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THOMAS BINKLEY

THE GREATER PASSION PLAY FROM CARMINA BURANA: AN INTRODUCTION

Near the end of this famous anthology of Latin lyrics are several dramas, some with music[1]. On folio 107 begins a passion play without title, which we call "Greater" to distinguish it from the *Ludus Breviter de Passione* contained in the Fragmenta, folio 3′, of the same manuscript. The text of this play has been edited a number of times, and it is well known to students of Medieval drama[2]. The music has remained the stumbling block to performance, for the staffless neums defy precise transcription. Indeed, Smoldon remarks: "... the vast majority of the settings of the biblical texts used in the action seem to indicate original composition, perhaps unique to the Carmina Burana," and "An opera it is. We do not know how good, and the likelihood is that we never shall..."[3] Were we to agree that these are settings of biblical texts, we should indeed be in difficulty, however as we shall see below, this is not entirely the case.

Inasmuch as Bischoff has given us a virtuoso analysis of the paleography[4], I shall limit my comments on that subject to the relevant obeservation that the text was entered first in black, then the rubrics in red and finally the neums in black (with one exception). Occasionally in text, rubrics and neums, slight irregularities occur which confounded the scribes making the subsequent entries.

[1] Bernhard Bischoff, *Carmina Burana* 1, *Text*, part 3 (Die geistlichen Dramen), Heidelberg, 1970. This is the standard critical edition replacing Karl Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church* 1, Oxford, 1933, and Eduard Hartl, *Ludus paschalis sive de Passione Domini*, Halle, 1952. Facsimile edition: Bernhard Bischoff, *Carmina Burana*, Brooklyn, 1967 (*Publications of Medieval Manuscripts* 9). Most of the items are listed in Ernst August Schuler, *Die Musik der Osterfeiern, Osterspiele und Passionen des Mittelalters*, Basel, 1951, where citations are found for most concordant dramas. His list can be expanded by Karl Konrad Pohlheim, *Das Admonter Passionsspiel*, München, 1972 (facsimile and edition). Further studies: William L. Smoldon, *The Music of the Medieval Church Dramas*, London, 1980; Anke Roeder, *Die Gebärde im Drama des Mittelalters*, München, 1974 (on rubrics), also Walther Lipphardt, "Studien zu den Marienklagen", *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 58 (1934), 390 ss.; Giuseppe Vecchi, *Uffici drammatici Padovani*, Firenze, 1954 (*Biblioteca dell' "Archivum Romanicum"* 41). Liturgical manuscripts reproduced in *Paléographie musicale* can be augmented with *Das Antiphonar von St. Peter* (Codex Vindobonensis Series Nova 2700), Graz, 1974, and Zoltan Falvy/L. Mezey, *Codex Albensis*, Graz/Budapest, 1963. A useful study is Hermann Pflanz, *Die lateinischen Textgrundlagen des St. Galler Passionsspiels*, Bern, 1977 (*Deutsche Literatur und Germanistik, EHS* 1/205).

[2] Ibid.

[3] W.L. Smoldon, op. cit., 334 and 340.

[4] B. Bischoff, op. cit., notes to nr. 16*.

At the top of the first page, Santa Maria is called upon for aid in the work (in black ink). There is no title, and red rubrics indicate the entry of the players and the taking up of their stations. The music for this is entered with neums over the text "Ingressus pilatus". This is a Palm Sunday respond describing the trial of Jesus before Pilate, and although containing several biblical quotations it cannot itself be viewed as biblical. This piece also opens the Klosterneuburg play and it occurs in a number of German passion plays internally, at the point of the trial. The respond is found in numerous liturgical books of German provenance (it is also contained in the Codex Albensis, a Hungarian Antiphonary[5]). The most modern version of this respond that I know is contained in the late 16th century Admont play[6], where it is stripped of its verse and many of its melismas. The earliest version is the *Hartker* Antiphonary[7]. It may seem odd to begin the play with a piece describing an event taken from near the end of the play; possibly the reason lies in the rhetorical consideration of the ordering of material. Alberic of Monte Cassino says of openings that it is necessary to choose a point from which you can quickly bring the listener to an understanding, a point from which virtually nothing of the narrative is omitted. It seizes upon the listener and illuminates everything beforehand, as in a mirror[8]. Such a point would indeed be the trial scene, in which the crowd cries out for the crucifixion of Jesus. If the motivation is indeed a result of conscious rhetorical consideration, it would suggest the location of this play in a circle of broadly educated people connected with a monastic school (or university?) confirming a suggestion by Bischoff[9]. The performance of this respond illustrates a recurring problem in this play, where there is no indication of how much of or in what manner a liturgical piece is to be sung. I assume this one is to be sung by the chorus in its entirety, including the verse "Tunc ait illis", or at least as much as will permit all the players to reach their stations.

Following this there is a series of rather short episodes which introduce Jesus (who did not enter with the others). The first is an encounter on the seashore with Peter, and Jesus calls to Andrew, "Venite post me ...", which is taken from the Feast of St. Andrew; it is not the antiphon which begins with that text. Rather it is taken from a respond, "Dum deambularet Dominus intra mare secus litus galilee vidit petrum et andream retia mittentes in mare vocavit eos dicens *venite post me faciam vos piscatores hominum*". Verse: "Eram enim piscatores ..." (The antiphon text reads: "Venite post me dicit dominus faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum (*Albensis* 134). The neums from *CB* are similar to those of the respond, not similar to those of the antiphon.

[5] *Codex Albensis*, op. cit.
[6] K.K. Pohlheim, op. cit.
[7] Cf. *Paléographie musicale*, 2. I.
[8] D.M. Inguanex/E.H.M. Willard, ed., *Flores rhetorici*, s. l., 1938. Also James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, Berkeley, 1974.
[9] Facsimile on page 30.

Next Jesus cures a blind man[10]. Then he sees Zacheus in a tree and calls him down with a vespers antiphon from the Dedicatione ecclesiae, "Zachee festinans descende".

A rubric now instructs "Jesus venit", and the text reads "Cum ap[pro]pinquaret dominus et cum audisset", with only the first words neumed. Clearly the *et* should have been left to the rubricator, revealing two pieces, and the scribe responsible for the neums would have entered incipits for both pieces. As it is he could not enter neums because there is no piece with that text. "Cum appropinquaret Dominus" and "Cum audisset" are both common processionals for Palm Sunday. The rubrics which follow mention boys (pueri) strewing fronds and garments, for which the music is taken from two Palm Sunday processionals, both with the incipit "Pueri hebreorum". The rubric „item pueri" following the incipit tells us that both pieces were to be sung.

The next rubric is simply "Item" followed by "Gloria laus" with neums. This is a Palm Sunday hymn which had a curious performance tradition in German sources. Each half-stroph contains two lines ("Gloria laus et honor tibi sit, rex Christe redemptor / Cui puerile decus prompsit Hosanna pium.") After the initial stroph, the ensuing strophes are sung with a return alternatively to the first then the second half of the initial stroph. There is no indication in *CB* how much of the hymn is to be sung, although the first six or seven strophes are commonly found[11]. Now the Pharisee invites Jesus to dinner in a short exchange and the scene shifts to Maria Magdalena.

From the entrance of the players to this point about 15 minutes has elapsed if the music is sung without the addition of silent acting (which would be unnecessary)[12]. The several large choral pieces one after another suggest a procession with a return to stations at the "Gloria laus et honor". All of the music up to this point might be viewed as a prologue, while the next scene begins action which leads directly to the betrayal and ultimate crucifixion. Thus far the text is largely taken from the liturgy, not the bible, and it was not composed for this play.

The Magdalena scene begins with a Latin poem, "Mundi delectatio", which describes the delight Maria feels in partaking of worldly pleasure. She, with her female companions, buys cosmetics from a merchant and entices a lover. An angel sings to her suggesting she repent, and the third time the attempt at conversion is successful. The lover is taken off by the devil, Mary buys the most expensive oil the Merchant has, and repairs to the Pharisee station where Jesus is dining in the company of his disciples. Clearly neither the rhymed Latin nor the German texts are liturgical, however most of the pieces of this episode are found in other plays

[10] I have not found this exchange. Cf. Hartker, 141s., "Cecus sedebat". Biblical sources are possibly John 9, Mark 10 or Luke 18.

[11] *Codex Albensis* 78' added "Gloria laus ..." later at the close of Dom. in Palm., and although the space is not confined, entered but five strophes. There is no indication of antiphonal performance such as found in St. Peter.

[12] Times based upon actual performances of the play in New York and Bloomington, spring 1982.

especially Vienna and Erlau. Only the song of the angel, "Dico tibi: gaudio est angelis ..." is liturgical. As Maria moves towards the Pharisee station the choir sings the antiphon "Accessit ad pedes", indicated in *CB* by this incipit, fully neumed. This is not a well known antiphon, and there are some minor text variants (compare Hespert with St. Peter's 694). The rubrics instruct Maria to sing the "Ibo nunc ad medicum" on her way to Jesus, suggesting it might be a long way, perhaps from one side of the ship to the other. At this point our manuscript is disappointing. The rubric "Item" implies that what follows is another stroph of "Ibo nunc", this time in German (some plays such as the St. Gall play from the region around Mainz contain Latin liturgical pieces [Pflanz] with German translation). There are no neums for the German poem and the poetic structure is not the same as the Latin. Here, at least for the time being, we have a lost German song. The action remains at the station of the Pharisee, with his anger at Jesus for accepting the pleas of Maria Magdalena. Here is the *CB* text against the biblical account:

Carmina Burana:	*Luke 7.39–50:*
Si hic esset propheta sciret utque, que et qualis illa esset que tangit eum, quia peccatrix est	Hic si esset propheta, scirit utique, que, et qualis est mulier, quae tangit eum, quia peccatrix est.
Ut quid perditio hec? Potuit eum hoc venundari multo et dari pauperibus.	
Quid molesti estis huic mulieri? Opus bonum operata est in me.	[ad iij: Quid molesti hestis huic mulieri opus enim bonum op(er)ata est in me. (Albensis 74′)]
Symon, habeo tibi aliquid dicere	Dixit ad illum (i.e., Pharisee): Symon, habeo tibi aliquid dicere.
Magister, dic	At ille ait, Maigster dic.
Debitores habuit ... (rhymed)	Duo debitores erant cuidam ... (prose)
Estimo quid ille plus qui plus donavit	Aestimo quia is cui plus donavit
Tua sic sententia recte indicavit	At ille dixit ei: Recte iudicasti.
Mulier remittuntur tibi peccata (neums lacking in *CB*)	Dixit autem ad illum: Remittuntur tibi peccata.
Fides tua salvam te fecit, vade in pacem.	Fides tua te salvam fecit. Vade in pacem.

The sequence follows closely Luke 7 and Matthew 26 without deriving directly from them. (Possibly a harmony?) Frequently lines from a liturgical piece or a biblical text, which have the character of a rubric ("dicit dominus" or "Hic dicit" for example) are deleted when placed in the mouths of those persons saying the lines. If it were simply a case of deleting lines, there would be no problems, but what happens if parts of the melody would then be deleted as well? Clearly a recomposition would have to take place or, alternatively, another source for the

text located, in which these rubric-like lines do not occur (see below "Hic dicit: Solvite templum ..."). Why is "Debitores habuit" rhymed? Possibly to set it off as a parable, to distinguish it from the episode as a story within a story. It is contained in two other plays, alas both lacking music for this item[13]. It does not seem to have been composed for *CB*.

Closely related to the above is material taken from the festival of Maria Magdalena. The antiphon "Videns autem ..." contains the text: "... hic si esset propheta sciret utique que qualis esset mulier que tangit eum quia peccatrix est." This precedes the respond "Accessit ad pedes" in *Albensis* 106'. The music is essentially identical to *CB*. In the same service is a rubric instructing the singing of the Palm Sunday antiphon "Quid molesti estis" (*Albensis* 74'). The episode closes with a final lament of Magdalena, "Awe, awe, daz ich ie wart geboren", which is not identical to the *Bordesholmer Marienklage* cited by Schuler[14].

The next episode is the raising of Lazarus, beginning with the antiphon "Lazarus, amicus noster" (ad Bened. Feria VI infra Hebdomadam IV Quadragesimae) followed, it would seem, by another antiphon from the same service, "Domine si fuisses hic". This in turn is followed by the communion antiphon, "Videns dominus" (Feria VI post Dominicam IV Quadragesimae), which is sung by the "Clerus" and continued by Jesus on reaching the words, "Lazare, veni foras". The Clerus then sings a line clearly intended to be from the same antiphon but written: "Et prodiit ligatus m.et.p.q.f.q.m." This line would read from John XI "Et prodiit qui ferat mortuus, ligatus manus et pedes institis ..." while Young reads: "Et prodiit ligatus manus et pedes, qui fuerat quasi mortuus."[15] The antiphon text is the more convincing reading, "Et prodiit ligatiis manibus et pedibus, qui fuerat quatriduanus mortuus." There are problems with this episode. Only the first antiphon was supplied with neums originally. Later, someone entered red neums over the words "Lazare veni foras". I think the reason for this lies in a mistaken entry in the text, or, if the entry is correct, it was not known to the notar. The biblical text cited as the source by Young reads: "Domine, si fuisses hic non esset mortuus frater meus,"[16] while *CB* reads: "Domine si fuisses hic, frater noster non fuisset mortuus," and the antiphon: "Domine si fuisses hic, lazarus non esset mortuus ..." Having notated the antiphon "Lazarus amicus noster", the notar expected to be able to continue with the antiphon immediately following which has the incipit "Domine si hic fuisses ..." but recognized that the text was altered, left it blank and reentered with the next episode. Another scribe recognized "Lazare veni foras" and entered the neums in red, but he apparently did not recognize the abbreviated conclusion of "Videns dominus ..."

The next episode contains Judas' conspiracy. It is not found elsewhere, it is partially rhymed and it is fully neumed:

[13] Wien and Heidelberg, cf. E.A. Schuler, op. cit., nr. 107.
[14] Ibid., nr. 105.
[15] K. Young, op. cit., 524.
[16] Ibid.

O Pontifices
o viri magni
consilii

Jesum volo vobis tradere

O Juda si nobis
Jesum iam tradideris

Triginta argenteis remuneraberis

(There follow here eight rhymed lines; the music is through-composed.)

Judas then sings to the crowd a citation from an antiphon from Lauds, Feria V, Cena Domini, "Traditor autem dedit eis signum dicens: *Quem osculatus fuero, ipse est, tenete eum*" (in italics is cited in *CB*). In at least two liturgic sources the word "quem" is replaced by "quemcumque", as in the *CB* text[17]. Although the meaning is the same, different melodies are required, for "quem" requires only one neum, "quemcumque" requires three, (and is so supplied in *CB*). Matthew 26 is the biblical source for "quemcumque", Mark 14 the source for "quem". Both words might be abbreviated by a "q" with a cross-over tail and a stroke above. That "quemcumque" does occur in some sources in this antiphon is important in determining the specific sources employed by the compilers of *CB*. Nearly identical music is contained in Admont[18]. The crowd leaves in search of Jesus, meanwhile Jesus goes "as is the custom" for the Last Supper, then sings to the disciples who remain: "Dormite iam et requiescite". It is tempting to see this as the verse of the respond "Una hora non potuistis vigilare mecum ..." however the neums of *CB* are clearly syllabic, suggesting pointing, while the respond is melismatic.

Jesus now sings "tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem sustine hic et orate ne intretis in temptationem". The neums stop with the word "sustine". The neums indicate this to be the second respond in Cena Domini based on both Matthew 26 and Mark 14. The text contains some errors, which may have caused the notar to omit the neums. *CB* has "sustine hic" while all biblical and liturgical sources have "sustinete hic":

Matthew 26.38: Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem: *sustinete* hic et vigilate mecum.

Mark 14.34: Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem: *sustinete* hic, et vigilate.

CB dropped the word "vigilate" and added a line for which the scribe had no music. Possibly he took that line by mistake from the respond which goes before in most antiphonaries, "In monte oliveti" which sometimes has the verse, "Vigilate et orate *ut non* intretis in temtationem" (*Albensis,* for example, has an unrelated verse for this respond). But that would not explain the *CB ne* in place of the liturgical *ut non*.

We do find these words as a verse of the respond, "una hora non potuistis ...". The verse reads, "Quid dormitis? Surgite et orate ne intretis in tentationem."[19] Possibly a South German breviary will be found containing an appropriate variant

[17] H. Pflanz, op. cit., 86.

[18] K.K. Pohlheim, op. cit., 32.

[19] LU 650, Lucca 192 and discussion in H. Pflanz, op. cit., 178, with reference to the entry in *Breviarium Mogentinum*, Köln, 1570.

to account for this situation. Pflanz finds this verse extraordinary, citing a more frequent verse, "Dormite iam et requiescite ecce appropinquabit qui me traditurus est in manus peccatorum"[20]. In looking for the locus of *CB* we must be aware of this verse, for although it is rare in the north, it is frequent in the south.

The next item is taken from the first respond ad Matutinum, first nocturn, "In monte oliveti". Here too there are variant readings in liturgical books, some containing the final line before the verse: "fiat voluntas tua", others omitting this line, closing with "caro autem infirma". *CB* and its liturgical source include the final line. Jesus returns for the sleeping disciples with the antiphon, "Symon dormis ..." from Lauds, Feria IV, Hebdomadae Sanctae. This is repeated once, then for the third prayer *CB* offers a Communion antiphon (Dominica II Passionis seu in palmis, "Pater si non potest hic ..."). Finally, Jesus sings the respond mentioned above, "Una hora non potuistis vigilare ...". Indeed, the verse is written out here as suggested above, deleting the words "Quid dormitis?".

At this point the crowd comes, and there is an exchange which might have many sources: "Quem queritis / Jesum Nazarenum / Ego sum ...", following the text of John 18, pointed, and deleting the rubrics such as "ut impleretur ...". The episode concludes with Judas' betrayal ("Ave rabbi") and Jesus' rhymed, non-liturgical piece, "O juda, ad quid venisti", possibly suggested by Matthew 26.50, "Amice, ad quid venisti?". There are no neums. There follows a short episode of the denial of Christ by Peter. This episode has been corrected and revised in the margin. There are no neums supplied. The next piece is the respond, "Tanquam ad latronem", based on the biblical text from Matthew 26.55 and Mark 14.48. The *CB* text should be expanded to include the entire respond. Matthew has "fustibus", Mark "Lignis". Both forms occur in liturgical sources. *CB* has "fustibus". This respond may be in the wrong position as a result of the confusing previous entry. Following Judas' "Ave Rabbi" there is a rubric, "Jesus illi resp.", and after leaving more space than usual, the text continues with the rhymed verse, "O Juda ad quid venisti". This should have been followed by a rubric such as "item" which would permit Jesus to turn to the crowd with "Tanquam ad latronem", and then the Ancilla episode with the denial by Peter. At that point, following the denial, the crowd would take Jesus to Pilate for trial.

The next music is the Palm Sunday antiphon "Collegerunt pontifices". The text is sung partially by the chorus, in part by the high priests and Caiphas. Now we encounter another unclear entry: the text scribe did not leave enough room for the rubric, which was then placed above the first two words of the text, which themselves are out of place, and consequently there are no neums for them and no place for them. *CB* reads: "Hic dixit: Solvite templum ..." while the liturgical source reads "Solvite templum hoc, dixit dominus, et post ...". Clearly, the crowd could not sing "dixit dominus" so that was omitted, and "hic dixit" (which makes good sense) placed before. The biblical sources for this antiphon read: John 2.19: "Et dixit eis: Solvite templum", Matthew 26.61: "Hic dixit: Possum destruere tem-

[20] H. Pflanz, op. cit., 82.

plum ...". A comparison of the neums in *CB* with the antiphon melody makes it clear that the antiphon is not the source of the music. "Solvite" is the first of a long series of short exchanges in virga/punctum notation which takes us to Judas' repentance after the trial and scourging of Christ. It is noteworthy that there is no choral piece to accompany Jesus and the crowd from Pilate to Herod and back, indicating the proximity of those stations.

The original two items were expanded by a third written in the margin ("Peccavi tradens ..."). "Penetet me gravitur" seems to be a *CB* unicum while "Resumite vestra" is a separate item which also appears in the Admont play[21]. For the reply of the high priests, the compiler went to Matthew 27 (also the source for "peccavi tradens"). The crucifixion follows. "Filiae Ierusalem, nolite flere super me ..." is not neumed and I presume it derives directly from Luke 23.28, in which case the only musical source would be a notated breviary.

Interestingly, the sign on the cross, I.N.R.I., is given neums in *CB*, either by mistake or indicating that someone reads the sign in order to motivate the crowd to respond to the sign. The source for the music does not seem to be the Good Friday antiphon "Posuerunt super caput eius ..." because *CB* persists here with a syllabic setting. The cry of the crowd, "Regem non habemus ..." is taken from the verse "tunc ait illis" of the opening respond "Ingressus Pilatus." This in turn is taken from John 19, and it is possible that the Gospel reading is the source of the music for Pilate's response, "quod scripsi scripsi".

The next episode is the lament of Maria Mater under the Cross. The compiler has placed three large scale laments one after another, with no indication how much of them is to be sung. The first is a fully neumed German lament with four strophes with similar but not identical music for each strophe. Next is the well known Latin planctus, *Flete fidelis*, three strophes neumed, the start of the fourth strophe entered at the bottom of the recto side of the page. Overleaf there is an unrelated German poem not a part of this play, and on the next recto page is a rubric followed by the fifth strophe of *Flete fidelis*, "Mi Johannes planctum move ...". This is contained with a more elaborate melody at the end of the Good Friday service in the Paduan Processional C56[22]. Following *Flete fidelis*, Maria then sings the even more famous *Planctus ante nescia*, for which *CB* presents only the neumed incipit.

Flete fidelis is entered in *CB* another time, on fol. 55 recto where strophes 1, 2, 3, and 6, counting in the Paduan order, with the same melody as later in the passion play. In this position, *Flete* is an appended piece, and the verso following is left blank. For the original positioning of these leaves viz. Bischoff[23]. The *Planctus ante nescia* is entered in the *Fragmenta Burana* folio 4′ as an independent piece with a melody which does not match the neums of the incipit in the passion play.

Following these laments, Maria returns to the fifth strophe of *Flete* once again, providing John with an item, "O Maria tantum noli ...", apparently a *CB* unicum.

[21] K. K. Pohlheim, op. cit., 84.
[22] G. Vecchi, op. cit., transcription and facsimile.
[23] B. Bischoff, op. cit., facsimile.

The next five items are short, syllabic and probably taken from Gospel readings, all from John, prescribed for Parasceve (Good Friday). Longinus announces his intention to put an end to Christ's martyrdom in two German lines, rhymed, an unicum. Then the neumless text in black reads: "E___ly___E___ly.___Lemasabactany, hoc est Deus deus meus ut quid deroliquisti me." The lines indicate melismas. The "hoc est" is taken from Matthew 27.46 without realizing it should be deleted. The rubric introducing this line omits a relevant phrase from Matthew ("... clamavit Iesus *voce magna*, dicens ..."). indeed the rubric does not come from Matthew. One word is omitted through carelessness: it certainly should read "... Deus meus, deus meus ...". Our compiler inserts a couple of lines by Longinus before continuing with Matthew 27, "Vere filius Dei erat iste / Dirre ist des waren gotes sun." (in other words, once in Latin, once in German), then two German lines about regaining his sight. The following line, "Eliam vocat iste" occurs in Matthew 27.48, but the consequent phrase in Matthew 27.49 reads: "... videamus an veniat Elias liberans eum" while *CB* reads: "Eamus et videamus, si Elias veniens liberet eum an non". The final two lines also occur in Matthew 27, but not in the sequence of lines as contained in *CB*.

I find no reason to reject the final line as the end of the play. The *Cantus Ioseph ab Arimathia* on fol. 112 verso has been taken to indicate the unfinished nature of the ending (Hartl, Young, Bevington, Bischoff). It is not part of our play, certainly, and concluding with the mocking of Jesus after death is indeed a strong conclusion.

II. CONSEQUENCES

The consequences for performance are many. The work is intensely dramatic (here I draw on my experience in producing this play in New York and Bloomington in spring 1982) yet the music was not written for it, nor was the music ever designed to be sung in this particular sequence.

Having described the episodes and their music, we can draw some conclusions about the work. That most of the work is compiled out of liturgical sources has been demonstrated. Most of those liturgical sources are from Palm Sunday to Parasceve. During the week the relevant portions (Passion) of each Gospel are read during Mass, which provides a ready source for biblical citations. Where short exchanges occur it seems to me these readings are the source, for they are complete with music (pointed). Longer pieces are taken from liturgical repertories, a few antiphons but mostly responds, and one hymn[24]. Further borrowings include other plays, possibly all of the Maria Magdalena scene – certainly a good part of it – and the planctus Maria Mater under the cross. The table of concordances appended suggests sources for most of the play, and I think it likely that a perusal of South German notated breviaries would be a productive next step. Perhaps through a careful analysis of those sources we might pin-point the locus of the play and

[24] Responds regularly become antiphons if they are employed as processional pieces.

possibly of the *Carmina Burana* manuscript. A model for this is the work of Pflanz on the St. Gall play.

Clearly one important aspect of this play is its devotional intent. Professor Clifford Flanigan has convincingly pointed out, one wants to experience oneself the pain felt by Maria under the cross as her son was being crucified. By reliving the events of the passion those become personal experiences[25]. Music here is a symbol of the liturgy as well as a conveyor of text, but it is seldom expressive of specific dramatic content.

The play divides into units. The prologue – everything up to and including the hymn "Gloria laus et honor" – picks out a few events of Christ's ministry. The Maria Magdalena scene which includes an angel/devil exposure, is followed by a series of events culminating in the betrayal, then the trial and then the crucifixion, then the laments of Maria Mater followed by the short ending.

Prologue	15 min.	± 35
Maria Magdalena	20 min.	
Betrayal (including raising of Lazarus)	10 min.	± 35
Mount of olives (depends on dumb show in Last Supper)	10 min.	
Trial, scourging, crucifixion	15 min.	
Maria laments	25 min.	± 30
Conclusion	less than 5 min.	

Although these times are very approximate, they point out the importance given the laments of Maria Mater. It is the longest single item, and for nearly half an hour the audience sees Christ in the background while Maria laments.

Table 1

CB	*Incipit*	*Schuler*	*St. Peter*	*Feast (Prologue)*
1	Ingressus Pilatus	304	611	Respond Dom. Palm.
2	Venite post me	642	754	St. Andrew. St. Peter: Respond "Venite post me .." is not the source, but its verse "Dum deambularet ..." Both are incomplete in St. Peter but complete in Codex Albensis 134, where "Dum deambularet" is a respond. (see above p. 145)
3	Domine quid vis	50	583f	Quinquagesima Antiphon "Dum appropinquaret iericho cecus ..." and respond "Cecus sedebat ..." as well as the Antiphon "Cecus sedebat..." are related but not the direct source of the entire episode.
4	Zachee, festinans descende	687	793	Dedic. Eccl. Antiphon. An interpolated line "Domine, si quid ..." precedes the final line in *CB*, "quia hodie ...".
5	Cum appropinquaret	70	287	Dom. in Palm. processional antiphon
6	Cum audisset	71	288	Dom. in Palm. processional antiphon

[25] Clifford Flanigan, unpublished paper read at a conference in Bloomington, March 1982.

7	Pueri hebreorum	493	LU581	Not in St. Peter, not in Codex Albensis. In its place an Antiphon of similar content "Ante sex dies solempnis pasche quia venit dominus in civitatem ierusalem occurunt ei pueri et in manibus portabant ramos palmarum et clamabant voce magna dicens Osanna in excelsis, benedictus qui venisti in multitudine misericordie osanna in excelsis." This substitution obtains outside of German "Sprachraum", e.g. Montpellier H159.

Table 2

8	Gloria laus et honor	222	289	antiphonal hymn in Dom. Palm. Theodulphus (died 821) Drewes 50/160. Of the 78 lines, only the first 12 are common in liturgical sources.
— (invitation to Pharisee dinner) — — —				
9	Rabbi quod	530		Unicum
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — (Maria Magdalena episode) — — — — — — — —				
10	Mundi delectatio	375	Wien and Erlau	
11	Mihi confer	360	Wien	
12	Ecce merces optimare	173	Wien	no music in Wien but probably melody of Chramer
13	Chramer gib diu varve	54	Wien	
14	O Maria Magdalena	411	Wien	
15	Wol diu minnelichen	686		Music of Chramer
16	Ich gib eu varwe	278		Music of Chramer
17	Heu vita praeterita	257	Wien	
18	Dico tibi gaudium	146	829	Antiphon Dom. III post Pentecoste
19	Hinc ornatus	258	Wien	
20	Dic tu mercator nobis	442		from "Omnipotens pater altissime", 5th stroph. Cf. Schuler 442 for 14 sources, 10 with music.
21	Hoc ungentum si multum	447		to 20 above
22	Accessit ad pedes	5	694	Respond Fest. Maria Magdalena with verse "Dimissa sunt ..."

Table 3

23	Ibo nunc ad medicum	259		music of Hinc ornatus, nr. 19 above.
24	Jesus trost der sele	289		no neums. Unicum.
25	Si hic esset propheta	569	Albensis 106 s	
26	Ut quid perditio haec	569		Matthew 26
27	Quid molesti estis	569	614	Antiphon Dom. in Palm.
28	Simon, habeo tibi	569		
30	Magister dic	569		
31	Mulier, remittuntur	196		
32	Awe awe, daz ich ie	105		
33	Phariscus iste fontem			Not cited by Schuler.
34	Lazarus, amicus noster	326	606	Antiphon Fer. VI Hebd. IV in XL. Cf. Pflanz 21.

35	Domine se fuisses hic	—	606	Antiphon as above nr. 34.
36	Videns Dominus Lazare veni foras Et prodiit ligatus	654	273	Communio Fer. VI Hebd. IV in XL
37	O Pontifices O Juda Jesum tradam	416		Unicum
38	Quemcumque osculatus	499	Admont 34	
— — —

				The sources are not clear. Possibly a version of this respond containing this (*CB*) text will turn up. Another possibility is that this texts was derived directly from another play, with the music supplied from both the liturgy and Gospel.
49	Collegerunt	62		St Gall 339/64 Antiphon with verse ,,unus autem ex ipsis''. Not in St. Peter nor Codex Albensis. It is fragmented and without neums in Hartker/175. This processional antiphon although absent from our regional source is known in a number of sources, even Montpellier nr. 976. The inclusion of this antiphon in a South German Breviary might be important in establishing the locus of the play. See Pflanz/82.
50	Hic dixit: Solvite	262	605	Antiphon Fer. II Hebd. IV in XL *CB:* Hic dixit: Solvite templum hoc, et post ... St. Peter: Solvite templum hoc dicit dominus et post ... Matth. 26: Hic dixit: Possum destruere templum dei et post ... John 2: Dixit eis: Solvite templum hoc et in tribus diebus. Clearly none are directly the source. The music of the antiphon, like *CB*, is largely syllabic.

Table 6

				The placing of "Hic dixit" at the beginning coupled with the delition of "dixit dominus" might simply be an accommodation so the crowd would not refer to Jesus as "dominus".
51	Quam accusationem	496		Thirty short exchanges including the trial, scourging of Jesus and repentance of Judas. The texts are biblical and occur in other sources (Admont and Eger expecially). St. Peter 615 does not seem to be a source.
52	Penitet me graviter	416		
	Peccavi tradens	464		Marginal entry ommited by Bischoff.
	Resumite vestra			Unneumed, occurs in Admont 48.
	Quid ad nos	515		Eger contains music.
— — — — — — — — — — — — — —			(crucification)	— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
53	Filie Jerusalem	206		No neums in *CB*. Biblical source is Luke 23, however Luke ends after "ipsas" with "flete et super filios vestros", missing in *CB*. There is room for these words, which leads me to suspect Luke is not directly the source.
54	INRI			The sign placed of the cross. *CB* is neumed.
55	Regem non habemus	309		from nr. 1. Ingressus Pilatus.
56	Quod scripsi scripsi	384		Eger see Schuler.

Table 7

57	Awe awe mich hiut	358	Unicum
58	Flete fideles	207	Identical with *CB* 4* except the selection of stroph
	Mi johannes, 5th stroph		With reference to Padua, *CB* 4* has 1, 2, 3, 11 while the play has 1, 2, 3, fragment of 4 and later 5. The placing of the neums – although they are the same – is not identical. For literature see Bischoff *CB* 115 to *CB* 4*. Many sources.
59	Planctus ante nescia	473	Incipit of *CB* 14* with very different neums. For literature see Bischoff *CB* to 14*.
60	O Maria	413	*CB* unicum
61	Mulier	372	Biblical citations Bischoff, 172. These 12 lines occur in many plays for which see Schuler nos. 373, 582, 280, 604, 644, 188, 568 and 18.

Of these 61 composite items 36 are liturgical and of these 21 are contained in the St. Peters antiphonary, two more in *Codex Albensis* and three more from other liturgical sources. Ten items might be Gospel readings, all of which are prescribed to be sung in the Passion Week. Sixteen further items can be identified in other German Passion plays and two items are widely known Latin planctus. This leaves only eight unica which are of varying substance. I am not suggesting the St. Peters Antiphonary as the source for this play, quite the contrary. It is vaguely regional (as is *Albensis*) and suggests that an as yet unidentified breviary might be located which contains all the liturgical items and would possibly locate the play and even the manuscript. Until such a source is located, it cannot be known whether a compositional process is at work here whereby a liturgical text is modified by a biblical text, the music for which is then supplied through the Gospel tones. This seems quite likely especially in the later parts of the play.

We conclude that the combination of sources cited – including Gospel tones – provide nearly all the music for the play, with the recomposition of only the eight unica, of which only one is substantial, stand in the way of a modern performance.

There is a further consequence of the musical disposition. When we reflect on the fact that most of the music was not written for a dramatic production but was taken out of the liturgy, we wonder about the dramatic elements in liturgical performance of that music. The rubrics demand dramatic expression ("all kinds of lamenting") and were the music in its liturgical situation lacking in drama it seems doubtful to me that it would have been adopted for this play, which is clearly not a liturgical drama[26]. The presence of vernacular song and rhymed Latin items convinces that it was not necessary to compile the music from the liturgy; rather this was done because the music was effective (and, possibly, largely already known to the players). Here I should like cautiously to suggest we have something to learn about the performance of medieval chant by observing its placement in non-liturgical situations, of which this passion play is but one example.

[26] On rubrics see W. Lipphardt, op. cit., and A. Roeder, op. cit.