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SUPERNATURAL BEINGS IN
THE FRENCH MEDIEVAL
DRAMAS

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
THE MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN

BY

ANGELICA AXELSEN

M. A.



LEVIN & MUNKSGAARD PUBLISHERS
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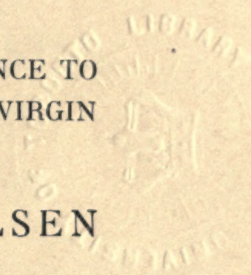
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TO
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS
MARGRETHE

PRINCESS OF BOURBON-PARMA

DAUGHTER OF

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE VALDEMAR OF DENMARK

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

AS A TESTIMONY OF RESPECT, REVERENCE AND

GRATITUDE BY HER ROYAL HIGHNESS'

MOST FAITHFUL SERVANT

ANGELICA AXELSEN



PREFACE

I cannot send out this book without paying tribute to my late teacher and friend Dr. litt. J. P. Jacobsen, I owe to him many valuable suggestions. I also wish to express my heartiest thanks to the Rev. Mr. H. Gamél for his minute examination of the dogmatic sections of my book. Finally my grateful acknowledgements are due to Miss Annie Fausbøll, M. A. who has rendered me a very great service in undertaking the translation of my work.



INTRODUCTION

Supernatural beings are met with everywhere in the French medieval Mystery plays and Miracle plays.

According to Gaston Paris' interpretation of the term »mystère« as a learned word with the double sense of »mystère de la foi« and »démonstration représentative d'un mystère de la foi«¹⁾ I regard »mystère« as the specific name of the religious plays founded on biblical subjects from the old and new testaments, such as »Le Jeu d'Adam«, »Le Mistère du Viel Testament«, »Le Mistère de la Passion«, »Les Actes des Apostres«, and others of a similar kind, whereas »miracle« is the specific name of plays founded on legendary subjects with a more liberal treatment of the varied subject-matter, such as »Les Miracles de Nostre Dame par Personnages«. Among the latter, however, I include also all plays drawn from the legends of the saints which have come down to us under the title of »mystères«, but are »miracles« according to their sources and contents. I need only mention the miracles of that great and most popular saint of France S. Martin, which have been transmitted to us under the title of »mystère«.

The miracles of the saints as well as the miracles of the virgin Mary were preeminently free from restrictions as regards the treatment of the subject, they were able to introduce many scenes of the secular life of the times, whereas the biblical plays, the mysteries, were to some extent limited by their theme. Further, the miracles of the saints, like the miracles of the vir-

¹⁾ Journal des Savants. 1892. p. 673. Petit de Julleville in »Les Mystères. I. p. 188 et seq. gives the opinion that »mystère« is derived from ministerium — mysterium. Kr. Nyrop in »En Teaterforestilling i Middelalderen«, p. 5, note, E. K. Chambers in »The Mediaeval Stage«, II. p. 105, Otto Weydig in »Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mirakelspiels in Frankreich«, and several others are of the same opinion.

None of these writers mentions Gaston Paris' explanation of »mystère« as a learned word.

gin, were associated with definite days and places, the days of the male or female saint, the town where some »puy« or guild under his or her patronage was found, while the biblical mysteries, after growing to such proportions that their performance extended over several days, were in no way associated with any definite occasion, time or place, but could be performed anywhere, at any time.

For practical reasons the mystery plays were as a rule produced in the summer. Thus we know that a passion play was performed at St. Maur near Paris on the 4th of June 1396¹⁾.

The supernatural element played an important part both in the mysteries and the miracle plays. Heaven and hell belonged to the permanent requisites of the stage, and as a rule the unravelling of the dramatic knot was due to the intervention of supernatural beings.

The supernatural beings occurring in the plays are God, the virgin, male and female saints, angels, and devils.

The concept »supernatural beings«, which in itself is capable of several interpretations, must not, in the sense in which it is here used, be taken to denote such persons as Christ, the virgin, the apostles, or the saints when they are represented acting during their life on earth, whereas the reverse of course is the case when they are represented acting in their life beyond death.

I shall now attempt a characterisation of the supernatural beings occurring in the French medieval drama, more especially in the Miracles of the Virgin, grouping the matter under the following heads:

The Supernatural Scenery of the Plays.

God.

The Holy Virgin.

Saints, Male and Female.

Angels.

Devils.

¹⁾ Cf. W. Greizenach: *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*. I. p. 175.

THE SUPERNATURAL SCENERY OF THE PLAYS

On the medieval stage on which a mystery or a miracle play was performed there was always a paradise and a hell besides the space in which life on earth was represented.

In the play of Adam¹⁾ very accurate instructions are given as to the arrangement of paradise. It was to be a beautiful place situated on a small elevation, and it was to be draped with carpets and silk cloths to such a height that only the upper portion of the persons moving there could be seen. Fragrant flowers, foliage, and trees bearing fruit were to be placed there to produce a pleasing impression:

In the miracles there are no stage-directions or descriptions of the place where the celestial beings dwell. We only learn that the angels carry the souls of the departed to heaven and bring them before God's throne. From this we may infer that God was seated on a throne, but what this throne was like, or against what sort of background it was seen is not known to us. Here is a blank which must be filled in by our imagination. We gather a few hints from the description of the earthly paradise in the play of Adam and from a miniature found in the manuscript from Valenciennes dating from the year 1547. The contemporary ecclesiastical art which, according to Mâle²⁾, was inspired by the religious drama, also gives us a hint. Jean

¹⁾ Cf. Angelica Axelsen: Studie til en literær og sproglig Vurdering af *Jeu d'Adam*. København 1920.

²⁾ Cf. Émile Mâle: *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen-âge en France*. p. 8. & P. Johansen: *Kunst og Illusion*.

Fouquet, who lived under Charles VII and Louis XI illuminated a prayerbook, now in the Musée Condé at Chantilly, and here we find a very fine illustration of paradise. In the middle we see the divine personages seated in very high-backed chairs; on their right side the holy virgin is seated. They are surrounded by angels and saints in large circles.

Fouquet laid great stress on the light-effect. The divine personages and the holy virgin are dressed in white clothes and a light radiates from them which transfigures those around them. One aspect of Dante's conception of the glory of paradise as light and music is expressed here in the harmonious disposition of the light in the picture.

In the miracles of the virgin we learn that heaven is the dwellingplace of the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, of the virgin Mary, the angels, the saints, and all the blessed.

In the Miracle de Saint Panthaleon it says:

»Es cieulx comme sains esperites
Aront les bons leur mansion;«

and in the Miracle de l'Evesque que l'Arceidiaere murtrit we find the biblical metaphor of Abraham's bosom:

»A Dieu, mon ami, le plus doulz
Homme c'onques menjast du pain.
Huy soit vostre ame mise ou sain
Saint Abrahan.«

The metaphor of Abraham's bosom directs our attention towards the place where the righteous and among them S. Joseph, the fosterfather of Jesus, had their abode until the ascension of Christ.

Christ's words on the cross to the crucified thief: »To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise« are right, since limbus was transformed to a paradise by the presence of Christ.

On the stage limbus, purgatory and hell as a place of torment are combined in one locality and the devil and his fellow-devils rule with more or less unlimited power in all three places.

This is a conception which is opposed to the dogmatic view according to which the devil had nothing to do either in pur-

gatory or the place where the souls were kept until the ascension, but on the stage this is confused. In the play of Adam devils carry away the pious Abel as well as Adam, Eve, and Cain, and in one of the miracles God sends an angel to the devil with orders for him to take a soul to purgatory and finally, in the *Mistère de la Passion* by Greban, it is the devil who in vain tries to shut the gates of limbus to Christ.

It would be difficult to keep these realms apart on the stage so it is pardonable that a dogmatic inaccuracy was committed.

Purgatory is mentioned in the *Miracle de un Prevost que Nostre Dame delivra* as a place to which Satan was to drag Etienne to thrash and beat him without killing him outright. God sends the angel Gabriel to Satan with the following instructions:

»Gabriel, sus sanz contredit.
 Vas tantost, je le te conmant,
 Dire a Sathan que je li mant
 Qu'il prengne le prevost Estienne
 En corps et en ame et le maine
 En purgatoire pour son vice
 Et la le bate et le pugnisse
 Et le face a peine partir
 Sanz l'ame hors du corps partir;
 Car je li deffens a li nuire,
 Voire, afin que par lui ne nuire.
 Voiz tu m'entente? «

Further on in the play Etienne describes purgatory in several passages. It is a place which is filled with fire day and night, a place where grief and pain rule, fear and horror, bitter mortal agony without death, and where people curse the hour that they were born:

»Las, meschant, trop ay cy de haire,
 Las, las, tourment sanz fin m'abonde.
 De male heure fu nez au monde,
 Quant par mes meffaiz me fault estre
 En ce lieu cy ou n'a nul estre
 Fors de tristesse et de douleur,

D'abominacion, d'ourreur,
De mort amère sanz morir
Et si n'y feray fors languir.«

In another passage Etienne calls it a dark, abominable, evil-smelling place.

Hell also is not very closely described in the miracles. It is mentioned as the abode of the devil and the wicked. All sorts of torments reign there, and the place is filled with fire, e. g. in the Miracle de l'Evesque que l'Arcediaere murtrit, where it says: »en nostre meurjoye«.

The apocryphal apocalypse of Paul, which inspired Dante and exercised such a strong influence on pictorial art, did not much influence the mysteries or miracles where hell is dwarfed into insignificance by the glorification of Christ's victory over hell¹).

The naive medieval conception of the way in which the wicked were carried off to hell, body (!) and soul, is very remarkable.

In the play of Adam they are shoved and pushed along, but very often they are carried along on a small cart or wheelbarrow. This way of conveying the dead was derived from the medieval custom of taking criminals and condemned to the place of execution in a wheelbarrow.

As heaven is the habitation of the good so hell is eternal dwelling-place of the bodies and souls of the wicked. Here, too, is a dogmatic inaccuracy, for neither in heaven nor in hell is the soul united with the body until after the last day.

The torments of hell cannot be described it says in the Miracle de Saint Panthaleon:

»Es cieulx comne sains esperites
Aront les bons leur mansion;

¹) The apocalypse of Peter was not known in the middle ages, it was not discovered until 1887; but the apocalypse of Paul was akin to it in many particulars. That Dante knew and made use of the apocalypse is shown by the following verse from the Inferno:

»Ma io, perche venirvi? O chi il concede?

Io non Enea, io non Paolo sono.« (Canto II, v. 31—32.)

Les mauvais a dampnacion
 Pardurable en enfer pour lors
 Seront en ames et en cors.
 Croy, biau filz, que pas ne te mens
 La soufferront divers tourmens
 Dont nul ne peut dire la somme . . . «

GOD

God is met with over and over again in the mediæval drama, in the miracle plays as well as the mysteries.

Sometimes he appears among the dramatis personæ, sometimes he is merely mentioned or his name occurs in invocations and oaths. It would be interesting to examine the statements about God and the nature of God which we find in the mysteries and miracles in their relation to the dogmas, but this hardly comes within the scope of the present investigation. I shall therefore mainly occupy myself with God as one of persons of the plays, more especially of the miracles of the virgin, and on the basis of the parts played by him therein attempt to give a characterisation of him. In the mysteries God plays the part of the scriptural God, i. e. sometimes as God the Father, to whom especially the creation is attributed, and in this character he appears in the play of Adam, and sometimes as God the Son, to whom the redemption is due, and as such we find him in the dramas of the nativity and the passion-plays.

God the Father is always represented as a supernatural being, God the Son sometimes as an historical person, sometimes as a supernatural being.

In the miracles God does not appear as the biblical God, the episodes in which he appears are invented, and even if in spirit they agree in the main with the ecclesiastical conception of God, so much that is popular and naive has been added in setting forth the doctrine of the church that sometimes it seems to have been positively corrupted.

This is the case when Christ is represented in the miracles of the virgin as just, stern, and hard, nay, sometimes almost pitiless, while the virgin Mary is kind and gentle, full of grace and charity.

It may seem to us a perversion of the truth when the merit of Christ as a redeemer is, as it were, cast into the shade by Mary, but the object of the miracles of the virgin was to extol Mary, and in order to achieve this purpose purely human qualities were ascribed to Christ and Mary, Christ being represented with the specific qualities of a man, Mary with those of a woman.

Mary is the gentle good woman, the most gentle and best of all women. She is a mother, the tenderest of all mothers, always ready to help mankind, her children on earth.

The purpose of the miracles was to exalt Mary and by no means to diminish the merits of God as a redeemer. On this point I agree with Heinrich Becker in his criticism of Richard Schröder¹).

In more than half of the miracles of the virgin God appears with Mary. In most of them his part is played in heaven, but in several of them he appears on earth.

I shall not enter more closely into the subject of the Trinity, the three persons in God — the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. In the middle ages, it was regarded as a difficult problem. »Cest article est perilleus a qui a le cuer orgueilleus«, it says in »Le geu saint Denis«²).

In the Miracle de Saint Sevestre we find the following argument to prove that the three persons are only one God:

»Ces trois ploiz que cy regardez:
Ilz sont trois, ce n'est mie gas,
Et toutes voies n'est q'un draps;

¹) Heinrich Becker: Die Auffassung der Jungfrau Maria . . . p. 56. and Richard Schröder: Glaube und Aberglaube in den altfr. Dichtungen. p. 28.

²) Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève. Y. f. 10. Publ. p. A. Jubinal: Mystères inédits du XV Siècle. I.

Ainsi est il trois et trois un,
En une puissance commun.«

God the Father who was conceived as the creator of heaven and earth was seated high in heaven, looking far and wide, he was the ruler of the world. In the *Miracle de Saint Panthaleon* he is called: »Dieu le createur«, in the *Miracle de Saint Jehan Crisothomes*: »Dieu qui fist et ciel et terre«, in the *Miracle de l'Evesque a qui Nostre Dame s'apparut*: »Celui qui tout le mont de nient crea«, in the *Miracle de Saint Valentin*: »Père des cieulx omnipotent, qui de nient le monde creas«, in the *Miracle de l'Abbeesse grosse*: »Dieu qui siet lassus ou throne«, in the *Miracle de l'Enfant donné au Diable*: »Et Dieu, qui hault siet et loing voit«, in the *Miracle de un Parroissian esconmenié*: »Dieu, qui tout gouverne et tout voit et qui maint en gloire celestre, soit loes.«;

God is omniscient, eternal, and immutable.

Illustrations of this are found in the *Miracle de Saint Guillaume du Desert*:

»Doulx Dieu, qui par ta sapience
Toutes choses scez et congnois
Et aussi ceulx a venir vois
Com les presentes et passées . . .«,

in the *Miracle de la Mère du Pape*:

»Vray Dieu, père qui es sanz fin
Et aussi sanz commencement,
Qui separas le firmament
Et de la terre et de la mer . . .«,

in the *Miracle de un Prevost que Nostre Dame delivra*:

»Dieu qui ne faut ne ne ment«.

God who created Adam in his image of the »virgin« soil, loves men and repays the least of their good deeds with infinitely great benefits. His mercy is seldom mentioned but if so, in the strongest expressions. For God is so merciful that however much we sin his mercy will never fail.

In the *Miracle de la Femme du Roy de Portigal* it says:

»Se cil qui fist Adan ne ment
 Mar furent pecheur d'Adam né
 Se par pechié sont condampné.«,

in the Miracle de la Mère du Pape:

»Vray Dieu, pére qui es sanz fin
 Et aussi sanz commencement,
 Qui separas le firmament
 Et de la terre et de la mer,
 Que le feis a ta samblance
 Et li donnas avoir puissance
 Et seigneurie en cestui monde
 Sur toute rien qui y habonde . . .«,

in the Miracle de Robert le Dyable:

»Sire, qui creas ciel et terre,
 Et grans biens pour petiz rendez . . .«,

in the Miracle de Saint Sevestre:

»La terre dont Adan fu faiz
 Fu vierge . . .«,

in the Miracle de la Nonne qui laissa son Abbaie:

»Car Diex est plus misericors
 Que pechier ne pouons d'assez.«

While God the Father is sovereign and ruler of heaven and earth, almighty king, king of kings (Miracle de la Marquise de la Gaudine: »Le dieu du ciel et de la terre . . .«, Miracle de l'Enfant donné au Diable:

»Saint père, pour le roy poissant
 Entendez a cest pecheour.«
 »Frère, pour le vray roy poissant . . .«,

Miracle de la Mère du Pape:

»Sire, en bon an vous vueille mettre
 Le roy des roys.«),

Christ the Son is regarded more in the light of a judge; in the Miracle de l'Enfant donné au Diable:

»Vez le cy, dame; mès au mains
 Yrons nous devant le vray juge,
 Vostre filz; s'il le nous forsjudge,
 Nous le vous laisserons a tant.«

»Juge vray, entendez a nous.«
 »Je ne vueil a nulluy tort faire,
 Non faites vous, que je bien say:
 Vous et au diable droit feray.«,

in the Miracle de l'Evesque que l'Arcediacre murtrit:

»Devant le juge qui ne ment . . .«
 »Juste juge et droiturier . . .«,

in the Miracle de Saint Guillaume du Desert:

»Vezcy ton Dieu, vezci ton sire
 Qui se vult tout a Dieu offrir
 Et pour toy mort en croiz souffrir
 Et qui te jugera, n'en doubtés,
 Devant qui touz genouz, touz coutes
 Et toute puissance s'encline . . .«,

in the Miracle de un Prevost que Nostre Dame delivra:

»Si vous conmans a li chargier
 Penitence, et puis sanz targier
 Vous en revenez, et ainsi
 Sera de moy pris a mercy
 Et sera justice gardée
 Et misericorde donnée:
 Justice en ce qu'il penera,
 Misericorde qu'il pourra
 Gaignier pardon.«,

in the Miracle de Pierre le Changeur:

»Sire, vraiz juges, telz es tu . . .«.

Nevertheless the conception of God the Son is in close agreement with the teaching of the church. Like God the Father he is the king of heaven, ruler of paradise and creator of heaven and earth. He rules and upholds the world. He is eternal, omniscient, and omnipresent.

Miracle de l'Abbeesse grosse:

»Par le doulx roy du firmament . . .«

Miracle de la Femme du Roy de Pòrtigal:

»A joie vous puist ramener
 Diex li doulx roys de paradis . . .«

Miracle de Saint Jehan Crisothomes:

» Dame, le doulx roy souverain
Vous rende ceste courtoisie.«

Miracle de Saint Guillaume du Desert:

» C'est cilz qui par vertu divine
A fait le monde et toutes gens . . .«

Miracle de Saint Valentin:

» Qui tout voit et partout regarde;
Qui le monde de nient crea,
Et par sa mort nous recrea . . .«

Miracle de un Marchant et un Juif:

» Biau sire Dieu, je vous mercy
Et vous aour, c'est bien droiture,
Car je sui vostre creature,
Et vous estes mon createur,
Mon gouverneur et mon docteur,
Qui tout avez crée de nient
Et celui de qui tout bien vient,
Qui des pecheurs les justes fais.«

Miracle de Saint Panthaleon:

» Jhesu Crist, vray Diex et vray roys,
Qui de nient a fait tout le monde,
Celui qui justiffie et monde
Les pecheurs, . . .«

Though Christ, in contrast to Mary, is represented in the miracles of the virgin as the stern, just judge who will not wrong anybody, not even the devil, he also appears in a gentle and meek character and is often called »doux Jhesus«. Though like God the Father he is enthroned on high yet he comes into much closer contact with men than God the Father.

Miracle de l'Evesque que l'Arcediacre murtrit:

» Alez, que li tresdoux Jhesus
Vous doint sa grace.«
Le doulx Jhesu Crist nostre sire . . .«

Miracle de Saint Jehan Crisothomes:

» Li tresdoux glorieux Jhesus
Vous soit amis.«

Miracle de Saint Guillaume du Desert:

»Bon Jhesus, doux amoureux Diex . . .«

Miracle de l'Evesque que l'Arcediacre murtrit:

»Dame, nous alons bien a point

Requerre droit a vostre filz:

Car il est ou hault trone assis,

Ou fait les droiz.«

In spite of the great power of Mary's intercession with her son, Christ is invariably before the mind as the redeeming principle. In him Son of God and Son of Man, is found a likeness to God which man by himself could never attain.

God descended to earth, was made man, and in this two-fold character accomplished the redemption and man's reconciliation to God.

Christ is thus the redeemer and atoner and even if he is also the judge, he prefers to show mercy. This appears from the sermon in the miracle de Barlaam et Josaphat: »Doulce gent, combien que le doux Jhesus des obprobres que nous li faisons nous peust et puist reprendre et blamer, par justes menaces espouenter et par paines et flaiiaux chastier, toutes voies encore ama il miex par sa benigne misericorde au commencement de sa predicacion et encores aime le pecheur par promesses rappeler, quant il dit: Penitenciam agite, faites penitence.«

The Father and Son are equal in relations to one another. In relation to the angels and devils they are absolute rulers.

In relation to the virgin Mary God is sometimes father, sometimes son, sometimes bridegroom. In the Miracle de un Pape qui vendi le Basme: Mary calls God in the person of Christ:

»Mon père, mon fil, mon espoux,

Vostre commandement feray . . .«

and in the Miracle du Roy Thierry Jesus calls himself son, brother, friend, bridegroom, and father of Mary,

»Cy vien pour toy donner confort,

Qui sui de ma fille et ma mère

Filz, frère, ami, espoux et père.«

God the Holy Ghost like God the Father and God the Son dwells in heaven and is eternal. In the Miracle de Saint Pantoleon it says:

»Es cieulx comme sains esperites
Aront les bons leur mansion.«,

and in the Miracle de l'Evesque que l'Arcediacre murtrit:

»Ce m'ottroit li père et li filz
Et li benois sains esperiz,
Qui Dieux est pardurablement
Sanz fin et sanz commencement.«

In the Miracle de l'Empereur Julien »le premier bourgeois« says to »Saint Basille«:

»Sains esperis, ce m'est avis,
Si parle en toy.«,

and in the Miracle de l'Enfant donné au Diable the man who is happy because he has become a father praises and extols God the Holy Ghost and prays for his special protection for the child:

»Loez en soit sains esperiz,
Qui soit garde de mon enfant.«

In the mystery entitled Miracle de la Nativité Nostre Siegneur Jhesu Christ it is God the Holy Ghost who sends the archangel Michael to the old Simeon.

»Paix soit avec toy, Simeon.
En ton cuer doiz avoir grant joie:
Sains esperiz a toy m'envoie
Et te mande, n'en doubte pas,
Que ja la mort ne gousteras
Si aras veu le sauveur
Du monde: ceste grant honneur
Te veult il faire.«

And Mary comforts Joseph with the words that the Holy Ghost will surely guide them to Bethlehem:

»Joseph sire, cuer qui se fie
En Dieu ne peut estre periz:
Alons y donc. Sains esperiz
Par sa bonté nous conduira,

S'il li plaist, et de nous fera
Sa volenté.«

In »Le Mistère de La Passion« by Greban God the Father and God the Son appear, sometimes together, sometimes separately. God the Holy Ghost never appears. In the miracles sometimes God the Father and sometimes God the Son appears, but always separately.

In the Miracle de un Pape qui vendi le Basme God the Father plays a part which is typical in several respects. The miracle opens with a scene in which a man applies to the pope to be exempted from a certain obligation of burning two lamps with balsam in a church in honour of S. Peter.

On the pope asking whence this obligation has its origin, the man replies that a deceased relative whose heir he is had in the hour of danger promised S. Peter, that as long as he lived he would burn these two lamps in his honour and after his death his heirs should do so. Balsam, however, is so expensive that the man would like to be released from his promise. The pope is willing to come to terms and suggests, that the man should pay the sum of 300 besanz once for all. The man, thinking 200 besanz is enough, induces the pope to agree to thus. He then rushes off to fetch the money.

The next scene takes place in heaven. God the Father calls Peter's attention to the pope's wicked act. Peter answers that he has noticed it, but would not say anything as he had been thinking of the words the Lord spoke to him, when he made him pope. On Peter asking how often we were to forgive those who sinned against us, the Lord answered: »non set foiz, mais par le nombre de soissante et dis, pére chier . . .«

God himself is willing to forgive the pope, but only on condition that he repents, and in order to make him do so, S. Peter is to appear to him. S. Peter, with the archangels Gabriel and Michael, descends to earth and sternly rebukes the pope for his greed and threatens to close the gates of heaven to him. The pope is beside himself with despair and asks the advice of his cardinals. They advise him to send word to a pious hermit close by, requesting him to come to him. The

hermit is sent for and advises the pope to pray to »l'umblé vierge Marie«. The pope entreats the virgin in a fervent prayer to save him from being condemned.

At the request of God the holy virgin descends to earth, where she speaks to the pope in no gentle words as he kneels in the church in prayer and finally she turns him out of the church:

»Vil charoingne ou il n'a qu'order,
 Plain de la Dieu inimitié,
 Fuy de cy, fay que despechié
 Soit ce lieu qui est ma maison
 De toy tost sanz arrestoison,
 Car d'ordure elle est toute plaine
 Tant comme chose si vilaine
 Con tu es cy dedanz demeure;
 Et pour ce te conmans qu'en l'heure
 T'en voisés de cy, sanz plus estre.«

The pope is in despair at not finding grace, since the »mère de misericorde me rechace de ce lieu.«

The pope, however, perseveres in prayer and Mary again descends to earth. She is still stern, however; she commands the pope to leave the church, that it may not be contaminated by his presence. The pope does not give up hope, but keeps on praying for mercy and forgiveness. Once more Mary descends to earth, as before at the request of God, and this time she appears in her true character as the refuge of sinners. She promises the pope to intercede for him and obtain his forgiveness, and S. Peter, who is now with her, absolves him.

The pope now sends for the man to whom he had granted the abovenamed dispensation and promises him anything he likes if only he will again discharge his obligation of burning two lamps with balsam in honour of S. Peter. But the man will hear nothing of it and refuses to bind himself by any promise. The pope wishes to set his wrong right at any cost and having learned, that a certain dealer is in possession of two beautiful carbuncles, he sends for him and acquires his carbuncles for a

sum of 1000 livres. Then he places the carbuncles instead of the lamps in S. Peter's chapel. But with the permission of God S. Peter descends to earth and refuses to accept such a costly gift. He requests the pope to remove the carbuncles from his chapel and put them to some use in honour of the virgin Mary. The pope orders the carbuncles to be removed from S. Peter's chapel to the chapel of the Virgin.

At the suggestion of one of the cardinals the church is now named »Nostre Dame des escharboucles«.

The part played by God the Father in this miracle-play is interesting by the fact that he is represented as the absolute ruler, all the other celestial personages obeying him blindly.

Neither the virgin Mary nor S. Peter carry out the least act of their own accord, nor do they utter any prayer. They simply report and await the commands of God which they carry out in every particular.

If we compare this with the part played by God in the *Miracle de un Prevost que Nostre Dame delivra* we shall find a great difference.

In the latter play the virgin and S. Prist apply to God, but the virgin begins with a harangue about her »mamelles« which have suckled God, and her »belles mains« which have nursed him, so God asks her what she wants, — for it is plain from all these allusions, that she wants something. And in spite of the fact that God is evidently not in the mood to temper justice with mercy, he yields to the entreaties of Mary and S. Prist.

In the *Miracle de L'Enfant donné au Diable* something similar takes place. God passes sentence in favour of Mary, but this judgment is given in accordance with justice, not in consequence of Mary's powers of persuasion.

In the *Miracle de Theodore*, Theodore places implicit confidence in Mary, but here also the virgin does not act until she has interceded with God and obtained his permission to console Theodore.

We have seen that in these miracles the virgin Mary is more or less dependent on God who in all cases has the last

word. But in other miracles God plays a very insignificant role or no part at all.

In these the virgin is very independent, acts of her own accord and, as it were, rules supreme as God's substitute. This occurs in the *Miracle de Saint Jehan Crisothomes*, in the *Miracle de l'Abbesse grosse*, in the *Miracle de la Nonne qui laissa son Abbaie*, in the *Miracle de l'Evesque a qui Nostre Dame s'apparut*, in the *Miracle de un Marchant et un Larron*, in the *Miracle de l'Empereur Julien*, and in the *Miracle de un Chanoine qui se maria*.

There can be no doubt that the external appearance of God on the stage was as magnificent as possible. In that respect the 14th century was the reverse of the 13th. In the 13th century God was often represented seated on a stool, with head uncovered, clad in a simple robe, his right raised to administer the blessing. But at the close of the 14th century artists depicted what they saw on the stage and represented God with splendid ecclesiastical ornaments, which were lent by the clergy, even after the plays were no longer performed within the precincts of the church. In order to give some remote idea of the glory emanating from the person of God the actor who was to take this part had to resort to the only means at his disposal and appear with the insignia of earthly power such as the tiara of the pope, or the crown of the emperor.

The tiara was most popular, at any rate God was most frequently represented with it in contemporary and later pictorial art.

Van Eyck has given in the most perfect picture of the Father with the tiara and imperial sceptra. When Christ appeared in the mysteries as an historical person, he wore a mauve-coloured robe. When he appeared as a supernatural being, he wore a red mantle over it.

This was the traditional dress throughout France, on the stage as well as in pictorial art. We see it last in Hubert Cailaux' miniature in the Valenciennes manuscript.

On the mount of transfiguration, in accordance with Scripture, Christ wears a white robe. His face and hands are painted

with a golden-yellow colour. This is mentioned in *Le Mistère de la Passion* by Greban (*Icy doivent venir les habiz de Jhesus blans et sa face resplendissante conme d'or*), and in *Le Mistère de la Passion* by Michel (*Icy entre Jhesus dedans la montagne pour soy vestir d'une robe la plus blanche que faire se pourra, et une face et les mains toutes d'or bruny*).

During the representation of the passion itself Christ appeared naked wearing only a loin-cloth.

THE HOLY VIRGIN

Mary, the holy virgin, the mother of God, appears in three characters in the medieval drama. In the first place as the woman who is to come and to give birth to God's son on earth. In the second place as the historical Mary known to us from Scripture supplemented by the apocrypha. In the third place as a supernatural being who has been taken up body and soul into heaven after death.

In the play of Adam we hear of the Mary who is to come. After having sinned Adam exclaims: »Ne me ferat ja nul aie, For le fils que istra de Marie.« And in the procession of prophets Aaron says:

»Iceste verge senz planter
Poet faire flors e froit porter.
Tel verge istra de mon lignage,
Qui a satan fera damage;
Chi sanz charnal engendreüre
De homo portera la nature.«,

and later on Isaiah:

»Pres est li tens, n'est pas lointains,
Ne tarzera, ja est sor mains,
Que une virge concevra,
E virge un filz enfantera.

Il avra non Emanuhel,
 Message en iert saint Gabriël.
 La pucele iert virge Marie,
 Si portera le fruit de vie,
 Jhesu, le nostre salvaor,
 Qui Adam trarra de grant dolor,
 Et remettra en paraïs.«

In the mysteries we meet with Mary sometimes in the character of Mary who is to come, sometimes as the historical Mary. We will, however, at once pass on to the miracles in which Mary appears as a supernatural being.

Here we hear over and over again about the internal and external beauty of Mary which is unsurpassed. But, however, much and often we hear about it, it is difficult for us to reach any definite idea of what Mary was imagined to be like at the time of the miracle plays, or how she was represented on the stage.

The statements made and expressions used about her beauty are too vague and general to form a picture of, and individual characteristic features of her external beauty are not mentioned except in a few passages stating that her eyes are mild, viz. in the *Miracle de une Femme que Nostre Dame garda d'estre arse*, in which the daughter on being seized cries in alarm to the blessed virgin:

». . . Ha, dame des cieulx,
 En pitié de vos tresdoux yeulx
 Me regardez.«,

and in the *Miracle de la Fille d'un Roy* in the queen's prayer, that she may have a child there occurs a passage to Mary with the »tresdoux yeulx«:

»Deignies voz oreilles ouvrir
 De pitié, reyne des cieulx,
 Et aussi de voz tresdoux yeulx
 Qui plain sont de misericorde,
 Si com l'escripture recorde,
 Regardez . . .«.

In the *Miracle de Saint Jehan le Paulu, Hermite*, her look is compared to that of a dove. The preacher in his praise of Mary exclaims: »Vezei que tu es belle, m'amie, vezei que tu es belle: tu as yex conme de coulou.«

In the *Miracle de un Marchant et un Larron* Mary is mentioned as being white and red in the passage where the »larron« exclaims:

»Diex, conme elle est blanche et vermeille.
Sa biauté mon cuer esmerveille.«

The last of these two verse is typical in its generality of most of the statements on this subject in the miracle-plays. They occur over and over again. The hermit in the *Miracle de l'Abbeesse grosse* exclaims at the sight of Mary:

»Onques mais ne vi de biauté
Vostre pareille.«,

and in the *Miracle de l'Evesque a qui Nostre Dame s'apparut* the bishop who is carried away by his enthusiasm for Mary mentions »la grant biauté qu'en toy veoie«.

Beyond the statement about the gentle dove's eyes and the fresh red and white complexion, we hear nothing of the details of the great beauty which Mary was supposed to possess, and with which she was, as far as possible, provided on the stage. The miniatures, however, which are found in the beginning of the manuscripts of the plays, and which represent one of the scenes, furnish us with a few particulars.

At the beginning of the *Miracle de l'Abbeesse grosse* the miniature represents Our Lady accompanied by angels bringing the new-born babe to the hermit.

At the beginning of the *Miracle de la Femme du Roy de Portigal* we see the queen of Portigal kneeling before Mary. In the background there are half a dozen figures. At the beginning of the *Miracle de la Nativité Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist* we see the holy family, Mary reclining, the child lying in a manger made of basketwork and two animals beside it. Joseph and the assisting woman are kneeling. But this scene has no connection with the supernatural element. In the beginning of the

Miracle de Saint Jehan Crisothomes, the virgin accompanied by angels, is giving Johannes Chrysostomus a new hand. In the frontispiece to the Miracle de la Nonne qui laissa son Abbaie Mary bars the way to the escaping nun. At the beginning of the Miracle de un Pape qui vendi le Basmé we see the virgin with the child. She is accompanied by several angels and by S. Peter, and is chasing, not to say kicking, the pope out of the church¹).

The miniatures are very eloquent, often more so than the texts.

Contemporary ecclesiastical art also gives us some hints about Mary's appearance and actions. Generally speaking we may infer from this art, that it was attempted to give a certain supernatural character to the beauty of the virgin, but a closer examination of this subject does not come within the scope of this inquiry.

To be able to form a reliable opinion of the beauty ascribed to the virgin in the miracle-plays we must regard it on the background of the dogmatic conception of Mary as the woman, who was taken up into heaven body and soul after death.

Even if this point has not to this day been established as an article of faith in the Roman Church in the sense, that the Church has not definitely given its decision about it, the general opinion at the time when the miracles were written was that »*assumptio beatæ Virginis Mariæ sine temeritate negari nequit*«.

The assumption²) is mentioned in several of the miracles. In the Miracle de un Marchant et un Larron it says in the sermon: »Car ainsi que par sa commiseracion en ce monde elle surmonta toutes creatures mortelles, aussi en sa benoite assumption, quant elle fu portée ou ciel, elle surmonta tous les

¹) When I studied the ms. in 1913 I took down notes about the miniature, and even if they help me to retain a general impression, there are no doubt many details which I did not include, that would have been helpful to this enquiry.

²) Erroneously called »ascension« by several modern authors, assumption being confused with ascensio.

anges.», and in the *Miracle de l'Empereris de Romme* it says: »Certes la glorieuse vierge, au jour de son assumpcion, monta es cieulx pour veoir et oir la sapience Dieu le père son benoit chier fils qui ja autre fois descendu en li et tous jours fu ceste sagesce avecques lui et elle avecques ceste sagesce.«

It is evident that this dogmatic conception must have contributed considerably to give the figure of the virgin Mary in the miracles its distinctive character, since the holy virgin, in distinction from the other saints, was supposed to appear, not with the body of her earthly life, but with that same body in the transfigured state which the other saints did not assume until after the resurrection on the day of judgment.

To explain this we may refer the reader to what the new testament says about the body of Christ on the mount of transfiguration and about his body going through closed doors after the resurrection.

In the miracles Mary mentions her own beauty in the *Miracle de un Chanoine qui se maria*, where she rebukes the »chanoine« for preferring an earthly woman to her:

»Dy moy, dy moy, tu qui de cuer
Par samblant amer me soloies
Et qui maintenant me tenoies
En disant nonne pour si belle,
Conment est ce, se je suis telle,
Que pour autre femme me laisses?
Malement, ce semble, m'abaisses
Et ma valeur et ma biauté.
Ce n'est pas bonne loyauté,
Quant cy me laisses. Es tu yvres,
Qui tout ton cuer et t'amour livres
A une terrienne femme,
Et tu me laisses, qui sui dame
Du ciel? Dy me voir, ou est celle
Qui plus est de moy bonne et belle?«

In the *Miracle de l'Empereur Julien*, Libanius Hermite, who has been baptised and has become a hermit, is so carried

away with the beauty of the holy virgin, that he is ready to sacrifice even his eyesight or to let himself be mutilated only to see her whose »biauté tant est fine«:

»Dame, pourray je desservir
Qu'avant que de ce siecle fine,
Qu'en ta biauté qui tant est fine
Te veisse une seule foiz?«

Deuxiesme Ange:

» Aroies tu la voulenté
Que l'ueil senestre on te crevast,
Par si qu'elle a toy se monstrast
Visiblement?«

L'Ermite:

»Crevast? Oil, certainement
Je le vouloie.«

If we feel there is something wanting when we find no actual description in the miracle-plays of what constituted the beauty of Mary, we must content ourselves with the explanation that her beauty was too great to be described. Over and over again this is brought home to us in the stronger and stronger terms. The beauty of the virgin Mary is compared with every beautiful thing imaginable, but all things pale before it and are as nothing to it. She is compared with the rose, the lily, and the loveliest flower. In the *Miracle de Oton, Roy d'Espagne*, it says: »Rose, lis de biauté, cypres

Souuef«, and in the *Miracle de un Prevost que Nostre Dame delivra*, she is called: »Fleur de biauté, qu'ains si belle ne vi«, in the *Miracle de l'Enfant donné au Diable*: »Fleur de lis.«, and »Rose de douce odour parée.«, in the *Miracle de l'Evesque a qui Nostre Dame s'apparut* she is called the flower of flowers, the rose of roses.

»Ha, fleur des fleurs, des roses rose
Odorant et suppellative,
Quant a personne si chetive
Com je sui vous demonstrez, dame,
Je doy bien mettre corps et ame
En vous amer.«

In the *Miracle de l'Enfant donné au Diable* she is called by the names of all precious stones:

» Dame, royne precieuse,
 Dessus toutes autres royaulx
 Et sur toutes dame loyaulx,
 Fontaine de grace habondans,
 A touz pecheours secourans
 Quant en vous ont ferme creance
 Et de leurs meffaiz repentance,
 Vierge digne, dame piteuse,
 Sur toutes autres amoureuse,
 Gemme esmerée, vray rubis,
 Saphire clers, dyamant gentis,
 Esmeraude vraye, toupasse
 La qui vertu toute autre passe,
 Sur toutes autres eslevée,
 De paradis porte et entrée«

Often she is compared with symbolical persons in the old testament, more especially in the Song of Salomon. Mary is recognised in Sulamith, and, applied to Mary, the glowing words of this old song become virginally pure as the snow upon the mountain tops.

The beloved in the Song of Songs is the virgin Mary.

We hear repeatedly in the miracle-plays that the virgin Mary is as beautiful as the moon, or resembles the rose-coloured dawn or the sun. In the *Miracle de Saint Jehan Crisothomes* we have the following passage: » Qui est ceste dame qui est venus aussi comme l'aube du jour soy levant, qui est belle comme la lune, eslevée comme le soleil,«

Beautiful as the holy virgin is, she does not appear nude, this thought is rejected with horror. In the *Miracle de un Chanoine qui se maria* it says: » Penses tu que la royne des vierges soit nue a la destre de la majesté? Nanil, ains est merveilleusement aornée de royaulx vestemens et especialment de trois paires. Premièrement, car elle a un vestement blanc;

secondement elle est aornée d'un vestement d'or; et tiercement d'un vestement plein de lumière.«¹⁾

In the Miracle de Theodore she is crowned with »douze estoilles«, she is surrounded by the sun, and the moon is lying at her feet:

»Chascuns la doit bien prisier et loer,
 Quant ses haulx roys li fu si vraiz amans
 Qu'a sa destre la voutl puis couronner
 De douze estoilles clères et luisans,
 Et de soleil vestir pour la purté
 De sa precieuse virginité,
 Et a ses piez pour sa perfeccion
 Mettre une lune; ainsi par vision
 La vit li evangelistes ravie
 Ou elle peut bien mettre sa mesnie
 De bas estat en exaltacion.«²⁾

From these notions about the celestial garments of the holy virgin we may venture to infer that she appeared on the stage in a flowing robe of a golden, white or azure colour.

In the contemporary art we see the virgin Mary depicted in an azure robe and with rich golden hair falling over her shoulders.³⁾ It is a flowing robe, falling in the natural folds due to the shape of the human body.

Having now gathered an impression, however vague, of the external beauty of the virgin Mary and of her dress, we go on to consider her many great qualities and virtues.

Among these one is paramount: her purity.

She is above all what she is called in the Miracle de la Femme du Roy de Portugal »vierge pure«, the pure virgin, immaculately conceived, and a virgin both before and after the birth of Christ.

¹⁾ In the middle ages we seldom find the nude figure portrayed in ecclesiastical art. The child at Bethlehem is nude, Christ on the cross in part nude, and finally the souls were figured as naked before they were received into heaven.

²⁾ In this way artists of the 15th century depicted the virgin Mary of immaculate conception. Their source was the Revelation of St. John.

³⁾ Cf. Mâle.

»Toute la vie Jhesu Crist fu en troix poins; en purté, en austerité et en charité, et ces troys furent aussi en la glorieuse vierge Marie. Car elle vesqui purement; pour ce disoie je au commencement du sermon: Sicut lilium; et veez que la virginité de Marie est comparée au lis pour sa biauté et pour sa valour et aussi pour sa bonne odour; car si conme le lis est de merveilleuse biauté et valeur, aussi virginité est tres-bele et noble vertu entre les vertuz; apres, aussi conme le lis est de grant odour mesmement quant il est enraciné en grant humeur, aussi la virginité de la benoite vierge Marie, qui toute estoit fondée en humeur de devocion, fu moult souef flairant devant Dieu.«

In the Miracle de la Mère du Pape the pope's old mother entreats the virgin Mary

»par la vertu et la merite
De sa benoite annuncion,
De sa pure concepcion,
De sa nativité joyeuse,«

to procure a lenient judgment for her, and in the Miracle de l'Evesque que l'Arcediacre murtrit it is emphasised that »il est bien vray, que Diex principalement vould de vierge naistre«.

»Grans prouffiz est a cuer qui veult penser
Conment Dieu vould pour nostre sauvement
Prendre un vaissel virginal pur et cler,
Lequel comprint plus que ciel ne comprend;
Ce doux vaissel precieux, excellent,
Fu le saint corps de la vierge de pris,
Marie, en qui tout bien si est compris,
En laquelle, selon sainte escripture,
Se fourma Diex en humaine figure,
Pour nostre amour, qu'autrement ne vouloit
S'en ce l'onneur de dame ne veoit.

Si peut on bien par honneur dame amer,
Il est bien vray, que Diex principalement
Vould de vierge naistre, sans la grever;
Et vierge fu apres l'enfantement,
Dont nature s'en esbahy comment

En vierge fu un itel fait assis;
 Mais Dieu le vout, qui est noz vraiz amis
 Et qui repaist humaine creature
 De son saint corps; et si en fait peuture
 A tout vray cuer qui l'ayme et le pourvoit
 Quant en bonté perseverer le voit.«

The various other qualities of the virgin appear from her parts in the plays. Here I shall only mention that she is called »Dame, fontaine de pité« in the *Miracle de l'Enfant donné au Diable*, »Mère de consolacion« in the *Miracle de l'Abbeesse grosse*. In the *Miracle de un Pape qui vendi le Basme* the pope calls her

»Mère au souverain roy,
 Qui es de grace tresorière,
 Qui es de pitié boutillière,
 Qui es de pechié medicine,
 Qui es fondement et racine
 Des vertuz et des vices mors,«

in the *Miracle de l'Empereur Julien* Basilius calls her:

»Vierge, mère au doulx Jhesu Crist,
 Fontaine de vraie leesce,
 Amoureuse conforteresce,«

and finally, in the *Miracle de la Mère du Pape* the repentant mother says:

»Hé, vierge, precieuse jame,
 Mère d'amour et de concorde,
 Envers ton chier filz me racorde.«

The qualities and virtues which Mary was possessed of while on earth shine with the greater glory now, that she is sitting on the right hand of God. This aspect is illustrated in the *Miracle de l'Evesque que l'Arcediacre murtrit*, where the conclusion of the sermon is founded on the statement in the old testament:

»Astilit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circumdata varietate; Sire, la royne s'est tenue a ta destre, car elle est ta mère; en vesteure d'or, car c'est l'espouse; affublée ou adournée par diversité, c'est a dire de la multitude des vertus et des

graces; si comme dit saint Jherosme: Aus autres creatures ne sont données graces mais que par parties, mais en Marie s'espandi et fonda toute planté de grace; dont saint Bernard dit: Marie, de tant con tu as plus receu de graces en terre par devant toutes autres femmes, de tant as tu plus singuliers gloire es cieulx. «

In the Miracle de Saint Jehan le Paulu, Hermite, the virtues faith, humility, chastity and charity are emphasised:

»Nardus mea dedit odorem suum: ma narde a donné s'odeur. La narde de Marie, c'est l'umilité de Marie. La narde est une petite herbe et basse et de chaude nature, et de quoy on fait precieux ongnemens, et en ce j'entens la subjeccion et l'affeccion et la devocion de Marie, et ces trois choses jointes ensemble merveilleusement donnèrent grant odeur et flairèrent bon devant Dieu. Pour ce est il dit qu'elle a donné son odeur, voire si grant qu'elle n'est pas espendue ou monde seulement, mais ou ciel. Et par ceste odeur fu appaisié et reconsilié l'umain lignage a Dieu; et pour si grant odeur qu'elle a donné elle est ou plus seur lieu de paradis par sa tresferme *foy*; elle est ou plus hault par sa tresgrant *humilité*; elle est ou plus pur par sa tresgrant *chasté* et par sa nette virginité; elle est ou plus glorieux par sa vraie *amour* et par l'excellence de sa grant *charité*; du quel lieu, par les merites de ceste vierge, Dieu nous face touz parçonniers et citiens, si qu'en ame et en corps nous y aions sanz fin demour. «

The virgin Mary radiates a perfume of virtues and by this perfume »fu appaisié et reconsilié l'umain lignage a Dieu.«

This aspect of the nature of the virgin Mary as the mediatrix, is her chief rôle in the miracle-plays. She is the link between God and mankind in distress.

But before we go on to speak about the influence of Mary as an intercessor, we must ascertain whether the various other facts we have heard about her agree with the dogmatic view of the Virgin.

From the miracles it appears that, as the mother of God, Mary was seated on the right hand of God, and further, that her conception was immaculate.

These facts are in close agreement with what was already at the time of the miracles the general dogmatic view in the Church. It has subsequently been established as dogma in the official doctrine of the Church.

The dignity of the virgin Mary as the mother of God was already previously a dogma of the Church in the strict sense of the word, the third oecumenical council at Ephesus (431) having decided — in contrast to the Nestorians who called Mary *χριστοτόκον*, not *θεοτόκον* — that Mary, as the mother of Jesus Christ, the God-man, had the right of being called the Mother of God.

As it is well known, the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary received its dogmatic definition by Pope Pius IX as late as 1854, but dogmatic history shows that the general view on which the dogma was founded was prevalent in more or less highly developed form in wide circles during the preceding centuries.

The virginity of Mary both before and after the birth of Christ was established as a dogma at the Lateran council under Pope Martin I in 649.

In the nature of the case it was hardly possible to exalt to the dignity of a dogma the conception of the Holy Virgin as a mediatrix, since apart from the ideas which this conception had in common with the general doctrine of the worship of Saints, it simply denoted the general ecclesiastical view of Mary's relation to her son and his work as a redeemer.¹⁾

In the miracle-plays the worship of the Virgin is directed towards Mary as the virgin and mother, but mainly towards Mary as the queen of heaven, seated high above all Saints and Angels on the right hand of God. She is exalted high above earth, but she turns her loving eye and ear towards humanity that is suffering and struggling below. The idea that dominated the worship of Mary in the miracle-plays and during the whole of the middle ages was, that by her pure beauty she attracted and raised mankind, and by her power protected men and helped them to be saved.

¹⁾ Cf. Hurter: *Theologia dogmatica*, II, tract. 8.

Great power is attributed to her. The sum of all the merit, power, and influence of the Saints lies, as it were, at her feet and she is so near to God's heart that he can refuse her nothing. She turns away God's wrath and lets his grace and mercy overflow the world.

This is the part she plays in all the miracles. Since the sources of the miracle-plays date from the 13th century, and earlier, we shall now direct our attention towards the development and florescence of the worship of the Virgin during these centuries.

The Holy Bernhardus lived in the 12th century when the worship of the Virgin began to flourish. He wrote one of the most beautiful of the prayers to the Virgin: *Memorare, o piissima Virgo Maria, non esse auditum a saeculo quemquam ad tua currentem praesidia, tua implorantem auxilia, tua petentem suffragia, esse derelictum. Ego tali animatus confidentia, ad te, Virgo virginum, Mater, curro, ad te venio, coram te gemens peccator assisto; noli, Mater Verbi, verba mea despiciere, sed audi propitia, et exaudi. Amen.*«, and the faithful who were convinced of the power of her intercession prayed this prayer and sang hymns in honour of Mary. They knelt trustfully in prayer in churches that were consecrated to Our Lady, they decorated her chapels with flowers, they burnt candles in front of her image on the altar.

We need only consider the young man in the Miracle de un Marchant et un Larron who brought the Holy Virgin a bunch of flowers every Saturday, and the pious young son of the emperor whose humility and religious zeal made him play the fool, but who went secretly to the chapel of the Virgin to sacrifice a lighted candle to her. (Miracle de un Parroissian es-commenié.)

Poets wrote legends of the virgin Mary. From the 13th century we have Gautier de Coincy with his collection of *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, and »Mestre« Jehan le Marchant with *Miracles de Nostre Dame de Chartres*.¹⁾ The 13th century was above all the »siècle de la Vierge«; pictorial and sculptural art

¹⁾ Publ. Duplessis, 1855.

produced images of the Virgin by thousands; one cathedral after another was erected, and over the portals were carved scenes of the Virgin's life as we may still see them or, in many cases, might still see them before the great war. Noted examples are Notre Dame at Paris, the cathedrals at Reims, Amiens, Chartres, Laon, Senlis, the churches of S. Etienne at Bourges and Sens, and the church of S. Jean at Lyons.

Not far from the main altar in all these churches there is a chapel consecrated to the Virgin Mary. What solemn words have been spoken from the pulpits of these churches. Words that mingled with the words of the »Memorare« and of the hymns: »Ave, maris stella« and »Ave, regina coelorum«; this symphony of words echoes and re-echoes until it dies away softly under the high Gothic arches. Silence falls, the candles burning on the altar of the Virgin cast a dim light on the faces of the faithful whose eyes and features still reflect the ardour and enthusiasm evoked by the words of the sermon, words and thoughts taken from the sermons of Bernhardus or the »De laudibus beatae Mariae« of Albert the Great, or from the »Speculum beatae Mariae« of the »seraphic teacher« the Franciscan Bonaventura. Some have put their hands together while in silent prayer, they reflect on how plena gratia Mary is, others are passing the beads of their rosaries through their fingers while they praise and do homage to Mary in vocal prayer. All are filled with love for the Virgin Mary and everywhere voices sound her praise.

In Italy Jacobus de Voragine write page after page about the Virgin in »Legenda aurea«, and a little later Dante composed his beautiful verses in the »Paradiso«:

»Vergine madre, figlia del tuo Figlio,
Umile ed alta piu che creatura . . .«.

In Germany Reinmar von Zweter made out that every letter in the name of Maria had its special meaning:

M	stood for	Mediatrix.
A	—	Auxiliatrix.
R	—	Reparatrix.
I	—	Illuminatrix.
A	—	Adjutrix.

In French poetry the worship of the Virgin culminated in the dramatic poetry of the miracle-plays. Here we meet the pure and chaste Virgin, the Mother of God who carried within the virgin's womb what heaven and earth could not hold:

»E, vierge, qui compris en toy
Ce que le ciel ne peut comprendre,«

(Miracle de la Femme du Roy de Portugal).

She is raised high above all creation, above all Saints and Apostles she rules over Angels and Archangels:

»Ha, vierge plaine d'amistié,
En qui li saint se glorifient
Et en qui li pecheur se fient
Et espèrent remission,
Qui as la dominacion
Sur les vierges et sur les anges,
Qui puez commander aux archanges,
Qui es des apostres maistresse . . .«

(Miracle de un Marchant et un Larron), she is seated at the right hand of God, and, as it were, shares in the honour shown to God. She is the centre of religious life as it is shown in the miracle-plays, she gathers all threads in her hand, she appears on the stage, interferes in the action, and unravels the complications. She punishes the unrepentant, but more often she helps and saves, even where salvation would seem impossible. In the *Miracle de l'Abbesse grosse* she helps the unfortunate abbess and does her best to wipe out the traces of her sin; in the *Miracle de Pierre le Changeur* she contends with the devils for the soul of the wealthy miser who has at any rate done one good deed when once, for want of a stone, he threw a loaf at the head of a hungry beggar.

Even if Christ is the good, gentle saviour on whom poor sinners may rely, he is also the just judge. He will not even wrong the devil as we learn from the *Miracle de l'Enfant donné au Diable*.

According to this view it seems much safer to turn to Mary and take refuge with her like a child in its mother's arms. It is not hard to open one's heart and confess one's sin to her, she will always find a way out, she is a woman and a mother. As a

mother she pities the poor children of this earth who have not learned to control their passions, or to practise self-discipline or achieved the conquest of self, but yield to their momentary impulses and sin. With the greatest readiness the virgin avails herself of her power as the mother of God and comes to their assistance. It was naively believed in the middle ages that, as the mother of God, Mary could command God, for a son dare not disobey his mother: »Puis que tu li es mère, tu lui peuz commander. Car il, comme filz, ne te osera riens refuser.« (Miracle de Saint Jehan Crisothomes.)

It is a more attractive thought that, as the sister of God, the bride of God, and the mother of God, she may intercede for man.

The Saints and Angels are obedient and submissive to her. In the Miracle de l'Evesque a qui Nostre Dame s'apparut S. Jean declares his absolute obedience to her:

»Dame du ciel et de la terre
Il appartient qu'en touz endroiz
Faisons vostre vouloir, c'est droiz,
Et fait sera.«

None of the Saints having so much power in heaven as Mary, their intercession is not as effective as hers. If a prayer to Mary has proved unsuccessful, it is as good as hopeless to pray to a Saint. It is a case we seldom meet with in medieval poetry. I have only come across it once, in the poem about the Holy Martin by Pean Gatineau,¹⁾ where the Holy Martin is appealed to *after* Mary.

When the Saints are invoked, they as a rule apply to Mary. Thus S. Prist in the Miracle de un Prevost que Nostre Dame delivra says:

»Je vous pri, royne de gloire,
Que vous l'aiez ore en memoire,
Afin que ma pettion
Essauciez en l'entencion
Ou je l'entens.«

The Saints and Angels are always ready to accompany

¹⁾ Publ. Söderhjelm, 1897.

Mary and execute her commands. As a rule she is accompanied by angels who, on the way to and from heaven, sing a »rondel« in her honour. Sometimes the angels are sent before to prepare everything for her arrival, then they return to heaven and fetch her. In the *Miracle de l'Evesque a qui Nostre Dame s'apparut* Mary gives the following command:

»Michiel, entens a mon message
Faire, que je dire te vueil,
Et toy, mon ami Gabriel.
Vous deux en celle eglise alez
Et un siège m'appareilliez
Si honneste que je m'y siesse,
Car g'i vouldray estre une pièce,
Et un autre plus bas un poy,
Ou ceulx qui venront avec moy
Pourront seoir.«

In the *Miracle de l'Empereur Julien* something similar takes place. Sometimes the Saints and Angels are charged with such important tasks as the carrying of salves to the sick, e. g. in the *Miracle de Saint Guillaume du Desert*:

»Mi ange, mettez vous a voie
Et cestes boistes isnelment,
Qui sont de tresdoux oingnement,
Prenez, Agnès, et Vous, Cristine,
Et si chantez par amour fine
Vous quatre ensemble.«,

and in the *Miracle de l'Evesque a qui Nostre Dame s'apparut*, S. Eloy and S. Jean with the angels Michael and Gabriel carry a golden bowl with milk from Mary's breast to the bishop.

»Eloy, vueilliez a moy entendre,
Devant moy portez ce vaissel.
Et vous, Michiel et Gabriel,
En allant chanterez vous deux.
Jehan, ne demourez pas seulx.
Vous en venrez avecques nous
Jusqu'en ce moustier. Or sus, touz,
Mouvez, mouvez.«

»Car ce sont reliques moult beles:
 Plain est du lait de mes mamelles
 Dont le fil Dieu vierge alaittay;«

In the *Miracle de l'Evesque* que l'Arcediacre murtrit she lets the Angels and the Saints carry the body of the murdered bishop to heaven, and in the *Miracle de un Pape qui vendi le Basme* she commands S. Peter to absolve the pope.

In the middle ages hardly anything was more feared than getting into the clutches of the Devil, and it was the general opinion that the best way to avoid his persecutions was to fly for succour to Mary.

Mary and the Devil are enemies. The Devil's hatred for Mary is expressed in the *Miracle de l'Enfant donné au Diable*, where the devils are furious at being defeated.

He who wishes to enter into a compact with the Devil must not only deny God, but also Mary. As a rule he must sign his name in blood under the contract stating that he will belong to the Devil as does Theophile in the *Miracle de Theophile*. This document in order, the Devil passes into the body of the person in question who from that hour is entirely in his power and does only what he wishes. The greatest service Mary renders to Theophile is that she induces the Devil to part with the document. In the *Miracle de l'Enfant donné au Diable* Mary wheedles the Devil out of the document by saying that it is not worth »une poire«. The Devils is tricked into handing her the contract to show her that it is good enough, and Mary tears it up under his very nose.

SAINTS, MALE AND FEMALE

In a stained glass window in the cathedral of Moulins we see a design representing a family consisting of father, mother, son, and probably daughter-in-law, kneeling each before his or her patron saint. With a gesture full of gentleness and goodness the saints are, as it were, showing them the way to God's Son on the cross or to Mary, the Mother of God.

Neither God nor the Virgin is seen, but their presence is easily divined from the looks and whole attitude of the persons represented. The Saints are bending slightly towards those who are showing their devotion to them and, as it were, protecting them with the hand. Their whole attitude expresses benevolence.

When engaging on an examination of the Saints that appear as supernatural beings in the medieval drama, my thoughts turn instinctively to the stained glass window at Moulins which seems to me to illustrate the general conception of Saints.

The Saints have lived on earth as we have, lived there under the same conditions, and now that they are in heaven, they do not forget those who are struggling on earth but intercede for them with God and entreat the Virgin to intercede for them too.

The Saints are a connecting-link, they do not separate God and man. They seek to knit more closely the bonds that bind the soul to God by interceding for those who have fallen into sin from weakness. But their chief role is to enjoy their happiness in heaven in the contemplation of God in which they are joined by so holy a being as the Virgin Mary. They do not forget that they are God's servants and handmaids and that in holiness they are far beneath Mary, playing their parts in the miracle-plays with deferential modesty. They only interfere in the action when commanded to do so by God or the Holy Virgin, and obediently carry out their duties as modestly and unpretentiously as possible. Thus Peter, Paul, John, Prist, Lorens, Etienne, Agnes, and Cristine, who appear in the following plays:

Miracle de l'Evesque que l'Arcediacre murtrit.

Miracle de un Pape qui vendi le Basme.

Miracle de saint Guillaume du Desert.

Miracle de un Prevost que Nostre Dame delivra.

Miracle de un Enfant que Nostre Dame resucita.

Miracle de un Chanoine qui se maria.

Miracle de saint Sevestre.

Miracle de une Femme que Nostre Dame garda d'estre arse.

Miracle de l'Empereris de Romme.

Miracle de Oton, Roy d'Espagne.

Miracle de saint Jehan le Paulu, Hermite.

Miracle de Berthe.

Miracle du Roy Thierry and

Miracle de Robert le Dyable.

The Saints often join in the song of the Angels. Towards the devils they show that superiority and authority which their rank in heaven entitles them to show towards creatures that are eternally condemned to the torment and agony of hell.

ANGELS

In the mysteries the angels, like the other supernatural beings, act in accordance with the statements of Scripture supplemented by the apocrypha and tradition. The miracle-plays allow them more scope. In the play of Adam we meet with an angel as the guardian of Paradise after Adam and Eve have been driven out: »Interim veniet angelus albis indutus, ferens radiantem gladium in manu, quem statuet Figura ad portam paradisi et dicet ei: Gardez moi bien le paradis.«

In both plays of Daniel angels occur, in that of Hilarius: »Angelus tenens gladium qui concludat ora leonum«, and in the anonymous play: »Angelus tenens gladium comminabitur leonibus ne tangant eum (sc. Daniel).« In the Easter and Christmas mysteries we meet with angels at the sepulchre, by the manger, and on many other occasions, but we shall now direct our attention to the miracles of the Virgin and consider the angels occurring there.

Here they often appear in their biblical character as God's messengers. Sometimes they carry word of the Divine punishment to come to hardened sinners, sometimes they bring health and consolation to the repentant and sometimes strength and fortitude to the martyrs.

In the Miracle de Amis et Amille God sends the archangel

Gabriel to Amis to inform him that he will become a leper, and further on in the play the archangel Michael is sent to him to inform him that to be bathed in the blood of Amille's children is the only remedy against his disease.

»Gabriel, va l'en sanz delay
 Au conte Amis, qu'aler voy la.
 Et li dy que mesel sera
 Pour ce qu'il a sa foy mentie,
 Et que je vueil qu'il se chastie
 De tel affaire.«
 »Michiel, liève sus sanz demeure;
 Vas savoir d'Amis a delivre
 S'il veult au monde encore vivre.
 S'il dit oil, si li ennonce
 Qu'a son chier compaignon denonce
 Secrément, quant point verra,
 Après ce que trouvé l'ara,
 Que se de ses deux filz avoit
 Le sanc et son corps en lavoit,
 Seroit mondez.«

Often the angels are sent to inform man that death is near, as in the *Miracle de saint Jehan Chrisothomes*, where Gabriel says:

»Anthure, saches Dieu te veult
 Oster de ce siècle mondain,
 Et te fait savoir que demain
 De ce siècle trespaseras.
 Appreste toy, car tu seras
 Des cieulx doée«,

and in the *Miracle de Theodore* where Gabriel is sent with the Divine message:

»Theodore, de ceste vie
 Mondaine ennuit trespaseras
 Et en gloire sanz fin venras.
 Apreste toy.«,

and finally in the *Miracle de saint Alexis*, where God sends Gabriel to S. Alexis:

»Gabriel, va t'en sanz demour
 A Alexis faire savoir
 Qu'avecques moy le vueil avoir
 Et oster de ceste mondaine
 Vie ou il n'a eu que paine
 Et si le vueil, c'est mon propos,
 Mettre en pardurable repos
 Et qu'il s'ordaine tellement
 C'on sache après sa mort coment
 Il a pour Dieu povre vesqui
 Et qui il est et ou nasqui
 Et son affaire.«

Gabriel answers as the angels always answer, and as it behoves God's angels to answer:

»Pére de gloire, je vois faire
 Vostre vueil sanz arrestoison.«

In the following miracles angels carry the commands of God to men: In the Miracle de saint Jehan Crisothomes, where Gabriel informs Anthure:

»Anthure, le roy souverain
 Veult que voises en ton pais
 Dont es née, et ne t'esbahis,
 Car ja ne seras tant voue
 Que tu soies recogneue
 D'omme ne femme.«,

in the Miracle de Robert le Dyable, where God sends Gabriel to Robert:

»Je vueil que voises sanz arrest
 A Robert le fol, Gabriel,
 Dire qu'il s'en voit ou prael
 Ou la clére fontaine sourt.
 La des blanches armes s'atourt
 Et arme qu'il y trouvera,
 Et tantost conme armé sera,
 Combatre s'en voit aux paiens,
 Et face aide aux crestiens
 Tost et secours.«,

in the Miracle de Pierre le Changeur, in the Miracle de la Fille d'un Roy, and finally in the Miracle de saint Alexis.

Angels carry God's commands to the devil in the Miracle de un Prevost que Nostre Dame delivra:

»Gabriel, sus sanz contredit.
 Vas tantost, je le te conmant,
 Dire a Sathan que je li mant
 Qu'il prengne le prevost Estienne
 En corps et en ame et le maine
 En purgatoire pour son vice
 Et la le bate et le pugnisse
 Et le face a peine partir
 Sanz l'ame hors du corps partir;
 Car je li deffens a li nuire,
 Voire, afin que par lui ne muire.
 Voiz tu m'entente?«

L'ange: »Sire, oil; je vois sanz attente
 Faire vostre comandement.«

»Sathan, sanz nul delaiement,
 Fay qu'en purgatoire soit mis
 Le prevost Estienne et pugniss
 Sanz li du tout a mort destruire,
 Car Diex ne veult mie qu'il muire,
 Mais qu'il sente qu'est purgatoire.
 Cecy te mande Dieu de gloire.
 Vas, si le fais.«

God sends his angels to console and protect men; thus in the Miracle de saint Lorens, Michael comforts S. Lorens and bathes his wounds, and in the Miracle de saint Panthaleon the angel Gabriel at God's command extinguishes the fire that has been lighted to burn Panthaleon, and in the Miracle de saint Ignace angels protect Ignace against the flames.

Sometimes their tasks are of another kind. In the Miracle de la Fille d'un Roy the angel Gabriel is commanded to be the guide and protector of the king's daughter, who is flying from her father's unnatural love. She is dressed in man's clothes.

and upon her arrival at Constantinople she takes service with the emperor and fights against his enemies.

Gabriel is equal to the task. On the voyage he arranges everything, speaking Latin to the shipmaster, after their arrival he goes to war and helps to bring home the victory. Later on when the princess has got into a grave dilemma as, being taken for a man, she is expected to marry the emperor's daughter, the angel Michael is commanded to assume the shape of a white stag and aid her.

In the *Miracle du Roy Thierry* God commands Michael to convey Osanne to the port nearest to Jerusalem. Very often the angels carry the souls of the departed to heaven. In the *Miracle de saint Jehan Crisothomes* angels fetch Anthure's soul:

Michiel: »Gabriel, ne nous targons mie;
Alons querre appertement l'ame
D'Anthure, celle sainte femme
Qui se trespasse.«

Gabriel: »Alons, que Sathan ne l'enlasse,
Qui droit n'y a.«

....

Michiel: »Portons devant la trinité,
Gabriel, ceste ame en chantant,
Qui en ce siècle a souffert tant
Paine et martire.«

In the *Miracle de un Prevost* que *Nostre Dame* delivra, after the reading of a solemn mass for the soul, angels convey it from purgatory to heaven. In the *Miracle de Theodore*, angels convey her soul to heaven:

Dieu: »Sus, mi anges, sus sanz respit,
Et vous, mére, alons l'ame querre
De Theodore. Alons bonne erre,
Ains qu'elle fine.«

Nostre Dame: »Filz, alons; elle en est bien digne,
Car souvent a esté lassez
Son corps par penance et assez
Meschief eu.« . . .

Dieu: »Michiel, celle ame tost saisis,
Si l'en emporterons en gloire,
Elle a du monde eu victoire,
De la char et de l'ennemi.
Pour ce vueil qu'elle ait avec mi
Gloire sanz fin.«

Michiel: »Vray Dieu, je feray de cuer fin
Vostre vouloir. Vezla ci, sire.«

In the Miracle de saint Valentin the angels fetch first the
souls of the young schoolboys and afterwards S. Valentin's soul:

Dieu: »Mére, je vueil qu'aliez bonne erre
A mes amis que voi la estre,
Qu'en veult a mort pour mon nom mettre.
Anges, vous deus la conduisiez,
Et en alant la deduisiez
D'un biau chant faire.«

Le premier ange: »Vostre vouloir si nous doit plaire,
Sire, par droit.«

Deuxiesme ange: »Nous en irons par la endroit
Quand jus serons.«

....

Nostre Dame: »Or tost, sanz plus faire devis,
Mes amis, ces ames prenez
Et ici plus ne vous tenez.«

....

Dieu: »Sus, Michiel, et toy, Gabriel
Alez vous ent la jus en terre
L'ame de mon bon ami querre,
C'on veult decoler pour m'amour.
Je vueil qu'en gloire son demour
Ait sanz fenir.«

Gabriel: »Sire, sanz nous plus ci tenir,
Nous y alons.«

In the Miracle de saint Alexis:

Dieu: »Anges, mettez vous en saisine
De son ame, car le corps fine,
Qui tellement a en ce monde

Vesqu que l'ame est pure et monde
 Et qu'il a, tant m'a il servi,
 La gloire des cieulx desservi,
 Voire et vous, dame.«

It is owing to this belief, that angels take the souls of the good to paradise, that the dying bishop in the *Miracle de l'Evesque* que l'Arceidiacre murtrit prays to the Angel Michael:

»Glorieux saint Michiel, delivre
 Moy de Sathan et de ses laz.«

When the angels come to fetch the souls sometimes a contest arises between them and the devils as in the *Miracle de Pierre le Changeur* where angels and devils fight for the soul of Pierre le Changeur in the presence of God and the Virgin.

In several of the miracle-plays the angels carry various things from heaven to earth, thus in the *Miracle de L'Enfant donné au Diable* they bring food to the hermit, and in the *Miracle de saint Ignace* God commands the angels to take food and drink to S. Ignace in prison:

»Mi ange, alez ent conme appert
 En la chartre ou Ygnace est mis,
 Et de par moy ly soit tramis
 Ce pain et ce pot de buvrage.«

Not only from God, but also from the Holy Virgin do the angles carry objects to men. In the *Miracle de saint Guillaume du Desert* they bring boxes with salves, and in the *Miracle de l'Evesque a qui Nostre Dame s'apparut* they bring a golden bowl with milk from her breast.

In the miracles the angels often accompany God, the Holy Virgin, and the saints. They accompany God in the *Miracle de un Marchant et un Juif*, in the *Miracle de Pierre le Changeur*, in the *Miracle de la Fille d'un Roy*, and in the *Miracle de saint Alexis*.

One of the chief functions of the angels is to sing, they sing when they accompany the celestial supernatural beings. When they accompany God they chant his praises, when they accompany Mary they praise her in song, in one case, however, they fall silent, in the *Miracle de l'Evesque que l'Arceidiacre*

murtrit. God's Mother is sad and on the angels asking whether they shall sing, she replies:

»Nanil: tant que mon fil m'ara
Donné de ceste mort venjance,
De mon dueil n'aray allejance:
Ne chantez point.«

In the Miracle de Pierre le Changeur God sends his angels before to prepare a seat for him:

Dieu: »Anges, savez que vous ferez?
Allez m'un siège la jus mettre
Ou seoir comme juge et maistre
Puisse une pièce.«

The angels obey his command, but they also prepare a seat for the Holy Virgin, though God has not commanded it. So here we see them not only mechanically carrying out the commands of God, but also acting independently as intelligent and rational beings.

In the Miracle de l'Evesque a qui Nostre Dame s'apparut and in the Miracle de l'Empereur Julien, the Virgin sends the angels before to prepare everything for her arrival.

In the Miracle de la Mère du Pape, at the request of Mary, the angels erect a chapel to her faithful servant and place lighted candles at her grave. In the Miracle de une Femme que Nostre Dame garda d'estre arse the Holy Virgin sends first Michael, then Gabriel, to take the candle from Guibour which S. Jean has given her. When Gabriel tries to snatch it from her, the candle breaks and she keeps a bit in her hand.

To God and the Holy Virgin the angels are obedient and submissive servants, they are attendants upon their thrones in heaven, worshipping God and singing his praise. They obey the least sign of God and the Virgin and fly to earth as their messengers.

It is perhaps not quite correct to say »fly«. The only passage, as far as I know, where the verb »voler« is employed is in a Mystère de Saint Denis, where Jesus says: »Mes anges, en France volez«, and the angels answer: »nous alons.«

The verbs most frequently used are: vadere, recedere, venir

de paradis, descendre, monter, remonter, aler au monde, aler au paradis.

The Holy Virgin is often called Queen of the angels; thus it says in the *Miracle de l'Empereur Julien*:

»Dame du ciel et de la terre,
Royne des anges nommée«,

and she says about herself in the *Miracle de l'Abbeesse grosse*:

»Je suis des anges la royne«,

and in the *Miracle de un Chanoine qui se maria* it says:

». . . Royne et gloire des anges,
Qu'en gloire es sur touz les archanges
Beneurée empereris.
»Dame, qui dessus les archanges
Et de touz sains estes royne«.

In their relations with the saints the angels are sometimes their equals, sometimes their subordinates.

Both the saints and the angels sing, and appear to be equals in the following plays:

Miracle de un Enfant que Nostre Dame resucita.

Miracle de un Paroissian esconmenié.

Miracle de Oton, Roy d'Espagne.

Miracle de saint Jehan le Paulu, Hermite.

Miracle de Berthe.

Miracle de sainte Bautheuch.

Miracle de un Marchant et un Juif.

Miracle de Clovis.

In the *Miracle de Oton, Roy d'Espagne*, in the *Miracle de saint Jehan le Paulu, Hermite*, and in the *Miracle de Berthe*, S. Jean requests the angels to sing and offers to join in their song.

In the *Miracle de l'Evesque que l'Arceidiacre murtrit*, in the *Miracle de l'Evesque a qui Nostre Dame s'apparut*, in the *Miracle de un Chanoine qui se maria*, and in the *Miracle du Roy Thierry*, on the other hand, the saints do not join in the Angelic song, and hold a higher position than the angels.

In the *Miracle de l'Evesque que l'Arceidiacre murtrit* the angels are commanded to go in front and the saints to follow

with the soul of the departed »evesque«, and in the *Miracle de l'Evesque a qui Nostre Dame s'apparut* the angels are ordered to prepare a seat not only for the Holy Virgin, but also for the saints that accompany her.

In the *Miracle de saint Guillaume du Desert* God and the Holy Virgin are accompanied by the saints Cristine and Agnes. The saints join in the Angelic song, but while the angels carry candles, the saints carry the soul of the departed hermit.

Between God and man the angels are, as we have seen a kind of connecting link, and in the *Miracle de l'Enfant donné au Diable* the angel Gabriel calls the hermit: »frère«.

With the devils the angels do not often come into contract. We have already mentioned the cases in which it occurs, viz. when angels and devils contend for the souls of the departed, and when an angel is sometimes sent to Satan with a command from God.

In the miracles the angels are as a rule all equal. In the *Mistère de la Passion* by Greban God says in the prologue: »creons anges en trois parties et en faisons trois jherarchies: en la premiere sont ydones, cherubins, seraphins et trones; en la seconde établissons les haultes dominacions, potestés et principaultés; en la tierce virtuaultés, archanges et apres les anges.«

In the plays, as by the way in Scripture, too, the division of the angels varies greatly. Pope Gregory writes: »Sciendum vero quod Angelorum vocabulum nomen est officii, non naturae. . . . Hi autem qui minima nuntiant Angeli: qui vero summa annuntiant Archangeli vocantur. Hinc est enim quod ad Mariam Virginem non quilibet Angelus, sed Gabriel Archangelus mittitur. Ad hoc quippe ministerium, summum Angelum venire dignum fuerat, qui summum omnium nuntiabat. Qui idcirco etiam privatis nominibus censentur, ut signetur per vocabula, etiam in operatione quid valeant. Michael namque, Quis ut Deus? Gabriel autem, Fortitudo Dei: Raphael vero dicitur Medicina Dei« (Ex Homil. 34 in Evang.).

In the miracles Michael, Gabriel and Raphael sometimes appear separately, sometimes together, Michael with Gabriel or Gabriel with Raphael. In the *Miracle de un Marchant et un*

Larron and in the *Miracle de Pierre le Changeur* besides Gabriel and Michael there is a third angel who is nameless¹). Michael and Gabriel seem to me to be equals in the medieval dramas, Michael speaks first in some dramas, it is true, but then in others Gabriel speaks first.

In the miracle-plays conditions vary. In the *Miracle de l'Empereris de Romme* the angel Michael always speaks first or quite alone, but in the following miracles the angel Gabriel takes precedence:

Miracle de saint Sevestre.

Miracle de Barlaam et Josaphat.

Miracle de saint Ignace.

Miracle de la Fille du Roy de Hongrie.

Miracle de Robert le Dyable.

Miracle de Pierre le Changeur.

Miracle de Clovis.

In the *Miracle de un Paroissian esconmenié*, where Michael does not appear, but Gabriel and Raphael, they are equals. When the angels Michael and Gabriel are called first and second angels, the first angel means Michael in two miracles, viz. the *Miracle de l'Empereur Julien*, and the *Miracle de l'Empereris de Romme*, while Gabriel appears as »first angel« in eleven miracles, viz.

the *Miracle de un Prevost que Nostre Dame delivra*,

the *Miracle de un Enfant que Nostre Dame resucita*,

the *Miracle de la Mère du Pape*,

the *Miracle de saint Panthaleon*,

the *Miracle de saint Valentin*,

the *Miracle de la Fille du Roy de Hongrie*,

the *Miracle de saint Jehan le Paulu, Hermite*,

the *Miracle du Roy Thierry*,

the *Miracle de Robert le Dyable*,

the *Miracle de Pierre le Changeur*,

the *Miracle de la Fille d'un Roy*.

If we may attach any importance to this, Gabriel seems to

¹) Schnell questions the authenticity of the third angel, surely, there is no reason to do so as it occurs in two miracles.

take precedence in the miracles, but in other medieval dramas we find Michael taking precedence, so, in my opinion, they may be regarded as equals.

Of the external beauty of the angels we know very little. They are dazzling, we hear in the *Miracle de l'Empereur Julien*, where the Holy Basilus sees a great host of them and is terrified at the sight:

»Doulx Diex, dont viennent gens si faiz
Com je voy, ne pour quel raison
Viennent ci? Trop sont grant foison
D'ommes, touz en biauté esliz.
Tuit sont plus blanc que fleur de lis;
Tant sont luisans, tant respandissent,
Que tuit li oeil m'en esbloissent.
Contre terre pasmer m'esteut:
Car ma veue souffrir ne peut,
Ne porter plus ceste lumière.«

An attempt seems to have been made to give the angels on the stage some of that brightness and glory which they were imagined to possess in heaven, where they were in the immediate vicinity of God, but of their apparel or attributes in the miracle-plays we know nothing. -

Their dress is described in several mysteries, and from these descriptions we may infer that, in the miracles, the angels either wore the long white robes, which were common in the 12th and 13th centuries, and which we know from the play of Adam, or they wore the coloured vestments of the singing boys, which became more common in the 15th century, and which we know from Fouquet. Mâle seems to prefer the white robe; he calls it »cette belle tunique décente, qui n'est d'aucun pays, d'aucun temps, mais qui semble le vêtement même de la vie éternelle«, and he seems to regret that it has been replaced by that of the boy servers.

Often the angels carry insignia. In the plays of Daniel they carry swords, in the passion-plays the angels at the sepulchre carry palm branches. In the *Mistère des Actes des Apostres* the angels are represented with a strong light surrounding

them, which shows the attempt to convey an impression of the supernatural. In an *Office du Sepulcre selon l'Usage de Narbonne*¹⁾, the angels are described as having wings on their shoulders »*alis in humeris*«, and I seem to remember that the angels in the miniatures of the miracle-plays are depicted with wings, but I have no notes to that effect and, as far as I know, there exists no description of these miniatures.

DEVILS

The belief in the devil, in his power and indefatigable zeal in trying to capture souls and lure them into his toils was widespread in the middle ages and was early represented and illustrated not only in pictorial art, but also in poetry. In the drama the scenes in which the devil appeared came to occupy an important part as a natural consequence of the fact that the mysteries and miracle-plays derived their subjects from the Bible and the legends, in both of which the devil appears, and once on the stage, the devil rapidly developed into an important figure, whose part made a strong appeal to the public imagination:

The figure of the devil filled the mind with horror, but on the other hand, it was known that his power was limited and his plans often frustrated and he himself fooled, and in such situations he provoked the laughter of the audience. If we add to this that as a rule he appeared with horns in his forehead, in a hairy skin with a tail and other animal equipment, his grotesque figure was bound to inspire merriment.

The devil is a being doomed to eternal damnation. In his persecutions he cannot go a step further than God allows him to, and he cannot read the thoughts of man, so for this reason alone man need not fear him much. In his faith in the heavenly beings man finds his best protection against the devil, who flies from the sign of the cross, or when he hears the name of the

¹⁾ Publ. Du Ménil.

Virgin Mary, or sees anything that has been consecrated and blessed by the Church.

Besides Lucifer who is the devil in chief there are innumerable other devils¹⁾. Lucifer is the Prince of Hell, and as such a certain deference is shown to him. He lays the plans against mankind.

Next in rank is Satan. He is sent out to tempt mankind. He is regarded as the shrewdest of the devils, and Lucifer often asks his advice. In the *Miracle de saint Guillaume du Desert* he is called »advocat«:

Beelzebuz: »Sathan, j'ay tout le ventre plain
De dueil, et te diray pour quoy.
Nous avons perdu, bien le voy.
Guillaume le duc d'Acquittaine;
Il m'a tant donné haire et paine,
Et si ne le puis atrapper
A ce que le puisse happer
En un pechié.«

Sathan: »Beelzebus, et j'ay songié
Comment il sera de nous pris;
Nous en irons en un pourpris
Et figure d'omme prendrons,
Et quant a lui nous deux vonrons,
Je diray que son pére sui.
Ainsi sera il au jour d'ui
Pris de nous deux.«

Beelzebuz: »Haro, com bons sont tes conseilz:
Pour nient n'es tu pas advocat.«

Other devils mentioned are Belzebus, Belial, and Behemot. There is great good fellowship among the devils, and they address each other by the kindest names. In the *Miracle de l'Enfant donné au Diable*:

Le premier Dyable: »Amis doulx, or ne t'en fain pas,
Se tu veulx aquerre m'amour;
Et je t'aideray sanz demour,

¹⁾ According to Gustav Roskoff: *Geschichte des Teufels*, II, p. 380
Martinus Borrihaus put their number at 2, 665, 866, 746664.

Si qu'a ce cop ne faudrons mie,
 Tant leur ferons d'engeingnerie
 Pour la mère Dieu courrocier.«

In the plays the devils appear sometimes in their biblical character, i. e. as tempters and enemies of the Kingdom of God, or carrying out God's just punishments, and sometimes as comic figures, i. e. in ecstasies at having carried off a good prize or hoping to do so, or as cowardly devils who run away with their tail between their legs, or as stupid devils who are cheated out of their prey.

In the play of Adam the devils appear as tempters and carry out God's commands. Here Satan plays the chief role. When God has entered the church devils rush on to the stage and try to tempt Eve with indecent gestures and signs to eat of the forbidden fruit. At the same time Satan approaches Adam and in a lengthy dialogue tries to tempt him to disobey God. He has to retire without success, he joins the other devils and they mix with the audience. After a couple of days have passed, Satan again tries to tempt Adam, and again he is unsuccessful. Crestfallen he proceeds to Hell to take counsel with the other devils. He then returns to Paradise, and this time he approaches Eve and addresses her with an ingratiating voice and air. He advises her to taste the forbidden fruit; Adam, he says, does not know, what serves his own interests, he is a good fellow, but not very shrewd. Eve ventures upon a feeble protest, Adam is bold and outspoken. The devil gets bolder and bolder as Eve gradually grows more and more doubtful. Adam is a fool, a dense hardhanded churl, but you, Eve, have a care that you do not close your eyes to the good fortune awaiting you. You are delicate and fragile, more fresh than the rose, more white than crystal, finer and purer than the virgin snow falling on the transparent ice; the Creator has made a great mistake in coupling you two together. But you are wise and sensible, it is a pleasure to talk to you. »I will tell you something, Eve.« Eve: »Speak, speak.« The devil: »But you must not on any account tell anybody.« Eve: »No.« The devil: »Not even Adam.« Eve: »No.« The devil: »Hear me then. But there

is nobody else near, is there? Adam cannot hear us, I suppose? . . . No fruit in Paradise can be compared to the forbidden fruit, if she will only take courage and eat of it, she will become like God and rule the world.

Eve sends eager glances towards the tree of knowledge and Satan leaves her.

In this scene the devil makes use of all the means of temptation in his power. First he speaks ill of Adam, then he flatters Eve, praising her beauty and insight. He does not forget to tell her, that her heart is very tender, her mind very susceptible, and he excites her senses and makes her long to eat the apple merely for the taste of it, the taste is heavenly; and finally he excites her ambition by his ingratiating words — she will become like God and rule the world.

While displaying all his seductive art and cunning he does not forget to enjoin her to keep secret their conversation. This scene of the temptation is altogether finely executed and reaches a perfection which was attained neither before nor after in the medieval religious drama.

The dialogue comes lightly and naturally, and the dramatic tension increases more and more, and Satan shows considerable powers of psychological observation. Later on in the play of Adam we see the devils carrying out the Divine commands when they take Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel to the kingdom of the dead. They chain and fetter them and push them along roughly, all except Abel whom they conduct gently; a number of devils dance and rejoice over their first prey. In the *Miracle de l'Enfant donné au Diable* the devils conspire against the husband and wife who have taken a vow of chastity and make them break their vow.

In the *Miracle de saint Jehan le Paulu*, Hermite the devil obtains a victory which he especially prizes when he induces the hermit to sin, for the devils hate asceticism above all, and try everything to tempt those who have renounced the world. How the devil exerts himself in the *Miracle de saint Guillaume du Desert* and when his temptings prove fruitless Satan and Belzebus begin to ill-treat the poor Guillaume to such a degree

that the Virgin Mary feels induced to descend to earth with a salve to heal him.

In the *Miracle de la Mère du Pape* the devil tries every means to prevent the pope's mother from carrying out her penance, and something similar occurs in the *Miracle de Theodore*.

The saints are a thorn in the devil's side; he persecutes them and rejoices more if he can make them commit a small sin than if ordinary people commit a great sin.

In *Le mystère de Saint Martin* the devil would be satisfied if he could only induce the Holy Martin to show impatience. In the *Miracle de la Marquise de la Gaudine* the devil persecutes the innocent marquise. In the *Miracle de un Prevost que Nostre Dame delivra* the devils execute God's judgment when they are ordered to fetch Etienne and punish him without killing him outright.

In the »*Miracles de Nostre Dame*« the devils do not carry off many prizes, they always get the worst of it in the keen contests with the Virgin Mary who always protects her children.

In some miracles they are in the most extravagant spirits at the prospect of carrying off a prize. Thus in the *Miracle de l'Enfant donné au Diable* there is a general rejoicing among them and one devil says:

»Jay si grant joie que j'espautre
Tout de ris quant il m'en souvient.«,

and the other answers:

»Il seront nostre: or nous convient
Mener joie com bon ribaus.«

In the *Miracle de l'Evesque que l'Arceidiacre murtrit* one devil says to the other:

»Mais scez tu de quoy j'ay grant joie?
Le mort a pris dame Maroye;
Si li a si bien desservi
Ce qu'en son vivant l'a servi
Que porté l'a en jugement
Devant le juge qui ne ment,
Et la, par ses piteux regrez,

A si bien mené son procès
 Que celui la, sanz plus attendre
 En jugement pour soy deffendre
 Convient aler.«

Second Dyable:

»Haro, de joye vueil ulla,
 Quant tu si bien besongnié as.
 Alon savoir quant de son las
 Cors l'ame se despartira:
 Je sçay bien que nostre sera
 Puis qu'ainsi est.«

The devils have not long to wait and they are ready to conduct the murderer to Hell the moment God has pronounced judgment:

»Qui de glaive ferra autruy,
 A glaive ira le corps de lui.
 Puis qu'il est ainsi qu'il a mort,
 Dame, vostre serjant a tort,
 Il fault qu'il muire, ce me semble,
 Et en ame et en corps ensemble,
 Avecques les dampnez sera,
 Car le grant pechié que fait a
 Contre l'infinie bonté
 De la benoite trinité
 Requierit peine et torment sanz fin:
 Jamais n'ara n'ami n'affin.
 Alez: es tourmens vilz et ors
 D'enfer menez et ame et corps
 Entre vous deux.«

Premier Dyable:

»Or peut renouveler ses deulx,
 Sathan, puis qu'il nous est livré.
 Alons men; ce vault delivré.
 S'il estoit plus dur que nul fer,
 Si sara il se feu d'enfer
 Est chaut ou non.«

Second Dyable:

»Tu as dit voir: se fera mon.
Or l'i menons donques bonne erre,
Et puis si venrons son corps querre
Qui la se gist.«

The devils seize upon the damned soul and one of them declares that even if »Il estoit plus dur que nul fer si sera il se feu d'enfer est chaut ou non«, and later on they return to take the body to Hell as well:

Premier Dyable:

»Sathan, puis qu'en nostre meurjoye
Celle meschant ame avons mis,
Il fault que le corps, biaux amis,
Soit avec elle.«

Second Dyable:

»J ay une brouete trop belle:
Alons le mettre ens sanz delay,
Et tanstot le t'entraîneray
A nostre hostel.«

Premier Dyable:

»Tu dis bien; si ara autel
Que sa compaigne.«

Second Dyable:

»Prens contre moy et ne l'espargue;
Jette cy dedans ma brouette.
De joie menray grant tempeste
En la menant.

Premier Dyable:

»Alons ment, grant bruit demenant,
Par ceste voie.«

In the Miracle de l'Empereur Julien there are two devils who are quite unable to curb their exaltation, one outdoes the other in boasting of his exploits. »I have just accomplished a glorious feat,« says the one: »Je vieng de faire un fait royal.«

Le premier Dyable:

»Quel dyable as tu? Com tu t'envoises,
Et com tu saus, et com tu bales.

As tu bouté le feu es haies?
Di, Belial.◀

Deuxiesme Dyable:

»Je vieng de faire un fait royal.
Scez tu comment, Sathan amis?
J'ay un contens si tresgrant mis
Entre Basille et l'empereur,
De qui je sui pieça seigneur,
Qu'il a juré a ce Basille
Qu'il destruira toute sa ville,
Laquelle est Cesaire nommée
Ou Maroie est tant honnourée,
Et de Maroie ardra l'image,
Dont a po Bazille n'enrage.
Est ce bien fait?◀

The first devil is not behindhand, but has something to
boast of, too:

Le premier Dyable:

»Et je vieng de brasser un fait
Qu'assez tost verras avenir:
C'est d'un moine qui doit venir
Chiez la femme d'un laboureur,
Non pas pour faire a Dieu honneur,
Mais pour briser le mariage:
Chascun a la culaine rage;
Et sces tu qu'il en avenra?
Il me souffist quant chascuns a
Bonne volenté de pechier;
Si que je pense a empeschier
Si leur trigal et leurs cembiaux
Que le moine, en lieu de drapiaux
A laver, dedans un cuvier
Sera bouté, mon ami chier,
Et si ara, qui qu'en estrive,
Sur son dos de chaude lessive
Jettée plain un chauderon.
Le tenray je bien pour bricon?
Dy, je t'en pri.

Deuxiesme Dyable:

»Hahay, hahay, que je me ri
De ce que l'as si bien trouvée.
Alons nous en sanz demourée
En enfer; nous y serons ja
Miex venu que ne fu pieça
Diable nesun.«

The devils are just a little satirical here, and it may appear strange to us that the clergy allowed such licence. The reason was, no doubt, that they felt so secure and strong that no amount of satire took effect on them. The Church kept strict watch that the dogmas were not infringed, but far down into the time of the Renaissance it allowed great liberty of satire with regard to individuals among the clergy.

After the devils have accomplished the above-mentioned great feats, they feel sure of a cordial welcome in hell, in the *Miracle de la Mère du Pape*, however, they pipe to another time:

»Haro, haro, touz mes efforts
Sont bien venuz et mis au neant.
En enfer aler me convient
Querre. Ay, hélas, que feray?
Je say que tourmenté seray
De Lucifer.«

If the devils are quite unsuccessful they get furious and begin to beat their victims, as in the *Miracle de saint Guillaume du Desert*. They beat the saint so unmercifully that it can be heard:

Beelzebuz:

»Fait il le sourt, ou il est mournes?
Puis qu'autrement point ne l'arons,
Sachons le hors, si le batons
Tant qu'il s'en sente.«

Sathan:

»Avant a la terre l'adente:
Fiers de la, je ferray de ça.
Hu, ha, bouf, nif. Tien: pren cela,
C'est a estraine.«

Beelzebuz:

»Vien t'en; il a perdu l'alaine.
Or prengne ce qu'il a gainnié.
Nous ne sommes pas engignié
Pour nient au moins.«

In the Miracle de saint Jehan Crisothomes the devil revenges himself by the childish device of taking away the ink from S. John to prevent him from writing a book, in praise of the Virgin:

»Tu n'aras ja tant de bon sens,
Ne te ventes mie si tost,
Que tu en escrises un mot.
Meschant, icy peuz enragier:
Des bestes te feray mengier,
Puis que tu n'as de moy que faire
Et que tu fais tout mon contraire.
Voy la ton enque, voiz, escriz.
Fort sera se tu fais escriz,
Quant enque n'as.«

In the Miracle de un Prevost que Nostre Dame delivra the devil sulks.

Premier Dyable:

»Vehemot, dy moy sanz respit,
Tu fais malement l'esperdu.
Qu'as tu? je t'en pri; dont viens tu,
Ne de quel part?«

Second Dyable:

»Laisse m'en pais; dyable y ait part.
Je cuiday prendre tout ouan
L'arcediacre de Milan
A ce qu'il fust nostre sanz fin,
Mais il a esté si affin
De Dieu a sa fin, et de fait
A fait tant que riens n'y ay fait
Fors que tant, c'est bien chose voire,
Que je l'ay mis en purgatoire.
La est en paine et en tourment,

Mais je me doubt qu'assez briefment
N'en soit hors mis.«

Premier Dyable:

»Ne t'en chaille. Je suis commis
D'aler son frère tout vif querre,
Le prevost.«

On the whole it is characteristic of the devils that they do not easily lose heart, if they are unsuccessful in one thing, they at once turn to another. Thus in the *Miracle de l'Enfant donné au Diable*, where the one devil says to the other devil who is a little downhearted:

»Alons men sanz faire demour,
Lucifer, ailleurs, je t'en pry.«

In the same miracle the devils show themselves sympathetic and compassionate, and twice grant the mother a respite before they force her to give up the child. The second time one of the devils even intercedes for her. This scene reminds one of a lawyer's office; the devils make use of seals and writing materials. On the whole the behaviour of the devils is suggestive of the proceedings in a court of law; usually they appear two together so that one can corroborate the statements of the other when they stand before God's throne with the Virgin as their opponent. In the 14th century such scenes were greatly admired.¹⁾ We find them in the *Miracle de l'Enfant donné au Diable*, in the *Miracle de l'Evesque que l'Arceidiacre murtrit* and several others.

The manner in which the devils take away the bodies of the departed, viz. in a cart or wheelbarrow is also reminiscent of the proceedings of the law as I have already mentioned above.

When the devils appear in their true shape they are hideous. In the *Miracle de l'Enfant donné au Diable* it says:

»Par ces hideux Sathans veoir,
Qui m'ont pluseurs foiz tourmentée.«

And the *Miracle de saint Valentin*: »Entour moy ne voy

¹⁾ Cf. Petit de Julleville, *Les mystères*, I, p. 129.

qu'enemis hideux.« The devils, they are black, evil-smelling and hideous.¹⁾

The devils did not appear in one mask only, but in many different ones, and the equipment of the devil was the most expensive for which reason this part was as a rule played by rich people or the expenses were undertaken by them. We have a contract from the year 1573 from Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne: »Maistre Jaques Boudry a accepte le roole de Sathan et a promys se fournir vestemens necessaires pour troys jours, en changeant chesque jour vestement nouveau, a charge que luy en sera fait un aultant beau que l'un des siens a communs despens pour le quatriesme jour et a communs frays. Signé: Boudrey.«²⁾

Whenever he chooses, the devil appears in a different shape, in the play of Adam as a serpent, in the *Mistère de la Passion* by Greban he assumes »virginalle face, les piez et le corps serpentin«, and is called variously »serpent«, »aspic«, »dragon«, »chien«, »cocodrille«, and »horrible segongne«. In many cases the devil assumes the shape of an animal, but his power of assuming human shape is shown in the *Miracle de saint Guillaume du Desert*, where Sathan says: »Et figure d'omme prendrons«, and in the *Miracle de saint Jehan le Paulu, Hermite*, the devil has assumed the shape of a young man:

»Tu as biau corps et doux visage

Et de bon lieu me sembles estre.«

In the *Miracle de la Marquise de la Gaudine* he seems to have the power to enter into human beings, for his plan is to conceal himself in the uncle and thus bring about the ruin of the marquise:

»Je me vois bouter dedanz li;

De moy ne peut estre parti

N'aler arriere.«

Towards God the devils sometimes show respect, acknowledging him to be the true judge, but if his judgment is unfa-

¹⁾ Cf. Roskoff, o. c. passim.

²⁾ *Le Théâtre en Maurienne au XVI siècle*, publ. par F. Truchet. Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne 1879.

vourable to them, they forget their respect and scoff at God for being afraid of his mother. Thus in the Miracle de l'Enfant donné au Diable:

»Encor sommes nous plus coquart
De nous en estre sur Dieu mis.
Il nous est touz jours ennemis;
Pour sa mère n'en ose el faire:
Si lui faisoit riens de contraire,
Il seroit batuz au retour.«

And in the Miracle de Pierre le Changeur:

Premier Dyable:

»Haro, a po que ne m'acore
De dueil, quant a present m'eschappe.
Touz jours nous jeu Dieu soubz chappe.
Qui nous fait si d'un a un b
Que touz jours nous sommes gabé
Et perdons tout.«

Deuxiesme Dyable:

»Esté avons fol et estout
De nous en estre sur li mis,
Car touz jours nous est ennemis,
Quant sa mère vient a l'afaïre;
Autrement ne l'oseroit faire,
Et s'il le faisoit, abatuz
Seroit de sa mère et batuz
Dessus ses fesses.«

As we have already mentioned, the devils must give way before the sign of the cross, thus in the Miracle de la Mère du Pape, in the Miracle de Theodore and in many other plays. Nobody is so hated by the devils as the Virgin Mary; she is a thorn in their flesh. Of course they dislike the saints too and fear them, nor do the saints view the devils with favourable eyes, in the Miracle de un Prevost que Nostre Dame delivra they even promise them a thrashing.

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TIDLIGERE UDKOM:

ANGELICA AXELSEN:

OM ARISTOTELES' POETIK

ET BIDRAG TIL ANTIK KUNSTOPFATTELSE

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