

The Staging of the Donaueschingen Passion Play. II

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THE STAGING OF THE DONAUESCHINGEN PASSION PLAY.

II¹.

THE text of the Donaueschingen Passion is divided into two rather unequal parts, verses 1—1710 comprising the action of the first day and 1711—4106 that of the second. An examination of the text for the first day's performance gives the following stations and places:

1. der himmel
2. die Juden schül
3. Maria Magdalena (v. 383 der garten)
4. Pilatus hof
5. Simon Pharises husz
6. die appenteck
7. Lasarus und Martha
8. Salvators stat (also junger)
9. berg (for Temptation)
10. die hell
11. der tempel
12. der brunnen²
13. Lasarus grab³

Comparing these first with the list of the introductory note, it is seen that 12 of the 13 here given are to be found among the 18 of the list⁴. The only one not contained in the list is the station or place for Lazarus and Martha. The omissions of the text as compared with the list on the other hand number 6: Die stat Naym, Die cristenen husz, Cayphas husz, Herodes husz, Annas husz, Der Ölberg. The Ölberg however is not required by the action of the first day. On the other hand while the text does not specify stations for Caiphas and

¹ Continued from p. 76.

² I assume but one 'brunnen' for the three of the text of the first day: (475) Christ comes '(zû der) piscinen'; (643) Christ goes 'zû dem brunnen'; (966) Christ bids Marcellus: 'wäsch dich im wasserflûsz Siloe,' and the stage-direction reads: 'Nu gat der blind zûm brunnen.' A similar practice was followed at Luzern, cf. *Germania*, xxxi, p. 268: 'Emitten jm platz, brunnen zum joseph zum heidischen freüwli zu der schwetti syloe.' This has reference to the performance of 1560.

³ In addition to these the more important stations and places of action, there are a number of others of minor significance which do not seem definitely located by the text. The location of some of these at least may be readily found on the Luzern plans. They are: proclaimers knecht, proclamatör, die zwen hornblaser, ein krüppel und ein blinder, das Chananeesche fröly, Marcellus uff der strasz (943), Loynus (i.e. Longinus), das castell (where the ass was tied).

⁴ In this comparison the 'gemeine burge' (No. 19) may be disregarded.

Annas, the two characters take part in the action¹, so that it is probable that these two stations should appear on the stage-arrangement for the first day. They are furthermore the natural stations for the groups of *Juden* and *Pharisei* when these are not in the Temple. I found no mention of Herod in this part of the text, but still I imagine his station was provided for and occupied². Regarding 'die stat Naym' of the introductory list the details as afforded by the text are rather interesting. Following the incident of the Samaritan woman the stage-direction reads (763): 'Dar uff heist der Salvator die junger uff stan und gand die andern ouch an ir stat³ und spricht der Salvator.

Stand uff ir junger, lond uns gon
gen Naym, da wend wir zû schaffen hon.

Nu stand die junger uff und tînd die spis neben sich, und den gan sy mit ein ander gen Naym, und uff halbem wege do koment fier man mit einer tottenbor, dar uff lit ein knab, als ob er tod were, und gat der bar nach Rachel.' The youth is brought back to life and the scene ends (799): 'Nu gat der sîn und die mûter hin weg.' In other words all that was required for 'die stat Naym' was a place somewhere on the stage for mother and son⁴.

More puzzling, however, is the station designated in the introductory list as 'die cristenen⁵ husz,' as also the complete omission there of a station for Lazarus and Martha. The Luzern Höferodel of 1545⁶ also notes 'der Cristen hus' but adds 'magdalena marta lazarus marien hus' as well. However, in the Höferodel for 1560⁷ it would seem that but one station was here provided, for we read (Nos. 15 and 16): 'vor min Zacharias bletz huss zur Rosa: Zacheus, ferner: Lazarus, die heilige Familie, Zacharias, Rachel, Joseph von Arimathea, Nicodemus und ihre Kreise.' To these were apparently added on the second day: 'die Frauen beim Grabe, Veronica, Hausvater,' u. s. w. In this connection

¹ Cf. v. 553 Keyphas der bischoff; v. 563 Annas.

² According to the Luzern plans Longinus is placed in this station. He appears in this portion of the Donaueschingen text (1031 ff.) but without any reference assigning him to 'Herodes husz.'

³ A primitive but very effective method of denoting a change of scene.

⁴ Cf. *Germania*, xxxi, p. 257 in the Luzern Höferodel for 1545: 'wittwen vnd Suns sitz.'

⁵ Not to be confused with modern 'Christinnen.' Regarding this form cf. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* under 'Christ' and 'Christen.' Professor E. C. Roedder of the University of Wisconsin wrote me in reply to an inquiry: 'The form "cristenen" in "die cristenen husz" I am inclined to regard as a masculine. The nom. sing. "Christen" occurs down to the sixteenth century. MHG. "kristen, kristene," from Greek and Latin "christianos, -us," is originally an adjective, which became a weak masculine in MHG. So I see no objection to taking it as a masculine in the passage mentioned. In fact, I do not see how it could be a feminine.'

⁶ *Germania*, xxxi, pp. 256 f.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 257 ff.

the stage-directions of the Donaueschingen text toward the end of the scene between Christ and the Samaritan woman are very striking (737): 'In dem nimpt das fröwly den krüg und gat heim und spricht zû iren gesellen,' bidding them come and behold this man. Then we read (743): 'Nu stat Lasarus, Nicodemus, Joseph von Arimathi und die iren uff und gand mit dem fröly zû dem Salvator und den jungern.' It would seem then almost certain that this group constituted the occupants of 'die cristenen husz.'

The number of stations required then by the Donaueschingen text for the performance of the first day may all be found in the introductory list; indeed the two are almost identical.

A very different result is obtained by a comparison of the stations of the text with those of the sketch. But three of the stations coincide: 'der himmel,' 'Pilatus husz,' 'die hell,' though to these should probably be added the stations of Caiphas, Annas and Herod, which as was shown above probably belong to the action of the first day. These are, however, all stations required by the action of both days—there is nothing on the sketch to show the position of Mary Magdalene's garden, 'Simon Pharises husz,' 'berg' (for Temptation), or 'Lasarus grab,' i.e. stations or places necessary only in the action of the first day.

To turn now to the action of the second day. An examination of the text (1711—4106) shows the following stations and places of action:

1. der himmel
2. Salvator und junger
3. der tempel
4. der brunnen
5. huszvatter sal (for Last Supper)
6. Cayphas husz
7. Ölberg
8. Pilatus husz
9. der garten (Gethsemane)
10. Annas husz
11. die hell
12. Herodes husz
13. stat, da man in sol crützgen (Golgotha)
14. das grab (Salvators)
15. der appentecker¹

Comparing these with the introductory list, all but four are to be found: huszvatter sal, der garten, Golgotha, grab Salvators. Of these

¹ As before there are also a number of places and small groups of minor significance: Proclamator, Judas bûm oder gerüst, sul (for scourging), der han, Barrabas im stock, grave or graves (for the dead who arise at Christ's death), Joseph von Arimathia, Nicodemus, Maria und Johannes, die dry Maria, Petrus (after the resurrection). These last, with perhaps the exception of Petrus, would probably form the group in 'die cristenen husz.'

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four we may confidently identify the 'huszvatter sal' with 'Symons husz' and possibly also the 'grab Salvators' with 'Lausarus grab'.¹ Furthermore, while Golgotha is not mentioned on the list, the properties given after the 'gemeine burge' (cf. p. 74, note 1) note specifically 'drüy crücz,' as also 'den stock' and 'die sul',² and we are told that the scourging shall take place on the 'gemeine burge.' This leaves then 'der garten' (Gethsemane) alone unaccounted for. On the other hand there are five locations on the list which apparently find no parallels in the text: Der gart Marie Magdalene, Der berg, da der tüffel got versücht, Die Juden schül, Die stat Naym, Die cristenen husz. For a conjecture regarding this last, cf. p. 281, note 1. 'Die stat Naym,' which was after all only space for mother and son, is not required in the action of the second day. That 'die Juden schül' is not mentioned in the second part seems surprising. It may be simply an omission of the text.³ This leaves then but the 'gart' of Mary Magdalene and the 'berg' of Temptation.⁴

Comparing now the stations and places of the sketch with those of the text for the second day we find every one of the former accounted for except 'das tor,' which may be disregarded⁵. The text, however, calls for four more: 'Salvator' and disciples, 'der tempel, der brunnen, der appentecker'.⁶ With regard to the position of Salvator and the disciples it should at least be noted that from the time they leave their station to go to the place of the Last Supper, which is the first scene of

¹ Cf. above, p. 75.

² It is not indicated whether this 'sul' is for the scourging or for the cock. In fact the text (2373) mentions no 'sul' for the cock, it simply states: 'Und in dissem facht der han an zekreyen.' If a similar 'sul' were not to be found on the Luzern plan, one would almost feel inclined to regard this pillar of the sketch surmounted by the cock as a hoax. How the crowing was produced we are not told, nor do we obtain any help from the various Luzern manuscripts (cf. *Geschichtsfreund*, xlviii, p. 315). The good Gallus of the *Alsfeld Passion* (v. 3528 f.) is almost articulate: 'Gallus cantat primo:

Gueze gu gu gu ga!

Peter lug lug lug nu da!'

Certain of the manuscripts of the Tirol Passion are more specific (cf. Wackernell, *Passions-spiele*, p. 61, Anmerkung d): 'Hic disponitur gallus, qui est famulus Cayphe. Et canit ut gallus.'

³ It is possible that this same group of children ('schüler') of the first day reappear on the second as the 'vil kleiner kinder' (3891), who precede the 'altvätter' in their exodus.

⁴ I have been sorely tempted to identify the garden of Mary Magdalene in the action of the first day with 'der gart' of the sketch and the Garden of Gethsemane of the second day, also the 'berg' of Temptation with the 'Ölberg' of the second day, although in this latter case the two 'Berge' are contained in the list. In a Note to the *Osterspiels Rüstung A°* 1560 from Luzern we find (*Germania*, xxx, p. 210): 'ein Leitern hinden am Ölberg, das Saluator vnd Sathan mogendt vfhin kon.' With this compare the stage-direction of Donaueschingen (389): 'so stat der Salvator allein uff und gat uff den berg uff einer sitten und Lucifer uff der ander sitten.'

⁵ For the two pillars and the graves, cf. p. 281, note 1. The latter I inferred from the stage-direction at Christ's death (3447): 'erstand die toten.'

⁶ To which should perhaps be added 'die cristenen husz,' cf. p. 281, note 1.

the second day, Christ never returns, while the disciples are dispersed¹. For the omission of the other three on the sketch I can offer no explanation.

The inference to be drawn from this examination of the stations and places of the Donaueschingen Passion as indicated by the introductory list, the sketch and by the text itself, seems fairly obvious. The list was intended for the entire performance, for both days, while the sketch represents the action of the second day only².

Would it be possible with the material available to reconstruct the stage of the Donaueschingen Passion? Yes. A reconstruction would be a fairly easy matter, but, while it would be reasonably accurate as a whole, there could be no guarantee of accuracy in very many points of detail. Even such an 'old timer' as Renward Cysat, the 'Regent' or stage-manager of the Luzern performances of 1583 and 1597, was at times sorely puzzled to locate certain of the scenes, for we find him jotting down the question for further deliberation: 'Wo das Ort zun Pfingsten?' For three very important stations no location is indicated by the sketch nor definitely assigned by the text: Christ and the disciples, the Temple, Lazarus and his circle. One may conjecture and I believe with some probability, that all three were placed approximately as they appear on the Luzern plans. Indeed these Luzern plans, modified to meet the somewhat different requirements of the text and sketch, furnish a reconstruction of the Donaueschingen stage more accurate than any we might attempt.

STAGE-PROPERTIES.

A goodly number of the stage-properties required in the presentation of the Donaueschingen Passion have already been mentioned, e.g. the three crosses, one or perhaps more tables for the 'convivia,' the ass, etc., etc. To avoid repetition I shall list here only such as have not yet occurred, also reserving a few others for later use.

As food, 'brot und braten visch' appear several times, also 'ein

¹ Johannes we find later with the Virgin (3063): 'Maria, by dero sol Johannes sin.' With this compare the Luzern Höferodel for 1597 (*Germania*, xxxi, p. 263): 'Johannes jst meertheils by Mariam nachdem der Saluator gfangen.'

² Cf. p. 66, note 5. My reason for calling attention to the fact that the Villingen Passion practically coincides with the action of the second day is now, I trust, apparent. The 'Appentecker,' who at most would require merely a place on the stage, is to be sure omitted in the Villingen Passion (Dinges, *Untersuchungen*, p. 143, note 1), but with this exception the above omissions of the sketch apply as well to this play as to the Donaueschingen. In other words, the sketch agrees equally well with the one or the other. That it was nothing unusual to provide a separate sketch for each day's performance is shown by the two from Luzern.

³ Cf. *Germania*, xxxi, p. 268.

fleschli win' and 'welschen win.' The woman of Samaria brings 'zwen krüg' to the well; 'der kranck' carries away his 'bet' with him; Lazarus 'leit sich zebet'; a 'stüly' for the scene in which Christ is mocked and buffeted; cloths were required for wrapping the body of Lazarus, also 'tûch und salben' for Christ; 'daz wiss tûch' for Veronica; 'salben in büchsen' was obtained from the 'appentecker'; 'ein kelch' to stand on the 'Ölberg'; 'geld' used by a number of the characters, also to be seen lying out on Urias' 'wechselbanck'; chess-men for Mary Magdalene and 'würfel' which are cast for Christ's seamless coat; 'ein stein' for Luzifer at the Temptation and other stones which the Jews frequently pick up to hurl at Christ ('werdent die Juden zornig und erwüsten stein'); 'kolben und hellebarten' for the 'ritter' who guard the Holy Sepulchre; 'palmeuten und kleider' for the entrance into Jerusalem; banners for Pilate, Caiaphas and Annas; 'ein guldin kron und ein wisz venly mit eim roten crütz' which an angel brings to Christ at the Resurrection; 'das crütz und zeichen sins lidens' which the angel coming to comfort Christ in the Garden bears in his hand; the 'swartze vogel' which Judas on receiving from Christ the 'schnitten brot' dipped 'in den napf' takes 'by den füssen in daz mull, daz es flocke'; the 'strick' Beltzebock brings for Judas and the entire apparatus for Judas' death (2411 ff.): 'Hie sol Judas bûum oder ein leiter zû gerüst sin und ein seil dar von bitz in die hell gespannen, mit schiben wol versorgt etc....Uff dissen spruch leit Belzebock dem Judas den strick an, und versorgt in wol am haggen, und seczt sich denn hinder in uff ein bengel....Judas sol ein schwartzen vogel und etwas fârmel vor im bûsen han, den sol im Belzebug uff risten, daz es uszher vall, denn farent sy beyd zû der hell.' The number of properties required for the crucifixion was naturally large: 'schnûr, grosse seil, leiter, gabeln, stangen, nepper' for boring the holes, 'negel' (three were used—3327: 'Nu kûmpt aber Israhel mit dem dritten nagel'), 'ein grosser hamer, zangen, eine stange und ein swûmm dar an, ein bret' and writing utensils for making the superscription.

In Luzern the actors themselves furnished in large part the properties and costumes and were even, to some extent at least, responsible for the stations². That this same practice was also followed in the Donaueschingen Passion seems to be indicated by a stage-direction in connection with the Last Supper. We read here after a list of the articles to be used by Christ in washing the disciples' feet (1789): 'dis sol der huszvater alles zû rûsten.'

¹ Cf. Pearson, *The Chances of Death*, II, p. 385, note 2.

² Cf. Brandstetter, *Regenz*, pp. 37 f.

ACTORS AND COSTUMES.

It is impossible to state accurately the number of actors demanded for the Donaueschingen Passion. The text contains according to my count definite names for 84 characters. To this should be added 19 others designated simply as 'der appentecker,' 'ein krancker man,' 'die erst magt,' 'Pilatus fröw,' etc., making a total of 103. In addition to this however there are eight groups¹ in which the numbers can for the most part only be estimated. Allowing 30 for these, which I think is rather low, a grand total of 133 actors is obtained².

Regarding the personality of these actors the text gives no hints. It may, however, be safely assumed that all the parts were taken by men and boys, for the innovation of Vigil Raber in the seven days' performance at Bozen in 1514, where to a considerable extent the female rôles were played by women and girls, seems to have been a purely sporadic occurrence³.

For the costumes the details as furnished by the text are very meagre. If we possessed the manuscript complete we should have full information on this point, for we are told in the introductory note⁴: 'Item und wen das obgeschriben (i.e. die hüsser und höff) alles nach sinem wässen zû gericht ist und yederman nach sinem stat cleidet, als dan zehindrest im register stat....' Unfortunately, however, this 'register' was contained on one or more of the six missing leaves of the manuscript. What follows is all that I noted in my study of the text:

(a) Lasarus. At his death (1191): 'binden in die schwöstern in.' And when he rises from the dead (1321): 'hept Lasarus das höpt uff und spricht sitzende, noch gebunden.'

(b) Marcellus. When the Jews capture Christ in the Garden (2103): 'Hie by stat der blind⁵ Marcellus und hat ein liny tûch über blossen lib....' (2107): 'Nu fliehent die junger und erwüsch Malchus dem blinden Marcello sin mantel und entrint er nackent.'

(c) Symon Cirenes (3075): 'ein altes brüderly, als ein bilgern.'

¹ I omit here the groups of the 'Juden' and 'pharisey,' which do not seem to be very definitely differentiated by the text, as the characters have, at least to a very great extent, names and so are included in the 84 above. The same also applies to the 'tuffel.'

² For comparison with other plays, cf. Heinzel, *Beschreibung*, p. 134, and Brandstetter, *Regenz*, pp. 22f. There is no indication in the Donaueschingen text that the Luzern practice of assigning several rôles to one person (cf. Brandstetter, *Regenz*, p. 30) was followed.

³ Cf. Wackernell, *Altdeutsche Passionsspiele*, pp. ccxlv f.

⁴ Cf. Mone, *Schauspiele*, II, p. 184.

⁵ Though no longer blind.

(d) Johannes Baptista, when released from hell (3915): 'kumpt mit dem lemlly in tierhüten.'

(e) Altväter...(3891): 'die altvätter nackent oder in wissen hemdern...und vil kleiner kinder gantz nackent.'

(f) The Jews who accompany Judas to capture Christ are (2061): 'im harnisch.'

(g) Cristiana, Judea. (3545): 'Cristiana die künigin, cristenlich und schon becleidet,...und hat ein rot klein venly mit einem guldinen crüz in der hand.' (3565): 'Judea, ein andry künigin, jüdisch kleidet, die hat ein venly in der hand, ist gel mit eim schwartzen abgott¹.'

(h) Salvator. He is said to have (2614): 'eine lange nase,' and (2670): 'ein roter bart.' Regarding his costume the following appears (2713): 'Herodes sol by im han ein wisz claid, das büttet er den Juden...' (2721) 'Nu ziechent die Juden den Salvator ab und legent im dis wysz cleid an' (which is styled, 2730, a 'narrenleid'). Before Christ is scourged (2823): 'facht Mosse an und zücht den Salvator ab,' but after the scourging (2881): 'Nu bindent sy den Salvator uff und machet Malchus die kron, und ziechent in die andern uff ein sessel und legent im ein roten mantel an und kumpt Malchus und setzt im die kronen inmass uff, das im das blüt durch das antlüt nider louft, und den nement sy die stangen und legent die (uff die) kronen und spricht Malchus zû Mosse.

Mosse, griffe die stangen an,
henck dich mit dinem lib daran,
damit im in daz haupt die tornen
gangen da hinden und da vornen.
wir wend in zû einem kung machen,
das sin die Juden müssen lachen.

Nu henckt sich Mosse an die stangen und knüwt Jesse für den Salvator mit einem ror und spüwt gegen in....Hie mit bütet Jesse dem Salvator das ror².' Before the start for Golgotha, however, Christ is again clothed in 'die erste cleider' (3016), but before the crucifixion (3263): 'wüschet Yesse zû dem Salvator, zücht in uss.' For the possession of Christ's coat, which has 'kein nat,' the soldiers throw dice (3335). Israhel wins but presents the garment to Pilate. Borne to the Holy

¹ Weber, *Geistliches Schauspiel und Kirchliche Kunst*, discusses these, pp. 86 ff. He apparently assumes that the 'gel' in the case of Judea refers to her dress, while the 'abgott,' a little devil, accompanies her. I cannot see the justification for this in the text. As I understand it, the 'gel' refers only to the 'venly,' while the 'abgott' is the device on this.

² This is the traditional manner of representing the crowning with thorns in the German passion plays, and forms one of the evidences of the influence of medieval drama upon medieval art. Cf. Pearson, *Chances of Death*, II, pp. 263 f. and 383. A certain amount of violence was necessary in order to burst the bladder filled with blood or red fluid which was fastened to the inside of the crown.

Sepulchre (3665): 'schlicht der Salvator uss dem grab und becleidet sich anders und leit sich den wider dar in.' At the Resurrection (3859): 'stost der Salvator das grab uff und stat uffrecht mit einem flsz uss her ze stigen, und den kumpt der ander engel und bringt ein guldin kron und ein wisz venly mit eim roten crütz, und spricht zu dem Salvator.

Herre, du solt nemen disse kron
und den künstab so schon¹.

STAGE-DIRECTIONS, TIME ELEMENT, MUSIC.

The realism and love of detail, which are disclosed in the stage-directions of the Donaueschingen Passion, are from the numerous examples already cited very apparent. Long and minute descriptions of the scenes are very frequent and of great assistance to the modern reader in visualizing the action. As a further example the directions in connection with the Last Supper (1720 ff.) may be selected. At the bidding of Christ: 'Nu stand die dry Johannes, Petrus und Judas uff und gand mit ein ander gegen den tempel. da bekümpft inen einer mit eim krüg und gat zûm brunnen gan wasser nemen, denn stand sy still'—to watch into which house he goes that they may follow. 'In dissem kumpt der man mit dem krüg und gat für die dry, denn gand sy im hübschlich nach bis in sal, da er das wasser nider stelt, und sy hin in koment.' Judas now asks the 'huszvatter' to show them a room for 'das nachtmal': 'Der huszvatter zôgt inen mit eim finger den tisch,' adding that he will furnish everything necessary. 'Nu gat der huszvater und git den jungern tischlachen, ein kelch und anders, denn legent sy den tisch dar und sitzt Judas allein dar zû, sin gelt ze zellen, und gat Petrus zû dem Salvator,' bidding him come. 'Nu stat der Salvator uff mit den jungern und gat zû dem tisch, und denn louft Judas und bringt ein brates lembly oder gitzi und stelt das für in. das gesegnet der Salvator. und sitzt Judas zeunderst an tisch, Johannes uff der rechten sitten des Salvators und Petrus uff der lingken. und denn nimpt der Salvator das brot, gesegnet das, bricht und bütet jeglichem ein stuck und spricht.' After which: 'Hie nimpt er den kelch und gesegnet den und ret für sich und bütet inen den ouch.' He tells them that his soul is sad because the betrayer is in their midst: 'Uff disse red sehent die junger ein ander an und stat der Salvator von dem tisch uff und blibent die junger sitzen. und nimpt der Salvator ein wiss tûch und gûrt sich dar mit und nimpt ein becken und tût wasser usz

¹ The appearance of the Risen Lord. Note also the striking contrast with the 'tornin kron' and 'ror' mentioned above. For the costumes of other passion plays, cf. Heinzel, *Beschreibung*, pp. 23 ff. and *Germania*, xxx, pp. 205 ff. and 325 ff.

einem nûwen zuber dar inn und ein wisch grûnes gras¹. dis sol der huszvater alles zû rûsten. und denn gat der Salvator und knûwt nider den jungern ire fûsz zeweschen, doch zum ersten fûr Petrum und griffît Petro nach dem rechten fûsz, dar aber zuckt Petrus und spricht....' This will suffice; the directions for the remainder of the scene are more brief and in one or two instances have already been given.

The most frequent stage-directions, appearing with countless minor variations, are: 'Dar uff antwurt—und spricht' or 'Uff das facht—an und spricht' or 'nu stat—uff und gat (to some place or person) und spricht.' Apparently to distinguish a character from the other members of the same group an occasional direction reads (841): 'In dissem kompt Leviathan ein Jud har fûr und spricht.' Special prominence seems indicated (3583): 'Cristiana facht an und spricht zû aller welt.' Quite generally at the end of a scene or incident such directions occur as (1179): 'Nu gat der Salvator mit sinen jungern an ir stat und die Juden des glich,' or (433): 'Nu gand die engel und der Salvator an ir stet² und die Juden in tempel,' or (505): 'Nu gat ieder man wider an sin stat.' Frequently the place of an action, not located by the text in or near one of the stations, is indicated (1): 'so gat des proclamaters knecht her fûr in mittel platzes,' or (21): 'den stat der proclamator uff und gat enmitten in blatz'; (967): 'der blind (now healed)...gat wider gegen dem tempel. und under wegen stand Jacob, Obeth, Pharas und Esrom'; (943): 'so denselben (i.e. den blinden Marcellus) die junger sehent, stand sy all still.' Several times the direction 'uff halbem wege' occurs (765): 'und den gan sy mit ein ander gen Naym, und uff halbem wege do koment fier man mit einer tottenbor,' or (1979): 'Hiemit stat der Salvator mit den jungern uff und gat uff halben teil gegen dem Ölberg.'

It is not possible, however, even with the assistance so abundantly given, to locate invariably a given character, e.g., where does 'Salvator' go, when he (3665): 'schlicht uss dem grab und becleidet sich anders und leit sich den wider dar in'? Or, where does Judas get the 'brates lembly oder gitzi' for the Last Supper, as noted above? Such indefinite localizations are fairly frequent, (505): 'treit der kranck sin betlin etwa hin'; (765): 'Nu stand die junger uff und tînd die spis neben sich';

¹ The purpose of this 'wisch grûnes gras' is not clear to me. Was it to put with the water in the basin and why? Or was it perhaps for drying the feet? An apparent omission in a stage-direction a few lines later (1799) is peculiarly exasperating in just this connection: 'Dar uff antwurt der Salvator Petro, und spricht und wescht im da mit die fûsz und trucknet im die mit dem (?) und kust die und spricht.'

² Notice that 'stet' is plural; the positions of 'Salvator' and 'die engel' were not then in one and the same place.

(3487): 'Nu tünd sy die schächer ab den crützen und tragantz hin weg'; (563): 'In dissem schlicht der Salvator uss dem tempel und verbürgt sich'.¹ Do such directions mean merely, off to one side, in an inconspicuous place, or do they demand a special location? I rather incline to the former, although the Luzern practice called for an 'Ort zum verkleiden,' either near or on the stage².

At times the stage-directions of the Donaueschingen Passion are complemented or explained in a surprising way by the Luzern practice, as described in the articles of Brandstetter³. In the Donaueschingen Passion (3477) Sadoch and Barrabas come to break the arms and legs of the two thieves: 'Nu gand Sadoch und Barrabas ieglicher zû eim schacher und mit iren kolben tünd sy, als ob sy inen die bein und arm zerbrechent, das es blütet' etc. The last clause with its mention of blood was very puzzling until I read in the Luzern Denckrodel (*Germania*, xxx, p. 339): 'Barrabas vnd Boos...söllent ouch gemachet Kolben haben von Läder vnd vornen mit Blüttschwümmen, den Schahern Arm vnd Bein zu brechen.'

Regarding Longinus' spear we read (Donaueschingen, 3495): 'Sadoch setzt Loynus das sper an, das denn dar zû gemacht sol sin, und den sticht Loynus, das daz blüt uss her sprüczet und im uber die stangen ab uff die hend louft.' How this was accomplished is shown by the Luzern description (*Germania*, xxx, 340): 'Longinus hatt ein Spär darnach gerüst zum Stechen jn Saluatoris Brust, jst hol vnd glych einer Sprützen, sol vornen Blut farb jm Ysen beschloszen haben.'

The stage-direction of the Donaueschingen text (2091) where Peter cuts off Malchus' ear is very curious: 'Petrus...zuckt sin schwert und schlecht Malchus zum kopf, der falt denn nider, als ob im ein or ab sy.' The Luzern note is more definite (*Germania*, xxx, p. 349): 'Malchus sol haben jn der einen Hand ein Latern vnd jn der andern ein Schwümlin mitt Blütt, mit wölchem er ans Or gryfft, so Petrus zuckt, jm Fallen.'

The miracles which occurred at the death of Christ doubtless occasioned the medieval stage managers much difficulty. In the Donaueschingen text we read (3447): 'Und hie mit henckt der Salvator das hopt uff die rechten siten, und falt das tûch in tempel, und erstand die totten, und schüst man mit der büchsen, als ob es tonderte, und gat sun und mon, die dar zû geordnet sind, hinder sich.'

¹ He is however close at hand, for (585): 'kumpt der Salvator wider in tempel.' Cf. also 863, 1633.

² Cf. *Germania*, xxxi, p. 272.

³ The most important source for comparison is: *Die Luzerner Bühnen-Rodel*, *Germania*, xxx, pp. 205 ff. and 325 ff.

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The resurrection of the dead, the imitation of thunder and the rending of the veil¹ in the temple were not difficult to arrange, and the method of procedure is indicated with fair clearness. But what was done to the sun and moon to symbolize the darkness that came over the earth was a complete mystery until I read (*Germania*, xxx, p. 346) that in Luzern it was one of the duties of the 'Stern vnd Heiliggeist leitter' who was also 'Finsternussmacher' to attend to this: 'Vnd so der Saluator am Crütz das dritt Wort geredt², sol er (i.e. der Finsternussmacher) Son vnd Mon vmbkeren, das verfinstret Theil fürherkeeren.' This is paraphrased by Brandstetter (*Geschichtsfreund*, xlviii, p. 321): 'Jetzt geschieht die Verfinstierung von Sonne und Mond. Man hat vor einiger Zeit am Himmelsbalkon eine Sonne und einen Mond ausgehängt, in schöner Vergoldung glänzend. Jetzt werden sie umgekehrt, hinten sind sie blutig rot oder schwarz³.'

At the crucifixion and death of the two thieves we read (Donaueschingen, 3455): 'In dissem sol jeglicher schacher ein bildly im mull han, als ob es ein sel were.' The student of medieval art at once recognizes this as the traditional manner of denoting the departure of the soul from the body and so represented on many medieval paintings. The exact nature of the 'bildly,' however, is disclosed by the Luzern direction for Dismas, the penitent thief (*Germania*, xxx, p. 341): 'sol ouch ein suber wysz lumpin klein Kindlin jm Halsz oder Buszen haben alls ob es die Seel sye.'

The description of John the Baptist at the release of the 'Altväter' from Limbo is rather ambiguous in the Donaueschingen Passion (3915):

¹ The directions for Luzern are in this particular more specific (*Germania*, xxx, p. 344): 'So der Saluator ans Crütz kompt, sol der jüngst Tempelherr den Vmbhang am Tempel vffziehen vnd so er verschenden, jnn schnell von einandren zühen.' The above is the only reference to curtains that I noticed in the Donaueschingen Passion. According to Brandstetter curtains were used at Luzern also in connection with the 'Weihnachtshüttlein' (*Geschichtsfreund*, xlviii, p. 296). A rather extensive use of a curtain, which reminds one strongly of the methods of staging 'living pictures' (cf. Hermann, *Forschungen zur deutschen Theatergeschichte*, pp. 364 ff.), I found in one of the unpublished plays of Vigil Raber, *Der reich man und Lazarus*, dated 1539 and still preserved in the city archives of Sterzing. It consists of eight 'figuren' or scenes. We read: 'So all ding gericht ist, so thue man das thuech weg oder ab zu der ersten figur.'

Precursor

Dy erst figur ist also gmacht
der reich man sitzt in grossem pracht
unnd lat lazarus den armen man
gar unbegabet vor im stan....'

At the end of the first 'figur': 'Da zieh man dz tuech fur.' Later on the directions read simply: 'Tuech weckh, Tuech fur.'

² Here as in several other respects the Luzern texts evidently follow more exactly the chronological sequence of the Biblical narrative than is the case with the Donaueschingen Passion. Cf. Matthew, 27, 45; Mark, 15, 33; Luke, 23, 44 f.

³ Cf. also *Germania*, xxxi, p. 272.

‘Johannes Baptista kumpt mit dem lemlly in tierhüten.’ All ambiguity, however, is removed by the Luzern direction (*Germania*, xxx, p. 209): ‘Johannes Baptist. Soll han ein Lemlin, er soll mit Tiers hüt syn becleyt.’

As regards the types of gesture found in the stage-directions, the Donaueschingen Passion holds, according to Max Hermann¹, a unique position among the medieval German plays and is the only existing example of an attempt ‘jenem Geist beginnender Individualisierung, Wirklichkeitsberücksichtigung und Pathetik, der uns in der bildender Kunst des ausgehenden Mittelalters entgegentrat, auch auf dem Theater Eingang zu verschaffen.’

Certain gestures are often prescribed. (117): ‘bütet sy (Maria Magdalena) Yesse die hand’; (269): ‘der Salvator...zögt mit einem finger uff Maria Magdalena’; (1137): ‘Dar uff antwürt der Salvator und tütet mit der hand uff sich selber’; (411): ‘Der tüffel facht aber an und zögt im mit der hand zering umb’; (3157): ‘und den kert sich Veronica zering umb gegen den lüten zögt inen dis zeichen’; (921): ‘Uff sollich klag buckt sich der Salvator und schribt mit einem finger in das ertrich’; (1287): ‘Martha kert sich schnell umb gegen ir schwester, winckt ir mit der hand’; (2061 ff.): ‘und gat Judas ein gütz vor inen allen, und so er den Salvator ersicht am Ölberg ligen, kert er sich umb und tröwt den Juden mit der hand....Judas sol den Salvator etwe dick hinden zů schlichende geschowen und allwegen den Juden tuten, das sy still stand’; (117): ‘In dissem komen sy zů Marien Magdalenen mit reverentz,’ or (1843): ‘Judas entpfacht das brot mit reverentz,’ and (3991): ‘Dem nach neygend sy beyde (*Salvator* and *Maria*) ein ander mit den hōptern.’ The attitude of worship or prayer is often indicated, (1113): ‘Jetz falt Marcellus mit uff gehepten henden gegen dem Salvator uff die knūw’; (1309): ‘und facht der Salvator mit uff gehepten henden und ougen in himel an.’ Less definite are, (21): ‘der proclamator...gat enmitten in blatz mit hoflicher berd’; (79): ‘Maria Magdalena...mit frōlicher berd,’ or (113): ‘und ist Yesse frōlich.’

At times characters and groups speak ‘mit luter stim,’ while intense excitement is accompanied ‘mit grossem geschrey,’ ‘ein wild geschrey,’ ‘ein wild gefert,’ or ‘sy brülend².’ Mental states are frequently indicated by the stage-directions. Special attention seems to have been given to the manifestations of anger, fear and sorrow.

¹ *Forschungen zur deutschen Theatergeschichte*, pp. 243 f.

² These last are especially characteristic of the devils. Cf. 3871, 3883.

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Anger.

(173): 'stost Maria Magdalena daz spil frävenlich von ir und wüst uff'; (417): 'Nu stost der Salvator den tüffel mit der hand von im'; (475): 'fachent die Juden an zû murmeln'; (863): 'Von disen worten werdent die Juden zornig und erwüsten stein, in den Salvator ze werfen'; (1103): 'Nu gat Leviathan har zû und stost Marcellum uss dem tempel zornenklichen'; (1409): 'Cayphas antwurt frävenlich,' (1455) 'zornlich'; (2353): 'Cayphas wust uff sölliche des Salvators wort zornklich und facht an sine kleider zerrisen.'

Fear.

(169): 'Magdalena...siez also erschrockenlich stil, als ob sy ir förcht'; (651): 'Uff disse vorderung erschriekt das fröwlin und lat die eimer fallen'; (2073): 'erschreckent die dry junger und wüschent uff'; (2149): 'Dar uff antwurt Petrus erschrockenlich,' (2371) 'forchtsamlich'; (2411): 'erschriekt Judas vast übel...und spricht mit kläglicher stimm.'

Sorrow.

(1295): 'Jecz tüt der Salvator, glich als ob er weine, und wüst die ougen'; (2373): 'und so das Petrus sieht, gat er hinweg weinde'; (2901): 'Hie sol Pilatus tûn und ersunzen, als ob in der Salvator übel erbarmet'; (3063): 'stat Maria uff mit cleglicher stim und geberd'; (3177): 'Nu bruchent die Juden den Salvator aber untugentlich, das in demselben Maria zwürent oder dristunt sol nider sincken mit grossem achtzen und jamer,' (3197): 'Und hie mit falt sy aber dahin amechtigklich,' (3535): 'Und hie mit falt Maria hin, als ob ir sye geschwunden.'

The agony of Christ in the Garden is described very minutely, especially (2007): 'denn gat der Salvator zûm dritten mal von inen an den Ölberg und falt nider uff das antlit crützwiss eins gûten paternosters lang, denn richt er sich zitternde mit uff gehepten handen, und sol im der blütig schweisz uss gan², und (mit) forchtsamlicher stim facht er also zitternde an und spricht.'

Other mental states are mentioned but with much less frequency. Amazement, (711): 'In dissem kumen die junger mit spise und verwunden sy under ein ander, das der Salvator by einer fröwen stat'; (2341):

¹ A frequent direction, especially in the action of the first day.

² How this shall be produced is not indicated. The Luzern practice is rather interesting. *Germania*, xxx, p. 210: 'Nota. Das der Ölberg...recht werde gmacht vnden wytt vnd hol, der Maler, so Christus am Ölberg lytt, das Angsicht vnd die Hent mog besprützen, also ouch die Bein.' Brandstetter (*Geschichtsfreund*, xlviii, p. 311) interprets this: 'Jetzt geht auf ein Zeichen des Regenten der Maler durch eine Oeffnung des Oelberges, die der Sonnen zugekehrt und also dem grössten Teil des Publikums nicht sichtbar ist, in den Oelberg. Nachdem der Salvator drei Mal gebetet, tritt er ganz nahe an den Oelberg, und knieet nieder, der Maler spritzt ihm durch eine Ritze Blut ins Antlitz.'

‘Uff sollichs antwurt der Salvator nüt, das sich Cayphas verwundert.’ Indifference, (3075): ‘und in disem so kumpt Symon Cirenus, ...und nimpt sich keins dings an.’ Joy, (2655): ‘Herodes facht an und spricht zû dem Salvator mit frölichem hertzen.’ Ridicule, (3429): ‘und gand die Pharisey für den Salvator und neigent sich all mit den höpfern spötlich.’

The ‘als ob’ which has already appeared in a number of the examples given was a very favourite method of denoting the action, (765): ‘do koment fier man mit einer tottenbor, dar uff lit ein knab, als ob er tod were’; (1191): ‘in dem lit Lasarus, als ob er tod sy’; (2233): ‘Mit disem zeichen und zannen koment sy in Cayphas huss, und sol Cayphas nit da sin, als ob er schlieffe’; (2947): ‘Und in dem tût Pilatus frôw, als ob sy schlieff’; (1987): ‘Mit dissem sitzend die dryg junger nider und tûnd als ob sy betten’; (3411): ‘Nu stat Johannes zû Maria, als ob er sy well trösten.’

In one instance even the actions of the mob are specified (2229): ‘Die andern Juden, so in nit füren, sond sunst iemer dar zû loufen mit scheltworten und pinen.’

Asides are indicated, (239): ‘So daz Simon ersicht, tût er in im selbs sâlczam und spricht, als ob er mit im selber rette’; (1781): ‘Hie nimpt er den kelch und gesegnet den und ret für sich.’

Speaking strictly, the period of time covered by the Donaueschingen Passion extends from the Temptation to the Resurrection, i.e., the entire period of Christ’s ministry on earth, or about three years. This is, however, almost completely disregarded by the good author, who arranges his scenes largely, to be sure, in the Biblical sequence but practically without reference to the actual chronology. In a few instances very primitive indications of time are given:

(a) In the Garden of Gethsemane (1987 and again 2007): ‘knüt er nider und falt damit crützwiss uff daz antlit eins paternosters lang’; or, Herod greets the ‘ritter’ who bring Christ before him (2629):

Was bütet dise grosse schar,
das ir so zornenklîch kumen har
an dissem morgent so frû vor tag?

In this latter case Herod’s words in their present connection are meaningless as a designation of time.

(b) A day apparently intervenes between the conversion of Mary Magdalene and her return to Lazarus and Martha (350):

ich sag dir in der warheit, gester
han ich von allen sünden gelan.

(c) Salomon tells the Jews assembled in the Temple (869):

Ich weisz in wol zû überringen,
wir wend im morgen die frowen bringen,
die ir ee gebrochen hat.

The action however continues with no further reference to the time.

(d) Marcellus tells the Jews who ask for Christ's whereabouts (1001):

Das selb kan ich ùch nit sagen,
ich gesach in nie in dryen tagen.

This, though he has but just left Christ (965).

(e) Three days are necessary for the messenger to bring the news of Lazarus' death to Christ and return to Mary and Martha (1227):

Er hat die sach zespat vernomen,
wer er vor dryen tagen komen,
die wil min brüder was gesunt.

Not until the fourth day does Christ arrive (1301):

O her, er schmeckt, das ist min clag,
er lit yetz an den vierden tag.

(f) The resurrection takes place on the third day, i.e. one day intervenes between the crucifixion and the resurrection. Josue, one of the watch, tells Pilate (3788):

der verräter sprach by sinem leben,
er wolt am dritten tag erstan¹.

It would be very surprising if in a piece of this nature certain inconsistencies and anachronisms did not crop out. The most glaring is perhaps the firing of the 'büchsen' in imitation of thunder, to which allusion has already been made. To this may be added the following:

(a) (461, also 487): 'macht der Salvator ein crütz über sy,' or 'über den kranken man.'

¹ Cf. Heinzl, *Beschreibung*, p. 279: 'Andere erwähnte Vorgänge und Zeitverläufe konnte man sich während vorhergehender zeitlicher Pausen denken, welche hie und da die Darstellung zwischen zwei Versen unterbrechen, ... mitunter während eines Weges, den eine Person zurücklegt.' The pause indicating the day intervening between the conversion of Mary Magdalene and her return to Lazarus and Martha he finds in the stage-direction (343): 'Nu stat Maria Magdalena uff und gat zû Lasarus und Martha.' This is to be sure a possible explanation, the pauses may be found, but personally I rather doubt the consciousness of such a pause existing in the mind of the author and certainly not in the minds of the spectators. Where not prescribed by the Bible story, these indications of time appear to me purely arbitrary or chance insertions. The use of 'gester' and 'hüt' in Mary's lament (3183) seems entirely conventional:

o we der grossen klag und swär,
owe der ellenden stund und mår,
sun, daz du so ellend bist
und aber gester gesunt und fröh
wert by mir an we und not,
hüt so müstu liden den tod.

(b) (2157): the sarcastic words of Malchus to Christ as the latter is brought before Annas:

Gang zû har du grosser böswicht,
Annas wil dich hören bicht
und dir dann gen ein absolucion.

(c) (2371): 'Petrus wicht hinder sich und hept die finger uff und lounet zûm dritten mal mit dem eid.' Cf. also 2333.

It is not possible to say much about the musical side of the Donauerschingen Passion, for though, as Mone says, 'die lateinischen Kirchentexte sind mit Musiknoten versehen', these have never been reproduced. Instrumental music, if the two 'hornblaser' be excluded, appears only in the opening scene, the sinful life of Mary Magdalene. She would spend her days (87): 'mit seitenspil, tantzen und singen.' Jesse, her lover, bids one of his companions, Malchus (106): 'nim din luten mit dir,' while Mary tells Jesse (125):

doch müstu von ersten hofrecht machen
uff dinem gige, so wird ich lachen.

And the following stage-direction reads: 'Nu fachent sy an mit dem seitenspil ze hoffieren.'

Vocal music, however, plays a considerably larger part. A gradual diminution of the amount of vocal music is nevertheless to be noted in the course of the development of the church drama. The strictly liturgical Latin pieces were all sung or chanted; with the Easter plays (*Osterspiele*), of which a goodly number have been preserved in Germany, it is quite generally specifically noted in the manuscripts that the Latin verses are to be sung, the German, however, which are for the most part but a free rendering of the Latin, to be spoken. In the more highly developed passion plays the spoken German verse predominates, almost to the exclusion of the Latin, which is now introduced merely in occasional songs².

LITERARY MERIT.

The German passion plays are not documents of high literary value. The modern reader is for the most part simply bored and greets with pleasure such expressions as now seem quaint and naïve, though undoubtedly they were not written with such intent. Even the horse-play of the comic scenes and the occasional obscenities afford a welcome relief.

¹ *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, II, p. 154.

² Cf. especially Brandstetter, *Musik und Gesang bei den Luzerner Osterspielen* (*Der Geschichtsfreund*, xl, pp. 145 ff.), also Dinges, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 102 ff.: 'Die Musik in DP und die Beziehungen zur Liturgie,' and p. 124, note 1, where a statement on p. 102 is directly contradicted.

The Donaueschingen Passion does not belong to the best of its kind (certainly the *Redentiner Osterspiel* and the Tirol Passion are superior), nor yet to the worst, but stands more betwixt and between. The very fact that, owing to the abundance of detail given in the stage-directions, the modern reader may readily visualize the action, increases the interest to a very considerable degree.

The subject as announced both by 'des proclamaters knecht' and by the 'proclamator' himself is 'das liden Jhesu Christ unsers heren, sin bitter sterben und liden, das er für uns geliten hat.' One must admit that the author understood

Nach einem selbstgesteckten Ziel
Mit holdem Irren hinzuschweifen,

for the sufferings of Christ do indeed dominate the action. From the modern point of view they are doubtless exaggerated so far beyond the bounds of stage convention as to become at times almost repellent. On the other hand the coarse horse-play, so frequently found in other Passions, e.g. the Quack scene, is strictly avoided. As Creizenach says¹: 'Das Donaueschinger Spiel ist durch einen reineren Flusz der Rede und durch gleichmässiger Behandlung vor den meisten andern ausgezeichnet.... Gut beobachtet ist es, wie Jesse, Magdalenens Liebhaber, sich von seinen Freunden sagen lassen musz, er sei nicht der einzige und wie der Apotheker die Salben kaufende Magdalena fragt, warum sie denn nicht mehr so fröhlich sei, wie gewöhnlich.'

One may, I think, grant the author a little more. He possesses in quite a marked degree ability for sarcasm and ridicule. When Fäderwisch announces the arrival of Judas at hell-gate there is an evident parody on the words of Christ in the scene of the harrowing of hell (2479 and 3869):

Ir túffel tûn uff dar helle tor,
gottes verräter Judas ist dar vor,

and

Ir fürsten der helle, tûnd uff die tor,
der kûng der eren ist dar vor.

Or, take the words of Johel as Christ is brought before Herod (2626):

lûg, wie hand dich die junger so lieb,
sy koment all als trostlich zû dir
wie ein has zû sinem brûdir.

Or again, when Malchus addresses his companions on the way to Golgotha (3174):

wie land ir in so rûwig stan?
lieber backend im kräpfli dar zû,
da mit man im nit zewe tû.

¹ *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, I, p. 225.

It is with reference to Christ that this tendency is most highly developed. By the torturers and the hostile Jews opprobrious epithets are heaped upon him. He is styled 'winckelprediger,' 'ketzermeister,' 'opferstock,' 'verräter,' 'lugner,' 'zouferer,' 'grosser schalck und wicht,' 'weltverkerer,' 'öder man,' 'falscher man,' 'küng an (i.e. ohne) alle land,' 'böszwicht.' Or again it is ridicule. Samuel speaks to Christ, arrayed in the white robe by Herod and returning to Pilate (2733):

Yecz bist ein hübscher göugelman,
wo hast din andern rock hin getan?
wie bist du nächt so druncken gesin?
du hast in versätzt umb guten win.

At times the phraseology is of a decidedly popular type, verging upon the proverbial (3329): 'die warheit wil ich in leren gigen,' where Mone in a foot-note gives reference to Freidank. Similar are (2361): 'Man müß dir ouch die leviten lesen'; (3344): 'wir wend in an der sunnen braten'; (3411 f.): 'Im ist daz clappern noch nit gelegen, man dörf im bas den harnasch fegen'; (2715 ff.) the words of Herod to the Jews:

fürend in für Pilatum wider,
der kan im erschwingen daz gefyder.
doch legent im dissen kittel an
der gehört eim sollichen göugelman,
dar in man im die nât bestricht.

Twice I noticed brief but very apt characterizations of Christ. The first is contained in the answer of Matusalem, the servant of Simon the Pharisee, to the query of Mary Magdalene as to who the guests at his master's house were (157 ff.):

Fröw, die warheit ich üch verkünd
der man, der aller menschen sünd
hin nimpt und spricht, er sye gott,
wil mit im essen [an] allen spot.
der selb ist nit für üch ein man,
wan er nit schimpffichs triiben kan.

The second is found in the words of Caiphas to the Jews assembled in the Temple (1373 ff.):

Ir heren, das ist ein listiger man,
der vil arguierens kan,
sin stim tönnet als ein harpf,
er ist uns allen hie zescharpf.

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