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Text and performance: medieval religious stage quacks and the commedia dell'arte

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Trends in Medieval Philology

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Transformationen des Religiösen

Performativität und Textualität im
geistlichen Spiel

Herausgegeben von
Ingrid Kasten und Erika Fischer-Lichte

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INGRID KASTEN

Transformationen des Religiösen

Performativität und Textualität im geistlichen Spiel

Die Beiträge des vorliegenden Sammelbandes sind aus einer internationalen und interdisziplinären Tagung hervorgegangen, die im Rahmen des Sonderforschungsbereichs „Kulturen des Performativen“ vom 23.-25. September 2005 an der Freien Universität Berlin veranstaltet wurde. Mit dem Performativen als zentralem Paradigma hat sich der Sonderforschungsbereich das Ziel gesetzt, Kultur nicht mehr nach dem ‚Text-Modell‘ zu definieren, sondern als Inszenierung und Aufführung zu begreifen. Dabei wird zwischen dem ‚Text-Modell‘ und dem ‚Performance-Modell‘ jedoch kein Ausschlussverhältnis postuliert, sondern es wird davon ausgegangen, dass beide Modelle aufeinander zu beziehen und in ihren historisch je variablen Relationen zu untersuchen sind. Die Schwerpunktsetzung der Tagung auf die geistlichen Spiele des Mittelalters ergab sich aus der Zusammenarbeit des theaterwissenschaftlichen und des mediävistischen Teilprojekts des Sonderforschungsbereichs.

Die Relationen von Text und Kultur, von Oralität und Skripturalität, unterscheiden sich in der Kultur des Mittelalters beträchtlich von den Verhältnissen in der Moderne. Mit dem Konzept des Performativen können auf systematischer Ebene verschiedene Dimensionen erschlossen werden – eine sprachwissenschaftliche bzw. sprachphilosophische Dimension, eine Dimension der *cultural performance* und eine ästhetische Dimension –, die geeignet sind, den Blick nicht nur für systematische Aspekte, sondern auch für historische Differenzen und Transformationsprozesse zu schärfen. Die geistlichen Spiele, die in vielen europäischen Kulturen des Mittelalters bis in die Moderne nachweisbar sind, stehen in engem Zusammenhang mit Frömmigkeitspraktiken der Zeit und beziehen ihre Sujets aus dem Kult, aus der Bibel und aus Legenden. Die Stoffe bleiben auch später in der religiösen Praxis, in der bildenden Kunst, im Theater, in der Literatur und schließlich im Film produktiv. Von Anfang an war deshalb geplant, trotz der Schwerpunktsetzung auf das geistliche Spiel die Perspektive exemplarisch auf die Gegenwart hin offen zu halten.¹

Die Tagung konnte an die seit einiger Zeit deutlich belebte Diskussion über die Spezifik theatraler Formen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit anknüpfen.

¹ Das Konzept wurde in Zusammenarbeit von INGRID KASTEN, ERIKA FISCHER-LICHTE, JUTTA EMING und ELKE KOCH entwickelt.

M. A. KATRITZKY

Text and Performance

Medieval Religious Stage Quacks and the Commedia dell'Arte

Quacksalber („quacks“) sind die frühesten und bekanntesten nicht-biblischen Figuren in geistlichen Spielen, in denen sie meist in Zusammenhang mit dem Bedarf der drei Marien nach Balsam am Grab Christi auftreten. Die Untersuchung der dramatischen Funktion von Quacksalbern in und außerhalb dieser sogenannten Salbenkrämer-Szene zeigt, dass ihre üblichen Bühnenroutinen und typischen Rollen als wichtige mögliche Quellen dramatischer Strategien und Rollen der frühen Commedia dell'Arte identifiziert werden können. Insbesondere weisen die drei bedeutendsten Rollen der Salbenkrämer-Szene, der Quacksalber, seine Frau und ihr Diener, auf die Urtypen der Commedia dell'Arte (das Bühnentrío Herr, Diener, junge Frau) voraus. Ihre komischen Bühnenpossen haben mit den *lazzi* der Commedia dell'Arte das charakteristische Potential für Improvisation, Übertragung und Ausweitung gemein. Der Anhang bietet einen chronologischen Überblick über siebzig Quacksalber-Szenen von 1100 bis 1599.

Introduction

Quacks were the least respectable and respected medieval healers. Themselves significant promoters of professional stage spectacle, they are the earliest and most prominent non-biblical characters in religious drama, where they make an increasing contribution from the twelfth century onwards (see Appendix). Situated on a broad continuum seamlessly bridging the gaping chasm between the solidly respectable municipal merchant or medical practitioner and reviled, rootless charlatans and mountebanks, quacks combined, in widely varying proportions, three elements: the medical, the itinerant, and the theatrical. They sold herbs, drugs, patent miracle-cures with closely guarded secret recipes, and cosmetics. Some also prescribed and administered medication and treatment to patients, either for a variety of ailments or as specialists. They were itinerant, in that they went to their customers, rather than waiting for customers to come to them. Some travelled continuously across the length and breadth of Europe, from one annual fair to another, some within their own country or region, others only intermittently, or hardly at all. Above all, quacks were performers. They used theatricality, in its widest possible sense, to attract customers and to promote and advertise their pharmaceuticals and

health care services. Contextualized within the deceitful economy of the marketplace, religious stage quacks provide a profane secular counterpart to the healing Christ of the Gospel miracles.¹ As grotesques and gargoyles proliferated in late medieval Northern church decoration, so comic episodes caricaturing the medical inadequacies, cupidity and crude humour of quacks came to dominate its religious drama. Typically, they feature during the *Visitatio sepulchri*, or visit of the three Marys to the tomb of Christ. Here, in an episode known as the merchant scene, an itinerant pedlar, variously characterized as a *mastickár*, *medicus*, *mercator* or *unguentarius*, with or without a wife and troupe, sometimes sells the Marys herbs and spices before they go to embalm Christ's body, and discover the empty tomb.

Religious quack episodes occur most frequently in connection with the three Marys' need for unguents at the tomb of Christ, and they are often considered primarily in terms of a response to this single liturgical requirement. The present investigation seeks to develop a pan-European holistic approach recognizing that by no means all religious stage quacks are confined to the merchant scene, and accommodating their varied narrative contexts. The fluid boundaries and synergies between the medieval religious stage and secular performance practice are perhaps nowhere more apparent than with respect to dramatic quack episodes. The present article overviews religious quacks as a whole, with a view to highlighting their resonances with the early modern professional stage (see Appendix). Specialists have sought the origins of the commedia dell'arte in a wide range of contexts, not least in classical drama, but never in any systematic way in the quack episodes of the religious stage. To a certain extent, these may even be viewed as precursors of the characteristic stage business, or *lazzi*, of the professional stage. The comic hallmark of the commedia dell'arte performances of Italian secular professional players, *lazzi* were self-contained expandable units of improvised stage business. Featuring stock characters, they were designed to be expanded or contracted in response to specific audiences, and to be transferrable from one play to another with minimal modification. Many centuries before their adoption by professional performing troupes, religious quack episodes pioneered stock roles with predictable verbal, visual and physical comic routines, and the clear potential for improvisation. Although such dramatic strategies foreshadow the professional stage in several significant ways, only one has received wide-

1 HANSJÜRGEN LINKE: Vom Sakrament bis zum Exkrement. Ein Überblick über Drama und Theater des deutschen Mittelalters. In: Theaterwesen und dramatische Literatur. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Theaters. Ed. by GÜNTER HOLTUS, Tübingen 1987, p. 127-164, here p. 135-6; JARMILA F. VELTRUSKÝ: The old Czech apothecary as clown and symbol. In: Festive drama. Papers from the sixth triennial colloquium of the international society for the study of medieval theatre, Lancaster, 13-19 July 1989. Ed. by MEG TWYXCROSS, Cambridge 1996, p. 270-8, here p. 273.

spread recognition. This concerns the stock quack assistant *Rubin*, often identified as a forerunner of the stock stage fools of the itinerant professionals, such as the English troupes' *Picklehering* or *Jean Potage*, or the Harlequin or *Zanni* of the Italian commedia dell'arte. These stage fools made a major impact as the servant character who joins his master and a young female as one of the three stock roles whose stars rose in the sixteenth century, just as the power of church drama was fading. They dominated professional Italian drama throughout the early modern period as the central commedia dell'arte trio of master, servant and innamorata. One of the most important comic configurations of professional drama, this trio was heralded by the three main stock roles of the merchant scene. These are not "the eternal triangle of the doctor, Rubin and Pusterpalk",² but a far more significant, widespread and rarely identified group, the mixed-gender threesome of the quack couple and their chief assistant.³

The merchant scene

The Gospel of John relates that, directly following the Crucifixion, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus wound the body of Christ in linen and spices on that same evening, using a hundred pounds of myrrh and aloes provided by Nicodemus. Matthew does not mention spices at all. Luke relates that the Holy women prepared the spices on the Sabbath but observed the traditional day of rest, waiting until early on Sunday morning to take them to the tomb. Only Mark indicates that the spices for embalming Christ's body were not purchased until after Good Friday and the Sabbath: "when the Sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, had bought sweet spices, that they might come and anoint him".⁴ Notwithstanding such tenuous New Testament indications, onstage speaking quacks had already established themselves on the religious stage by the eleventh century. They were pioneered in Latin and macaronic mystery plays preserved in texts dating from around 1100 onwards, some of which specify a merchant or spice merchant, and became extremely popular, sometimes dominant non-biblical characters in the *Visitatio sepulchri*, the pivotal scene of medieval Easter observances and Passion performances. Widely regarded as crucial to the emergence of religious theatre from church ceremony, the *Visitatio sepulchri* and

2 GIANFRANCO CONTINI: Teatro religioso del medioevo fuori d'Italia, raccolta di testi dal secolo VII al secolo XV, Milano & Roma, 1949, p. xxv.

3 RAINER WARNING: Funktion und Struktur. Die Ambivalenzen des geistlichen Spiels, München 1974, p. 80.

4 Matthew 28, v. 1; Mark 16, v. 1-2; Luke 23, v. 55-56, 24, 1; John 19, v. 39-40. The Holy Bible (King James Version), 1611.

the quacks of its so-called merchant scene have attracted considerable scholarly attention.⁵

By the fourteenth century, standardization of the merchant scene and its stock cast and comic business was setting in. French, Bohemian and especially German Easter plays increasingly supplemented the lone spice merchant with members of an itinerant troupe. Indisputably, the vast majority of genuine quack troupes were led by men. However, it was profitable to provide, in parallel to the quack's often very public marketplace practice, a more discrete private consultation facility for female patients.⁶ Numerous early modern documents refer to male healers who shared their medical practise with a female healer capable of providing such a service, generally their wife. A similar pattern had already marked the activities of some quack troupes of the religious stage.⁷ Here, as the vernacular increasingly replaced Latin, merchant scenes gradually expanded to dominate a whole section, often featuring a troupe led by a married couple, each actively contributing to the commercial success of the business, and aided by one or more servants. Although religious stage quacks drew on vernacular literature, as well as directly on the orality, performativity and crude humour of the genuine quacks, attempts to prove their precedence in secular plays founder on chronological issues. The unreliable, fragmentary pre-eighteenth-century evidence concerning English 'hero combat' mummers' plays, and numerous surviving texts of 'Arztspiele' or secular German carnival farces featuring the doctor and his attendant, all post-date the earliest merchant scenes.⁸ If the exact connections between the Eng-

lish plays and religious drama are obscure, it is clear that the surviving German plays draw heavily on religious drama, often freely basing their healers on the merchant scene's quack couple and their servants.⁹

Even the French literary sources which get closest to the orality of genuine medieval quack harangues, dramatic monologues of the type pioneered in the mid thirteenth-century by Rutebeuf and Adam de la Halle, postdate the earliest merchant scenes by over a century.¹⁰ In possibly the earliest known French secular drama, Halle's *Li jus Adan ou de la Feuillée* of 1262, a quack boasts of his travels and diagnoses urine.¹¹ MATHIEU's compelling textual investigation into the interrelationships between the merchant scene and secular literature establishes beyond doubt the dependence of French merchant scenes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries on *Li diz de l'erberie*, *De la goutte en l'aine* and other quack monologues by Rutebeuf. Less convincing is his attempt to identify Rutebeuf as the secular source of the comic and satirical elements in the merchant scene, and to categorize all earlier religious stage quacks, such as those of the thirteenth-century Prague, Benediktbeuern and Tours merchant scenes, as respectable sedentary 'urban merchants' lacking any comic elements.¹² Religious stage practice was almost certainly a major influence on the dramatic quack monologues of Rutebeuf, himself author of the religious play *Miracle de Théophile*. His 'secular' monologues are likely to have drawn on his observations of stage quacks as well as genuine charlatans, and his creative and economic impetus may well have come from an awareness of the growing importance of quacks in religious drama. Hard and fast distinctions between the categories of quack and merchant, of the type proposed by MATHIEU, cannot take account of the ways in which these roles were interpreted on the stage. If some specialists suggest that comic elements first entered the merchant scene with the early fourteenth-century *Passion Pa-*

5 JARMILA F. VELTRUSKÝ summarizes the most significant French and German merchant scenes in *A sacred farce from medieval Bohemia: Mastičkář*, Ann Arbor 1985, p. 78-117. See also appendix, below.

6 On female quacks and quack couples, see M. A. KATRITZKY: Gendering tooth-drawers on the stage. In: *Ludica. annali di storia e civiltà del gioco* 5-6 (2000), p. 144-181; M. A. KATRITZKY: *Women, medicine and theatre. Performing mountebanks 1500-1750*, Aldershot 2007.

7 The family-based quack troupe explicitly specified by the texts of some religious quack episodes, including the *Sponsus*, and featured in certain others whose texts include only a single speaking quack (for example the 1583 Lucerne play), reflects traditional economic practice in the itinerant healthcare industry. As such, its constituent members are neither, as suggested by some specialists, primarily dictated by religious imperative (HELMUT DE BOOR: *Die Textgeschichte der lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Tübingen 1967, p. 359) nor by cultic pagan precedent. WARNING (note 3), p. 85, elegantly turns this last theory on its head, suggesting that religious stage quacks provided a foothold for pagan elements to enter Christian drama.

8 MAX SILLER: *Ausgewählte Aspekte des Fastnachtspiels im Hinblick auf die Aufführung des Sterzinger Spiels der scheissennd*. In: *Fastnachtspiel – Commedia dell'Arte, Gemeinsamkeiten – Gegensätze. Akten des 1. Symposiums der Sterzinger Osterspiele (31.3.-3.4.1991)*. Ed. by MAX SILLER. Innsbruck 1992 (Schlern-Schriften 290), p. 147-159, here p. 147 [*Ipocras* (1510), *Doctor knoflach Vom Claus putzn* (1511), *der scheissennd* (1516), *Artzt hännimann* (1520), *Ain zendprecherey* (1529), *Doctors appotegg* (1531)]. See also *Fastnachtspiele aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*. Ed. by ADELBERT VON KELLER, 3 vols., Stuttgart 1853-8 (Litterarischer Verein XXVIII-XXX), nos. 6, 48, 54, 57, 82, 85, 98, 101, 114, 120; CARL HAMMER: *The*

doctor in the late medieval 'Arztspiel'. In: *German life and letters* 24 (1971), p. 244-56; HANSJÜRGEN LINKE: *Zwischen Jammertal und Schlaraffenland. Verteufelung und Verunwirklichung des saeculum im geistlichen Drama des Mittelalters*. In: *ZfdA* 100 (1971), p. 350-70, here p. 370; LINKE, *Vom Sakrament bis zum Exkrement* (note 1), p. 148; HANSJÜRGEN LINKE: *Unstimmige Opposition. "Geistlich" und "Weltlich" als Ordnungskategorien der mittelalterlichen Dramatik*. In: *leuvense bijdragen / leuven contributions in linguistics and philology* 90 (2001), p. 75-126, here p. 101.

9 E[DMUND] K[ERCHEVER] CHAMBERS: *The English folk-play*. New York 1964, p. 38-41, 52, 154, 165-170; LINKE, *Vom Sakrament bis zum Exkrement* (note 1), p. 132.

10 EMILE PICOT: *Le monologue dramatique dans l'ancien théâtre français*, II. In: *Romania* 16 (1887), p. 438-542, here p. 492-6; P. ABRAHAMS: *The mercator-scenes in mediæval French passion-plays*. In: *Medium Ævum* 3 (1934), p. 112-23, here p. 122; MIKHAIL BAKHTIN: *Rabelais and his world*. Translated by HELEN ISWOLSKY, Cambridge MA 1968, p. 257-61.

11 *Oeuvres complètes du trouvère Adam de la Halle*. Ed. by E[DMOND] DE COUSSEMAKER, Paris 1872, p. 304-7.

12 MICHEL MATHIEU: *Le personnage du marchand de parfums dans le théâtre médiéval en France*. In: *Le moyen age, revue d'histoire et de philologie* 1 (1968), p. 39-71.

latinus, others, more open to non-textual factors, already detect a comic dimension to that of the thirteenth century Tours text.¹³ It seems highly probable that well before being explicitly recorded in scripts, at least some religious productions visually exploited the comic possibilities of the quack through costume or gesture.¹⁴ The verbal comic possibilities are richly reflected in many later scripts. Where they are not, as in the merchant scenes of the fifteenth-century Wolfenbüttel and sixteenth-century Hall and Lucerne cycles, this may as often be a prudent response to censorship in the written version, as an accurate reflection of an absence of any comic dimension in the actual performances. In the earlier, largely Latin productions, even performing in the vernacular gave quacks, from those of the eleventh-century *Sponsus* onwards, hugely comic resonances for an audience used to hearing physicians mock itinerant healers for their lack of Latin.¹⁵

In the merchant scene's most fully developed versions, the lone quack was replaced with a couple-led troupe, and his essentially brief selling routine to the three Marys was padded out with bawdy comic interchanges of total biblical irrelevance. In a lengthy comic scene of a largely secular nature, the troupe typically prepare and market their products. They puff their skills, barter and banter with the Holy women, crack jokes of a surprisingly robust nature, and conclude by packing up to continue their travels, often going their separate ways after a quarrel between the quack couple. In the fourteenth-century Brandenburg quack troupe, the familiar wife and second servant supplementing the stock roles Meister Ypocras and his servant Pusterbalck bear the non-standard names *Baptonia* and *Surgan*, and the troupe starts with a comic drinking routine not found elsewhere.¹⁶ Later plays, such as those of Innsbruck (1391), Vienna (1472), Alsfeld and Erlau (fifteenth century) and Bozen (1514) increasingly standardize both the names and comic stage business of their quacks (see Appendix).¹⁷ The merchant scene of the Erlau Easter play, thought to originate from early fifteenth-century Kärnten in Austria, takes up the first 940 of the 1331 verses of the play's third scene.¹⁸ A stage direction

13 CONTINI (note 2), p. 196; WILHELM CREIZENACH: *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*. Vol. I: *Mittelalter und Frührenaissance*, Halle 1911, p. 82, 111.

14 KARL YOUNG: *The drama of the medieval church*, 2 vols., Oxford 1933, vol. II, p. 406-7, 422-3.

15 THIERRY REVOL: *Représentations du sacré dans les textes dramatiques des XI^e-XIII^e*, Paris 1999, p. 201.

16 Das Brandenburger Osternspiel. Fragmente eines neuentdeckten mittelalterlichen geistlichen Osternspiels aus dem Domarchiv in Brandenburg/Havel. Ed. by RENATE SCHIPKE/Franz Josef PENSEL, Berlin 1986 (Beiträge der deutschen Staatsbibliothek 4), p. 20-2.

17 RUPRECHT WIMMER analyses typical textual components of several German merchant scenes in *Deutsch und Latein im Osternspiel*, *Untersuchungen zu den volkssprachlichen Entsprechungstexten der lateinischen Strophenlieder*, München 1974, p. 78-104.

18 *Texte und Melodien der Erlauer Spiele*. Ed. by WOLFGANG SUPPAN/JOHANNES JANOTA, Tutzing 1990, p. 54-81.

at its very beginning, instructing the quacks' senior assistant to announce the merchant scene in prologue form, underlines its optional and improvisational nature. The Erlau merchant scene is particularly informative concerning the troupe's medical products, and the division of labour between the quack couple, Medicus and Medica. Offstage, the couple has young children and a maid, *Gredlein*. Onstage, they have two male assistants, a senior one called Rubinus and a junior called Pusterpalkch. Medicus introduces himself at the beginning of the merchant scene as a skilled master of noble birth from Asia, lately come from Paris. He claims to have brought the troupe's medicines from Milan, Flanders and Arabia, and ends the merchant scene by leaving the stage with Pusterpalkch, to "return to Arabia".¹⁹

When the Erlau play's Medicus gives Rubinus the task of publicising his medical products and services, he starts by describing the troupe's self-manufactured pharmaceuticals and cosmetics.²⁰ Assuring the crowd that they were brought by his master from distant lands, he offers them eight individually described unguents. Two are purely medical, respectively for healing wounds and physical disabilities, one is an ointment aimed at men with slothful or nagging wives, another at women with physically abusive men, and a fifth restores women's virginity. Three others are cosmetic, namely a face rouge and hair bleach for women, and a hair restorative for men. Rubinus' eulogy includes many of the standbys familiar from quack monologues, handbills and pictures. Tooth extraction, lithotomies and the administration of enemas are all alluded to in a speech which is an early and lengthy example of the quack harangue. It even includes the interpretation of urine, identified by some as the main additional comic theme differentiating the secular dramatic quack episodes of carnival farces from their closely related religious counterparts.²¹

Unusually, the Erlau play's merchant scene includes a counterpart to this speech, giving detailed insights into the abilities of the quack's wife, whose appellation, Medica, indicates her active and informed involvement in the family business. She interrupts Rubinus to request the second assistant, Pusterpalkch, to enumerate *her* medical skills. This second monologue is largely disregarded in the older scholarship, or dismissed as a minor addition, a mere bawdy encore of Rubinus' harangue included only for comic repetition.²² In fact, comparison of the two monologues suggests a genuine division of labour between husband and wife, with the former covering routine surgical operations, including dental care, and the latter offering marriage guidance, coun-

19 Here p. 54-5, 75, 80.

20 Here p. 65-6.

21 HAMMER (note 8), p. 251.

22 LUDWIG WIRTH: *Der Stil der Oster- und Passionsspiele bis zum 15. Jahrhundert incl.*, Halle a. d. S. 1888, p. 29; FRITZ HAMMES: *Das Zwischenspiel im deutschen Drama von seinen Anfängen bis auf Gottsched*, vornehmlich der Jahre 1500-1660, Berlin 1911, p. 8; KARL HOLL: *Geschichte des deutschen Lustspiels*, Leipzig 1923, p. 13-14.

selling, and a women's clinic.²³ Toward the end of this merchant scene, Medica's indignation at Medicus' underselling of his medications to the three Marys leads to a verbally and physically abusive row between the couple.²⁴ While not missing this opportunity to poke fun at the foolish behaviour of his master, Rubinus defuses the couple's row by persuading Medicus to take a nap. But the disloyal young servant has his own agenda in mind. Instead of following Medicus' instructions to guard his wares while he sleeps, Rubinus uses this opportunity to seduce Medica into abandoning her elderly husband, and elope with him.

The scribes who recorded medieval religious plays rarely wrote out their texts in full. Familiar passages were often indicated in cursory form, and knowledge of the traditional liturgical chants was generally assumed.²⁵ The Erlau play offers an exceptionally detailed scripted merchant scene featuring many standard elements. Some merchant scenes appear to have been played from pre-existing scripts, others were written specially for one production or performance, yet others seem to have relied, to a greater or lesser extent, on improvisation. Even in the Erlau play, a stage direction at the beginning of its merchant scene confirms that it was regarded as a self-contained play within a play, even that it could, perhaps, be improvised by the players themselves, rather than being fully formally scripted in advance.²⁶ In the so-called 'Raber Passion', the scripted play thought to have provided the textual basis for the 1514 Bozen Passion cycle, there is no merchant scene at all, and no reference to quacks in the cycle's text, or the stage plan for the its first day. MICHAEL notes, without further explanation, that the stage of the 1514 production's Sunday Resurrection Play required a 'mansio of the Medicus'.²⁷ Others, reflecting a widespread acceptance that merchant scenes were not permitted inside churches, and that plays such as the Muri Easter Play, which did include quacks, could not be performed within churches, erroneously suggest that the Bozen Passion's Christ the Gardener stands in for the quack scene.²⁸ Unequi-

23 SUPPAN/JANOTA (note 18), p. 66.

24 Here p. 77-8; this exchange is raided for the quarrelling quack couple who tend the injured old female magician of *Ain guot Vasnachtspil*, KELLER (note 8), vol. II, p. 510-11: no. 57.

25 RENATE AMSTUTZ: *Ludus de decem virginibus*. Recovery of the sung liturgical core of the thuringian *Zehnjungfrauenpiel*, Toronto 2002, p. 171-3.

26 SUPPAN/JANOTA (note 18), p. 54: *Tunc veniet Rubinus proclamando ludum* ("Here comes Rubinus and announces the play").

27 WOLFGANG F. MICHAEL: The staging of the Bozen Passion Play. In: *The Germanic Review* 25 (1950), p. 178-195, here p. 192.

28 HELMUT NIEDNER: Die deutschen und französischen Osterspiele bis zum 15. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Theatergeschichte des Mittelalters, Nendeln, Lichtenstein 1967, p. 68, 168; FRIEDRICH RANKE: Das Osterspiel von Muri nach den alten und neuen Fragmenten herausgegeben, Aarau 1944, p. 20; MONIKA SCHULZ: Die Oster- und Emmausspiele und das Himmelfahrtsspiel im Debs-Codex. Zur Ambivalenz christlicher und paganer Traditionen, Göppingen 1993, p. 49-58, 68-71.

vocal evidence that the 1514 production did feature a merchant scene, significant for establishing that the absence of quacks from religious dramatic texts does not rule out their presence in performance, has been largely overlooked. This evidence is four quacks listed in the cycle's cast lists as being played by two pairs of relatives, and a fifth player.²⁹ The quack (*Medicus*) and his servant (*Servus medicy*) were played by Marx Pader and the cutler Jacob Balbirer. The quack's wife (*Uxor medici*) was shared by Sigmund Balbirer (who lived on the main square) and the *Mullerin in der Hell*, and her maid (*puella medici*) was played by "Plasy Paders tochter". Although members of both families took on several other roles too,³⁰ it is surely no coincidence that the 1514 merchant scene was played by the Paders and the Balbirers, and highly likely that their performances drew heavily on the medical connections suggested by their family names. Barber-surgeons, whether attached to bath-houses ('Bader') or not ('Barbierer') were sedentary health practitioners whose commercial practice overlapped considerably with that of the quack troupes who competed directly for their clients. Numerous urban by-laws restrict the activities of itinerant performing quacks. Far from showcasing guest appearances by professional players from visiting troupes, as some have suggested, the merchant scene appears to have represented a welcome opportunity for medical practitioners of a particular community and local citizens close to them to rally against outsiders who commercially threatened them, and to ridicule and undermine the commercial credibility of their itinerant rivals.³¹

29 JOSEPH EDUARD WACKERNELL: *Altdeutsche Passionsspiele aus Tirol, mit Abhandlungen über ihre Entwicklung, Composition, Quellen, Aufführungen und litterarhistorische Stellung*, Graz 1897, p. CCXXXVII, CCXLV; for text of *Rabers Passion* (Vipiteno VRS, Hs.III), see *Die geistlichen Spiele des Sterzinger Spielarchivs*. Ed. by HANS-GERT ROLOFF/ANDREAS TRAUJ/WALTER LIPPARDT, 6 vols., Bern 1980-96, vol. III, p. 7-161. For this production, Raber exceptionally cast women in almost every female role. Raber's cast-lists for the 1514 Bozen production are published in full by BERND NEUMANN: *Geistliches Schauspiel im Zeugnis der Zeit. Zur Aufführung mittelalterlicher religiöser Dramen im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, 2 vols., München 1987, vol. I, p. 190-204, here p. 201. These dozen or so women, and most especially the quack's wife and her maid, represent one of the most significant groups of documented actresses of their time. See also M. A. KATRITZKY: What did Vigil Raber's stage really look like? Questions of authenticity and integrity in medieval theatre iconography. In: *Vigil Raber: Zur 450. Wiederkehr seines Todesjahres. Akten des 4. Symposium der Sterzinger Osterspiele* (25.-27.3.2002). Ed. by MICHAEL GEBHARDT/MAX SILLER, Innsbruck 2004 (*Schlern-Schriften* 326), p. 85-116; KATRITZKY: *Women, medicine and theatre* (note 6), chapters 1-3.

30 Michael Pader was cast as both *Quartus emptor* and *Simeon propheta*, his son as a peasant, and Jorg Pader as *Primus miles Herodis*, while Jacob Balbirer was also cast as the servants of Simon and Joseph, and his kinsman Sigmund Balbirer played *Rabbi Samuel* and John the Baptist.

31 Raber's casting supports the suggestion made by LINKE, *Unstimmige Opposition* (note 8), p. 102, that the increasing secularization of such interludes is marked by a notable change of emphasis, from contrast to the perfection of Christ and Heaven, to ridicule of itinerants.

The text of the 'Raber Passion' follows that of the 1511 Hall Passion closely enough to suggest that this may have provided the model for its unscripted merchant scene.³² The four-strong troupe of the 1511 playtext, the quack *Ipo-cras*, his servant *Rubein*, wife *Medica*, and her maid *Virgo*, corresponds to the generically named foursome of the 1514 cast list. As scripted, the 1511 merchant scene is virtually free of scatological or sexual innuendo, portraying the quack couple and their maid and manservant not as an anarchic roving troupe, but as a polite and well-run municipal household. Although for the older scholarship, the simple, unbawdy nature of this scene points to an early version of the merchant scene, hints of the hard-sell patter and robust comic dialogue that are such a dominating feature of some Easter plays gleam through its speeches. In fact, early German versions of the merchant scene feature especially robust humour, and it is not impossible that the 1511 version was sanitized for publication.³³ Although the hugely popular merchant scene is completely absent from the 1514 Bozen Passion cycle, as from most South Tyrolean texts, this does not mean, as some specialists have assumed, that quacks only rarely featured in actual performances of the region. Like the 1511 Hall Passion, Vigil Raber's 1520 *Ludus Pascalis* features a fully scripted merchant scene.³⁴ An explanation for the presence of quacks in the 1514 Bozen cast, despite their complete absence from the play text, is offered by the single mention of quacks in yet another South Tyrolean play text. A sentence at the appropriate point in the 1486 text of Lienhard Pfarrkircher's Passion notes, in Latin: "here you may introduce the doctor and his servant, if you wish".³⁵ This is significant for establishing both that merchant scenes did not exclude mystery plays from being staged within churches, and that the absence of quacks from their texts does not rule out their presence on the stage. Evidently, the bawdy merchant scene, hugely popular with audiences but rather less so with the clergy, could be introduced into specific performances of mystery plays as an optional extra, unscripted in the text.

The obvious starting points for tracing the geographic origins and diffusion of merchant scenes and other religious quack scenes are the flawed but magisterial works of KARL YOUNG and WALTHER LIPPARDT.³⁶ Some five percent of LIPPARDT's thousand or so Latin and largely Latin Easter texts note unguents or spices being taken to the tomb of Christ by the three Marys. Of these, only thirteen explicitly feature merchant scenes with one onstage mer-

32 WACKERNELL (note 29), p. CCXXXVII, p. 331-337.

33 Here p. CCXXII-CCXXIII, p. 331-7 (see, eg, lines 1356-1375, 1397-1412). On the sanitation of textual merchant scenes, see SCHIPKE/PENSEL (note 16), p. 88-9.

34 ROLOFF/TRAUB/LIPPARDT (note 29), vol. III, p. 211-218, 313-316.

35 *Hic potes introducere medicum cum servo suo, si placet*. ROLOFF/TRAUB/LIPPARDT (note 29), vol. II, p. 155; WACKERNELL (note 29), p. CCXXII, p. 219.

36 YOUNG (note 14); WALTHER LIPPARDT: *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele* [= LOO], 9 vols., Berlin 1975-90.

chant, and just two specify more than one merchant.³⁷ These last, both dating to the thirteenth century, are the Tours *Ludus paschali*, with two male quacks, and the Benediktbeurer Easter play, perhaps the earliest text to specify a quack couple in its merchant scene. The theory that the *Visitatio sepulchri* provided the initial impetus, from which the merchant scene grew quasi-organically from the liturgy, and that it only "gradually abandoned also the Latin of the liturgy in favour of the language of ordinary life",³⁸ is widely accepted as a convenient truism. Overwhelmingly, female religious stage quacks occur in one well-defined narrow contextual range, that of mixed-gender quack troupes in the merchant scenes of the German or Bohemian *Visitatio sepulchri*. From the start, male quacks also featured in other narrative contexts, and no serious enquiry into religious stage quacks can ignore their sporadic appearances outside the *Visitatio sepulchri* (see appendix). Plays unrelated to the Easter story including merchants or medical practitioners unlikely to have been played as quacks, because they were clearly sedentary physicians, surgeons, midwives or apothecaries on the one hand, or not obviously medically active on the other, include numerous late fourteenth-century Italian *rap-presentazione sacre*.³⁹ Rarely, as in the Limoges *Sponsus* or *The Blyssed Sacrament* of 1461, plays of this first category feature indisputable quacks. Secondly, a few quacks occur in plays presenting the Easter story without a merchant scene, either because it has not survived or because they were written or played without one, as with the Magdalene quack scenes of the Benediktbeurer Passion Play or Wiener Passion Fragment. A surprisingly popular feature is a second quack scene before or after the merchant scene, as in the Muri, Pfäferser, Erlau III, Villingen or Semur plays (or even a third, as in the Text of the Berliner (rheinisches) Osterspiel). This third category demonstrates a significant structural element of medieval religious plays, particularly apparent in, for example the Semur Passion, namely the repetition of roles, locations, props and other visual elements through the use of parallel scenes.⁴⁰

37 Fifteen texts in LOO specify onstage quacks (one male: LOO nos. 799, 801-4, 804a, 805, 822-3, 825, 827-9; two males: LOO no. 824; or a couple: LOO no. 830).

38 YOUNG (note 14), vol. I, p. 682; vol. II, p. 423.

39 The appendix, below, can only indicate a random few examples for this category, peripheral to the present argument. *Obstretrices*, or midwives, for example, represent a significant religious comic stock role; see ALLARGYCE NICOLL: *Masks, mimes and miracles, studies in the popular theatre*, London 1931, p. 184. For other healers in religious plays, see also here p. 186. Midwives feature in eleven of the seventeen French nativity plays analysed by REVOL (note 15), p. 530. He also analyses the roles of twenty-four French Easter plays and seven other biblical plays. Only two of each, respectively those of Origny and Tours, and the *Sponsus* play and Laon *Ordo Joseph*, include one or more merchants; see here p. 529, 531.

40 THEO STEMMER: *Liturgische Feiern und geistliche Spiele*, Tübingen 1970, p. 128-132; P. T. DURBIN/LYNETTE MUIR: *The Passion de Semur*, Leeds 1981, p. xviii; AMSTUTZ (note 25), p. 173.

Although YOUNG, unlike LIPPARDT, does not restrict his collection entirely to Latin Easter texts, gaining any kind of systematic overview of vernacular and non-Easter quack-related texts is surprisingly unstraightforward, especially as much of the vast secondary literature predates significant recently-discovered sources.⁴¹ Whether or not the monastery of St Martial of Limoges is, as has been claimed, 'the true creator of the liturgical drama in France and perhaps in Europe',⁴² it seems likely that the religious quack episode was created at St Martial. By 1200, it was spreading from there through France, Spain and further afield.⁴³ Taken as a whole, its distribution pattern, in Latin and macaronic religious texts, indicates a rapid initial diffusion to Eastern German-speaking Europe during the thirteenth century, complimented by a much slower spread north and southwards, and back into the central German-speaking regions, continuing into the sixteenth century. Quacks became increasingly, though never exclusively, associated with the *Visitatio sepulchri*, and the merchant scene became more and more important to the Easter play. The *mercator iuvenis* who shares the stage with the three Marys at the tomb of Christ in *Verses pascales de III M[ariis]*, a text of c. 1100 from Vich in Spain, has been identified as "the earliest example of an extra-biblical addition to the Easter *Visitatio* play", in "the oldest extant scene in the biblical drama",⁴⁴ namely the *Visitatio sepulchri*. The Vich Easter performance is widely regarded as containing "the original literary kernel of the merchant scene", and despite the numerous religious and secular non-Easter quack episodes known to specialists, for many, it is beyond question that the quack episode originated with the dramatic Easter ceremonies.⁴⁵ However, indisputably one of the earliest speaking stage quacks is an oil-seller whose script is recorded not in Latin but in the Romance dialect. He is associated not with the *Visitatio sepulchri*, but featured in the macaronic *Sponsus*, a mystery play from Limoges based on the parable of the wise and foolish virgins.⁴⁶ Because of the Limoges and Vich plays' similar dating, there is no agreement on which is ear-

41 The highly important Melk, Brandenburger and Pfäferser texts, for example, were first published only in 1948, 1986 and 2006. My thanks to Max Siller and Klaus Amann for drawing this last to my attention; SCHIPKE/PENSEL (note 16); CURT F. BÜHLER & CARL SELMER: The Melk Salbenkrämerspiel, an unpublished middle high German mercator play. In: Publications of the Modern Language Association of America 63 (1948), p. 38-62; KLAUS AMANN: Das Pfäferser Passionsspiel. Edition, Untersuchung, Kommentar, Innsbruck 2006; see also Appendix, below.

42 EDITH A. WRIGHT: The dissemination of the liturgical drama in France, Bryn Mawr, Penn. 1936, p. 31.

43 AMSTUTZ (note 25), p. 172-5.

44 LYNETTE MUIR: The biblical drama of medieval Europe, Cambridge 1995, p. 17, 140, 261 n. 20.

45 DUERRE, quoted in YOUNG (note 14), vol. I, p. 682; WIRTH (note 22), p. 18; CONTINI (note 2), p. xv.

46 E[DMOND] DE COUSSEMAKER: Drame liturgiques du moyen age (texte et musique), Paris 1861, p. 1-10; CHAMBERS (note 9), p. 166; YOUNG (note 14), vol. II, p. 361-9.

lier. The Limoges merchants, and the brief vernacular speech in which they unsuccessfully try to sell their oils to the foolish virgins, are without biblical precedent, and this dramatization of the parable of the ten virgins is unique in featuring oil-sellers.⁴⁷ The Vich and Limoges merchants are given the earliest of all known quack-related speeches, religious or secular. YOUNG notes the parallels between the Limoges oil-sellers and Easter merchant scene, but dismisses the possibility of the latter's influence for chronological reasons, and concludes that the oil-sellers are an independent creation, inspired directly and solely by the biblical source. Neither does YOUNG raise the possibility of influence in the opposite direction. Instead, he summarizes and broadly supports MEYER's convoluted hypothesis for supposing that the merchant scene was independently created by a French cleric specifically for the Easter performance.⁴⁸ MEYER's argument is demolished, but his conclusion accepted, by DE BOOR, whose informed analysis of merchant scenes however makes little or no reference to quack episodes outside the *Visitatio sepulchri*. This too, represents a significant weak point in WARNING's case for refocusing the search for the religious as opposed to dramatic motivation of the merchant scene from the liturgically-based *Visitatio sepulchri*, in order to consider its quacks in the light of the 'mythical-archetypal' Harrowing of Hell, and its comic religious stage devils.⁴⁹ NICOLL, unusual in considering pan-European religious quacks in general, rather than primarily those in the German *Visitatio sepulchri*, gives no reason for assuming the precedence of the merchant scene, or for suggesting that it developed not gradually, but as one unique piece of creative writing, by an unidentified twelfth-century poet.⁵⁰

The dramatic function of religious stage quacks

Specialists, who have mainly concentrated on the merchant scene in this as in other aspects of the study of religious stage quacks, long widely favoured the view that their foremost dramatic function was as a vehicle either for realism of a very literal, naive type,⁵¹ or for bawdy comedy. Earlier generations of historians, shocked that merchant scenes could be so heavily larded with a broad humour based squarely on profanities, scatology and sexual misconduct,

47 Matthew 25, v. 1-13.

48 YOUNG (note 14), vol. I, p. 677-82; vol. II, p. 366; Fragmenta Burana. Festschrift zur Feier des Hundertfünfzigjährigen Bestehens der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse. Ed. by WILHELM MEYER, Berlin 1901, p. 106-15.

49 DE BOOR (note 7), p. 346; WARNING (note 3), p. 80-84.

50 NICOLL (note 39), p. 186.

51 HARDIN CRAIG: English religious drama of the middle ages, Oxford 1967, p. 34. CRAIG incorrectly suggests that the role of the religious quack became a speaking part only in the fourteenth century.

discounted the possibility that they could be a coherent part of any sophisticated dramatic or didactic strategy. Typically, they denounced them as indecent, "loathsome smut", whose "vile filth" was of possible appeal only to the lowest social strata.⁵² Similar views were far from unknown at the time of the performances themselves. In her twelfth century tract, *Hortus Deliciarum*, the Abbess of Hohenburg, Herrad of Landsberg, concludes that, despite their didactic value, the disorder and fooling around they precipitated justified the prohibition of religious plays.⁵³ In his *Tractatus de precatone Dei*, John Hus bitterly regrets his youthful involvement in the "outrage and infamy" of the late fourteenth century religious plays staged inside Prague cathedral.⁵⁴ The belligerent peasant actors of Eulenspiegel's thirteenth tale, and the subversive, unruly devils of François Rabelais' fictionalized account of François Villon's passion play rehearsal, offer extreme literary examples of the religious stage's potential for ungodly folly.⁵⁵ Comparable folly was denounced in Martin Luther's detailed critique of the comic elements of Passion and Easter plays:

Und sonderlich ist das unchristlich, wo man solche narrenteyding treybt ynn der gemeyne, da man zu samen kompt Gotts wort zu hören und die schrift zu lernen, wie sichs denn alle zeyt begibt, wo viel zu samen komen, ob sie gleich zu erst anfahren von ernsten sachen, doch bald fallen auff leichtfertige, lose, lecherliche teydinge, damit man die zeyt verleuret und bessers verseumet. Wie denn bisher geschehen ist, das man auff's osterfest eyn nerrisch lecherlich geschwetz unter die predigt gemengt hat, die schlefferigen damit wacker zu machen [...] und mit reymen affenspiel getrieben hat, gleich wie auch mit [...] der passio Christi [...].⁵⁶

Medieval precedents notwithstanding, the disgusted reaction of modern scholars to the obscenity of religious stage quacks is now viewed as unhistorical, and they have long since achieved recognition as one of the more complex products of medieval performance culture.⁵⁷ The merchant scene has been rehabilitated within a flourishing literary tradition, and increasingly, non-textual approaches are providing further perspectives, by reclaiming the visual record,

52 CREIZENACH (note 13), p. 244, 357.

53 YOUNG (note 14), vol. II, p. 412-14.

54 ROMAN JAKOBSON: Medieval mock mystery (the old Czech Unguentarius). In: Selected writings, VI.2, Berlin 1985, p. 666-90, here p. 667.

55 *Ein kurtzweilig Lesen von Dil Ulenspiegel*. Nach dem Druck von 1515 mit 87 Holzschnitten. Ed. by WOLFGANG LINDOW, Stuttgart 1966, p. 39-41; François Rabelais: *Gargantua and Pantagruel*. Ed. by TERENCE CAVE, translated by SIR THOMAS URQUHART/PIERRE LE MOTTEUX, London 1994, p. 557-9 (Book 4, chapter 13); BAKHTIN (note 10), p. 263-9, 445.

56 Luther (*Fastenpostille*, 1525), quoted by ELLEN HASTABA: Das Passionsspiel zur Zeit der Gegenreformation. Das Passionsspiel als gegenreformatorisches Spiel? – Spiele der Gegenreformation. In: Hört, sehet, weint und liebt. Passionsspiele im alpenländischen Raum. Ed. by MICHAEL HENKER/EBERHARD DÜNNINGER/EVAMARIA BROCKHOFF, München 1990, p. 67-74, here p. 69.

57 JAKOBSON (note 54), p. 681.

and performative aspects of religious plays such as dance, acrobatics and above all music.

While there is no consensus concerning the dramatic function of religious stage quacks, and those outside the Easter context continue to attract little critical attention, a dazzling spectrum of theories attempts to account for the merchant scene's inclusion in mystery plays. The former frontrunner, that it reflects elements of pre-Christian Germanic pagan folk ritual, although heavily tainted by ideological concerns, still informs suggestions that the merchant scene integrates pagan and Christian aspects of the Easter resurrection festival. In an article first published in 1974, JAKOBSON identifies one episode, of one merchant scene, as the key to their interpretation as burlesque analogues of Christ's resurrection, namely the *mastickár's* restoration to life of the boy Isaac, in the fourteenth century Bohemian 'Museum fragment'.⁵⁸ For him, the quack is the quasi-shaman star of a scene, combining liturgical and folklore elements grounded in the common substratum of 'pre-Christian rites'. He suggests that they are intended to burlesque and ridicule the liturgy, to promote in spectators the death-defying *risus paschalis* or ritual laughter traditionally associated with religious celebrations of the triumph of life over death. Deftly avoiding the central (and insurmountable) dilemma of having to prove a direct, unbroken performative continuity between shamanistic ritual and religious stage quacks, he interprets the merchant scene as saluting Easter "not as a compromise with paganism, but as a Christian tradition in its own right".⁵⁹ This viewpoint has proved extremely influential.⁶⁰ Others variously promote the merchant scene as a diverting counterbalance to the religious tension of the plays' biblical content, as social satire, or as a device for drawing spectators into the dramatic action on a personal level.⁶¹ Yet another perspective identifies the religious quack episode as a quasi-autonomous secular farce, with origins inspired by literature or popular drama. Some scholars view it as a stepping stone towards artistic freedom, a 'ready made' play within a play, even as a "comic carcinoma".⁶² They suggest that it was written and perhaps performed not by the amateurs responsible for mystery plays as a whole, but by mountebanks drawing on their own professional stage repertoires, or by

58 Published with an English translation by VELTRUSKÝ, A sacred farce (note 5), p. 333-57.

59 Here p. 330.

60 JAKOBSON (note 54), p. 685; FRANTIŠEK SVEJKOVSKÝ: Větula-Episode im Melker Salbenkrämerspiel. In: Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 87 (1968), p. 1-16; WARNING (note 3), p. 78-80. See also p. 113-119, where he too discusses the merchant scene in relation to the *risus paschalis*.

61 CRAIG (note 51), p. 34; HOLL (note 22), p. 10-15; NICOLL (note 39), p. 180; ROLF STEINBACH: Die deutschen Oster- und Passionsspiele des Mittelalters, Köln 1970, p. 34-5.

62 MARTIN W. WALSH: Rubin and Mercator. Grotesque comedy in the German Easter Play. In: Comparative drama 36 (2002), p. 187-202, here p. 197; DE BOOR (note 7), p. 346.

itinerant theology students (*clerici vagantes*).⁶³ The Latin content of many merchant scenes weighs against the authorship of professional quacks, if not students. The castlists of the 1514 Bozen Passion confirm that quack roles, no less than any others, could be assigned to respected members of the local church community. Although variants of this theory still receive sporadic support from some quarters, it is clear that merchant scenes were not acted by genuine performing quacks.

LINKE lucidly explains the theological reasoning behind the comic elements of the Easter quack episode. He plausibly identifies the dramatic function of the merchant scene as the provision of a secular setting, within the biblical story, that serves to heighten the intensity of religious plays' theologically motivated contrast between profane and spiritual concerns, not by glorifying worldly pleasures, but by ridiculing them.⁶⁴ Viewed in this perspective, the merchant scene occupies a significant place in the tradition of *Narrenliteratur* (Folly Literature), in which court or stage fools stand as powerful metaphors for the frailties and temptations of the human condition. Its quacks exemplify human folly by demonstrating concrete examples simultaneously intended as secular entertainment, didactic and religious instruction, and in the medical sense of therapeutic laughter, intended to actively promote healing in its audience. This tradition's multiple intentions are demonstrated with unusual clarity by a medical treatise of 1610, in which the deeply religious South Tyrolean physician Hippolytus Guarinonius frames, within a moralising context, over thirty descriptions of professional stage business performed by marketplace commedia dell'arte-performing quacks.⁶⁵ Several concern scatological comic stage business, or *lazzi*, considerably more explicit than anything offered by the Easter play texts, that evoke the sheer exuberant physicality of quack stage business in a way that no play text can. Thus they provide dramatic *exempla* offering his readers a literal cure for folly, by warning them against the sins and the vices. Despite concerning the textual use of secular dramatic descriptions in a seventeenth century medical treatise, the passage of 1612 in which Guarinonius explicates this intention affords valuable insights into the reasoning behind the use of bawdy quack humour on the late medieval religious stage. In it, Guarinonius robustly admonishes a reader who challenges the comic epi-

63 HEINZ KINDERMANN: *Das Theater der Antike und des Mittelalters*, Salzburg 1957 (Theatergeschichte Europas I), p. 386; STEINBACH (note 61), p. 29; MATHIEU (note 12), p. 46; MIRIAM HALEVY: *The evolution of medieval drama*, London 1974, p. 68, 71-4; WALSH (note 62), p. 196-8.

64 LINKE, *Zwischen Jammertal und Schlaraffenland* (note 8), p. 352, 361-2, 370.

65 M. A. KATRITZKY: *Comic stage routines in Guarinonius' medical treatise of 1610*. In: *Theatre Research International* 25 (2000), p. 217-232; M. A. KATRITZKY: *Hippolytus Guarinonius' descriptions of commedia dell'arte lazzi in Padua, 1594-97*. In: *Quaderni Veneti* 30 (1999), p. 61-126.

sodes and *lazzi* of his treatise of 1610.⁶⁶ Drawing parallels with obscene and scatological behaviour described in didactic passages of the Holy Scriptures, he concludes that every time he, Guarinonius, laughs in his book, any reader misguided enough to criticize this literary strategy should weep at his own folly:

Der Doctor schreibt das Buch unser lieben frawen zu / unnd beynebens seyn allerley lächerliche unnd kurtzweilige Bossen / wie auch theils abschewliche sachen darinn / etc. Antwort. Kaum ist etwas lächerlichers unnd abschewlichers / als dein grosser Unverstandt und Narrheit. Lieber ist nicht Pontius Pilatus ein abschewlicher / falscher Heyd / unnd verdampfter Richter gewesen? Was macht er aber inn mitten deß heiligen Christliche[n] Glaubens? Unnd hat die heilige Sara im Alten Testament nit auch den Engel verlacht? Und hat inn der heiligen Bibel / nicht der König Saul / die Hosen abgezogen / und sein Notturfft verricht? Unnd hat Loth nicht seine Töchter: un[d] der H[eilige] David deß Uriæ weib beschaffen? / etc. Unnd mit dem allem / ist es die heilige Schrift. Du sagst / daselbsten nennt man die Laster / nit daß mans thun/ sonder fliehen soll. Wollan / wo hab ich ein Laster gelobt? Zeig mirs alßdann hast du es gewonnen / wo nicht / so bleibst du die alte Unvernunft. Hast du noch nit gnug daran / so thu eins / so offft ich inn meinem Buch lache / als offft beweine du dein Narrheit.⁶⁷

The religiously-motivated didactic agenda of the robustly 'sex 'n shopping' orientated comic routines of the mixed-gender quack troupes of the religious stage was broadly comparable to that of Guarinonius. In effect, these comic stage quacks were deployed to lure mystery play spectators in as quasi-extras with their sales-pitch. Through them, the churchmen who sponsored and supported these plays aimed to inspire their congregations to recognize and laugh at their own human folly, and to reject it in favour of spiritual redemption. But ultimately, religious quack episodes were so successful and persistent because they worked on many levels. They contrasted the oral rhetoric and physicality of street performers with the literary approach of religious drama, and drew on community, congregational and guild loyalties, and carnivalesque, folkloric, commercial and medical as well as didactic resonances. As pure entertainment, the episode can be enjoyed as a hugely popular quasi-secular attraction that widens the base of spectators for religious plays. It does this by evoking the atmosphere of the earliest, most longstanding and most successful form of commercial promotion, namely the harangues and theatrical shows offered by marketplace quacks. To a certain extent these are parodied in literary forms such as Rutebeuf's mid thirteenth century quack monologues. But self-parody was in any case a traditional component of all but the least sophisticated quack harangues.⁶⁸ Marketplace quacks understood that laughter promotes

66 Hippolytus Guarinonius: *Die Grewel der Verwüstung Menschlichen Geschlechts* [...]. Ingolstadt 1610.

67 Hippolytus Guarinonius: *Pestilenz Guardien*, Ingolstadt 1612, p. 182-3.

68 BAKHTIN (note 10), p. 160.

economic success, by engaging audience attention and encouraging relaxed spending, and they pitched their performances accordingly. As parody, religious quacks worked not by inverting genuine quack rhetoric, but by heightening it. Nor did they rely on wholesale borrowings from 'secular' literary quack parodies, transplanted into religious plays with minimal regard for liturgical issues. Genuine medieval quacks created their wide spectrum of performative comic business and monologues within a thriving interdependent literary tradition, that produced texts geared to the didactic and economic agendas of the religious and secular stage, as well as to the robust orality of marketplace rhetoric.

Conclusions

The confinement of religious stage quacks to the merchant scene, and the standardization of its familiar cast and comic business within the *Visitatio sepulchri*, was never complete. Rather than as one unique response to the specific liturgical situation of the three Marys at the tomb of Christ, the religious quack episode has a self-contained, improvisational nature reminiscent of the professional stage. It shares this and other characteristics of the transferable popular secular comic stage business or *lazzi* that are the stock in trade of the commedia dell'arte. However disparate their liturgical contexts, the possibility that the earliest religious quack episodes, and notably those from Vich and Limoges, were independent literary creations, seems remote enough to be completely beyond coincidence. Questions concerning the precise dating or linguistic analysis of the surviving manuscripts are obscured by the fact that many are based, to whatever extent, on significantly earlier texts or performance practice. Although issues of precedence surrounding early stage quacks remain unresolved, it is clear that their development on the medieval religious stage is crucial to an understanding of their impact on literature and drama. Religious stage quacks mark a significant early milestone in the development of the quack harangue and the quack quarrel as literary conventions, and cast long shadows over the figure of the quack in early modern literature. Additionally, they may be viewed as foreshadowing several significant strategies of the professional comic stage. Their three central stock characters, the quack, his wife and their servant, may be compared to the commedia dell'arte stage master-servant-inamorata trio. Their popular comic set-pieces share the characteristic potential of *lazzi* for improvisation, transferal from one play or dramatic situation to another, and extension or curtailment according to the requirements of individual audiences or sponsors. The comic stage business and stock roles of religious quack episodes deserve recognition as a significant potential source for certain of the most characteristic and popular dramatic strategies and roles of the early professional stage.

Appendix: Chronological overview of some medieval religious stage quacks

DATE	NAME / TYPE	DOCUMENT /LANGUAGE /REFERENCE ⁶⁹	QUACKS
11 th -12 th cent			
c. 1100	Le Sponsus (Mystère des Vierges sages et des Vierges folles) Limoges, Monastery of St Martial	Text (30 of 105 verses) [Latin & Romance: YOUNG (note 14), II, p. 362-4]	5x <i>foolish virgins</i> 2M or couple or more than 2 [Mercatores-merchaans]
c. 1100	Ludus paschali [Ripoll-] Vich, nr Barcelona	Text [Latin: LOO (note 14) no. 823]	3x <i>Marys</i> 1M [mercator iuvenis]
13 th cent			
c. 1200	Incipit Ordo paschalis Klosterneuburger OS, nr Wien	Text [Latin: LOO 829]	3x <i>Marys</i> 1M [Specionarius]
c. 1230	Benediktbeurer PS (Carmina Burana) Seckau, nr Knittelfeld, Austria	Text [Latin & German: HARTL, ⁷⁰ p. 12-23]	M. Magd in house of Simon the Pharisee buys cosmetics / repents / returns to buy unguents Couple [mercator-venditor-chramer-mercator iuvenis / uxor sua]
c. 1230	['Großes'] Benediktbeurer OS (Carmina Burana) Seckau, nr Knittelfeld	Text [Latin & German: LOO 830]	3x <i>Marys</i> Couple [Apothecarius-mercator iuvenis / Uxor apothecarii]
Mid 13 th cent	Ludus paschali [Tours] Normandy	Text (54 of 315 verses) [Latin: LOO 824]	3x <i>Marys</i> 2M [mercator-mercator iuvenis / alius mercator-Domine]
c. 1250	Kloster Muri OS-Fragmente Swiss (Kanton Aargau or Zurich)	Text, 8 fragments: Fragments III & V [Alemannic: MEIER, ⁷¹ p. 128-135, 140-4]	2 quack scenes: 1. <i>Pilatus issues quack licence</i> 1M & clients [Institor-vil lieber paltener / shonen vrouwen, Johannes Chrumbe, Rülin Stacin] 2. <i>3x Marys & Antonius</i> 1M [lieber paltener-Institutor]
13 th cent	Berthold of Regensburg (d.1272)	Sermon	3x <i>Marys</i> identifies servants of merchant scene as devils [Pusterbalk / Lasterbalk]

⁶⁹ My thanks to Matthew Peacock for advising on the Latin.

⁷⁰ EDUARD HARTL: Das Benediktbeurer Passionsspiel, das St. Galler Passionsspiel, nach den Handschriften herausgegeben, Halle/Saale 1952.

⁷¹ RUDOLF MEIER: Das Innsbrucker Osterspiel, Das Osterspiel von Muri, Mittelhochdeutsch und Neuhochdeutsch, Stuttgart 1962.

DATE	NAME / TYPE	DOCUMENT /LANGUAGE /REFERENCE	QUACKS
Late 13 th or 14 th cent	Gerona nr Barcelona	Text [Latin: LOO 822]	3x <i>Marys</i> 1M [Mercator]
14 th cent			
c. 1300	Prague, St George Convent	Text [Latin: LOO 799]	3x <i>Marys</i> rubrics imply singing part
Early 14 th cent	Prague, St George Convent	Text [Latin: LOO 801] (v10)	3x <i>Marys</i> 1M [Unguentarius]
Early 14 th cent	Prague, St George Convent	Text [Latin: LOO 802] (v10)	3x <i>Marys</i> 1M [Unguentarius]
Early 14 th cent	Prague, St George Convent	Text, silent part, v14 [Latin: LOO 803]	3x <i>Marys</i> 1M [Unguentarius]
Early 14 th cent	Prague, St George Convent	Text [Latin: LOO 804]	3x <i>Marys</i> 1M [Unguentarius]
Early 14 th cent	Prague, St George Convent	Text [Latin: LOO 804a]	3x <i>Marys</i> 1M [Unguentarius]
Early 14 th cent	Prague, St George Convent	Text, v7 [Latin: LOO 805]	3x <i>Marys</i> 1M [Unguentarius]
Early 14 th cent	Wiener PS-Fragment	Text, 532vv: v. 279-94 [Latin & German: FRONING, ⁷² I, p. 315]	<i>M. Magd</i> 1M [medicus-venditor-institor-hö- bescher cramer stolz unt lobbêre]
Early 14 th cent	La Passion du Palatinus France	Text, 1996vv: v1864-1942 [French: FRANK/ RIBARD, ⁷³ p. 231-5]	3x <i>Marys</i> 1M [li espiciers-sire espicier]
1315-17	Ludus paschalis Origny, St Benoîte Convent, nr St Quentin	1. Text (79 of 261 verses) [Latin & French: LOO 825] 2. An account of c. 1312-14 summa- rizing the convent's Easter ceremonies for the nun Heluis de Conflans does not note the merchant scene, perhaps in- troduced by her to this convent [French; WRIGHT (note 42), p. 184-6]	3x <i>Marys</i> 1M [Marchant-gentius marchans-saiges marchans-jovenes marchans]

⁷² RICHARD FRONING: Das Drama des Mittelalters. Die lateinischen Osterfeiern und ihre Entwicklung in Deutschland. Die Osterspiele, die Passionsspiele, Weihnachts- und Dreikönigsspiele, Fastnachtspiele, Darmstadt 1966.

⁷³ GRACE FRANK/JACQUES RIBARD: La Passion du Palatinus, mystère du XIV^e siècle, Paris 1992.

DATE	NAME / TYPE	DOCUMENT /LANGUAGE /REFERENCE	QUACKS
First 3 rd of 14 th cent	Pfäferser PS-Fragment Kloster Pfäfers, Kanton St Gallen, Switzerland	Text, 350vv, f.2, vv87-95, 132-190 [Latin & Alemanic: AMANN (note 41)]	2 quack scenes: <i>Nicodemus</i> 1M [vil lieber cramer-medicus vnge- torum] 3x <i>Marys</i> Couple [apothecarius-mercator iuvenis- iunger cramer-iungelinc-medicus-vil lieber cramer-vil lieber maister / vxor medici]
1 st half of 14 th cent	Frankfurter OS-Frag- ment	Text [Latin & German: JANOTA, ⁷⁴ I, p. 422-4]	3x <i>Marys</i> 1M [kaufman-mercator-mercator pri- mus]
c. 1340	Quarante Miracles de la Vierge (Cangé MS) Confrérie Saint Eloi (Goldsmiths' Guild), Paris	1 Miracle de l'enfant ressuscité, text [French: MUIR ⁷⁵ , p. 132] 2 Mystère de la Nati- vité, text [French: DU MÉRIL, ⁷⁶ p. 354-68] 3 Text [French: SEPET, ⁷⁷ p. 242-54]	1 <i>Miracle of the Virgin</i> : midwife in birth scene [sage femme] 2 <i>Birth of Christ</i> : midwife in birth scene [Salome-femme sage] 3 <i>Miracle of the Virgin</i> : non-medical merchant [marchant]
c. 1345- 50	Le Mystère Provençal de la Passion (Passion 'Didot') Provence	Text [Provençal: CHABA- NEAU, ⁷⁸ p. 146-9]	3x <i>Marys</i> 2M [Marcader-bel senher-senher payre / lo filh del marcader-bels filhs car]
c. 1350	Baldemar von Peter- weil Frankfurter Dirigier- rolle	Prompter's text, v. 260-95 [Latin & German: JANOTA (NOTE 72), I, p. 27, II, p. 849-57]	3x <i>Marys</i> 2 couples [mercator-lunger man-merca- tor iuuenis-iunger koufman-meyster- medicus-Her kaufman/ Vxor merca- toris-babe [=old woman] uxor / uxor alterius medici]
14 th cent	Passione e resurrezione del Colosseo Rome	Text [Italian: DELBONO, ⁷⁹ p. 61-2, 74-7]	3x <i>Marys</i> 2M or Couple & 2 nd M [Maestro-spi- ziale / suo famiglio / Brunetto]

⁷⁴ JOHANNES JANOTA: Die hessische Passionsspielgruppe, Edition im Parallelruck (I: Frankfurter Dirigierrolle, Frankfurter Passionsspiel; II: Alsfelder Passionsspiel), Tübingen 1996-2002.

⁷⁵ LYNETTE R. MUIR: The saint play in medieval France. In: The saint play in medieval Europe. Ed. by CLIFFORD DAVIDSON, Kalamazoo 1986, p. 123-177.

⁷⁶ EDÉLESTAND DU MÉRIL: Les origines latines du théâtre moderne, Leipzig & Paris 1897.

⁷⁷ MARIUS SEPET: Origines catholiques du théâtre moderne, Paris 1899.

⁷⁸ CAMILLE CHABANEAU: Sainte Marie Madeleine dans la littérature provençale, recueil des textes provençaux, Paris 1887.

⁷⁹ FRANCESCO DELBONO: 'Laude' und 'Sacre Rappresentazioni', eine Überschau mit ausgewählten Textbeispielen. In: Osterspiele, Texte und Musik, Akten des 2. Symposiums der Sterzinger Osterspiele (12.-16. April 1992). Ed. by MAX SILLER, Innsbruck 1994, p. 51-89.

DATE	NAME / TYPE	DOCUMENT /LANGUAGE /REFERENCE	QUACKS
14 th cent	Berlin-thüringisches OS-Fragment	Text, 160v [Latin & German: SEELMANN, ⁸⁰ 1926]	<i>3x Marys</i> Couple & 2 nd M & old female client [Mercator- here meyster min-arzt-eyme kunstigen man / Rubin-lieber knecht min-iunger iungelinc-lieber iungelinc- seliger knappe iung / min vrowe vor Anthonia / eyne alden wibe]
Mid 14 th cent	Mastičkář Prague, National Museum	Text, 431 lines [Latin & Bohemian: VELTRUSKÝ: A sacred farce (note 5), p. 332]	<i>3x Marys</i> Couple & 2M & 2x clients [mercator- Ypocras-mistre Severine-mercator iu- venis / Rubinus-Rubin z Benátek (i.e. of Venice) / Pustrpalk / uxor mercatoris / Abraham & son Isaac]
2 nd half of 14 th cent	Bohemian Schlägl-Drkolná Mastičkář	Text, 298 lines [Latin & Bohemian: VELTRUSKÝ: A sacred farce (note 5), p. 365]	[<i>3x Marys</i>] 3M & 2x clients [medicus / Rubynus / Pustrpalk / unnamed Jew & son]
Late 14 th cent	Brandenburger OS-Fragment	Text, 627v: vv. 146-477 [German: SCHIPKE/ PENSEL (note 16), p. 20-49]	<i>3x Marys</i> Couple & 2M [Mercator iuvenis-Herre- meister-magister Ypocras-kremer-live vrunt-gut man-olde kinbart / Sorgan- Henneke Valenturen-knecht-liver Jun- ghelinc-olde versleten / Pusterbalch / Bap[t]onia-olde repeltasche-uxorem]
1391	Innsbrucker (thürin- gisches) OS	Text, 1317v: vv. 540- 1074 [Latin & German: MEIER (note 69), 44-88]	<i>3x Marys</i> 4M & 2F, all speak [Mercator-Herr- herre meister-meister Ypocras-arczt wit bekant-Ypocras-liber herre-mercator iu- venis-kremer-meister-den altden man / knecht-Rubin-lieber knecht-Herre-meis- ter Stosel-schelk-herczetruter knabe- arcztes knecht-liber Rubin-schalk-lyber knecht myn-stolczer jungeling-du büser wicht-lyber bule / knecht- Pusterbalk- knappe-helt knebelin-Pastuche [slavic shepherd]-der krum Eckart-servo-ir rechter Henekin-schelk / Lasterbalk / uxor-Antonia-togendliches wib-uxor Mercatoris-du alte ungehure-lybe frawe-myner frawen-der frawen myn- myn wib / ancilla-du alte tempeltrete- du alde tempelrhyne] <i>Mercator dicit.:</i> Rubin, ich se dort vil lute. <i>Rubin dicit:</i> Herre, da ist iarmarkt hüte

80 WILHELM SEELMANN: Berliner Bruchstück einer Rubinscene. In: ZfdA 63, n.s. 51, (1926), p. 257-267.

DATE	NAME / TYPE	DOCUMENT /LANGUAGE /REFERENCE	QUACKS
15 th cent			
Early 15 th cent	[?Eustache Mercadé] Passion d' Arras Arras, France	Text: v. 21419-41 [French: RICHARD ⁸¹]	<i>M. Magd</i> 1M: [apothicaire]
1 st half of 15 th cent	[?Jehan Floichot] Passion de Semur Burgundy, France	Text, 9572 verses: v4805-4926, 8163- 8283 [Latin & French: DURBIN/MUIR (note 40), p. 135-7, 230-3]	2 quack scenes: 1. <i>M. Magd</i> 1M [apothicarius-maistre] 2. <i>3x Marys</i> 1M & son [beaul pere-apothicarius- doux maistre-maistre Mathel / Noblet filius apothicarius-mon bel enffant]
1 st half of 15 th cent	Erlauer OS 'Erlau III' [Eger, H] Gmünd im Liesertal, Kärnten, Austria	Text, 1331v: vv. 56-942 & Anhang [Latin & German: SUPPAN/JANOTA (note 18), p. 54-81, 114]	2 quack scenes: 1. <i>3x Marys</i> 3M & 2F & children [Medicus-mer- cator-Meister Gensdrekch-alten vetler-chramer-lieber jungeling-alter peghart / Rubinus-Rubein-Pastaun- Ekhart-knecht / Pusterpalkch-stolzes chnäbelein-lieber chnecht / <i>Medica- uxor-schon frau-der pesten zaubrärin / eur diern Gredlein / eure claine chind</i>] 2. <i>Rubinus with John & Peter at Se- pulchre</i> 1M [Rubinus]
c. 1425	Wolfenbütteler OS	Text [Latin & German: FRONING (note 70), 60-2]	<i>3x Marys</i> 2M [mercator-mercator iuvenisgude man-cramer-Meister / Robin-leve jun- gelin]
c. 1430	Melker (rheinfränkisch- hessisches) OS-Frag- ment	Text [Latin & German: BÜHLER & SELMER (note 41), p. 38-62]	<i>3x Marys</i> 3M & 1F & client [Primus Mercator- Magister Ypocras-herre-Medicus-Meis- ter Ypocras-kauffman / knecht-knebe- lin-Rubinus-Pastauche-Eckkart-Rubeyn- servus-iunger man-mercator iuvenis- cramer / Pusterbalk-knecht-libis knebe- lin-servum / meyn frauwe-uxor-liebes frauwelin-mercatrix / Antiqua vetula- frauwe]
c. 1440	La Passion Nostre Seigneur Abbey Sainte-Gene- viève, Paris	Text, 4476v: vv. 4112- 4263 [French: GALLA- GHER, ⁸² p. 303-10]	<i>3x Marys</i> 1M [l'espiciier-Sire]

81 JULES-MARIE RICHARD: Le mystère de la Passion, Paris 1891.

82 EDWARD JOSEPH GALLAGHER: A critical edition of La Passion Nostre Seigneur from manu-
script 1131, from the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris. Brown University doctoral thesis
1972.

DATE	NAME / TYPE	DOCUMENT /LANGUAGE /REFERENCE	QUACKS
c. 1440	Résurrection Abbey Sainte-Gene- viève, Paris	Text [French: MATHIEU (note 12), p. 68-9]	<i>3x Marys</i> 1M [l'espiciere-Maistre-Sire]
1452	Arnoul Gréban <i>Le Mystère de la Passion</i> Anger	Text [French: GRÉBAN, ⁸³ p. 380-2, 390-2]	2 'quack' scenes: 1. <i>A female cloth-merchant sells Joseph and Nicodemus Jesus's grave-cloth</i> 1F [marchande] 2. <i>3x Marys</i> 1M [espiciere]
15 th cent	San Tommaso Italy	Text [Italian: D'ANCONA, ⁸⁴ I, p. 582-4]	<i>Physicians at a court deathbed</i> 3M [Primo medico-Maestro Anton di balordia / altro medico-Maestro Guido di cuccagna / Arrighetto-servo]
2 nd half of 15 th cent	La rappresentazione della Conversione di Santa Maria Madda- lena Italy	Text [Italian: BANFI, ⁸⁵ p. 187-268: 249-53]	<i>M. Magd & Lazarus</i> 3M [Primo medico-maestro Antonio / messer Matteo-secondo medico / maes- tro Dino]
2 nd half of 15 th cent	La rappresentazione dell'ortolano elemosi- niere Italy	Text [Latin & Italian: BANFI (note 83), p. 511-36: 527-33]	<i>L'ortolano</i> 3M [primo medico-maestro / secondo medico / terzo medico-reverende magister]
2 nd half of 15 th cent	La rappresentazione del re superbo Italy	Text [Italian: BANFI (note 83), p. 471-509: 484- 7]	<i>Il re superbo</i> 2M [primo medico-maestro / secondo medico-maestro]
2 nd half of 15 th cent	Vno miracolo del la nostra Donna: cioe lara presentatione di stella Italy	Text [Italian: BANFI (note 83), p. 583-651: 607-11]	<i>Miracle of the Virgin Mary</i> 2M [primo medico-degni mastri / sec- ondo medico-maestro]
2 nd half of 15 th cent	Wiener Rubinrolle	Single role text, 212v [Latin & German: SCHRÖDER/ MENČÍK ⁸⁶]	Unspecified [<i>3x Marys</i>] 3M & 1F [Herr-mayster Ypochraz- Medicus / Rubinus-Rubein-Paschaun- Eckhart / Greten / Marcil-knecht]
2 nd half of 15 th cent	Lübener OS-Fragment	Text [German: see SEEL- MANN (note 78), p. 259-61]	<i>3x Marys</i> 3M & 1F [medicus / Rubin / Pusterbalg / mercatrix]

⁸³ Arnoul Gréban: *Le Mystère de la Passion de notre sauveur Jésus-Christ*. Traduction et présentation de MICHELINE DE COMBARIEU DU GRÈS et JEAN SUBRENAT, Paris 1987.

⁸⁴ ALESSANDRO D'ANCONA *Origini del teatro Italiano*. Libri tre con due appendici, Roma 1966.

⁸⁵ Teatro del Quattrocento. Sacre rappresentazione. Ed. by LUIGI BANFI, Torino 1997.

⁸⁶ EDWARD SCHRÖDER/FERDINAND MENČÍK: Eine Wiener Rubinusrolle. In: *ZfdA* 51, n. s. 39 (1909), p. 263-273.

DATE	NAME / TYPE	DOCUMENT /LANGUAGE /REFERENCE	QUACKS
1460	Gabriel Biel Berliner (rheinisches) OS, Mainz	Text, 2285vv: v. 531-690, 937-1006, 1990-2047 [Latin & German: RUEFF, ⁸⁷ 164-6, 197-9]	3 quack scenes: 1. <i>Comic prelude to 3xMarys</i> 2M [medicus / Smackfol] 2. <i>3x Marys (resumed after interpolated scene)</i> 2M [Medicus-Meister / servus me- dici-Smackfol-lieber knecht] 3. <i>Wedding intermedii in concluding doubting Thomas episode</i> 2M & 1F [Medicus-Meister Gom- precht-Meister / Smackfol-lieber knecht / dachter]
1461	The Blyssed Sacrament Croxtton, England	Text, vv. 525-652 [English: DAVIS] ⁸⁸	<i>Miracle of the consecrated wafer</i> 3M & 1x client [mercator-Sir Aristor- ius / Master Brundyche of Brabant- famous phesycyan-the leche / Colle-hys man / Jonathas]
1472	Wiener (schlesisches) OS Breslau (Wroclaw)	Text [Latin & German: BLOSEN, ⁸⁹ 66-89]	<i>3x Marys</i> Couple & 2 nd M [institutor-venditor- cramer- Kauffman-meister-medicus- artcz-mercator-krome / Rubin-knecht- servus-kint-jungeling / my schones weip anthonie-mercatrix-ertcztin]
1486	Lienhard Pfarrkirchers P (Sterzinger P) Sterzing, Tyrol	Optional improvisa- tion, directly after v. 3100 [Latin & German: ROLOFF/TRAUB/ LIPPARDT (note 29), II (1988), p. 155]	<i>3x Marys</i> 2M [single sentence: 'Hic potes intro- ducere medicum cum servo suo, si pla- cet']
1486	Jehan Michel (based on Arnoul Gréban, 1452) <i>Le Mystère de la Pas- sion</i> Anger	Text, 29924vv: vv. 29175-29302 [French: MICHAEL ⁹⁰ 428-30]	<i>Nicodemus buys spices offstage while onstage the widowed cloth-merchant Julye (who also appears in several other scenes) sells Joseph Jesus's grave-cloth</i> 1F [Julye, veufve, mere de l'adolescent-marchande des suaires]
c. 1491	Egmond nr Utrecht, St Adalbert	Text [Latin: LOO 827]	<i>3x Marys</i> 1M [mercator iuvenis-specionarius]

⁸⁷ HANS RUEFF: Das rheinische Osternspiel der Berliner Handschrift MS. Germ. Fol. 1219, mit Untersuchungen zur Textgeschichte des deutschen Osternspiels, Berlin 1925.

⁸⁸ Croxtton Play of the Sacrament. In: *Non-Cycle plays and fragments*. Ed. by NORMAN DAVIS, London 1970.

⁸⁹ HANS BLOSEN: Das Wiener Osternspiel. Abdruck der Handschrift und Leseausgabe, Berlin 1979.

⁹⁰ Jean Michel: *Le Mystère de la Passion* (Angers 1486). Ed. by OMER JODOGNE, Gembloux 1959.

DATE	NAME / TYPE	DOCUMENT /LANGUAGE /REFERENCE	QUACKS
c. 1495	Jehan Michel: <i>Mystère de la Résurrection de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ</i>	Text [French: ABRAHAMS (note 10): p. 116; MATHIEU (note 12), p. 66-7]	<i>3x Marys & Johanna (Herod's wife)</i> 1M [apoticaire-espiciar]
c. 1495	Antonia Pulci (1452-1501) <i>La rappresentazione di Santa Guglielma</i> Florence, Italy	Text [Italian: BANFI (note 83), p. 537-81: 569-75]	<i>Santa Guglielma cures a leper</i> 2M [uno medico / uno altro medico]
1496	Harlem Fragment Delft, Netherlands	Single role text [Latin: LOO 828]	<i>3x Marys</i> 1M [Phisicus]
16 th cent			
c. 1500	Egerer Fronleichnamsspiel (Eger, Hungary, formerly Erlau)	Text, vv. 7864-7901 [Latin & German: MILCHSACK ⁹¹]	<i>3x Marys</i> 2M [mercator / Rubin]
1501 with additions to 1517	Alselder PS	A. Text, v. 7483-7631; incl. additions for 1517 production by 'Schreiber C'; Hülscher's 5 extra speeches for medicus, see below, 1517 [Latin & German: JANOTA (note 72), II, p. 96, 98, 100, 201, 841-7, 905] B. Castlist (damaged): NO quacks C. Plan: NO quacks	<i>3x Marys</i> Couple & 2 nd M [medicinam magistri- magister Ypocras-meister Ypocras- medicus- magister Ypocras -Junger man-kouffman-mercator-mercator iuuenis-junger kouffmann-mercator Ypocras-meister-Herre kouffman / seruus medici Rubinus-seruus-knecht / <i>Vxor mercatoris-uxor</i>]
1503 (copy)	Le Mystère de Saint Antoine de Viennois Briançon, France	Text; 3966 vv / vv. 1890-2290] [Provençal; GUIL- LAUME, ⁹² p. 67-83]	A courtier sells St Anthony's belongings to comic (but non-medical) mer- chants 3M [Primus mercator / secundus mer- cator / tercius mercator-Johan dal Mo- lis]
1504	St Meriasek Cornwall, England	Text, vv. 1378-1485 [Cornish: CHAMBERS (note 9), p. 169, 186] ed. Whitley Stokes, II	Emperor Constantine, a leper, buys a remedy from a doctor and his clerk 2M

⁹¹ GUSTAV MILCHSACK: Egerer Fronleichnamsspiel, Tübingen 1881.

⁹² PAUL GUILLAUME: Le mystère de Sant Anthoni de Viennès, publié d'après une copie de l'an 1503, Gap, Paris 1884.

DATE	NAME / TYPE	DOCUMENT /LANGUAGE /REFERENCE	QUACKS
1511	Haller PS Hall, Tyrol	Text: vv. 1254-1435 [Latin & German: ROLOFF/TRAUB/ LIPPARDT (note 29), III (1996), p. 211-18]	<i>3x Marys</i> 2M & 2F [medicus-Ipocras-lieber gmachl zart-Herr maister-lieber her mein-lieber maister / seruus-Rubein- lieber jungling mein-lieber knecht / <i>Medica-mein fraw / Virgo medice</i>]
1514	Vigil Raber-Passion Bozen, Tyrol	1. Text 2. plan (Palm Sunday) 3. cast-lists (Day 4) [Latin & German: NEUMANN (note 29), p. 201]	1. no quacks 2. no apothecary – wrong day <i>Unspecified [3x Marys]</i> 3. 2M & 2F [Medicus / servus medicy / <i>uxor medici / puella medici</i>]
1516-26	Ludus pasce Codex Clementinum Bohemia	1 Text [Czech & Latin; VELTRUSKÝ: A sacred farce (note 5), p. 116, 126]	<i>3x Marys</i> 1M [unus Barbatus fulcitus ad morem medici]
?1517	Henrich Hülscher, d.1547 Alselder Kaufmanns- rolle	Single role text, 44v [Latin & German: JANOTA (note 72), II, p. 193, 197-8, 209]	<i>3x Marys</i> Couple [Primus mercator / vxor]
1520	Ludus Pascalis Vigil Raber Sterzing, Tyrol	Text: vv. 315-394 [Latin & German: ROLOFF/TRAUB/ LIPPARDT (note 29), III (1996), p. 313-316]	<i>3x Marys</i> 2M [Medicus-lieber Maister Adam / Seruus-Rubein-lieber knecht]
1538	Hans Salat Luzerner PS Lucerne, Switzerland	1. Text [German: WYSS, ⁹³ 269-71] 2. Director's notes [German: EVANS, ⁹⁴ p. 160]	<i>3x Marys</i> 1M [Apentegger]
1539	Gerona nr Barcelona	Ecclesiastical decree [Latin: LOO V, p. 1661-2]	<i>3x Marys</i> permitted Apothecarius couple & son and Mercator couple, prohibited moor- ish couple or maid or musicians
1560	Zacharius Bletz Luzerner PS	Director's notes (Day 1) [German: EVANS (note 92), p. 156]	<i>3x Marys</i> Unspecified [Appotegg]
1566	Lewis Wager A new enterlude, neuer before this tyme printed, entreating of the life and repen- taunce of Marie Mag- dalene.	Printed text [London 1566,]	<i>M. Magd:</i> is tempted to buy 'swete oyntments' 1M [Infidelitie, the Vice]

⁹³ HEINZ WYSS: Das Luzerner Osterspiel. Gestützt auf die Textabschrift von M[ARSHALL] BLAKEMORE EVANS, vol. II: Text des zweiten Tages, Bern 1967.

⁹⁴ M[ARSHALL] BLAKEMORE EVANS: The Passion play of Lucerne. An historical and critical introduction, New York 1943.

DATE	NAME / TYPE	DOCUMENT /LANGUAGE /REFERENCE	QUACKS
c. 1580	Mikolaj de Wilkowiecko L'histoire de la glorieuse résurrection du seigneur Krakow, Poland	Text [UDALSKA, ⁹⁵ p. 177]	3x Marys 1M [Ruben]
1583	Renward Cysat (apothecary and 'Stadt-schreiber') Luzerner PS	[German: EVANS (note 92), p. 144, 166, 219] Director's notes Plan (Day 1) Notes (Day 1) Cast (Day 1) Plan (Day 2)	3x Marys 1M [Appentegger] Apothegker Appothegker / knaben Seruus / Appothegker Die Apothegk
c. 1580s or 1590s	Lo Jutgamen General Provence	Text, vv. 859-87, 2449-82 [Provençal: LAZAR, ⁹⁶ p. 110-11, 202-7]	<i>Last Judgment</i> : inclusion in list of sinners Various [lo poticari-potiquaris / lo medici / surgies / fysiciens]
c. 1599	[Donaueschingen] Villinger PS	A Text, v193-238, 4046-72 [Latin & German: HARTL, ⁹⁷ p. 255-6] B Plan C Verz. der Bühnenorte (3 lists, for intro, Days 1 & 2)	A 2 quack scenes: Day 1: Die appenteck <i>M. Magdalene</i> 1M [Appentecker] Day 2: 3x Marys 1M [Appentecker-Krämer] B No quacks / apothecary (wrong day or place?) C 3. Die appenteck-6. die appenteck-15. der appentecker

JODY ENDERS

The Devil in the Flesh of Theater

Der merkwürdige, apokryphe Fall von Bar-le-Duc (1485), in dem ein Schauspieler noch im Teufelskostüm seine Ehefrau vergewaltigt, vereint, was nie hätte getrennt werden dürfen: Ethik als Corpus des Wissens und das Körperwissen des Theaters. Der Fall erinnert uns daran, dass Theater besser (wenn auch manchmal moralisch schlechter) als jedes andere literarische Medium dazu geeignet ist, Akteure dazu zu bringen, Gedanken in die Tat umzusetzen. Da die Geschichte außerdem mit einer moralistischen Pointe aufwartet, mit der kaum eine moderne lehrhafte Erzählung konkurrieren kann – einem missgebildeten und monströsen Kind als Erzeugnis dieser Vergewaltigung – inkarniert sie im Wortsinne ihre zentrale Aussage, dass im Theater Intentionen verkörpert werden. Indem die Anekdote von Bar-le-Duc den Prozess der Realisierung von Theater mit der Genese des Verbrechens zusammenführt, erzählt sie von einem theatralen Herz der Finsternis, das wir die Angst vor dem unmittelbar Drohenden, dem Immanenten nennen könnten. Diese ist für die Virtualität des Theaters ebenso relevant wie für jene der Ethik.

How dangerous was religious theater? Not just as words but as action? Not just as drama on the page but as acts on the stage? If we believe several chroniclers of Metz, something happened in 1485 that offered, quite literally, living proof that medieval theatrical life was very dangerous indeed, albeit not necessarily in the ways that one might expect.

According to the exceptionally loquacious Philippe de Vigneulles, it all happened one fine day when a certain actor, whose name is unknown, returned home after his performance in the city of Bar-le-Duc (about 250 kilometers east of Paris). We happen to know that a play was performed at all for one reason only: the terrible thing that happened afterward. One of the actors, still wearing his devil-suit, apparently proceeded to force himself on his wife:

Or avint que, en ce meisme tamps, fut juez ung jeux à Bar le Duc, auquel estoient aulcuns hommes pourtant le parsonnage de dyablez. Et, entre eulx, en y olt ung que en son habit voult avoir la compaignie de sa femme. Et elle le différoit, et demandoit qu'il volloit faire; et il luy respondit: 'Je veult', dit il, 'faire le dyable'. Et, quoy que sa femme se sceût deffandre, force luy fut de obéyr.¹

⁹⁵ ELEONORA UDALSKA: Le drame liturgique et le mystère médiéval en Pologne. In: Between folk and liturgy. Ed. by ALAN J. FLETCHER/WIM HÜSKEN, Amsterdam, Atlanta 1997, p. 173-183.

⁹⁶ MOSHÉ LAZAR: Le Jugement Dernier (Lo Jutgamen General). Drame provençal du XVI^e siècle, Paris 1971.

⁹⁷ EDUARD HARTL: Das Drama des Mittelalters. Passionsspiele II (Das Donaueschinger Passionspiel), Darmstadt 1966.

¹ La Chronique de Philippe de Vigneulles. Ed. by CHARLES BRUNEAU, 4 vols., Metz 1927-33 (vol. 3), pp. 114-115. Hereafter CPV. Compare with the version that appears in Les Chroniques de la Ville de Metz, recueillies, mises en ordre et publiées pour la première fois. Le Doyen de St. Thiébault. – Jean Aubrion. – Philippe de Vigneulles. – Prailon. – Annales Mes-