which can be interpreted in terms of historic time. Christ's Passion, based on Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, was read both in secular and monastic churches. It was a story of Jesus Christ who offered himself to expiate man's sins. The participants celebrated the dogma rather than the actual act. However, because of the new philosophical thought of St. Anselm, Christ's Passion acquired an element of human suffering. Human suffering, and especially, the suffering of a mother who loses her son, can be described in an unlimited number of ways. This new aspect in the Christian religion made the text more immediate for the participants who could feel empathy for, at least, the Virgin

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<sup>53</sup>Although Sticca's argument is used here to present my theory, the difference between our methodologies lies in the fact that Sticca follows a model of the origin of medieval drama and theatre which was presented by Young.

<sup>54</sup>Sticca, p. 125.

Mary. When these new renderings begin to appear, we have already moved from the historic time of the dogma to the mythical time of the story. Then, once the myths are created there is only one step to their representation in Church or on stage. Latin Passion and vernacular plays illustrate this process:

The stimulus towards the redaction of a Passion play was fostered and provided by a new theology and its commentary on the significance, in the redemptive act, of Christ's human nature. . . In relation to early vernacular Passion plays, the Montecassino-Sulmona Latin Passion seems to be a unique and original composition. . . . Although the Montecassino Passion itself exhibits an intimate relationship to the Gospel account and a desire to present the essentials of Christian faith and doctrine in a dramatic form, its author felt the necessity of captivating the imagination of his audience by inserting in the dramatic action details of a realistic and comic nature. The necessity of freeing his work from the stylized solemnity of the liturgical dramatic tradition affords us an insight into the imaginative creativeness of the author and the increasing secularization of the liturgical dramatic performance through the introduction of extra-liturgical or apocryphal material and the use of the vernacular in the dialogue. This dramatic inventiveness, while it increased the scope of the performance, did not bring about the complete and genuine secularization of the plays, for throughout the period of their effective growth, they remained under the supervision of the Church.<sup>55</sup>

As this short analysis indicates, drama could originate from a ritual; however, not because of its close affinities to theatre, but because ritual itself can be modified. As long as ritual is perceived in terms of historic time, we cannot equate it with theatre. It can use theatrical elements, but this usage is purely incidental. However, once a human element infiltrates ritual, we can talk about the effective beginnings of drama. In the Middle Ages, this shift occurred with the philosophy of St. Anselm that stressed the humanistic elements in Christian dogma. The elaborated versions of

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid., pp. 170-71.

the Quem Quaeritis from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries can serve as examples here. For instance, numerous Quem quaeritis chants from this period include additional dialogue between the Marys (Châlon-sur-Marne, Treves),<sup>56</sup> the race of Peter and John (Augsburg, Vienna, Cracow, and Graz),<sup>57</sup> a dialogue between Mary and Jesus (Rouen, Fleury, Prague),<sup>58</sup> scenes with the soldiers of the grave watch (Klosterneuburg, Benediktbeuern).<sup>59</sup> However, the Quem quaeritis which can be found in the Regularis Concordia does not belong to this group. It was part of a ritual which should be conceived in terms of historical time rather than mythical and mimetic time. It simply always stayed in this form.<sup>60</sup> A change in Christian theology was essential to the appearance of legitimate drama and plays in the next centuries. Further support for the validity of this assumption is provided by the Regularis Concordia.

#### Regularis Concordia: An Historical Survey.

The evidence to be presented in order to clarify the treatment of the document is of an historical nature. The major focus of this enquiry will be centred on the span of time whose demarcation lines

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<sup>56</sup>Young, 1:279, 1:280.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., 1:310, 1:629, 1:632, 1:634.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., 1:370, 1:393, 1:403.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., 1:633, 1:432.

<sup>60</sup>There seems to have existed a parallel development of the Quem Quaeritis, i.e., a chant version which was a part of either the Night Office or Introit to the Easter Mass, and an elaborated version which appeared under the influence of the development of the humanistic philosophy of Saint Anselm.

are, respectively, the dates of the two extant copies of the manuscript, i.e., the period from the second half of the tenth century to the second half of the eleventh century. Generally speaking, this period in the monastic history of England can be divided into four parts: from the death of Dunstan (988) to Danish invasions in about 1015; the period of Danish rule (1015-1042); the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042-1066); and the period of the Norman Conquest (1066-1100).<sup>61</sup>

Knowles says of the first period that

During the first of these the impetus of the monastic revival attained its maximum force and then gradually became stationary; the chief bishoprics and abbeys were occupied by the ablest disciples of the three leaders; within the monasteries the religious and intellectual life developed along the lines laid down by the founders, and both abbots and bishops received support from a number of the most powerful landowners. It was the generation of Aelfric and Byrhtferth, of Wulfstan of York and Aelfheah of Canterbury.<sup>62</sup>

Our interest in the period is not dictated as much by the construction and decoration of churches, nor by the development of liturgical ceremonies and chants, as it is by the founding of new monasteries and by consuetudinaries which were used to organize the spiritual life of the community.

Although between 988 and 1015 the number of the monasteries continued to grow, after 1000 only four communities were established.<sup>63</sup> The details about the organization of those new houses are very scanty. However, we know from the letter of Aelfric to the

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<sup>61</sup>This division follows Knowles' division. See Knowles, p. 58.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid. p. 66.

monks of a new foundation at Eynsham that he provided them with an abbreviated version of the Regularis Concordia. Symons indicates that

Although AE [the document] is not divided into chapters, the greater part of the Concordia can be recognised in it with the exception of the Proem, Chs. VII and XI, the last sentence of Ch. XII and the Epilogue. . . . Of special interest are AE's divergences from Concordia practice; e.g., although the first of the two special Holy Week customs of the Concordia is treated fully, no reference is made to the other or to the Easter "play."<sup>64</sup>

The last few lines of this quotation indicate that some thirty years after the drawing up of the Regularis Concordia, the custom of the celebration of the Night Office was either unknown or substituted by an observance of another form. We could speculate that Aelfric suggested to the new community that the order of Easter celebrations should probably follow the monastic code rather than the secular one which was used in the consuetudinary. This statement also means that the rules as set up in the Regularis Concordia were not always taken as an obligatory code for the establishment of new houses by the disciples of Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald:

We should not in any case hesitate to suppose that the Concordia was in all cases taken to a new monastery as its code; that the document was the fruit of a single great occasion, and it was not in the genius of tenth-century England to conceive of a number of separate bodies as governed by an abstract code. Actually, we have the precise statement of Aelfric that Eynsham, after some years of existence, knew nothing of the Concordia, and that he himself hesitated to apply all its provisions to the house where he was an abbot. The normal course, no doubt, was for the outgoing body of colonists, or the chosen instructor of the young group, to carry to the new house the customs of a previously existing one, which would reproduce the main lines of the life as described by the Concordia.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>Symons, The Monastic Agreement p. lvi.

<sup>65</sup>Knowles, p. 66.

As both quotations show, the main line of monastic life was taken from the tenth-century consuetudinary; however, its various new customs were not always transferred to a new foundation. Moreover, traditions of one house were not necessarily similar to those of another. This tendency of acquiring distinguishing traits was a new development which was totally alien to the spirit of the Council of Winchester that had bound together Abington, Winchester, Worcester, and some other house where Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald had been the abbots.

The Danish raids and invasions (of about 1015 to 1042) mark the second period. Surprisingly, they had little impact on the material prosperity of the monasteries. Cnut continued to appoint monastic bishops who served also as his advisers. Undoubtedly, this policy of the ruler saved monastic life in England from being destroyed by the political changes of the time. There were only two important foundations, St. Benet of Holme and Bury St. Edmunds, which housed the monks from Ely. Unfortunately, we do not have any records that could shed light on the form of daily observances of the monastic life in these two houses.

The third period, 1042-1066, was the reign of Edward the Confessor. During his reign:

a number of influences and movements opposed one to another were at work. The majority of the new bishops were not monks, several of the smaller monasteries suffered from encroachments of one kind and another and some of the greater houses showed signs of relaxation. On the other hand, the reign saw the first infiltration of the Norman monasticism; the Confessor was a benefactor and friend of monks, both English and Norman; and an important and wholly spontaneous revival took place in Worcestershire.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

From this period we have one record which establishes a relationship between the Regularis Concordia and monasticism in the eleventh century: a book given to Exeter by Bishop Leofric. Leofric was appointed a bishop by the Confessor in 1046. Thus, the document must have been given to the monastery in Exeter before it ceased to exist around this time.<sup>67</sup> This document quotes verbatim several parts of the Regularis Concordia--sections dealing with the observance of several offices among which could be found the descriptions of the celebration of parts of Maundy Thursday (the Kyrie eleison sequence of the Night Office is included), Good Friday, Holy Saturday, and Easter Sunday, except for the description containing the Quem quaeritis part.<sup>68</sup> Leofric seemed to suggest to the monks in Exeter that they follow the secular celebration of Holy Week as presented in the Ordo Romanus Primus with the addition of the custom of the celebration of the Night Office for Maundy Thursday. However, he did not refer to the second custom, the Quem quaeritis. The second custom was, thus, either unknown to him, or known, but he did not recommend it.

Another interesting piece of evidence concerning the use of the Regularis Concordia in this period refers to the monastic revival in Worcestershire:

At Worcester, as at Evesham, there were aspirants to the eremitical life. Whatever be the facts concerning Werstan, said to have gone from Deerhurst into the wild country near Malvern c. 1050, it is certain that shortly after the middle of the century Aldwin, an unlettered monk of Worcester, settled there with Wulfstan's approval and, after despairing of success was encouraged to persevere by the bishop. Here, as at Bec not many

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<sup>67</sup>The exact date of the disappearance of this monastery is not known.

<sup>68</sup>Symons, The Monastic Agreement, p. lvii.

years previously and as in the north at almost the same moment, the band of anchorites ended by adopting the Rule of St Benedict and the customs traditional in the old houses.<sup>69</sup>

This new movement which proclaimed simplicity and austerity was based on the Benedictine Rule and the customs traditional in old houses rather than on the Regularis Concordia. Thus monastic traditions in the eleventh century were shaped by: (1) a modified version of the Regularis Concordia, (2) the Rule of St. Benedict, or (3) customs which were traditional for certain houses and which reflected the distinguishing marks of their approach towards observances.

The fourth period is the time of the establishment of Norman monasticism, which was influenced by the Cluniac model. William the Conqueror attempted to reorganize the whole Church with the help of Norman monks. He appointed a number of them to vacant abbacies. As a corollary of this action, two separate monastic traditions began to coexist in England. Moreover, since, "as no constitutional bond existed between the Norman monasteries or between the English monasteries or between the new abbots and any major superior, there could be no question of the application of a single clear-cut code."<sup>70</sup> Furthermore,

These various influences are reflected in the sources. The norm was that each abbot introduced, so far as possible, the customs and observances of the house from which he came. Thus we have precise information that Gunter of Marmoutier enforced at Thorney the observances of his mother-house; a little later, Herbert Losinga gave the customs of Fecamp to his foundation at Norwich, and it is clear that Thurstan of Glastonbury was endeavouring, however unskillfully, to give the use of Caen to his monks.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>Knowles, p. 78.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 122.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

From that period of time we date various consuetudinaries which resemble Cluniac customaries<sup>72</sup> and the second extant copy of the Regularis Concordia. It is difficult to assert that the Regularis Concordia functioned in the same way as it had originally been designed in the times of Dunstan. Moreover, it cannot be stated where and in how many houses it was accepted as the governing code because this information is not available to us. We are on surer ground when we agree with the assumption that the Regularis Concordia was just one of numerous consuetudinaries that were used at that time to design monastic life in England. Its impact as well as the manner of execution of the observances which are mentioned in it is not known to the scholars of English monasticism. An hypothesis can be put forth that the eleventh-century copy of the Regularis Concordia could be perceived as a patriotic act on behalf of English monks who tried in this way to manifest their solidarity with the old English tradition which was being modified by both political and monastic Norman conquerers. However, this last point is mere speculation, and there is nothing, except for the incidents of two riots by English monks against a Norman abbot, to substantiate it.<sup>73</sup>

This discussion of the influence of the Regularis Concordia on the development of monasticism in the eleventh century concludes with the statement that the document was written as an outcome of the necessity of the time, and it represented the spirit of monasticism growing in tenth-century England. Perceived as such, it ought to be

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<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>73</sup>These disturbances occurred in Glastonbury, where the monks reacted against Thurstan, and in Canterbury, where they opposed the action of Wido. See Knowles, The Monastic Order, pp. 114-16.

viewed as a code based on various sources whose aim was to provide an ordered way of life and to unify the movement rather than to be a customary which was observed by the succeeding generations of monks. Despite the frequency with which the document is mentioned, one is tempted to question its impact on the development of English monasticism in the later period. Knowles, in his The Monastic Order in England offered a rather clear answer: the Regularis Concordia was not always taken to a new monastery as its code. Thus, we return to the fundamental issues of this study. Should this document be treated as a theatrical source document for the origin of drama and theatre in the Middle Ages? I propose that the Regularis Concordia is a reliable source of information concerning monastic observances and customs only in the period from 965 to about 1000. And the second question: Was it an early documentation of liturgical drama? This study concludes that there is no evidence of drama in the Regularis Concordia. That is, even though one may argue that the Quem quaeritis does contain the basic elements of drama—mimesis, action, dialogue, etc., there is no evidence that it was regarded as a drama in its own day, or that it contributed to the development of liturgical drama. In fact, the available historical evidence points in the opposite direction; the Quem quaeritis was reserved for the private devotions of monks, and it disappeared from later consuetudinaries.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CONCLUSION

It seems appropriate in the concluding chapter to refer to the opening words of this study. According to Wittgenstein, the process of solving problems is made not by providing new information but by arranging what has always been known to us. The Regularis Concordia is a good example of this kind of logic of inquiry.

Many theatre scholars have suggested that the manuscript is an "early documentation of drama and theatre" in the Middle Ages. Assigning this particular role to the document stems from the fact that it contains the Quem quaeritis which, in its new position at the end of Nocturns on Easter Day, evolved from an Introit trope into the Visitatio Sepulchri sequence. However, having centred on the question of the origin of medieval drama, these critics have overlooked some important elements in their considerations, one of them being the very nature of the Regularis Concordia. The purpose of this study was to disengage from various methodologies which have been used to analyse the Quem quaeritis of the Regularis Concordia for its dramatic qualities and which have attempted to explain why and when drama was created inside the church. The aim of this study was to reconstruct the circumstances that led to the appearance of the document and to ascertain its value as a theatre history source.

Within the context of historical evidence, and, especially, in light of the history of the State, the Church, and monasticism in Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries, it is fair to say that the Regularis Concordia was a consuetudinary. Its full title, The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation, provides us with a second important clue regarding a unique character of the document. It was written at a time when the need arose to regulate liturgical observances and to place monasticism among the legitimate institutions of England. A content examination of the two extant copies of the code which describe life in a monastery, the manner of the celebration of Canonical Hours, and in which the King is recognized as an ex officio patron of all the houses, provides further support for this particular approach towards the nature of the document.

One of the consequences of such an investigation is a shift in our perception of the Regularis Concordia. Rather than being the house of the Quem quaeritis, it becomes the consuetudinary in which the Quem quaeritis can be found. Another significant derivative of this study is a new perspective on the Quem quaeritis. Rather than being the crucial part of the manuscript, it becomes a part of the Night Office, one of many monastic observances which were held in the privacy of a monastery. The descriptions of the Vigil of Christmas, Lent, Holy Week, and Easter suggest that the manner of the celebration of all Offices was similar, i.e., liturgical and extra-liturgical elements are provided and specified.

All these findings regarding the document led to the question of the transfer of the Quem quaeritis. The conclusion which was reached after the study of Nocturns on Maundy Thursday and Easter Day

as well as of the secular and monastic consuetudinaries was that the Quem quaeritis always functioned as a chant of a Christian ritual whether it was included in the Night Office (if the secular code was used for Easter) or in the Introit to the Easter Mass (if the Benedictine Rule was used for Easter). Therefore, to suggest that it was a play, music-drama, or drama is unwarranted and only returns us to a generally accepted belief.

Another piece of evidence supporting this point of view can be found in the discussion of two new customs introduced in the Regularis Concordia for "the outward representation of that which is spiritual," i.e., the Kyrie eleison of Cena Domini and the Quem quaeritis. Both passages can be divided into dialogue and descriptive or mimetic parts, giving the outward appearance of a dramatic form. This arrangement was prompted by what theatre historians believe to be theatrical stage directions, i.e., rubrics. Frequently, the Quem quaeritis passage has been reproduced in an italicized and abstracted format to give the illusion that it is a play with spoken parts and onstage action. However, such a rendering of the text, as the relevant passages from Faustina B<sub>3</sub> and Tiberius A<sub>3</sub> indicate, is false and only obfuscates the essential ceremonial character of these two chants. They were originally included in the Regularis Concordia to increase the atmosphere of solemnity during the monastic observances of Holy Week (based on a secular consuetudinary) rather than to be acted out in front of the audience. Editorial changes which were introduced by Chambers, Young, Hardison, and accepted by other scholars, are, thus, unjustifiable because treatment of the Quem quaeritis as play is alien to its nature. Therefore, the first reason

why the Regularis Concordia should not be used as evidence of early dramaturgical activity is that there is no evidence of drama in it.

These contextual and textual considerations led to an historical survey on the influence of the Regularis Concordia on monasticism in the later periods. It was indicated that the document was not always taken into a new foundation; if it was, not all of the regulations were transferred. New monasteries in Eynsham and Exeter, which were established in the eleventh century, introduced only some of the customs and abandoned the suggestion for the Night Office on Easter Day, which included the Quem quaeritis. This evidence is also directed against the assumption that the Regularis Concordia can be treated as a theatre history source. This assumption is groundless because the document is only an adequate source for providing information about monastic conditions in the second half of the tenth century.

Thus, where should one look for the origin of medieval drama and theatre if the Quem quaeritis is not a play and the Regularis Concordia is not an early documentation of drama in the Middle Ages? It was suggested in this study that the Church contributed literary themes to medieval drama and housed theatre in its buildings. However, this connection occurred when the texts of Old and New Testament ceased to function in terms of historic time and appeared as stories which were enriched by emotional elements (mythical and mimetic time). This process started at the end of the eleventh century with a theological study of the human nature of Jesus Christ by Saint Anselm. However, this explanation is not a full answer to the posed question. Further research must be conducted concerning the function of the Quem quaeritis in other monastic houses in Europe.

Also, when the Regularis Concordia is set aside new possibilities become apparent for exploring possible permutations and variety of factors which may or may not have combined Roman and secular and/or religious traditions of the later centuries.

dul cisonē cantare. Quem queri  
 tis. Quod cantato fine tenus: re  
 spondeant hyeres uno ore I hūm.  
 Quibus ille. non est hic surrexit  
 sicut prae dixerat. Ite nuntiate  
 quia surrexit a mortuis. Cuius iussi  
 onis uoce uertant se illi tres ad cho  
 rum dicentes. Atta resurrexit dñs.  
 Dicto hoc rursus ille residens ue  
 lut reuocans illos dicat antipho  
 nam. Venite & uidete locum; 103  
 hec uero dicens. surgat & erigat  
 uelū. ostendat que eis locū cruce  
 nudata. sed tantū lintheamina  
 posita. quibus crux inuolata erat.  
 Quo uiso. deponat turribula quae  
 gestauerant in eodem sepulchro. summa  
 nque lintheum et extendant contra  
 clerū ac ueluti ostendentes. quod  
 surrexit dñs & iam non sit illo inuolu  
 tus. hanc canant antiphonam. sur  
 rexit dñs de sepulchro. Super po  
 nant que lintheum altari;  
 finita antiphona. Prior congruens



nocturnale officium agatur scdm quod 175<sup>r</sup>  
 in antiphonario habetur. Comperimus  
 etiam in quorundam religiosorum ecclesiis  
 quiddam fieri de quodammodo  
 compunctionem spūalis rei indicium  
 exorsum est. videlicet ut pacto que  
 quid ad cantilenā illius noctis perti-  
 nec. euangelii q; antiphona finita. Ni-  
 hil queriam cereorum luminis remanen-  
 te. sint duo ad hoc idem destinati pueri  
 in dextera parte chori. qui sonora psalla-  
 nt uoce. Kyrie eleison. Duo que similiter  
 in sinistra parte. qui respondeant. xpe  
 eleison. Nec non & in occidentali parte  
 duo quidam. Dñe miserere nob.  
 Quibus pactis respondeat simul omnis  
 chorus. Xps dñs factus obediens usque  
 ad mortem. Demum pueri dexterioris  
 chori repetant quae supra. eodem modo  
 quo supra. usquequo chorus finat quae  
 supra. Idemq; testio repetant. eodem  
 ordine. Quibus testio finitis. agant ta-  
 citas genu flexo more solito preces  
 Quirordo. trium noctium uni formit

nis inuicem egrediantur. Venientes ante ecclesiam subsistat. donec  
 pueri qui precesserunt decantent q<sup>ui</sup> laus cum uersibus omnibus  
 sicut mos est q<sup>ui</sup> laus respondentibus. Quibus finis. incipiente can-  
 tore. In ingrediente d<sup>omi</sup>no responsum. aperiantur porte. Ingressi  
 finito responso. agant sicut supra dictum est. & teneant palmas  
 in manibus usq<sup>ue</sup> dum offerentiam canentur. & eas post oblationem  
 offerant sicut. Ca d<sup>omi</sup>ni in passione dicitur d<sup>omi</sup>ne uobiscum. sed q<sup>ui</sup>  
 tibi d<sup>omi</sup>ne respondetur. Similiter & in reliquis passionibus ex ca  
 pl<sup>ur</sup>ibus usq<sup>ue</sup> palmis. tibi natiuitatis dicitur. nec d<sup>omi</sup>ne uobiscum. nec q<sup>ui</sup>  
 tibi d<sup>omi</sup>no. uanta h<sup>ab</sup>ita que a cena d<sup>omi</sup>ni dicitur. nocturnale officiu  
 agatur. Sec<sup>un</sup>dum quod in antiphonano. abitur. Compertum. Quam  
 in quodam dam. Felicit<sup>er</sup> in ecclesiis quiddam fieri quod ad humani  
 conpunctionem h<sup>ab</sup>uit ratiocinium exorsum est. Uideat ut per  
 acto quequid ad canentiam. illius uocis pertinet. inuicem  
 antiphona finita. nichilq<sup>ue</sup> iam ceremonie uniuersis remanente.  
 sint duo ad hoc idem destinati. pueri in dextera parte chori. qui  
 sonore psallunt uoce. h<sup>ab</sup>ent. Duoq<sup>ue</sup> in sinistra parte similes qui  
 respondent. x<sup>p</sup>e eleison. Nec non & in occidentali parte tunc  
 dicant. d<sup>omi</sup>ne miserere nobis. Quibus peractis respondeat simul  
 omnis ch<sup>orus</sup>. x<sup>p</sup>e d<sup>omi</sup>ne factus est obediens usq<sup>ue</sup> ad mortem. Tandem  
 pueri dexteriores chori repetant que supra. Eodem in quo supra  
 usquequo chorus finiat que supra. Idemq<sup>ue</sup> tertio repetant eodem  
 ordine. Quibus tertio finis agant tactas genua flexo more solito  
 preces. Qui oratio. etiam neccium uniformiter teneatur ab illis.

APPENDIX D  
THE ROMAN MASS

I. THE PREPARATION:

1. Introit
2. Kyrie eleison
3. Gloria in excelsis
4. Prayer, or Collect (prayer proper to the day)
5. Epistle
6. Gradual
7. Alleluia or Tract (chant on days of mourning or penitence)
8. Sequence
9. Gospel
10. Creed

II. THE OBLATION:

11. Offertory
12. Prayers at the Offering of Bread and Wine
13. Prayers at the General Censing
14. Psalm xxv
15. Prayers of Oblation
16. Prayer for Acceptance
17. Secret

III. THE CONSECRATION:

18. Preface
19. Sanctus
20. The Canon
  - a. Prayers proceeding the Consecration
  - b. The Consecration
  - c. Prayers following the Consecration

IV. THE COMMUNION:

21. Pater Noster
22. Prayers at the Fraction and the Commingling
23. Agnus Dei
24. Kiss of Peace
25. Prayers at the Communion of the Celebrant
26. Ablution
27. Communion
28. Postcommunion

V. THE DISMISSAL:

29. Ite missa est

Source: Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 1:19-43.

APPENDIX E

PASSION ICONOGRAPHY: PART I

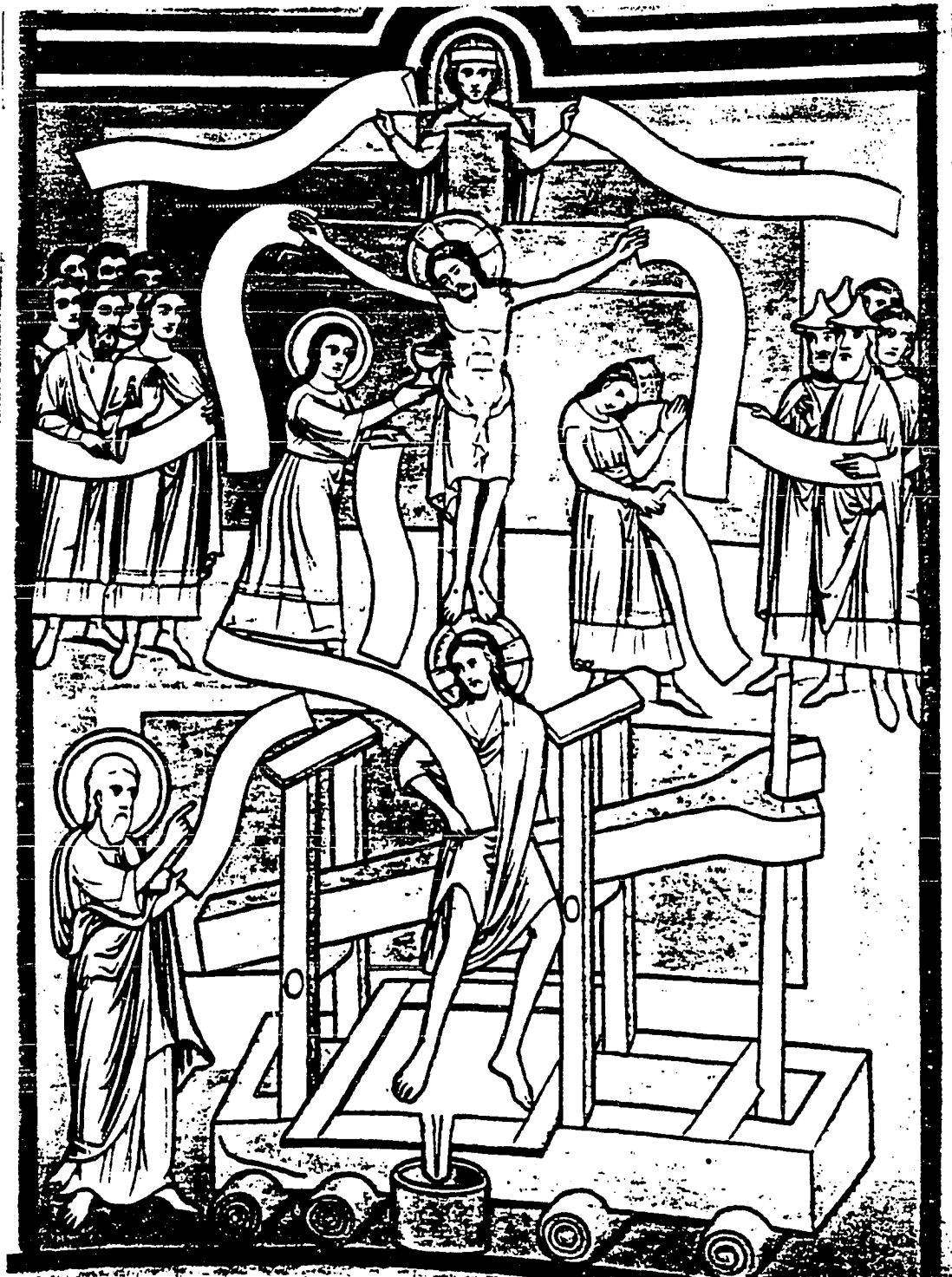


Fig. 1. Crucifixion, Kleinkomburg, Klosterkirche, ca. 1108.



Fig. 2. Ivory Crucifix, presented in 1603 to the church in Leon, Spain.



Fig. 3. Crucifixion, Weingarten Gospels, ca. 1050-65.

APPENDIX F

PASSION ICONOGRAPHY: PART II



Fig. 4. Head of Christ, San Juan de las Abadesas, Spain, ca. 1251.



Fig. 5. Ecce Homo (engraving), early sixteenth century.



Fig. 6. . Bearing of the Cross, Munster, Germany, ca. 1480.

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