

Polish Saint Plays of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Andrzej Dąbrowka

With the revival of interest in the saint play in Western Europe, attention to plays associated with this genre in Central Europe, specifically in Poland, seems appropriate. By way of introducing the present list of Polish saint plays which is my objective here, some notice needs to be taken of the non-theatrical or non-literary (liturgical and festive) forms of the cult of saints in Poland; these are not to be seen as underdeveloped forms of theater or as its substitute, but rather as its "neighbor." And in an attempt to recover for our study those traditional developments that were discarded by modernist aesthetics as unimportant because non-innovative, the question of genre needs to be considered: do these sixteenth- and seventeenth-century plays belong to the same genre as the medieval saint plays?

For our purpose, three liturgical forms of the cult of saints can be distinguished: regular processions on the saint's feast day, special celebrations on extraordinary occasions such as beatification or canonization; and translations of the saint's relics. We have detailed programs of rich and spectacular processions celebrating the first feast of a new saint and the translation of relics (e.g., in Vilna, 1631).¹ These examples show the continuity and intensity of the cult of the saints—the crucial factor if we are to explain the shape of saint plays in terms of actual social circumstances rather than on the basis of some retarded "sacramental psychology" or the authors' unwillingness if not inability to purge "medieval elements" from literature.²

Certain rituals and customs developed around specific devotional traditions such as church benedictions that were ordained on saints' days. The connection with the saints' biographies here is mostly conventional (reflecting the church's patron) or nonexistent (the coincidence of an ancient tradition or a new custom with a

specific day in the calendar).

It should be remembered that the annual feast of the patron saint of the parish was (and still is) connected with a church fair in Poland. Church fairs were a well-known meeting point for wandering merchants, beggars (singing beggars included), and entertainers, and they also provided an opportunity for local productions. We see this explicitly announced in the printed text of the Polish John the Baptist play (to be discussed below), which was "performed in Kamionka during the fair on the day of the named St. John the Baptist Anno Domini 1619."³ Much could also be said about the different patron saints of other nations (such as St. Lucia or St. Patrick) who became emblems of popular celebrations. Another type is represented by St. Valentine, an example of the commercial afterlife of an old tradition, and St. Barbara, who is remembered in the official miners' feast that is still an occasion for parades, concerts, and dances in mining regions of Poland.

"Christian names" are a similar case. What today has become just the name-day—celebrated in Catholic countries rather than (or along with) one's birthday—was strictly associated with the patron saint a couple of centuries ago. A son writing (before 1700) congratulatory poems to his mother Anne and father Michael gave them the titles *Gratulatio pro festo Sanctae Annae* and *Gratulatio in festo S. Michaelis*⁴ and addressed in them the qualities of these saints.

Popular traditions grew around saints and their feasts. Figures of particular importance for the study of Polish theater are Catherine, George, Gregory, and Nicholas. Others deserving of special attention are John the Baptist, who is of course internationally popular, while Boris and Gleb along with Stanislaus are important local saints. The available data on performances and texts are mainly drawn from the Polish, Lithuanian, and the German-speaking provinces of the Society of Jesus.

My list of Polish saint plays follows, and thereafter I will make some remarks by way of conclusion to place my concerns regarding them in perspective. The following abbreviations are used in my list and in the notes:

ARSJ: Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu.

BJ: Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cracow.

Korotaj: *Dramat staropolski od początków do powstania sceny narodowej. Bibliografia*, vol. 2, pt. 1: *Programy teatru jezuickiego*, ed. W.

Korotaj, J. Szwedkowska, and M. Szymańska (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1976).

Lewański: Julian Lewański, *Studia nad dramatem polskiego Odrodzenia* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1956).

Okoń: Jan Okoń, *Dramat i teatr szkolny: Sceny jezuickie XVII w.* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1970).

Poplatek: Jan Poplatek, *Studia z dziejów jezuickiego teatru szkolnego w Polsce* (Wrocław: Ossolineum 1957).

Valentin: Jean-Marie Valentin, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites dans les Pays de la langue Allemande: Répertoire chronologique des pièces représentées et des documents conservés 1555–1773*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1983–84).

Alexis

Latin play in five acts with Polish arguments and choruses, performed 6 Nov. 1600, in Pułtusk, now lost.

Sanctus Alexius, performed 1600, in Pułtusk (Okoń, 358).

Sanctus Alexius, performed 22 July 1602 and 26 July 1605, in Poznań (Okoń, 369).

Three texts of Latin plays from the German-speaking provinces of the Society of Jesus, with 40 records of performances, 1589–1771 (15 programs preserved):

Drama de Sancto Alexio, Nationalbibliothek Wien, Cod. Vind. 13222 (93 pp.), performed in Vienna, 1589.

Alexius Moriens, Staatsbibliothek München, Cod. lat. mon. 2150 (48 pp.), performed in Munich, 1707.

Alexius Moriens, Staatsbibliothek München, Cod. lat. mon. 17797 (28 pp.).

Ambrose

De Sancto Ambrosio et Theodosio Imperatore, Calissia, 1592.

Written and performed by the English Jesuit Edmund Campion [otherwise Campian or Campianus], who was teaching at the Prague College in 1578. Full Latin text from this performance in Cologne, Staatsarchiv Univ. IX 659, fols. 304–340^v (Poplatek, 177; see also Julian Lewański, *Dramat i teatr średniowiecza i renesansu w Polsce* [Warsaw: PWN, 1981], 515, 524).

Andrew

St. Andrew is a marriage divination feast for girls; see *St. Catherine*.

Still popular in Poland as an occasion for small feasts (*andrzejki*). A dialogue about Andrew, performed 30 Nov. 1627, at Poznań (Okoń, 370).

Anne and Joachim

Joachym y Anna, extant drama text in Polish (before 1600) (MS. Ossolineum 6710, pp. 77–114; ed. J. I. Kraszewski, "Komedia o niepłodności Anny," *Ateneum* 2 [1841], 95–126). The epilogue of the play points to performance on her feast day of 26 July: "Remember well this exemplary story / Which the day of today is celebrating all over the world."⁵

Anonymous Martyrs

De martyrum constantia, performed Feb. 1585, in Połock. Recorded in ARSJ Pol. 50 (Lewański, *Dramat i teatr*, 521).

Tragoedia de duobus pueris martyribus sine nomine in Barono, hic sub Caelestini et Feliciani nomine, performed in Wilna, 1646. MS. Zaluscianum Q.XIV.10, fols. 77–86 (lost).

Barlaam

Drama de duobus regibus ex parabola Barlaami, performed 26 Jan. 1616, at Poznań (Okoń, 369). See also approximately 50 performances and books on Josaphat (Okoń, 390).

Dialogue of Barlaam and Josaphat, Poznań, 1624 (Okoń, 370).

Boris and Gleb

The Spiritual Communion of SS. Boris and Gleb is a long historical play on the Orthodox saints-princes of Rus' that was played in the Polish Jesuit colleges before 1693.⁶

The play's heroes were two of the twelve sons of Prince Volodimir (Vladimir) who baptized Rus' in 988. After Volodimir's death in 1015, twenty years of fraternal struggle followed which ended with the rule of the only survivor, Jaroslav the Wise.⁷ Boris and Gleb, born around 990, were the first victims of this struggle's instigator, Svyatopolk, who had them killed in 1015. The Greek Orthodox Church recognized their cult, and they are regarded as the first Russian saints.⁸ Their feast day was established on 24 July. Before 1072 and in c.1080 their Old Church Slavonic *vitae* were written down in the Basilian monastery of Kiev. The first was the *Skazaniye: Narrative and Passion and Encomium of the Holy*

Martyrs Boris and Gleb,⁹ the second *Čteníe*: *Lection on the Life and Assassination of the Blessed Passion Sufferers Boris and Gleb*.

Apart from the killing itself, only two motifs were used by the dramatist: the figure of Boris's retainer George, who "was loved by Boris beyond measure,"¹⁰ and Boris' request to his killers to give him time for a prayer. There is no textual connection with the prayers in the *Narrative* except the last sentence—"Lord, lay not this sin to their charge, but receive my spirit in peace"—which derives from Acts 7:58–59; the drama has the following at this point: "I forgive, with all my heart I forgive you, and absolve you from your wrongdoings. Lord, receive, with this blood, my spirit" (1269–71).

The dramatization is developed by structuring the rather simple story in terms of tragic conflicts of loyalty vs. treachery, good lordship vs. egoism, brotherly love vs. hatred, pride vs. humility. The action abounds with intrigues, deceptions, disguises, forgeries, false rumors, and misunderstandings, and it contains a most famous *anagnorisis* (quite effective, admittedly)—all of this absent from the source. The anonymous author's contribution is decisive in the play. With considerable creative power, he created a drama from a source containing only an uneventful story of murder. We have here a drama created with very considerable technical skill—a drama which also comes very close to the baroque design that we would expect for a play of this period. Interestingly, as in the case of the John the Baptist tragedy, this drama also makes use of Ukrainian, here being used in the *accessus* (consisting of two parts, *Anti-prologus* and *Prologus*) and the interlude.¹¹ The old story thus brings us closer to the early history of the region which became the Ukraine and in which the lives of these saints were embedded.

Cantius, St. John Cantius (of Kanti [Kęty])

De S. Cantio Doctore Almae Acad[emiae] Crac[oviensis] in vigilia Nativitatis Domini 1677; in Polish: incipit *Żywot Jana Kantego Błogosławionego/Opowiedzieć myślemy wam dnia dzisiejszego*—the text speaks about the blessed John (1390–1473). He was beatified only in 1680, and canonized in 1767. Ossolineum MS. 1125, fols. 165^r–169^r; described Lewański, 44; performed by 15 students as a series of declamations.

Casimir Jagellon (1458–84, canonized in 1602; he was the son of

king Casimir IV).

We have a detailed description of the canonization feast of St. Casimir, on 10 May 1604 in Vilna, contained in the most extensive vita of the saint: Augustyn Lipnicki, *Życie, cuda i cześć św. Kazimierza królewicza polskiego, Wielkiego Księcia Litewskiego* (Vilna: J. Zawadzki, 1858), 129–222.

Sanctus Casimirus, performed 2 March 1628, in Poznań (Okoń, 370).

[Title unknown], performed in the second half of the 17th century in the Lithuanian province. Text lost from MS. Zaluscianum Q.XIV.10, fols. 131–43.

Sanctus Casimirus, performed 1647, in Połock (Okoń, 370, 376).

10 performances in the German-speaking area (1628–1751), two Latin programs extant (Amberg Lat. rec. 369 I 19; Staatsbibliothek München, 8° Bavar. 4025), and one Latin text extant: *Mariana vindicta in Casimiro*, performed in Dillingen, 1751; compare with Nuremberg (Valentin, no. 6210).

Catherine of Alexandria

The eve of St. Catherine as well as of St. Andrew was dedicated to marriage divination for young men and women curious about their future partners. St. Catherine was the patron saint of students and universities¹² which explains why she was so frequently the subject of plays and why so many texts have survived. Eight Latin plays from the German and Austrian provinces of the Society of Jesus are preserved¹³ as well as twenty-seven records of performances from 1563 to 1720 and three afterward. The three earliest dialogues (in Latin) from Poland which are preserved in the Jesuit codex from Calisia—performed on the feast of St. Catherine in 1584, 1586, and 1587—are not plays but rather theological disputes with some reference to her.

Dialogus in festo S. Catharinae exhibitus anno Domini 1584, performed at Kalisz on 25 Nov. 1584 (two-act play with choruses).

Dialogus de vera Christianorum philosophia in festo S. Catharinae exhibitus Anno Domini 1586 (same MS., fols. 37–56). This is a two-act "theological" play with choruses and a strong anti-heretical message (Poplatek, *Studia*, 136), but a remarkable Echo figure appears in a serious monologue.

Dialogus in festo S. Catharinae anno Domini 1587 (same MS., fols. 83–95^v).

The last of these dialogues closes with a *Chorus in laudem D. Catharinae* (after the Epilogue), addressed as "Martyr et Virgo Catharina cuius / Laudibus summis resonare totus / Debeat orbis." No text is extant of the other performances.

Poznań on 26 Nov. 1574 (*de S. Catharina*; ARSJ Polonia 50, fol. 23, and 66, fol. 366.¹⁵)

Vilna on 22 Oct. 1578 (*Tragoedia Divae Virginis et Martyris Catharinae*, Poplatek, *Studia*, 175).

Vilna on 26 Nov. 1584 (*Dialogus in die Sanctae Catharinae*, ARSJ Pol. 50, fol. 65; Lewański, *Dramat i teatr*, 520).

Calisia 1588 (*Eadem renovatione in festo S. Catharinae et Nativitate exhibitum sunt dialogi*, mentioned on fol. 106 of the same codex). Beyond these, there are no texts or titles extant from the performances in:

Vilna on 25 Nov. 1584.

Poznań in Nov. 1591.

Orsza on 25 Nov. 1636 (procession and dialogue performed in the church; Okoń, 375).

Ostróg on 25 Nov. 1688 (Okoń, 368).

Though *Dialogus pro festo Sanctae Catharinae virginis et martyris* by Jan Paweł Cichoński (1694) has a Latin title, it was written in Polish.¹⁶ Very traditional and amateurish in its structure and dialogues, it is divided into six acts, two of them (3 and 6) containing only a single scene of one or two pages. The interludes are suggested by a title, without the full text. The action closely follows the Daily Office for St. Catherine's feast day on 25 November:¹⁷ Emperor Maxentius is confronted by a group of Christians who refuse to make offerings to his gods. Their leader seems to be the virgin Katarzyna (Catherine). The drama involves a series of failed attempts to get her to abandon Christ. The famous dispute with the doctors—in this case five rather than the fifty specified in the saint's *vita*—is not missing, of course, and it has some charming naïveté. The first questions and statements about God and Christ having been exchanged, the First Doctor is ready to construct a syllogism proving that Christ cannot be God; at this point he switches to prose: "probo sic minorem propositionem: he has a beginning because of his birth, he has an end because of his death, ergo he cannot be god, ut ostendi." Katarzyna answers promptly: "Distinguo minorem propositionem, he has a beginning by his humanity, concedo, he has no beginning by his divinity, etc."¹⁸

When the question of the Trinity arises, things become serious, and the discussion switches to Latin prose exclusively, with the First Doctor asking: "Quo modo ergo tres personae possunt esse in uno?" Katarzyna answers with some twenty lines of a Latin lecture. This may be simple, compared, for instance, with the long discussion in the *Passio Sanctae Katerine Virginis*. Our Katarzyna's achievement was "ruining the devil's building" by herself—that is, with her "perfidious cunning"! By avoiding the kind of denial of the saint's personal contribution that we find in the *Passio*—the angel's assurance in that text "that she could not be defeated"¹⁹ meant reducing her to a mere passive vessel—our dramatist demonstrated a true instinct for the stage.

Cecilia

La Santa Cecilia (Italian opera, by Puccitelli, at court, Warsaw, 1637); see W. Tomkiewicz, "Widowska dworskie w okresie Renesansu," *Pamiętnik Teatralny* 2, no. 3 (1953), 80–109, esp. 99, 103; Hannus Schüpli, *Kurtze Beschreibung, was sich verlofnen Jahr bey Abholung Caeciliae Renatae etc. zugetragen* (Vienna, 1638), fol. 3.

Celsus (young martyr of Antioch)

25 performances in Europe (three in Poland; Okoń, 383–84; for Polish programs, see Korotaj, nos. 118, 146, 422, 503).

Sublimitas virilis animi in puero nomine Celso, performed in 1712, at Calisia; program and text in MS. BJ 182 (Okoń, 51).

Akt o Celsie z innymi pacholęty od ojca zabitym, unknown date and place of performance; text in *Zaluscianum Q.XIV.10*, fol. 229 (lost) (Okoń, 308).

Celsus, sive Sapientia in schola fidei ad lauream martyri promotus, performed in 1694, Warsaw; program in the University Library, Vilna, 3.XXIV.1/95 (full title in Okoń, 313).

De Celso, Martiani tyranni filio, performed on feast of St. Michael, 29 Sept. 1648, in Połock; no text (Okoń, 376).

Christopher (boy-martyr)

Idea Jesu Crucifixi in Christophoro octenni puero martyre, performed at Nieśwież, 19 April 1696; text in *Zaluscianum Q.XIV.10*, fols. 116–24 (MS. now lost).

Crispus (martyr)

Crispus, record of performance, Pułtusk, after 1603 (Lewański, *Dramat i teatr*, 531).

Edmund

Sanctus Edmundus, Poznań before 19 April 1615 (Okoń, 369).

Elisabeth

Comedy dated 1594: *Bakałarzowi od Comedyej proxima festum s. Elisabethis ex mandato D. Proconsulis et Consulorum opłacono 30 gr* (see Jan Dürr-Durski, "O mieszczańskim teatrze renesansowym w Polsce," *Pamiętnik Teatralny* 2, no. 3 [1953]: 69).

Elzear

De Elezari constantia, Braniewo/Braunsberg, 1609 (ARSJ Lithuania, 38, fol. 36; Lewański, *Dramat i teatr*, 534).

Obrona przeciw gwałtowny imprezie grzechow od Świętego Elzeariusza hrabie miana w ranach Jezusowych. Wynaleziona w kościele lubelskim Societatis Jezu przy wielkopiątkowym nabożenstwie do uwagi wszystkim, performed in Lublin, 1651 (*Kodeks konopczański*: MS. Ossolineum 6709/I, fols. 131–57).

No text is preserved from the five performances in the German province of the Society of Jesus in 1621–1751; only two copies of a program remain from the 1624 performance at the Konstanz college:

Elzearius Comes Comoedien von dem H. Elzeario Graven so zur Zeit Roberti Königs zu Neapel und Sicilien vor 300 Jahren mit Dalphina seiner Gemahlin Jungfräulich gelebt (Staatsbibliothek München 4° Bavar. 2193 I 19 and 21 [11 pp.]).

Eulogius (6th-century Greek-Byzantine stone mason, servant of St. Daniel the Hermit)

Around 20 performances in Europe, one in Vilna:

Antiitheta morum in egestate et divitiis ab Eulogio latomo bizantino, 1681 (University Library of Vilna III, Cod. 10893; short content in Okoń, 199, 309; no full text).

Eustachius

Summarium tragoediae Eustachianae, ARSJ Lithuania, 38, fol. 112^v; performed at Vilna, 14 Sept. 1616 (Okoń, 115–16).

Summarium tragoediae Eustachianae in gratiam . . . Eustachii Wołowicz, performed and printed in Vilna, 1618 (Lewański, *Dramat i teatr*, 541).

70 performances in Jesuit colleges, 55 in the German-speaking area.

Three texts of Latin plays preserved (Valentin):

Sanctus Eustachius Tragoedia Sacra, performed at Vienna, 1584 (Hessische Landesbibliothek Fulda C. 18, fols. 234–76).

Comedia de Eustacho martyre, performed at Graz, 1600 (Stiftsbibliothek Admont).

Comoedo-Tragoedia de Eustachio Martyre, performed at Mainz, 1603 (Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz, Sammlung Görresgymnasium Abt. 117, 593, I, 24).

Felicitas

Calisia, 1598: *Tragoedia S. Foelicitatis exhibita 6^a Octobris cum praemiorum solenni distributione* (no text).

Vilna, 1597: *Tragoedia Faelicitas*, by Gregorius Cnapius (Uppsala University Library, MS. R 380, fols. 38–90; ed. Lidia Winniczuk, *Gregorii Cnapii Tragoediae: Philopater, Faelicitas, Eutropius* [Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1965]).

Poznań, 1599, using same text as in 1597 at Vilna.

Francis Borgia (canonized 1671)

About 20 performances in Jesuit colleges all over Europe, 1625–1760, excluding the year 1671; in this year a play about the saint was played "almost in every college" (Okoń, 385).

Francis Xavier

Krosno, 1631 (Lewański, 219).

Iudicium Dei horribile in Proregem Indiae, obstinatum ad poenitentiam ad libram pietatis Xaverianae, by A. Temberski, performed in 1699 at Lublin; MS. BJ 2384, fols. 70–79.

Genesisius

Genesisius histrio, performed in 1615, at Kalisz (Okoń, 363).

Tragoedia de sancto Genesisio, performed 20 June 1619, at Poznań, with printed program in Polish:

Tragedia Genesisius, to iest O Świętym Genezyusie męczenniku (Poznań: J. Wolrab, 1619), 4 pages in quarto (full description in Korotaj, 2, pt. 1, no. 296).

George

The powers of *St. George* and *St. Adalbert* (23 April), patrons of the spring in Polish folk tradition, are addressed in agricultural apotropaism. *St. George* the knight was inspiration for young Kashubian men to organize contests of strength: The winner was called "George."²⁰ The later counterpart to *St. George* and *Adalbert* was *St. Roch* (16 August), patron of animals. On his feast day benedictions were ordained for flocks and domestic animals; living animals could participate, or they could be represented by votive figures of wax. Processions visited pastures.

Sanctus Georgius, performed at Poznań, 30 June 1603 and 1 May 1616 (Okoń, 369).

S. Georgius martyr, Magni Ducatus Lituaniae patronus, by Łukasz Paprocki, performed by the class of rhetoric of the Vilna college in 1650; for program, see Korotaj, no. 510.

More than 15 performances of different *St. George* plays in Europe, 1586–1718 (Valentin).

Gregory

St. Gregory (12 March), as the patron saint of young people, gave his name to a school tradition called *Actus Gregoriani*. In a record from the seventeenth century, students split into different parties and elected their "class king." The candidate of the Parnassus-group was the winner. Coronation festivities followed. After being crowned, the new king proclaimed war against the enemies of the Latin language—the barbarisms, solecisms, and Polonisms—and declared that all "rebels" should be eliminated.²¹

Hermenegild (canonized 1585)

Around 55 performances in Europe, four in the Lithuanian province (Okoń, 387–88). Two programs, from Przemyśl in ?1761 and Vilna in 1754, described in Korotaj, nos. 321, 660.

Ignatius Loyola

Terminus anni literati principiis S. Ignatii coronatus, seu Heroica ab Ignatio saeculi conculcatio in scenam data ad decursum anni literarii 1699 a rhetoribus Karnkoviiani Collegii, performed in Calisia, MS. Ossolineum, Biblioteka Pawlikowskich 204, fols. 135^v–141; Latin dialogue in prose, historical and allegorical figures (Grandis, Lojola, Rex Hispanus—Mars, Pietas, Furia), probably by Franciscus Kwolek.

Japan, Martyrs of

The Martyrs of Japan were beatified in 1627. Three of the twenty-six martyrs—Paul Miki, John de Gota, and James Quigai—were Japanese Jesuits.²² It was a great town feast in Kalisz/Calisia (5–6 February 1628) in which the Jesuit college participated, and a description of the triumph is preserved in the order's archives (Arch. Romanum Soc. Jesu, Polonia 66, fol. 25; quoted in Lewański, *Studia*, 220).

Tragoedia de Japonicis principibus martyrio affectis fratribus duobus de domo Finatorum et simul patruo (qui eos adoptaverat) in exilium misso anno 1629 ad Urbanum VIII—um Pontificem Maximum tota artis vi delata, performed in the second half of the 17th century in the Lithuanian province. Text lost from MS. Zaluscianum Q.XIV.10, fols. 38–65 (Okoń, 359).

John the Baptist

The vigil and feast of *St. John the Baptist* (23–24 June) comprise the oldest and still most popular festivity, called *Sobótki* (originally meaning *St. John's Eve*). Its traditional celebration with dances, singing, and bonfires is recorded, for example, by the greatest Polish Renaissance poet Jan Kochanowski.

Although the church festival of *St. John the Baptist* is an exception in that it commemorates the birth rather than death of the saint,²³ on this day an intriguing Kashubian ritual drama of "Beheading the Kite" ("ścięcie kani") was celebrated.²⁴ Its main actors were Dog-Catcher (who was the bird-catcher), Judge, Priest, Village Chief (*sołtys*), and Headsman. The actors were sometimes chosen from among herdsmen by drawing lots. Judging by its content, the drama should be called "Beheading the Scapegoat": the bird, caught earlier and kept in a cage until the day of the performance, was presented in a procession to the village's population as the seat of evil and bad luck, and declared responsible for all their misfortunes. It was brought to the place of judgment, bound to a pylon, sentenced to death, and executed. I would reject claims that the spoken texts preserve some old beliefs, and in the speeches of accusation I see mainly expressions of concern for local difficulties (e.g., workers not being paid for overtime) and problems of modern life (even, in 1964 at Strzelno, referring to women not using birth control pills!²⁵). The only traditional elements are eternally topical moralistic issues: men "and even women" spending too much time in

inns, couples betraying each other, boys refusing to marry girls, etc. All this is the kite's guilt, and its beheading is intended as the remedy.

Among dramatizations derived from the life of this very first saint of the Christian Church is one written in Polish by Jacob Gawatowic, whose *Tragedy or Picture of Death of the most holy John the Baptist, God's Messenger* was performed and published on 24 June 1619.²⁶

Calisia, *De S. Joannis Baptistae in eremum discessu* had been played (22 July 1587).

Poznań, a Latin dialogue *De S. Joanne Baptista* is dated 26 June 1588.²⁷

A drama on the decapitation of John was also staged in the second half of the 17th century in the province of Lithuania.²⁸

A program from a Cracow performance in 1700 is likewise preserved.²⁹

Previously, the Beheading of John the Baptist seems to have been the best-known saint play in Poland in the sixteenth century; see Windakiewicz, *Teatr ludowy*, 127, whose source is a collection of sermons on the Sacraments by the influential writer Piotr Skarga (fl. 1600). Skarga took notice of the way in which the beheading was represented: "they construct a dish around the neck, he looks as if he is dead, but he is alive." A different method was used by performers of the Jesuit college of Połock at the beginning of the nineteenth century: the beheaded body was played by one masked actor, the head by another; it happened once that the "body" had fallen asleep and began to snore; hearing that from its hole in the stage, the "head" of the martyr began to laugh loudly (*Teatr ludowy*, 129).

One Latin text, entitled *Joannes Baptista*, from the German Jesuit province is preserved; this was performed at the Dillingen college in 1631.³⁰

A summary of seven pages likewise survives: *Summarischer Inhalt der comitragoedi von Dem H. Tauffjer Johann Christi Vorlauffer und Martyrer*.³¹

In the German-speaking area there are twenty-three records of performances between 1566 and 1741.

The saint additionally was a well-known figure in processions, described in variants of the designation "In Kamels har, Johann baptist."³²

The Polish play by Gwatowic is a well-designed enactment of the main events of John's life: a hermit defends himself against devils and is called by an angel to start teaching ("the voice of one crying in the wilderness"); as a prophet, he chastises Herod's incest, the latter then promising "anything" to Salome and, inevitably, giving her John's head on a dish. The play closes with Herod's (fictional) punishment. He is not banished (as in the *Legenda Aurea*) but sentenced to death by Justice who hears the Subterranean Voice of innocent blood crying for vengeance. She summons Death, who beheads Herod with a scythe. The play shares this motif with (or maybe owes it to) the folk drama about Herod, very popular and played in some locations even today ("herody"). I remember seeing this scene as a child once or twice when it was performed by village mummies, who were visiting farmhouses.

The drama is more a *picture* and less a *tragedy*, but it has some merits: its simplicity, avoiding the burden of classical learning, and short choruses with a clear message, sometimes ironic. The verse is mostly hendecasyllabic and switches without a structural reason with octosyllabic passages. Unfortunately, the latter come too close to folkloristic diction, and it would be only by great effort on the part of a modern actor that they could be performed in a serious way. This is not a problem in the devils' roles, which are at times very authentic in their joy about successful intrigues and sorrow about failed attempts to conquer the saintly hermit.³³ Most remarkable from a linguistic point of view, however, are the two interludes that appear in Ukrainian. This is worth mentioning because these are the oldest specimens of drama extant in the Ukrainian language.³⁴

John the Evangelist

Corvinus adolescens et b. Joannes Evangelista, performed at Poznań before 4 March 1615 (Okon, 369).

A drama of John the Apostle and Evangelist, by Marcin Głębiec, performed in the school yard of the college at Watz, in 1676.

John of Damascus

Latin play, performed on 6 August 1600, at Pultusk (not preserved).

Drama de Sancto Damascene per Deiparam olim sanato, performed April 1608, at Poznań (Okon, 369).

its croft after croft, with first the
use, greeting the family, singing two
offerings in the alms-box (no alco-
, the second group is waiting or
background action outside the house.
sts in wild dancing that includes the

aint is stressed by the content of the
t group.³⁹ Both refer to the saint, the
g powers: "he restores sight to the
in, he saves women in labor if asked
a request for the saint's intercession:
above"; "those who take the way to
will reach eternal peace and happi-
nings of these texts, non-liturgical
s seems to be the most apparent. The
social phenomena, can include very
al (a religious alibi for earning some
seplay incognito⁴⁰) to the philoso-
profane duality, represented clearly

or cognitive) duality is apparent in
which divides the players into two
the "blacks."⁴¹ The first consists of
r (master of ceremonies), Best Man,
groom, Doctor, and Forester, while
r, Devils, Bears, Mother-Bear, Jew,
seman (hobbyhorse), Death, Stork,
his organization is not always the
niformly "white" or "black" (imply-
everybody's opinion, but whatever
eferences for performance. Families
the "whites." The connection with
the date of the performance and per-
p, but not in any other motif. This
loss of dialogue which has been ob-
tions.⁴² The good-bad ethical duality
and the devil who accompanied St.
n at their homes and bringing them

Ars lucis et umbrae, performed 1733, at Vilna; copy of program in Cracow, Muzeum Narodowe 466; description in Korotaj, no. 631.

Lawrence

S. Laurentii tragoedia, performed at Jarosław, 1582 (Poplatek, 176).

Mark

The printed *Ordo processionis in die sancti Marci in Ecclesia Cathedrali Plocensis ita observatur*³⁵ is approximately 2,000 words in length. The route of this springtime procession connected three churches, none of them dedicated to St. Mark, and the directions for the participants differentiated between younger and older school-children: "Rectores incipiant Responsorium *Virtute magna*. Scholares minores remanent ante Ecclesiam: soli maiores intrans ut finiant responsum: et vadunt ad partem Ecclesiae: soli presbyteri flectant ante pulpitem et cantent quae rectores intonabunt" (ibid.,

Martin

St. Martin is, among other things, the patron saint of poor people, and in Northern Europe he was regarded as the guardian of winter provisions.³⁶ In earlier times his feast day on 11 November was a consumption feast connected with the slaughter of animals to provide provisions for the winter.

Kalisz, performed 10 Nov. 1586 (Poplatek, 136).

Nicholas

St. Nicholas, possibly today the most domesticated and exploited of all the saints, has been located by Polish ethnographers in two local traditions, different but very likely related to each other. One is a mummers' play called *Mikołaje* (*Nicholases*), connected with the church fair of 6 December organized at St. Nicholas church at the village of Łąka near Pszczyna in eastern Silesia.³⁷ The players, around ten young men in costume, are divided into three groups: (1) St. Nicholas, Bishop, Priest (they are collectively called "mikołaje" or "świyenci"—i.e., saints); (2) Goat, Devil, Death, Jew, Female; (3) a band consisting of one to four musicians (if only one, the

second group. The troupe visits croft after croft, with first the Nicholas-group entering the house, greeting the family, singing two songs for them, and collecting offerings in the alms-box (no alcohol). During the presentation, the second group is waiting or producing some preparatory or background action outside the house. Their performance inside consists in wild dancing that includes the women of the family.³⁸

The connection with our saint is stressed by the content of the two songs produced by the first group.³⁹ Both refer to the saint, the first by describing his helping powers: "he restores sight to the blind, he lets the lame walk again, he saves women in labor if asked with faith." The second song is a request for the saint's intercession: "open the way for us to the land above"; "those who take the way to God through him [Nicholas] will reach eternal peace and happiness." Among the actual meanings of these texts, non-liturgical imitation of church benedictions seems to be the most apparent. The functions, multiple as always in social phenomena, can include very

practical (experiencing the sacred-profane duality, represented clearly by the two groups).

A more distinct ethical (or cognitive) duality is apparent in another *Mikołaje* tradition, which divides the players into two groups called the "whites" and the "blacks."⁴¹ The first consists of Bishop, Priest, Acolytes, Soldier (master of ceremonies), Best Man, Young Peasant Woman, Bridegroom, Doctor, and Forester, while the second is made up of Lucifer, Devils, Bears, Mother-Bear, Jew, Gipsy and Gipsy Woman, Horseman (hobbyhorse), Death, Stork, Chimneysweep, and Potter. This organization is not always the same since the figures are not uniformly "white" or "black" (implying no racial characteristics) in everybody's opinion, but whatever the arrangement there are consequences for performance. Families with small children invite only the "whites." The connection with St. Nicholas is present only in the date of the performance and perhaps in the figure of the Bishop, but not in any other motif. This may be caused by the gradual loss of dialogue which has been observed in this and cognate traditions.⁴² The good-bad ethical duality was also stressed by the angel and the devil who accompanied St. Nicholas when visiting children at their homes and bringing them

presents or punishment. What they actually received depended on how they answered his questions about their behavior.

A play: Vilna, performed in 1606 (Okoń, 118).

Paul

De S. Paulo, performed at Poznań on 26 June 1588 (Poplatek, 136).

Pergentinus and Laurentius (brother-martyrs from Arezzo)

12 performances, one in Warsaw in 1690: *Promotio ad martyrii Lauream* (Okoń, 396).

Roch

A play about St. Roch (Annuae Literae Prov. Pol. Collegium Gedanense, ARSJ Polonia 52, fol. 119; Okoń, 116).

Stanislaus, bishop

We have a record of a sort of name-day drama, played on 8 May 1633 in the New Town in Warsaw, and for which one copy of the printed program is preserved. The full text on its title page is revealing: "*A Summary of the Tragicomedy of the History of the Life of St. Stanislaus, Martyr of Christ, Bishop of Cracow, and Patron of the Polish Crown*, dedicated by Mateusz Jagodowicz, vicar of the New Town . . . to Mr Stanisław Baryczka, mayor of the Town of Old Warsaw. Performed on his Feast Day in the New Town in Warsaw, to the veneration and glory of Our Lord, of St. Stanislaus, and to the renown and solace of the Polish Nation, on 8 May 1633 A.D."⁴³ Stanislaus is the hero of the oldest-preserved drama about a Polish saint.⁴⁴

Stanislaus (died 11 April 1079, canonized 1253)⁴⁵ is the earliest notable saint-martyr of Polish origin whose death resembles that of Thomas Becket in many details. Both struggled with their respective kings and may be regarded as martyrs of the investiture controversy. Stanislaus became symbolic in Poland of the independence of the Church and its believers from the oppressive political power of the state—a symbolism that was invoked as recently as the imposition of martial law in 1981.⁴⁶ From the beginning authors and artists focused on the bishop and the king and arranged them between the poles of hero and anti-hero locked in an irreducible conflict,⁴⁷ which was thus presented in the saint's iconography and songs dedicated to him.⁴⁸ An important episode concerned a miracle story about the

resuscitation of a dead witness to speak in favor of Stanislaus, who was accused at King Boleslaus' instigation.

The narrative must originally have been the principal attraction of this story, especially in stage dramatizations, though as the twentieth century approached priority shifted to interest in a second important motif, the struggle against tyrannical power. Stanislaus plays were performed about twenty-five times on Jesuit stages in the German-speaking area in 1574–1737⁴⁹ and at least ten times in Polish territories.

5 Dec. 1574: Poznań, *De vita et martyrio S. Stanislai* (Poplatek, 175).

26 Dec. 1616: Kalisz (Okoń, 363).

1624: Łuck: *Sanctus Stanislaus Cracoviensis antistes* (Okoń, 367).

8 May 1633: Warsaw (see n.19, below).

31 May 1638: Lublin (Stykowa, "Święty Stanisław Biskup," 152).

1679: Lwów (Okoń, 367); 1680: Bydgoszcz (Okoń, 361).

1693: Kroźe (Stykowa, "Święty Stanisław Biskup," 152).

1723: Łowicz, (Stykowa, "Święty Stanisław Biskup," 152).

1737: Gdańsk: (Stykowa, "Święty Stanisław Biskup," 152).

17th century: ?Chełmno; see also Korotaj, nos. 170, 176, 376.

Some Old Polish plays introduce a figure of the saint as a secondary figure—e.g., in the *Dialogus*⁵⁰ where St. Stanislaus is pacifying the Ultio Divina with his experience as conqueror and helper of repenting sinners. The only extant dramatic text from early Poland dealing primarily with Stanislaus is the Latin *Tragoedia Boleslaus Secundus Furens* of Johannes Joncre, written before 1588 and only rediscovered shortly after World War II. This play, most likely not a Jesuit drama, was perhaps never performed.⁵¹ Its main source was Długosz's *Vita S. Stanislai*, but thirteenth-century *vitae*—a shorter one from before and a longer one from after the canonization—and also printed legends were also available to the writer.⁵² The author was probably a foreign humanist, perhaps a teacher of the Ostrogski family, as suggested by the fact that only the three most important figures of the story—Boleslaus, Stanislaus, and Peter—have their original names while all other proper names are changed, fictional, or non-Polish.⁵³ The drama is structured around the ethical conflict between the immoral king and the bishop trying to correct a sinner. The whole action, closely following the legend of the saint, has two strands, partially intertwined; alongside living people, a number of allegories present the most important points and turns of the con-

flict: Castitas and Cupido try to convert Boleslaus to their way; Avaritia and Conscientia discuss the false accusation; Fury tries to subject Boleslaus to her rule and brings him finally to Tartarus.

German performances with preserved texts (from Valentin); for Polish performances, see Korotaj, nos. 170, 176, 376.

Comico-Tragoedia: Das ist Ein Schawspill von dem H. Martyrer Stanislao Bischoffen zu Crackaw, performed in Eichstätt, 1652; copy of a German-Latin program in Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg 4° Bild II, 63 (8 pp.).

Schawspiel von dem H. Martyrer Stanislao Bischoffen zu Crackaw, performed in Soleure/Salzburg, 1659; copy of German-Latin program in Staatliche Bibliothek Dillingen XVII, 64, I, 16.

Petrus Polonus redivivus, performed in Lucerne, 1663, copy of German program, Freiburg i. Breisgau D. 8153.22.

Veritas Tragoedia, performed at Eichstätt, 1687; copy of German-Latin program in Bischöfliches Ordinariatsarchiv, MS. Eichstätt MV 85, 8.

S. Stanislaus Cracoviensis, performed at Amberg, 1700; copy of German-Latin program, Staatliche Provinzialbibliothek Amberg Lat. rec. 369, III, 61.

Boleslaus Furens Tragoedia, performed at Straubing, 1706; copy of German-Latin program, Bischöfliches Ordinariatsarchiv Eichstätt H.13, 14.

Rarum pro Justitia Testimonium Seltzamer Schutz und Zeug Der Gerechtigkeit, performed at Ellwangen, 1709; copy of German-Latin program, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart R 17 I 73; Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg 4° Bild VI, 76).

Stanislaus Kostka (beatified 1604, canonized 1714)

More than 60 performances in Jesuit colleges all over Europe 1615–1763. For locations, see Okoń, 396–98; German data from Valentin. For Polish programs, see Korotaj, nos. 35, 72, 174, 188, 340, 386–87, 405, 664, 760.

In capite totus Stanislaus Kostka divinus, by A. Tamberski, performed at Lublin, Nov. 1698. MS. BJ 2384, fols. 161–64.

Flores rhetorici ad imaginem d. Stanislai Kostka a quodam Haeretico vulneratam, orations by A. Tamberski, performed in 1699 at Lublin. MS. BJ 2384, fols. 43–50.

Latin drama on St. Stanislaus Kostka, with Polish songs, performed in Rawa in ?1699; text lost in the *Liber orationum, drammatum,*

salutationum in Collegio Ravensi S.J. (Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, lat. F.XVII, 66).

Drama breve de fuga b. Stanislai Kostka Vienna Romam, performed at Pińsk in 1662 and Płock in 1664 (lost text in Q.XIV.10, fols. 209–16).

More than 30 performances with seven extant programs, and five preserved texts of Latin plays from the German-speaking area (Valentin, nos. 733, 3048, 4283, 4599, 6756).

B. Stanislaus Kostka, MS. Rein 175 (107 pp.), Bibliothek des Zisterzienser-Stiftes Rein, performed at Graz in 1615.

Ritterliche Gottseligkeit in Stanislao Kostka, Latin text in Stadtarchiv, Köln 1059, no. 19 (30 pp.); also in the same archive there is a German program from the performance at Cologne in 1692.

Litigium Amicum pro D. Stanislao Kostka honorando, by A. Maurisperg; ed. in *Dramata IV variis in theatris exhibitae* (Styrae, 1730).

Cor unum et anima una: SS Aloysius et Stanislaus, Dombibliothek Freising Hs. 72, fols. 2–39; performed at Munich in 1727.

Dominus Adjutor in Opportunitatibus (Stanislaus Kostka), Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg Rp XV, 72m; performance at Würzburg in 1757.

Stephan (King of Hungary, 997–1038)

De S. Stephano Primo, Koloszvar, Nov. 1587 (Transylvania; Poplatek, 177).

Vitus and Modest

De SS Vito et Modesto, Braniewo/Braunsberg college, performed in Autumn 1582 for the bishop of Warmia/Ermland (Poplatek, 176, with an Italian parallel text and more literature).

Conclusion. A general look at the matter of genre classification of the plays for which I have been able to provide a more extended discussion in the above list is now possible. Dimitrij Tschizewskij, without using the term ‘medievalism,’ quite explicitly defined “the literary baroque as an effort of an organic unification of elements of the renaissance and the late middle ages, in respect of form as well as of content.”⁵⁴ Kevin Croxen, commenting on seven neo-Latin dramas (including *Boleslaus Furens*, which may be regarded as typical of the eleven extant Polish plays as well as of the twenty-

eight others for which records are extant), has argued that these plays belong in the category of "medievalism." Polish neo-Latin drama must be declared to be simply . . . *medieval*.⁵⁵ I recently have come to a similar conclusion in my analysis of specimens of Polish vernacular mystery plays and Eucharistic dramas of the seventeenth-century in a medieval context.⁵⁶

Through Croxen's study the opportunity emerges to see the similarities between the Latin and the vernacular streams of play-writing. Two points are questionable: the concept of sacramental psychology, and the falsely presumed uniformity of the genre *tragedy*. Locating the hero's psychology as central to tragedy is opposed to Aristotle's stress on reception, the impact on the audience; for him it is only the action that really matters. A tragedy in his view thus can reach its aim without fully developed characters.⁵⁷ In the case of Christian drama, however, other types of characters are required. In this drama the means remain "unhappy fate for the righteous, and the ruin of somebody like us."⁵⁸ Fear and pity remain possible for the Christian audience, and, in spite of the hard-line Jesuit exclusion of martyrs, such heroes of faith remain. While for the hard-liner Sarbiewski, we cannot speak of pity in the case of a martyr because many respectable people wish his fate for themselves—and they see him rejoice in his sufferings⁵⁹—not all practitioners of Jesuit poetics accepted the exclusion of martyrs as possible heroes of tragedies. There is, finally, not one sort of tragedy: alongside the most sublime peripeteia-and-recognition tragedy, we have the pathos-tragedy, the ethos-tragedy, and the spectacle-tragedy.⁶⁰ Sarbiewski simply neglected the hero's suffering, the *pathos* as a source of tragic effect.

Influential as it was, Sarbiewski's prescriptive poetics must be seen in contrast to an important Polish critical work, the anonymous *Poetica practica anno 1648*.⁶¹ In a chapter entitled "Monita componentibus comaedias, tragaedias, comicotragedias etc.," the statement is made: "primum, sunt qui negant posse induci personas ideales in comaediis et tragaediis; alii concedunt et de facto producant. . . . Discipulus sequatur quam voluerit opinionem."⁶² This author explicitly granted heroic status to Christian martyrs and, in general, to "ideal persons." The student, a future writer of drama, is not to be constrained in choosing his own way of composition. *Poetica practica* thus defended the mixing of genres and gave a great deal of attention to some of them, including tragicomedy.

[C]omicotragedia est actio poetica comicis et traicis rebus constans. Continet hoc genus utrumque actionis personas illustres et humiliores, laeta et tristia, finis tamen traicocomaediae est laetus, comicotragediae vero tristis. Refertur traicocomaedia ad comaediam, comicotragedia ab [ad?] tragediam. . . . Materia traicomaediae sunt eventus laeti et tristibus nati; materia vero comicotragediae sunt eventus ex latis tristes"⁶³

The author was fully aware that while mixed genres were unknown to classic writers, the mixed sad-joyous *spectacula* were more frequent in his time than pure tragedies and comedies.⁶³ This means not only assimilation of the classical bipolar notions of "tragedy" and "comedy": it meant that theoreticians and also writers would not feel that these categories were binding. In the title of the Warsaw Stanislaus play of 1633 which appears in the list above, we see the use of the term "*comico-tragedy*" (that is, tragicomedy) correctly applied to a martyr drama prior to the writing and publication of the *Poetica practica*—proof that genre practices preceded their codification, and that this open-minded Jesuit author was indeed more interested in a descriptive than a normative study.⁶⁴

In addition to the matter of genre, the plays that I have listed above also have many other medieval characteristics. The Catherine and John the Baptist plays in particular are more concerned with illustrating the *vita* than with affecting the audience with the tragic emotions of fear and pity. Nevertheless, martyrdom emerges as good subject matter for a tragedy, although it does not automatically produce a good play. Where classical influence is visible in such aspects as the use of choruses, genre division and labels, the number of actors allowed to speak in a scene, and certain stylistic devices and motifs, it produces a new contribution to tragedy only in the *Boleslaus Furens*. This play is programmatic in its allusion to Seneca's *Hercules Furens* and follows the Aristotelian-Senecan scheme for tragedy with its five-act structure, historical subject matter, complex action structure (*peplegmenoi*), *pathos* (of the purest sort: both the protagonist and his antagonist are Christians, with a king killing his bishop and cutting his body into pieces), decline of the noble hero ("dauntless but without integrity"⁶⁵). But we also need to see such a play as the drama on the lives of Boris and Gleb as a tragedy if we consider the presence of the royal family, fratricide, functional *peripeteia*, effective recognition, and damnation of the wrongdoer.

The happiness of martyrdom, besides sharpening the contrast between good and evil, must be considered to be a common feature shared with the medieval saint legends and plays. This crucial characteristic thus affirms the continuity of the saint play genre in these later Polish plays.

To summarize: Legends of saints of the distant past were adopted by sixteenth and seventeenth-century writers as subject matter with a certain tragic potential. The stories derived from these legends were rewritten in a new "purged" tragic fashion. But new saints were also being canonized, and new stories about them were to be circulated. These stories were destined to be placed against a new humanist scholarly background, but the plays retained quite "medieval" ideas about the sacred and quite "medieval" expectations towards the saints themselves. The classical pattern of tragedy could not expunge medieval elements from the plays, assuming that the saint play genre retained its same functions from earlier times. What happened is that the apparatus of classical tragedy was adapted to maintain and heighten the impact of the old genre of the saint play on the post-medieval Catholic audience, not the other way round.

NOTES

¹ See *Summa procesjei na wnoszenie kości świętych*, in Korotaj, no. 50.

² See Kevin Croxen, "Thematic and Generic Medievalism in the Polish Neo-Latin Drama of the Renaissance and Baroque," *Slavic and East European Journal* 43 (1999): 265–98.

³ "Odprawowany W Kamionce na jarmark przypadający na dzień tegosz Iana Świętego Chrzcziciela Roku Pań, 1619" (title page reproduced in Lewański, *Studia*, 211).

⁴ BJ MS. 3526, fols. 71–72.

⁵ *Joachim y Anna: Comedia o niepłodności Anny S. z Joachimem mężem iey ktorych wdziewiędziesiąt lath wraczył P. Bog Potomstwem Blogosławioną Panną Marią między czorkami Syonskimi nigdy nieporównaną*, ed. J. I. Kraszewski, "Komedia o niepłodności Anny," *Ateneum* 2 (1841): 95–126; see Stanisław Windakiewicz, *Teatr ludowy w dawnej Polsce* (Cracow, 1902), 124–26.

⁶ *Komunja duchowna SS Borysa i Gleba*, in Biblioteka Pawlikowskich, MS. Ossolineum 12778/I, fols. 401–72; Lewański, ed., *Dramaty staropolskie*, 6:303–406. Three other long miracle plays—e.g., *Sławna pomoc Ramirowego zwycięstwa przez anielskie pułki uczyniona*—appear in the same codex (fols. 1–102).

⁷ Here we have a connection to St. Stanislaus: his killer Boleslaus was grandson of Jaroslav in the maternal line.

⁸ Marvin Kantor, ed. and trans., *Medieval Slavic Lives of Saints and Princes* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1983), 13, with a parallel-text edition of the *Narrative and Passion and Encomium of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb* (163–253) and complete facsimile of the Old Church Slavonic copy from the *Uspenskiy Sbornik*.

⁹ *Skazanje i strast' i pochwała sviatuju mucenyku Borysa i Hleba*; Lewański, ed., *Dramaty staropolskie*, 6:691, points to this text as the main source of the drama.

¹⁰ See Kantor, ed. and trans., *Medieval Slavic Lives*, 179.

¹¹ The latter is called *Scena quinta ludicra*, and is incorporated in the action of the first act; both texts edited by M. Markowski, "Južnorusskija intermedii," *Kievskaja Starina* 46, pt. 7 (1894): 32–45. To be sure, the area involved only later became known as the Ukraine.

¹² Lewański, *Dramaty staropolskie*, 6:676.

¹³ Valentin, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites*, nos. 125, 126, 151, 160, 440, 2861, 3121.

¹⁴ Biblioteka Pawlikowskich, MS. Ossolineum 204, fols. 30–36.

¹⁵ Julian Lewański, *Dramat i tear średniowiecza i renesansu w Polsce* (Warsaw: PWN, 1981), 514.

¹⁶ *Dialog na uroczystość świętej Katarzyny panny i męczenniczki*, BJ MS. 3526, fols. 130–42; ed. Lewański, *Dramaty staropolskie*, 6: 137–73.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 6:676.

¹⁸ The text at "has a beginning" is corrupt, but the following proof clarifies the meaning: "he was always and he will be forever a King together with God and the Holy Ghost" (*ibid.*, 6:151).

¹⁹ *Passio Sancte Katerine Virginis, BHL 1663*, trans. Nancy Wilson van Baak, in *La festa et storia di Sancta Caterina: A Medieval Italian Religious Drama*, ed. and trans. Anne Wilson Tordi (New York: Peter Lang, 1997), 261; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. W. Granger Ryan, 2 vols. [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993], 2:334, 336. In Capgrave's version "Archaungell Mychael" himself grants her help after her long prayer, done "all in a trauce" (John Capgrave, *The Life of Saint Katherine*, ed. K. A. Winstead [Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications 1999]; book 4, chap. 17).

²⁰ Barbara Ogródowska, *Święta polskie: Tradycja i obyczaj* (Warsaw: Wyd. Alfa, 1996), 230. A useful comparison may be made with the English St. George plays and pageants, for which see Clifford Davidson, "Saint Plays and Pageants of Medieval Britain," *Early Drama, Art, and Music Review* 23 (1999): esp. 21–25, and Chambers, *The English Folk-Play*, 170–74.

²¹ The content of two playlets of this sort (from the now lost Krasieński MS., fols. 33–37, 191–95) is preserved in a summary by Windakiewicz, *Teatr ludowy*, 130, n. 1; also in the same author's *Pierwsze kompanie aktorów w Polsce* (Cracow: Akademia Umiejętności, 1893), 393; cited in Jan Dürr-Durski, "O mieszczańskim teatrze renesansowym w Polsce," *Pamiętnik Teatralny* 2, no. 3 (1953): 66.

²² Sabine Baring-Gould, *The Lives of Saints*, 16 vols. (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1914), 2:141. For the Polish translation of the report on their martyrdom, see S.

Wysocki, *Opisanie chwalebnego męczeństwa dziewięci chrześcijan japońskich* (Cracow, 1612).

²³ The Beheading of John the Baptist is assigned a separate feast (29 August), which commemorates also the day when the saint's head was discovered (see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, 2:137–38).

²⁴ See J. Rompski, *Ścinanie kani: Kaszubski zwyczaj ludowy* (Toruń: Muzeum Etnograficzne w Toruniu, 1974), and, for a literary Kushubian version, Jan Karnowski, "Scynanie kani: Widowisko kaszëbskie," *Gryf kaszubski*, nos. 8–9 (1932). The earliest record was published by Florian Ceynowa in 1851.

²⁵ J. Rompski, *Ścinanie kani*, 96.

²⁶ *Tragaedia albo Wizerunk śmierci przeświętego Iana Chrzcziciela Przesłańca Bożego*, in *Dramaty staropolskie*, ed. J. Lewański, 6 vols. (Warsaw: PIW, 1959), 2:435–97; the only copy of the original 1618 edition, published in Jaworów, is in Muzeum Miejskie w Cieszynie, shelfmark 7827.

²⁷ Poplatek, *Studia*, 136, citing *Annales collegii Posnaniensis* 1588, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, MS. 5198/1, fol. 27, and *Annuae provinciae Poloniae* 1597, Collegium Calissense, ASJ Pol. 50, fol. 158; recorded also in Ossolineum Biblioteka Pawlikowskich MS. 204, fol. 107.

²⁸ Biblioteka Krasieńskich, Zaluscianum MS. Q.XIV.10, fols. 131–43, now lost.

²⁹ *Depozyt łask i miłości Boskiej św. Jan Chrzcziciel*, reproduced by K. W. Wójcicki, *Teatr starożytny w Polsce*, 2 vols. (Warsaw, 1841), 2:275–82. The play was also performed on the name-day of priest Jan Polnarowski by his students (Windakiewicz, *Teatr ludowy*, 127).

³⁰ Staatsbibliothek München Cod. lat. mon. 2124, as cited in J. M. Valentin, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites*, no. 1077.

³¹ 4^o Bavar. 2197 III, 25; reproduced in Szarota, "Boleslaus der Kühne und der hl. Stanislaus auf den Bühnen des 16. Jahrhunderts," 483–90; under 4^o Bavar. 2197 III, 24 (same title), summary for a Innsbruck performance in 1623.

³² Burkhard Waldis, *Das Päpstliche Reich* (1556), chap. 12; Oskar Sengpiel, *Die Bedeutung der Prozessionen für das geistliche Spiel des Mittelalters in Deutschland* (Breslau: Marcus, 1932), 27.

³³ The structural frame in which devil figures explicitly organize the dramatic action is known in medieval drama, for example in the Netherlandic *Spel vanden Heiligen Sacramente van der Nyeuwer Vaert* by Jan Smeken (c.1520); ed. W. J. M. A. Asselbergs and A. P. Huysmans (Culemborg: Tjeenk Willink, 1955); but see also, for a lesser example, the Paris *Passion* of Greban (Grace Frank, *The Medieval French Drama* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954], 184).

³⁴ The two interludes were printed after the main text by M. Dragomanow in *Kievskaja starina* (Dec. 1883); they appear in Polish translation by M. Jurkowski and E. Łapski in Lewański, ed., *Dramaty staropolskie*, 1:480–97. For a study, see N. K. Gudziej, "Dwa najstarsze intermedia ukraińskie," *Pamiętnik Teatralny* 9 (1960): 519–24, who concludes that they were written by an unknown Ukrainian author whose work was then included into the Polish tragedy.

³⁵ *Agenda Ecclesiae cathedralis Plocensis* (Cracow: Mikołaj Szarfenberg, 1554), fols. 159^v–162^r.

³⁶ Ogrodowska, *Święta polskie*, 317.

³⁷ For the following observations I am indebted to Jan Kurek, "Próba ustalenia genezy obrzędów dorocznych—'Mikołaj', 'szlachciców' i dziadów', występujących współcześnie we wsiach Beskidu Śląskiego i Żywieckiego," *Polska Sztuka Ludowa*, 1973, fasc. 3:149–158, and, by the same author, "'Mikołaje'—obrzęd doroczny we wsiach Beskidu Śląskiego," *Polska Sztuka Ludowa*, 1973, fasc. 4:194–206.

³⁸ See the description of the production of 10 December 1972 in Aleksander Spyra, "'Mikołaje' z Łąki," *Polska Sztuka Ludowa*, 1973, fasc. 4:207–10; the show was sometimes shifted to the next Sunday. See also the articles by Kurek cited in n. 37 for a region near the Czech border.

³⁹ The texts of both are corrupt, as is the music, which originated in the repertoire of the Church.

⁴⁰ For the taboo regarding the identity of the players, their consequent anonymity, and their wildness in performance, see also Kurek, "'Mikołaje'—obrzęd doroczny we wsiach Beskidu Śląskiego," 200.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 200–04.

⁴² Kurek, "Próba ustalenia genezy obrzędów dorocznych," 149.

⁴³ *Suma comico tragediey na historię Żywota S. Stanisława Męczennika Chrystusowego, Biskupa Krakowskiego, y Patrona Korony Polskiej, przez Mateusza Jagodowicza, plebana nowomiejskiego . . . P. Stanisławowi Baryczce, woytowi Miasta K. I. M. Starej Warszawy, przypisaney, Dedykowaney, Na dzień Uroczysty Święta jego w Warszawie na Nowym Mieście na cześć chwałę P. Bogu, y Stanisławowi S., Narodowi Polskiemu ku sławie y pociesze wystawionej. Dnia 8 Maia Roku Pańskiego 1633*, printed by the court printer J. Rossowski. The only extant copy is preserved in Biblioteka PAN Gdańsk, shelfmark Nl.83.24. On the term *comico-tragediey* ('tragicomedy'), see below. For another name-day performance of a saint play, see *Anne and Joachim*.

⁴⁴ For general introductions to the Polish saint plays, see Irena Sławińska, "Dramat religijny," in *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, 8 vols. [in progress] (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1995–), 4:193–97, and Tadeusz Bańkowski, "Popularny dramat hagiograficzny. Uwagi o wybranych elementach twórczości autorów XX w.," in *Popularny dramat i teatr religijny w Polsce*, ed. Irena Sławińska and Maria Barbara Stykowa (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1990), 65–94.

⁴⁵ *Acta Sanctorum*, 7 May, 2:215–21; Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, May, 110–13; Stanisław Belch, *Saint Stanislaw, Patron of Poland* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1979).

⁴⁶ In 1982 the publishing house Interpress, responsible for the propaganda covering the Communist rule, was the publisher of a 283-page book about this conflict of nine hundred years ago, with an English translation issued after the murder of Father Popietuszko by the security police: Tadeusz Grudziński, *Boleslaus the Bold, Called Also the Bountiful, and Bishop Stanislaus: The Story of a Conflict* (Warsaw: Interpress 1985).

⁴⁷ See the bibliography of Stanislaus in M. B. Stykowa, "Święty Stanisław Biskup w dramacie i teatrze, Bibliografia," *Summariusz Sprawozdania*

Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL 7 (1978): 149–61; and, for all genres, see Z. Adamek, "Święty Stanisław ze Szczepanowa i Bolesław Śmiały w literaturze polskiej, Historia motywu," *Tarnowskie Studia Teologiczne 7* (1979): 188–204.

³⁷ The oldest known specimen of iconography is a sculpture dated c.1350; among the most interesting illustrations is the twelve-episodes *vita* from an altar triptych at Szczepanów (now in the diocesan museum in Tarnów), dated c.1500; see W. Szczebak, "Motywy ikonograficzne postaci św. Stanisława Szczepanowskiego na podstawie zabytków z terenu diecezji tarnowskiej," *Tarnowskie Studia Teologiczne 7* (1979): 205–31, here 221–28. The oldest song dedicated to the saint is *Chwała tobie, gospodzinie* (*Praise be to you, Lord*), from 1452; see Mirosław Perz, "Staropolskie opracowania polifoniczne tekstów o św. Stanisławie," *Summarius: Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL 7* (1978): 103–18.

⁴⁹ E. M. Szarota, "Boleslaus der Kühne und der hl. Stanislaus auf den Bühnen des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Gegenreformation und Literatur*, ed. Jean-Marie Valentin (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1979), 271–98; see also Szarota's commentary on the German program of the performance in Hall in 1733: *Veritas Tragoedia: Oder Die von denen Lebenden angefochtene/ Von denen Todten erfochtene Wahrheit*, Bavar. 2193, XII, 8, reprinted in her *Periochen*-edition, 1:5:22; for commentary, see Elida Maria Szarota, *Das Jesuitendrama im deutschen Sprachgebiet: Eine Periochen-Edition*, 4 vols. in 7 pts (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1979–87), 1:2:1783–86.

⁵⁰ BJ MS. 3526, fols. 1–10'.

⁵¹ Johannes Joncre, *Tragoedia Boleslaus Secundus Furens*, ed. Georgius Axer (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1972); for the manuscript, see Biblioteka Kórnicka, MS. B IV 498.29, and, for the source, the *Vita Sanctissimi Stanislai*, in Joannis Długosz *Opera omnia*, ed. A. Przeździecki, 14 vols. (Cracow, 1863–87), 1:1–181. There was also a Polish dialogue of St. Stanislaus in the lost Chelmo codex, MS. Kras. 3495, pp. 45–59 (summary in Windakiewicz, *Teatr ludowy*, 134–35).

⁵² Marian Plezia, introd., *Średniowieczne żywoty i cuda patronów Polski* (Warsaw: Pax, 1987), 105. With regard to early printed legends, see, for before 1600: Paulus of Krosno (Paweł z Krosna), *Panegyricus ad divum Stanislaum praesulem Sanctissimum ac patronem Poloniae beneficentissimum in Panegyrici et alia carmina* (Vienna, 1509; Cracow, 1513); *Legendae sanctorum Adalberti, Stanislai, Floriani, Regni Poloniae patronorum* (Cracow: Jan Haller 1517); Marszewski, *Vita et martyrium divi Stanislai* (Kraków, 1543); P. Roysius, *Carmen de sancto pontifice caeso dive Stanislao* (Cracow, 1547).

⁵³ As observed by Lesław Eustachiewicz ("Boleslaus Furens—nieznany dramatyczny z XVI wieku," *Pamiętnik Literacki* 43 [1952]: 532), the river names are Nilus, Rhenus, and Rubicon with no mention of Vistula; also, Cracow is not mentioned. In the preface to his edition (10–11), Jerzy Axer proposed that the author could be Portuguese or Spanish because three main rivers of Iberia are mentioned: Durus, Tagus, and Anas. The forms of both the first and the given name of the poet are, however, apparently not Spanish but rather Flemish or Dutch; the southern Netherlands were at that time under Spanish rule, and knowledge of the topography of Spain could have been based on experience.

⁵⁴ D. Tschizewskij, "Ausserhalb der Schönheit: Ausserästhetische Elemente in der slavischen Barockdichtung," in H. R. Jauss, ed., *Die nicht mehr schönen Künste: Grenzphänomene des Ästhetischen* (Munich: W. Fink, 1968), 209.

⁵⁵ Croxen, "Thematic and Generic Medievalism in the Polish Neo-Latin Drama," 265–98. "In summary, then, Polish neo-Latin drama to the end of the Baroque remained a profoundly medieval phenomenon with regard to length, content, characterization, and choral structure. The medievalism of Polish Latin drama places it up to two centuries behind Józef Iłsewijn's timetable for the purgation of medieval elements from Western European neo-Latin literature (*Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. [Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990], 1:288). The classical bipolar notions of 'tragedy' and 'comedy' went unassimilated by most Polish playwrights, who could not reconcile these notions with the medieval sacramental psychology inherited more directly from the medieval Christian liturgy and liturgical drama" (ibid., 1:288, 290n).

⁵⁶ In my "Anything But a Game: Corpus Christi in Poland," read at the International Congress on Medieval Studies (Kalamazoo, 2000), and my book *Teatr i sacrum w średniowieczu* (Wrocław: FUNNA, 2001).

⁵⁷ See the concept of *ethos* (Aristotle, *Poetics* 1450a). Jacobus Pontanus, *Poeticarum Institutionum libri III* (Ingolstadt, 1597), 87–119, stressed the importance of character development in drama, but Sarbiewski followed Aristotle strictly; see M. K. Sarbiewski, *De perfecta poesi* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1954), for a bilingual Latin-Polish edition: *O tragedii i komedii czyli Seneka i Terencjusz*; cited in Teresa Banasiowa, "W kręgu tradycji Jakuba Pontanusa i Macieja K. Sarbiewskiego: autor 'Poetyki praktycznej' (1648) o dramatica poesis (Wybrane zagadnienia)," in *Jesuitica: Kolokwium naukowe z okazji 400. rocznicy urodzin Macieja Kazimierza Sarbiewskiego*, pod red. Jana Malickiego przy współudziale Piotra Wilczka (Katowice: Wyd. Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 1997), 52.

⁵⁸ Aristotle, *Poetics* 1453a, 2–3.

⁵⁹ "Ex parte etiam ipsius martyris vix oriri potest commiseratio, cum et multi probi viri idem sibi optent et illum ipsum gaudere de cruciati intellegant" (Sarbiewski, *De perfecta poesi*, 230; cf. Banasiowa, "W kręgu tradycji," 56).

⁶⁰ Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1452b, 35, and 1455b–1456a.

⁶¹ The *Poetica practica anno 1648* (MS. Zaluscianum Lat Q. XIV.229, now lost), as discussed and quoted extensively by V. I. Rezanov, *istorii russkoj dramy: Ekskurs v oblast teatra jezuitov* (Nezhin: Izvestija Istoricesko-Filologiceskogo Instituta, 1910), 292–452.

⁶² *Poetica practica*, Tractatus IX [on tragedy], as quoted by Rezanov, *K istorii russkoj dramy*, 370.

⁶³ *Poetica practica*, Tractatus IX, as quoted by Rezanov, *K istorii russkoj dramy*, 368.

⁶⁴ "Apud antiquos traicocomaediae et comicotragediae non fuit usu, apud nos vero frequens; imo frequentior est usus quam purae comediae et tragediae" (ibid., 368–69); this was opposed to the established tradition of Pontanus, Sarbiewski, and others (ibid., 369).

⁶⁵ This is a general conclusion from the analysis by Rezanov: "the author [of the *Poetica practica*] finds it quite normal to theorize about forms established by praxis and sanctioned by audience's approval" (ibid., 375).

⁶⁵ See the statement, referring to the John the Baptist play, by Lewański: "almost a regular tragedy of Herod" (*Dramat i teatr*, 237).

⁶⁶ Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1456a, 22.

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