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Religious Drama and Ecclesiastical Reform in the Tenth Century

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Religious Drama and Ecclesiastical Reform in the Tenth Century

The first so-called Easter tropes (biblical passages elaborated and set to music, perhaps with pantomimed action) appeared in the tenth century within the area we now term the Holy Roman Empire. A more elaborate form of Easter trope appeared that same century in the English *Regularis Concordia*. The first recorded western European dramatist, also the first European woman dramatist, the canoness Hroswitha of Gandersheim, also appeared in the tenth century, and also within the Holy Roman Empire. Was this just coincidence?

Historians of theatre usually discuss the Easter tropes and Hroswitha's plays as discrete phenomena: debating whether or not the tropes represent a first step in the development of liturgical drama, discussing Hroswitha's plays as the first Christian plays based on saints' lives and not tied to the liturgy.[1] The Easter tropes and the plays of Hroswitha, however, may not be as unrelated as they appear. The tropes may be more than mere tropes, that is to say more than just extensions of scripture woven into special liturgical services. Instead they may be consciously scripted 'playlets' aimed far beyond beautifying or intensifying the liturgy. These 'playlets' may well relate to, and stem from, issues of educational and ecclesiastical reform which marked the efforts of tenth- and eleventh-century, Lotharingian/German clerics, who in turn were connected to ecclesiastical reformers in France and England.

The consistency of the activities of reformers within this network suggests that its members, consciously or unconsciously, developed what amounted to interlocking policies of ecclesiastical reform. The plays of Hroswitha may well be another phenomenon reflecting those policies. In order to demonstrate that premise, it is necessary to trace the network of Lotharingian/German reformers, links between that network and reformers in England and France, the links in turn with Hroswitha, and their common interests and policies in matters of ecclesiastical reform.

Most Lotharingian/German clerics identified as harbingers of the eleventh-century ecclesiastical policies which we lump together as 'Gregorian Reform' were linked by personal, political, and educational connections originating

in the Ottonian chancery and chapel. Both were dominated by Bruno I of Cologne (925–65), younger brother and chancellor of Otto the Great, after 953 Archbishop of Cologne, and from 962 until his death in 965, regent of Germany while Otto was absent in Italy.[2] Much of the German monastic clergy also was linked to the Ottonian chancery and chapel. Most episcopal reformers maintained oversight of monasteries and convents within their dioceses. Bishops staffed the monasteries; the monasteries in turn provided bishops with educators and aggressive reformers; and, completing the circle, bishops and abbots sent promising young monks to the royal chancery and chapel who in turn later joined the hierarchy. Abbot John of Gorze, for example, worked with the bishops of Trier, Metz, Toul, and Liège in reforming monasteries their respective cities. Bishop Othwin of Hildesheim staffed the monastery there with monks from St Pantaleon in Cologne, founded by Archbishop Bruno, and the abbot at Hildesheim sent its future bishop Bernward off to the royal chancery for study and ecclesiastical advancement. By Bernward's time it was accepted practice that a stint at the royal chapel or chancery was the only way to achieve ecclesiastical promotion.

By the beginning of the eleventh century, ninety-four percent of all German bishops and a majority of German abbots can be placed in this network, and it was understood among Ottonian clerics that high ecclesiastical posts would go to members of this network of monastic and cathedral schools and royal chancery and chapel. The ties first forged in the educational network were maintained. Monastic and episcopal *Vitae*, diocesan and monastic records, show frequent communications among bishops, abbots, and the court. Letters of Gerbert of Aurillac (later Pope Sylvester II) reveal, as Karl Leyser writes, 'a dense network of communication' among Lotharingian/German and French clerics lasting into the eleventh century.[3]

The following chart demonstrates links among several of the most prominent reformers. sometimes of kinship, sometimes of patron and client, mentor and student, focussed through the Ottonian royal chancery and chapel and its greatest patron, Archbishop Bruno of Cologne.[4] These links created a network of clerics, which initiated and facilitated the exchange and implementation of new policies affecting organizational, ecclesiastical, educational, and liturgical practices.

Leaders of reform in the French and English hierarchies also were linked, directly or indirectly, to this network. The abbey of St Gall had close links to the Ottonian family and court. Among others in the mid-tenth century, Bishop Notker of Liège was recruited for the royal chapel from the school of St Gall, and Otto I sent Abbot Gerbodo of Lorsch there in the mid-960s to implement reforms based on Lotharingian practice.[5] Both these clerics with

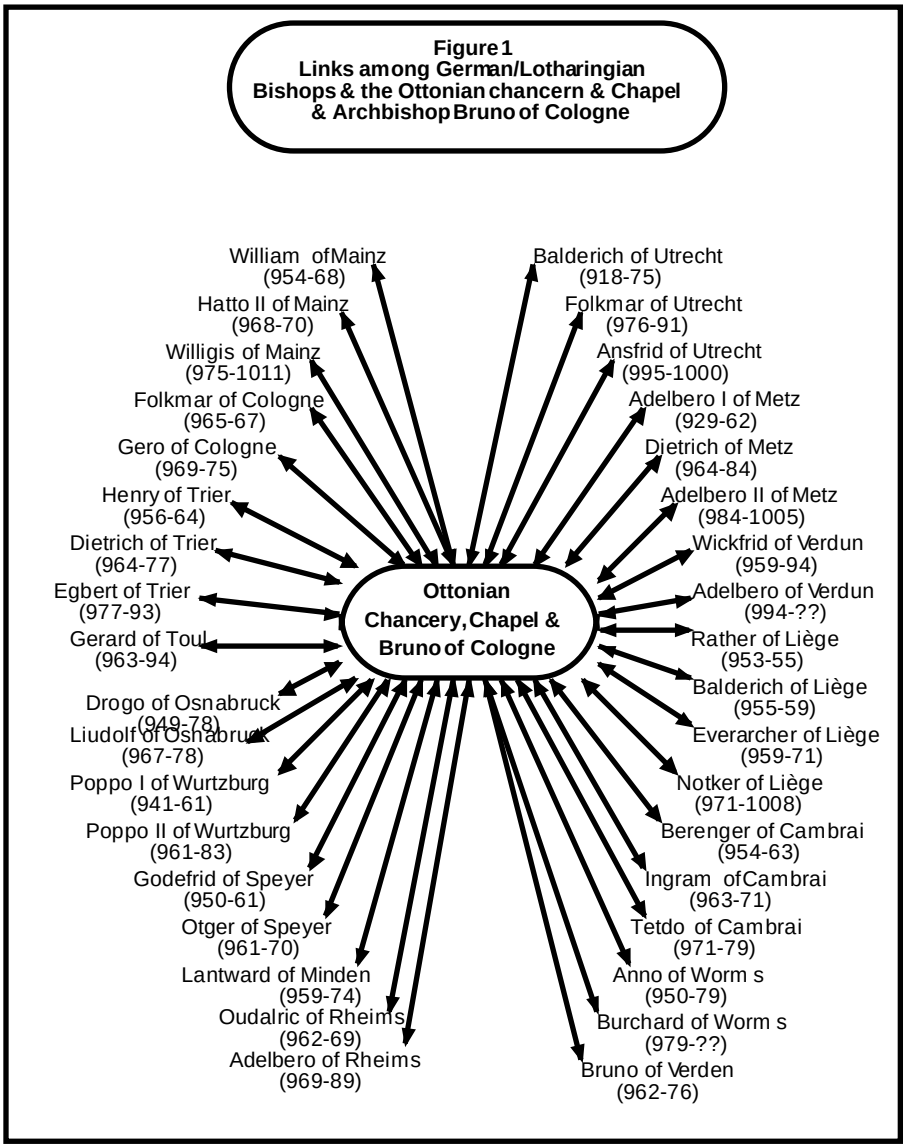


Figure 1
Links among German/Lotharingian
Bishops & the Ottonian chancern & Chapel
& Archbishop Bruno of Cologne
Ottonian
Chancery, Chapel &
Bruno of Cologne
William of Mainz
(954-68)
Hatto II of Mainz
(968-70)
Willigis of Mainz
(975-1011)
Folkmar of Cologne
(965-67)
Gero of Cologne
(969-75)
Henry of Trier
(956-64)
Dietrich of Trier
(964-77)
Egbert of Trier
(977-93)
Gerard of Toul
(963-94)
Drogo of Osnabruck
(949-78)
Liudolf of Osnabruck
(967-78)
Poppo I of Wurtzburg
(941-61)
Poppo II of Wurtzburg
(961-83)
Godefrid of Speyer
(950-61)
Otger of Speyer
(961-70)
Lantward of Minden
(959-74)
Oudalric of Rheims
(962-69)
Adelbero of Rheims
(969-89)
Balderich of Utrecht
(918-75)
Folkmar of Utrecht
(976-91)
Ansfrid of Utrecht
(995-1000)
Adelbero I of Metz
(929-62)
Dietrich of Metz
(964-84)
Adelbero II of Metz
(984-1005)
Wickfrid of Verdun
(959-94)
Adelbero of Verdun
(994-??)
Rather of Liège
(953-55)
Balderich of Liège
(955-59)
Everarcher of Liège
(959-71)
Notker of Liège
(971-1008)
Berenger of Cambrai
(954-63)
Ingram of Cambrai
(963-71)
Tetdo of Cambrai
(971-79)
Anno of Worms
(950-79)
Burchard of Worms
(979-??)
Bruno of Verden
(962-76)

ties to St Gall also had ties to the abbeys of Ghent and Fleury, where the English reformers Sts Dunstan and Oswold resided for some years. They and their fellow English reformer St Aethelwold continued close contacts with Ghent and Fleury. Aethelwold imported monks from Ghent and Fleury to help draft the *Regularis Concordia*. Like them, his views on church reform and the liturgy were influenced by the ideas and activities of Benedict of Aniane, Gerard of Brogne, and the writings of Amalarius of Metz. Many other English reformers carried on correspondence with Lotharingian/German reformers, including Notker of Liège. Utrecht, another center of Lotharingian/German reform, had ties with English monasteries dating from the eighth century.[6]

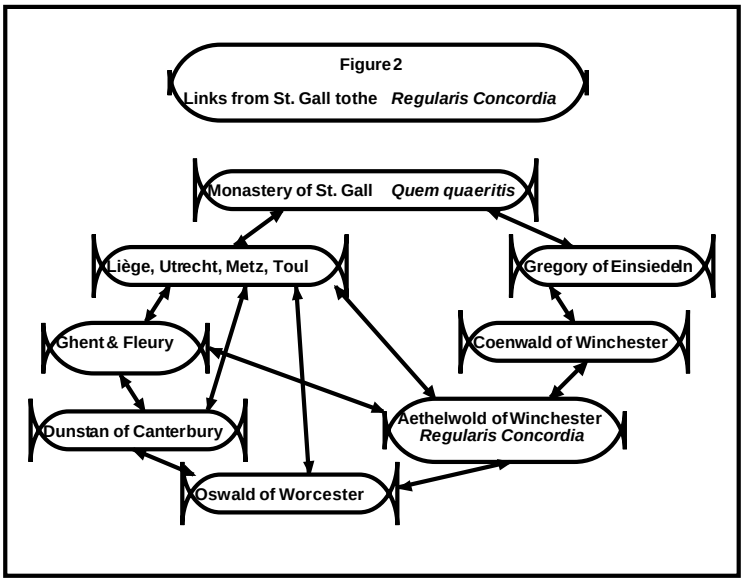
Further, King Athelstan actively sought close ties with continental rulers, and encouraged English clerics to make ecclesiastical contacts across the Channel. Otto the Great's first wife Edith was an English princess and no doubt brought her own English chaplains. Perhaps in conjunction with her arrival in Germany, Aethelwold's predecessor at Winchester, Bishop Coenwald, visited several German monasteries, including St Gall and the convent of Gandersheim. English and German sources mention several embassies between England and the Ottonian court, and Aethelwold corresponded with Mathilda, abbess of Essen, the granddaughter of Otto I. Abbot Gregory of Einsiedeln (another monastery with close ties to the Ottonian family and the abbeys of St Gall, Ghent, and Fleury) was an Englishman, reputedly a son of King Edgar. Evidence suggests that one of Dunstan's biographers was a monk who studied under Bishop Everarcher of Liège, friend and protégé of Bruno of Cologne.

The editor of the *Regularis Concordia*, Dom Symons, observed that monastic practices modeled on those of Gorze and other Lotharingian monasteries were more prominent in its provisions than those of Ghent, Fleury, and Cluny. For the offices of Holy Week, the *Regularis Concordia* followed the Lotharingian practice of using the Roman Office in place of the more elaborate Benedictine Office used in Fleury and Cluny. Robinson's biography of Dunstan points out: 'the *Tenebrae* on Good Friday and the dramatic rite on the night of the Resurrection find a close parallel in the Verdun customs; and certain points of detail suggest a relation with the customs of Einsiedeln', where, as noted above, an Englishman was abbot.[7]

We know that representatives from Fleury and Ghent attended the Synod of Winchester where the *Regularis Concordia* was promulgated, but we cannot overlook numerous contacts among the monasteries of Fleury and Ghent and the Lotharingian/German reformers. The Irish monk Cadroe spent time at Fleury before ultimately being named abbot of St Clement in Metz. Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim may have visited Fleury and perhaps used its customs

as a basis for his newly founded monastery at Hildesheim. One of the early leaders of Lotharingian reform, Gerard of Brogne, reformed the abbeys at Ghent, which in turn had close ties to the monastery of St Evré at Toul. Not only St Evré, but also the episcopal school at Toul was staffed by bishops arising out of the network of reformers connected to the Ottonian chancery and Bruno of Cologne.

Bishop Gauzelin of Toul brought in Abbot Archembald of Fleury to head St Evré, but Gauzelin, and his successor bishops, and the monastery of St Evré, also were tied closely with one of the prime centers of German reform, the monastery of Gorze at Metz,[8] whose bishops included Bruno himself, three generations of his protégés, and whose abbot John, as noted above, closes the circle back to St Gall. What is most significant here, perhaps, is not so much the pre-eminence of this or that monastery or locale but the overlapping contacts linking reformers in the tenth-century from Lotharingia and Germany to France to England. The wide-spread dissemination of the *Quem quaeritis* by the end of the tenth century helps illustrate those contacts.[9] The following diagram traces some of these connections among Dunstanian reformers, Ghent, Fleury, Lotharingian centers of reform, and the monastery of St Gall:



Given the overlapping relationships of these networks of tenth-century clerics, I suggest that the reason that all sources seem to describe the Lotharingian, German, French, and English reformers in similar ways – scholars, builders, politically active, and aggressive in monastic and cathedral reform – is *not* because tenth-century *Vitae* were written from a template, but because all followed strikingly similar and imitative patterns of behavior which took on the characteristics of common policies. They behaved like members of what we call an 'old-boy network', in which, as in the modern priesthood, dominant figures recruit and replace themselves with people whose ideas, interests, and loyalties are much the same as their own.[10]

Such a network acts as a conduit, disseminating similar ideas and practices wherever its members are placed.[11] With such links as those which connected Lotharingian/German, French, and English reformers, no wonder similar programs of reform appear in each of their areas. Borrowings and coordination of activities among tenth- and early eleventh-century reformers and their pedagogical descendents seems to suggest a conscious policy to turn aspects of contemporary society to what reformers perceived as Christian purposes. Reformers both patronized and produced proto-Romanesque religious art and architecture, and also, as some recent scholars have pointed out, concerned themselves with introducing decorum and politeness to court circles. By the end of the tenth century they were promoting 'rules' and 'limits' to aristocratic warfare. It was only a short step from their individual synodal actions and pronouncements to the official papal adoption in 1095 at the Council of Clermont-Ferrand of what we call the Peace and Truce of God.[12]

Rejuvenation and improvement of clerical education was a common thread in the activities of tenth-century ecclesiastical reformers in Germany, England, and France. Virtually all of them founded or reorganized schools in monasteries and cathedral chapters under their influence, and most attempted standardization of monastic and cathedral customs and usage. The so-called 'Romano-Germanic Pontifical', developed between 950 and 963 at Mainz under the direction of Otto's illegitimate son Archbishop William, was instrumental in creating a standardized Office of the Dead in Germany. Bavarian monks complained that the Ottonian hierarchy's policy was to bring in Lotharingian interlopers to foist educational, canonical, and liturgical innovations upon them, just as the policy of Aethelwold, in promulgating the *Regularis Concordia* in England, was to create a standard usage in all English monastic houses.[13]

Monastic and cathedral schools often cited as centers of Lotharingian reform, such as Gorze at Metz, St Pantaleon at Cologne, and the cathedral schools at Verdun and Toul, were founded or heavily influenced by the small

circle of reformers connected through the nexus of the Ottonian chancery and Bruno of Cologne. Common to the emphases of these reformed schools were mathematical and astronomical studies (Gorze may have been the first school in the West to introduce the use of Arabic numerals); systematization of musical studies with the introduction of instrumental accompaniment and musical dialogue and two-part responses in worship services; the study of canon law and Latinity stressing rhetoric and forensic practices which attempted to utilize models from classical writers such as Cicero, Quintilian, Donatus, Longinus, Horace, and Terence, as well as St Augustine's suggestions in *De Doctrina Christiana* to turn the tools of pagan rhetoric to Christian purposes.[14] Most of those authors, it must be remembered, advocated what we might call performative elements in oratory, recommending that orators weave appropriate vocal modulations, gestures, body-movements, and sometimes even dress into their speeches.

Near the end of the tenth century, Gerbert of Aurillac wrote of the necessity to gather manuscripts of the ancients in order to develop skills of 'smooth speech', and we know that he took up residence in the cathedral school at Rheims because he wished to perfect his practice of dialectic and rhetoric. Gerbert, who writes of speaking well in order to persuade those whom an active cleric must teach and govern, echoes Cicero, who wrote of persuasive and pleasurable speech as a civilizing force, and Alcuin, who argued that civilization emerged when men discovered rhetoric as a means to settle conflict.[15] Rheims had gained its reputation for the study of rhetoric and dialectic from the efforts of two successive Archbishops: Oudalric (962–9) and Adalbero (969–89). Both were canons from the cathedral school and chapter at Metz, and both maintained strong ties with members of the Ottonian episcopate such as William and Willigis of Mainz and Notker of Liège. The chronicler Richer, one of Gerbert's pupils, writes of Gerbert's stress upon practical rhetorical skills, insisting his students hone their skills by performing actual forensic debates.[16]

Lotharingian/German, French, and English reformers certainly were not creating a 'master-plan' for the ecclesiastical domination of society. Yet their pattern of imitative and coordinated interests and activities extended far beyond simple ecclesiastical reform. Indeed, reformers actively sought to involve the nobility in reform, and their elaborations of liturgy may well have appealed to what Patrick Wormald calls 'a display-conscious class'.[17] Hence, performative elements appearing in tenth-century liturgies should be viewed as another ancillary activity of their policies of reform. Educational and artistic

patronage, courtliness, attempts to regulate aristocratic warfare – all were 'fingers' or offshoots of the tenth- and eleventh-century reform movements.

What the development of Easter and later Christmas tropes seems to suggest is that they were another way in which reformers put their religious and educational ideas and policies into practice. All of these reformers were influenced by liturgical reforms put forward by their Carolingian forebears, and especially by the Carolingian interpretation of the mass as allegory for Christ's passion as advanced in the late-eighth century by Amalarius of Metz. Tenth-century reformers expanded these allegorical and representational emphases with ever-more visual images. Lavish Ottonian crucifixes, illuminated manuscripts with ivory, gold, and silver covers, chalices, candlesticks, and altar facings, emphasize desires to enhance the visual impact of liturgy. Ottonian manuscript illuminations far exceed Carolingian counterparts in number and elaboration of gospel illustrations, especially concerning Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem, and the Crucifixion and Resurrection.[18]

Given this emphasis upon visual representation to reinforce text and liturgy, it is not surprising to find a striking example of 'living pictures' being used in the mid-tenth century to reinforce, or recreate, the meaning of biblical text. Bishop Udalrich of Augsburg, who had studied at St Gall, apparently instituted at Augsburg performative ceremonies practiced in Rome in the ninth century, which themselves derived from a fourth-century ceremony practiced in Jerusalem. The ceremonies were aimed at illustrating by performance and participation the meaning of Palm Sunday. Early Palm Sunday morning Udalrich would lead a procession of clergy and Augsburg citizens from the monastery of St Afra to the top of a nearby hill where he delivered a sermon on Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem and subsequent sufferings. After the sermon he lead the procession into Augsburg with an effigy of Christ attached to a real donkey, accompanied by clergy carrying crosses and banners, and citizens carrying palm branches, who would throw their branches and garments before the mounted effigy.[19]

This new emphasis by tenth-century ecclesiastical reformers upon visual representations to reinforce Christian teaching makes practical sense in the context of the ninth and the first half of the tenth centuries. Chronic private, aristocratic wars, and depredations in England and France by Vikings, and Magyars in Germany, had been particularly destructive to monastic institutions. This disrupted monastic schooling, and caused a decline in literacy among laity and clergy alike. In 813 the *Proclamation of Tours* decreed that sermons should be given in the vernacular since Latin was unintelligible to most of the laity and many of the clergy. Tenth-century reformers, Karl Leyser writes, 'lived in a state of fragile balance between oral transmission and

literacy'. In such a society, Brian Stock maintains, oral transmission of knowledge is 'rich in gesture, ritual and ceremony; men communicate not only by what they say but by how they behave'. Descriptions of ceremonies for feudal investments or marriages show oral pledges united with symbolic gestures such as the placing of a vassal's hands within the hands of his lord.[20]

The additional musical, rhetorical, and visual practices introduced into the liturgy by tenth-century reformers must have sought to compensate for a public, lay and cleric alike, whose knowledge of Latin, and perhaps even Christian beliefs, was scanty or nil. Both German and English translations of classical authors like those of Notker Labeo of St Gall who produced German versions of Boethius and Terence, as well as Aethwold's translation of the Rule of St Benedict, and Byrhtferth of Ramsey's *Manual* alternating Latin with English, serve to illustrate this point. And some scholars point out that the Latinity of the *Regularis Concordia* itself reflects writing which is a bit ill-at-ease with Latin.[21]

Rather of Verona – himself a member of the network (he was named by Bruno of Cologne as Bishop of Liège before taking up the see of Verona) – indicates that many priests were ignorant of such mundane matters as how to hold the communion cup, or how to hold their fingers when blessing the congregation, or that they should not wear dirty vestments, spurs, or swords when celebrating the mass. He took great pains to 'instruct' his priests about proper behavior when celebrating the mass, reiterating the tradition of Amalarius of Metz that every mass was a recreation of Christ's passion. That same emphasis on priestly conduct was echoed in England by Aelfric of Eynsham who wrote a treatise in English detailing the proper conduct and responsibilities of priests.

Visual ceremony, proper costume, and gesture and voice as rhetorical devices, therefore, seem to have been vital to ecclesiastical reformers aware that they were operating within a society for which literacy was a novelty even within the clergy. All of these performative elements, they seemed to believe, amplified literal and allegorical messages in scripture and the liturgy. Clifford Flanigan states that the *Visitatio* 'functions as a trope to explain the liturgical meaning of the Easter celebration'. Ecclesiastical circles, Stock observes, 'acted as a laboratory for experimenting with new relations between oral and written, vernacular and Latin'; the increased performative elements provided a bridge, as Stock puts it, 'allowing men and women of different age, social background and educational level to participate in a common religious experience'.[22] By 1100, Honorius of Autun actually described the mass as the 'theatre of the church', and compared the gestures of the celebrant to ancient actors of tragedy, referring to the celebrant as 'our tragedian'.[23] Perhaps this is only

metaphor, and yet the metaphor draws upon images of theatre and performance for ritual which is both performed by priests and congregations, and participated in by priests and congregations.

Synods of the eighth, ninth, and early tenth centuries also complained of clerics who enjoyed games and performances by what are severally called *lusores*, *luditores*, or *histriones*. In the mid-tenth century, Bishops Liudprand of Cremona and Rather of Verona criticized clerics who attended profane performances and games.[24] Let us now recall (as his tenth-century pedagogical descendents surely did) Alcuin's adage concerning the pagan literary and artistic works: *utor non frui* (I use, I do not enjoy). Tenth-century clerics and reformers were every bit as suspicious of the seductive nature of the pagan classics as were their Carolingian predecessors. In the case of liturgical tropes or 'playlets' of the tenth and early eleventh centuries, I think the reformers were doing just that. If clerics and others found pleasure in profane performances, then why not turn that pleasure to Christian use and education just as St Augustine suggested in the fourth century in regards to Christian uses for pagan rhetoric? If priests needed instruction on things as simple as how to hold the communion cup, did they not need repeated orally and visually reinforced instruction about the historicity and deeper meaning of the life of Christ? Aethelwold himself commented in the *Regularis Concordia* upon inserting symbolic, performative representation for the Office for Holy Thursday, 'so that if there be any to whose devotion they are pleasing, they may find therein the means of instructing those who are ignorant of this matter'.[25]

We cannot connect many of the Lotharingian/German reformers directly to the invention or introduction of the *Quem quaeritis* Easter tropes, but we do know that the most influential reformer of them all, Bruno of Cologne, liked drama and mime. It is unclear whether the first extant examples of what Glynne Wickham, David Bevington, and others call Easter tropes found in manuscripts at the monasteries of St Gall in Switzerland and St Martial in Limoges are the first to be used in an Easter liturgy. Yet both manuscripts date to the years between 920 and 950, and both monasteries, it must be remembered, also had links to Ghent and Fleury. More important than the issue of antiquity, however, is that the use of the *Quem quaeritis* tropes, as Bjork points out, wherever they originated, became quickly and widely distributed throughout Flanders and the Rhineland by the end of the tenth century, areas, in other words, in which the reformers dominated the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and areas in which it seemed common policy to shape liturgical practices to conform to the so-called 'Romano-Germanic Pontifical'.[26]

The most elaborate tenth-century version of the *Quem quaeritis* appears in the English *Regularis Concordia*, drawn up sometime between 950 to 975 by St Aethelwold, Bishop of Winchester.[27] We already have traced how Aethelwold's seeming innovation may well have circulated among Switzerland, Lorraine, Germany, France, and the Low Countries, and to England. This version elaborates the simple texts found in the St Gall and St Martial manuscripts into a full 'playlet'. Liturgical garb is used, but it is garb not commonly worn for most monastic offices where all monks appear in normal monastic habit. Here, four monks appear in front of the congregation in liturgical garb specifically chosen to mark them as different from their brethren. To quote from the document:

> When the third lesson is being sung, four brothers should vest themselves. One of them, wearing an alb as for a different purpose, should go unobtrusively to the place of the sepulcher and holding a palm in his hand, should sit there quietly. While the third responsory is being sung, let the remaining three brothers follow, all of them vested in copes and carrying in their hand thuribles with incense. They should advance haltingly, as if they were seeing something, and in this way they should come to the sepulchre. These things are done in imitation of the angel seated at the tomb, and the women coming with spices to anoint the body of Jesus.

The chants and responses of these four monks are punctuated by action. The angel-monk shows the altar bare of the cross; the Mary-monks lift the cloth which covered the cross on Good Friday, 'and take up the cloth and spread it out before the clergy, as if they were showing that the Lord has risen and is not now wrapped in them'. At the same time the three monks, by themselves, sing the antiphon, 'The Lord has risen from the sepulcher, who hung for us on the cross. Alleluia.' It is explicit that during this part of the office the other monks are spectators, not full participants. Only at the completion of the antiphon does the prior then involve the whole congregation in singing the *Te Deum*, the ordinary hymn sung at the end of every Sunday's Nocturns.[28]

With the *Visitatio Sepulchre* contained in the *Regularis Concordia*, we may have crossed the bridge between liturgical trope and dramatic or semi-dramatic text. The careful stage directions clearly indicate that this was a performative event. The text of this *Visitatio* is not a mere elaboration and pantomime of a single biblical text. By the same token, neither are the earlier St Gall and St Martial *Visitationes*, as David Bevington asserts, merely a recounting of 'the visit of the three Marys to Christ's sepulchre as told in Matthew 28:1–7'. Both the Lotharingian monastic custom and the *Regularis*

Concordia followed the Roman Office in which there was no reading of the gospel during the Easter night service. Hence some have suggested that the *Visitationes* substituted for the gospel reading. If so certainly they still represent performative events introduced into the regular office. Yet more significant, whether that be the case or not, neither the *Visitationes* of St Gall and St Martial, nor of the *Regularis Concordia*, are, as Flanigan points out, verbatim versions of the gospels.[29]

All four gospels relate the discovery of the empty sepulchre on Easter morning, and as is true of many incidents in the gospels, there are variations in specific details. Matthew (28:1–10) relates that 'Mary Magdalene and the other Mary' came to the sepulchre and 'there was a great earthquake' (28:1). An angel descended from heaven, rolled away the stone, informed the women that Jesus had risen, and instructed them to inform the disciples. Mark 's version (16:1–9) adds 'Solome' as a third woman (16:1), describes the stone as already rolled away, and has 'a young man clothed in a long white garment' sitting inside the tomb, who tells the women 'he is risen'. Luke (24:1–10) expands the group of women to include 'Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women'. In this version the stone already is rolled away; the tomb is empty, and the women 'were much perplexed' until 'two men stood by them in shining garments' to tell the women that Jesus had risen. Neither Mathew, nor Mark, nor Luke contain any phrase approximating the phrase '*Quem quaeritis*'.

The gospel of John (20:1–20) presents the most detailed story, and does contain the question '*Quem quaeris*' (whom do you seek?). John's account depicts Mary Magdalene as going to the sepulchre alone. She finds the stone removed, and returns to tell Peter. He and other disciples go to the tomb, find the empty shroud, and depart. Mary remains behind weeping. But when she looks into the sepulchre, she sees 'two angels in white sitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain. And they said unto her "Woman, why weepest thou?"' And turning around she 'saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus. Jesus saith unto her, "Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou?"' Only in John's gospel does the question 'whom seekest thou' (*quem quaeris*) appear.[30]

An examination of the texts of the St Gall and St Martial *Visitationes* and the *Regularis Concordia* makes evident that these *Visitationes* are more than mere elaborations of John's gospel. In John, Mary Magdalene is the only woman at the tomb. The addition of the other women conflates the accounts of Matthew, Mark, and Luke into John's. And as specified in the *Regularis Concordia* the angel-monk and the Mary-monks are given distinctive cos-

tumes and props: the angel-monk a palm, the Mary-monks thuribles representing the vials of spices the original women carried.

Angels are present in all four gospel accounts, but no angel utters the phrase 'whom seekest thou'. Those words are the words of Jesus, and to reiterate, are only found in John 20:15. Yet Jesus does not appear in any of the monastic *Visitationes*. His words now are put into the mouth of an angel. Finally, even the text of the phrase itself is changed from that of John 20:15. The singular '*quem quaeris*' (whom seekest thou), addressed to Mary alone, is changed to the plural '*quem quaeritis*' (whom seekest ye), grammatically suitable, of course, because the *Visitationes* have added Mary's female companions from Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and the phrase also is meant to include the watching congregation in such a way that it too participates in the spiritual as well as the externalized celebration of Christianity's most important feast day. It is inconceivable that the clerics responsible for the conflation and alteration of the gospel texts were unaware of what they were doing; and it certainly is inconceivable that Aethelwold was ignorant of the changes from biblical text in his version of the *Visitatio*. As Bjork maintains, it seems clear these 'three lines of dialogue were written as a unit' and 'there must have been something orderly about the development'.[31]

All the tenth-century reformers' writings show intimate knowledge of scripture. We know these clerics were aware of the several attempts to harmonize and cross-reference the gospels over the years, beginning with those of Tatian about A.D. 170, Eusebius of Caesarea in the early fourth century, and St Augustine's *Harmony of the Gospels*. Such conflation or 'harmonizing' would have reflected the reformers' belief in the gospels as historical documents, but it also served to condense, and at the same time dramatize to congregations – to fix not only in mind, but in ear and eye – the essential message of that 'historical' event.[32] No attempt is made to embellish the presentation or complicate the cast of characters with the appearance of Jesus, or Peter and the other disciples at the tomb as depicted in Luke 24:12 and John 20:2–8. Yet the emphasis upon the empty shroud, as found in John 20:8, is maintained in the *Regularis Concordia* version when the monk portraying the angel lifts the altar cloths and hands them to the three Mary-monks, who in turn spread them out before the congregation as representations of Christ's empty shroud. At that point the participation of the present worshippers with that historical past and its on-going significance is brought into the present. As Flanigan put it: 'the myth is no longer an account of what happened in the past It has now become also >my< story, in

which I partake of the events of the past because they have become present for me.'[33]

Perhaps, as some scholars suggest, these tenth-century tropes and their later elaborations were meant only for clerics, not as once thought as a means to educate an illiterate laity. Certainly Rather of Verona suggests that many of the clergy were as ignorant as the laity about ecclesiastical matters, and, in some cases, Christian beliefs. The *Regularis Concordia* suggests draping the cross on Good Friday as 'a practice worthy to be imitated for the strengthening of the faith of unlearned common persons and neophytes'.

The *Visitationes*, therefore, most likely were consciously scripted by ecclesiastics experimenting with combinations of oral, visual, and written usage to serve as another means to implement their policy of educating the clergy, in this instance about the solemnity and meaning of Easter, through a method which was at once performative and participatory, a blend of 'the spoken, the symbolic, and the performance of rites'.[34] And distinctions over presentation for clergy and laity may be moot when it is remembered that cathedrals, and sometimes monastic churches, served as places of worship for nearby laity. As one scholar has suggested, the late tenth- and early eleventh-century reformers' artistic innovation of *Westwerk* narrative sculptures reflects a policy of bringing the messages and symbolism of the Church into public, secular space.[35] That same educational impulse seems to be at work in their policy of creating dramatic liturgical elements within church doors to illustrate, emphasize, solemnize, and thereby fix in the minds of the ecclesiastical and lay congregations the simple essentials of the Christian faith.

The dramatic works of Hroswitha of Gandersheim, I believe, were not divorced from these early uses of performative rituals and texts to implement the policies of religious education and reform; rather they were another expression of it. Gandersheim was clearly connected to the network of reformers. The convent had close ties to the royal court; it had been founded by the great-grandparents of Otto I, and most of its abbesses were members of the royal family. Given the fact that the abbess of Gandersheim held certain privileges we might call regalian rights (to sit as a judge, to mint coins, to maintain men at arms), the convent had frequent contacts with the Ottonian court,[36] where, of course, the members of the reforming clerical network were centered.

But beyond these general connections, the provenance of the two earliest extant manuscripts of Hroswitha's plays connects them more closely to centres of tenth- and eleventh-century German reform, especially those seemingly interested in performative activities. The most ancient, displaying a scribal hand dating to the late tenth century, was located in the library of the monastery of St Emmeram near Regensburg. There were close ties

between Bishop Udalrich of Augsburg, noted above for his Palm Sunday procession, and St Emmeram. St Emmeram also produced two bishops of Regensburg between 940 and 972, Gunther and Michael, as well as other figures who became intimates of the circle of reformers connected with the court chancery, Bruno of Cologne, and the Lotharingian reform policies. In the last half of the tenth century St Emmeram was a prominent center for the introduction of Lotharingian monastic and cathedral reforms among the Bavarian clergy. Tightening the circle, Michael's successor in Regensburg, Bishop Wolfgang, was trained at the monastery of Einsiedeln, with its close ties to St Gall, Ghent, and Fleury, and ruled by an English abbot. And bringing it all back to Hroswitha and Gandersheim, St Emmeram had close ties to the family of Hroswitha's abbess Gerberga. Gerberga was a daughter of Duke Henry of Bavaria, brother to Otto I and Bruno of Cologne and was educated at St. Emmeram before entering the convent at Gandersheim.[37]

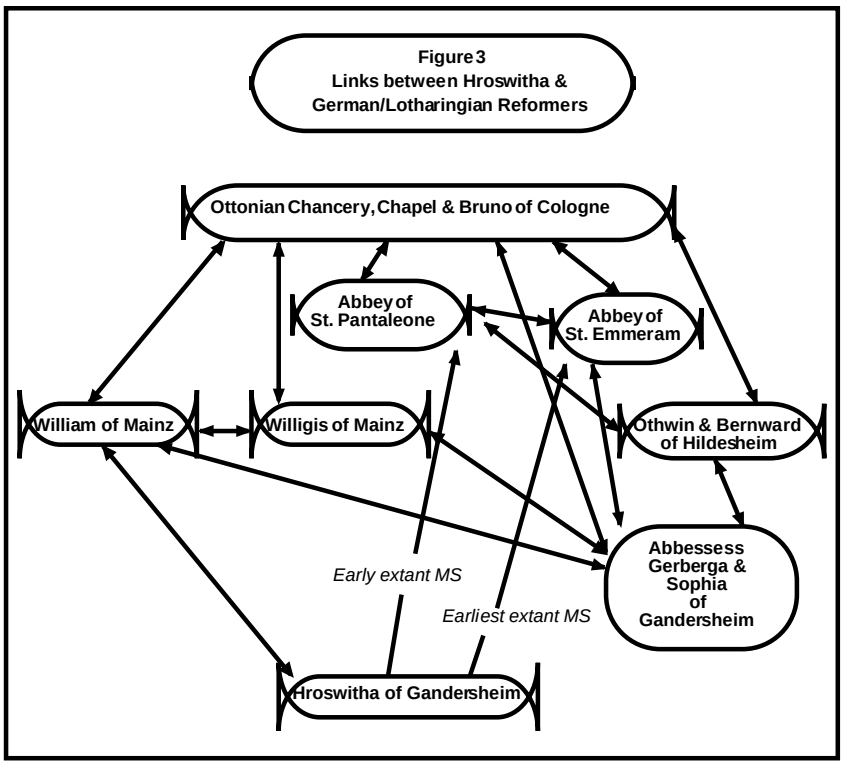
The second of the earliest extant manuscripts of Hroswitha's writings, though in a twelfth-century hand, seems to derive from a version probably sent by Hroswitha to the monastery of St Pantaleon in Cologne. Archbishop Bruno of Cologne founded St Pantaleon, and he himself visited, and sent tutors to, the convent of Gandersheim. Bruno himself was said to have liked drama and mime. By the late tenth century St Pantaleon had become noted as a center of religious art. It also served as the source for monks sent off to reform other monasteries. In terms of links between St Pantaleon and Gandersheim and Fleury, a group of monks from St Pantaleon were brought in by the bishops of Hildesheim to reform the monastery there, and Bernward of Hildesheim, as noted above, used customs from Fleury for his own monastery. The bishops of Hildesheim also held oversight for the convent of Gandersheim, though that oversight was disputed hotly by several archbishops of Mainz.[38]

That disputed oversight links Gandersheim and Hroswitha to more intimate connections among Gandersheim, Hildesheim, and Mainz than indicated by her solicitation of Archbishop William's patronage for her chronicle *Gesta Oddonis*. William was a bastard son of Otto the Great, therefore first cousin to Abbess Gerberga. Willigis, under whom the dispute between Mainz and Hildesheim waxed hot, was a protégé of William of Mainz, and Bruno of Cologne. He also served as tutor to Otto II and probably to Otto''s daughter Sophia, who entered Gandersheim during Hroswitha's lifetime. Sophia's ties to Willigis were so strong that she insisted he preside when she took her vows, but the bishop of Hildesheim also was present. Both William

and Willigis made frequent visitations to Gandersheim; both were important members of the Ottonian network of reformers.

Possibly, Hroswitha herself may have traveled to the Ottonian court, and may have been tutored by Bruno of Cologne, who was uncle to her abbess Gerberga, and perhaps also by Bruno's protégé Rather of Verona, who, as stated above, denounced clerics who attended profane plays and games. Peter Dronke suggests that Hroswitha's and Rather's writing styles bear similarities.[39] The following chart may help to simplify connections between Hroswitha, the convent of Gandershiem and that network:

Bishops Othwin and Bernward of Hildesheim also made frequent visitations to Gandersheim, and they too were important figures among the Lotharingian/German reformers. References to a lost manuscript of Hroswitha's *Primordia* (a history of Gandersheim) suggests that Bishop



Bernward's eleventh-century biographer actually used her history when writing his life of Bernward. Both Othwin and Bernward were known for their efforts at rejuvenation of the cathedral school at Hildesheim, their insistence upon more rigorous observation of Benedictine discipline based on the Lotharingian models, and for their contributions to the building of the cathedral and other churches in the area.

Bernward began his education under Bishop Othwin at Hildesheim's monastery, whose abbot then placed him at court as a protégé of Willigis of Mainz. Bernward later served as tutor to young Otto III, wrote a treatise on mathematics, and produced a tangible example suggesting tenth-century churchmen were attempting policies to shape secular items to Christian use. After a trip to Italy, Bernward returned to Hildesheim, where he designed and produced a bronze column, modeled after Trajan's column, celebrating the events in the life of Christ from his baptism to his triumphal entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. He also designed bronze doors for the cathedral, depicting in panels on one door the Creation and Fall of Man, and in panels on the other the Passion and Death of Christ.[40]

Hroswitha's works seem shaped to the same purpose, and seem to reflect many of the same interests and policies towards education as the reformers of the tenth and early eleventh century. At one level, her hagiographic poems and her plays show not only the influence, but also the actual reshaping of liturgical language to suit her own poetic and dramatic purposes, just as the *Quem quaeritis* was a reshaping and conflation of gospel texts. Whether her use of liturgical language was conscious or not, such use shows that her conventual life and interests were grounded in the liturgical practices of her day.[41]

Not only her historical writings, but also, according to Stephen L. Wailes's recent article, her plays parallel themes and interests evident in the works of the chroniclers Widukind of Corvey and Thietmar of Meresburg, and the authors of the many *vitae* of prominent tenth- and early eleventh-century bishops and abbots. Many of these authors touch especially on the Christianizing role supposedly inherent in Otto's newly bestowed imperial dignity. Indeed, Henk Vynckier suggests that one purpose of the *Gesta Oddonis* was to use Otto the Great as the example of how the Christian warrior and king should serve the purposes of the Church and the Christian life. Hence her *Gesta Oddonis*, and Wailes would argue her play *Gallicanus*, reflect the interest of the tenth-century reformers in Roman and recent history as offering proper role models for the conduct of political and ecclesiastical affairs, and the

connections in their mind linking Otto the Great, through Charlemagne, to Constantine the Great.[42]

Hroswitha's *Primordia*, a history of the convent of Gandersheim, served to justify canonical rights of her convent against the claims of lay and episcopal jurisdiction, just as the high-placed reformers were implementing policies of canonical correctness in the selection of bishops and abbots, the lifestyle of clerics, and the exemption of ecclesiastical properties from lay interference. Her plays also show the influence of and interest in those reformers' promotion of rhetorical studies, which were so closely linked to the study and argumentation of canon law and to the inclusion of dramatic elements in the liturgy. The influence of Alcuin's texts on grammar and rhetoric, all in dialogue form, are apparent in her writing.

The plays reflect the influence of Boethius's *De arithemetica and De musica*, works widely used and highly valued in the tenth-century curriculum. Both *Sapientia*, in which the title-character delivers a long discourse on numbers when asked for the ages of her children, and *Pafnutius*, which includes a detailed music lesson, reveal sophisticated applications of Boethian philosophical ideas.[43] That same interest in practical rhetoric, mathematics and music, and their relationships, is reflected elsewhere among leaders of ecclesiastical reform, at the abbey of Gorze, in the German translations of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* and *On the Trinity* by Notker Labeo of St Gall, in writings about astronomy and dialectic by Notker of Liège, in descriptions of Gerbert of Aurillac's teaching at Rheims and his construction of devices to illustrate musical tones and to observe the heavens, and by Gandersheim's ecclesiastical superior Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim.[44]

Hroswitha's dialogue throughout the plays reveals an interest in Latinity and rhetoric which echoes the ecclesiastical language of her era and also parallels emphases of the reforming hierarchy. That interest is reflected not only by her use of Terence's Latin style (from whose works she lifts whole passages), but by echoes of the ideas and techniques advocated by other classical authors like Quintilian and Donatus. Finally, as Wailes convincingly shows, her real concerns are not so much with *virginity* as with *chastity*, and the conflict of flesh and spirit, themes which were of overarching importance to tenth-century reformers policies of enforcing rules of celibacy and offering guides of conduct and decorum to the clergy. One only has to read a few examples of the writings of Rather of Verona denouncing the ceremony in which one priest performed the marriage of another, or his admonitions not to wear dirty vestments, or spurs or swords during mass to see how those two issues were paramount to the program of the reformers. As mentioned before, Dronke finds that some parts of Hroswitha's works even parallel Rather's

writing style.[45] Therefore, I think we must give credence to her preface when she observes that:

> Many Catholics one may find, and we are also guilty of charges of this kind, who for the beauty of their eloquent style, prefer the uselessness of pagan guile to the usefulness of Sacred Scripture. There are also others, who, devoted to sacred reading and scorning the works of other pagans, yet frequently read Terence's fiction, and as they delight in the sweetness of his style and diction, they are stained by learning of wicked things in his depiction. Therefore I, the strong voice of Gandersheim, have not refused to imitate him in writing whom others laud in reading, so that in that selfsame form of composition in which the shameless acts of lascivious women were phrased the laudable chastity of sacred virgins may be praised within the little limits of my talent.[46]

Hroswitha must have been aware of the popularity of reading Terence within the educational system of tenth-century ecclesiastical schools, and it is obvious she was as concerned about the potential of the pagan classics for corrupting minds as were her male counterparts. I believe she did intend her plays to be used as substitutes for Terence in the instruction of Latin grammar, rhetoric, and style, and, perhaps, meant them, or her poetic hagiographies, to be used during the public reading of saint's lives common to monastic and cathedral communal life.[47] Perhaps, in view of the frequent visitations to Gandersheim by important members of the royal family and hierarchy, she even may have written them for some sort of presentation, either orally, or as presentation manuscripts, or both, on those occasions. Certainly her belief that these plays could serve grammatical education as substitutes for the rawer, bawdier works of Terence reflects the policies of reforming clerics to follow St Augustine's use of rhetoric for Christian purposes, to follow the example of her contemporary Bernward of Hildesheim in using pagan Rome's artistic forms to illustrate Christian themes, and perhaps to follow the attempts of the reformer bishops to introduce elements of decorum and civility within ecclesiastical, royal, and aristocratic circles which historians now have linked to the origins of 'courtliness'.[48]

In any case, the old scholarly debate about whether or not the plays were intended for performance, or were ever performed in Hroswitha's lifetime, reflects presentist distinctions concerning reading, oral interpretation, and performance which did not exist in the early Middle Ages. For the most part instruction in reading, and even reading to oneself, meant reading aloud. Hence sound was almost as important as the written word. Readings of pious

texts and saints' lives in the communal setting of conventual and monastic life perforce would mean the practice of rhetorical techniques and flourishes gleaned from the works of Cicero, Quintilian, Augustine, and Alcuin – all of which insisted that voice, tone, gesture, body-language, and sometimes even appropriate pieces of apparel were necessary to public oratory.[49]

Though some of her plays were copied in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Hroswitha's works were never widely circulated. That may well be due to the decidedly anti-feminine bias of the Gregorian reformers of the last half of the eleventh century. In the tenth century nuns often were teachers; John of Gorze, for instance, began his instructions with nuns. The strong push for clerical celibacy, with its fears of sexual temptations, resulted in the eleventh century in greater emphasis upon segregating male clergy from nuns, and segregating nuns from contact with secular society. The eleventh century saw a sharp decline in the number, independence, and influence of female houses. Hence even such contact with clerical or secular society as teaching might bring was reduced, then proscribed for nuns.[50] Given that mental outlook, Hroswitha's works may have been avoided consciously by later clerical reformers who sought to minimize interaction between male and female members of the clerical classes.

Yet, given the probable personal and documented conventual connections of Hroswitha and the Convent of Gandersheim to the network of ecclesiastical reformers of the tenth century, Hroswitha's work, especially her interest in dramatic texts, does not seem isolated from the literary and performative interests of the reformers of her era. Though there is no direct link between her works and the *Quem quaeritis* of St Gall and St Martial and the *Visitatio* of the *Regularis Concordia*, yet her scripts do seem closely related to their purposes in shaping education, conduct, and liturgy to the uses of Christian reform. As such, her plays, along with the Easter tropes, the ecclesiastical attempts at aristocratic courtliness later exemplified by the Peace and Truce of God, the educational reforms stressing rhetoric and oratory, the building of proto-Romanesque and Romanesque cathedrals, the quickening of religious art utilizing the facades and interiors of churches to impress religious messages upon clergy and laity alike, represent yet another facet of what I would call the various fingers of reform begun, expanded, and perhaps developed into a conscious or unconscious policy of reforming activities by the Lotharingian/German, French, and English network of reformers of the tenth and early eleventh centuries.

Notes

1 See, for example, Mary Marguerite Butler, *Hrotsvitha: The Theatricality of Her Plays* (New York, 1960), 72; C. Clifford Flanigan, 'Medieval Liturgy and the Arts. *Visitatio Sepulchri* as Paradigm', in *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages*, eds Eva Louise Lillie and Nils Holger Peterson (Copenhagen, 1996), 9–32; and Glynne Wickham, *The Medieval Theatre*, 3rd ed (London, 1987), 39–40. On the question of the first appearance of the *Quem quaeritis* see David A. Bjork, 'On the Dissemination of *Quem quaeritis* and the *Visitatio sepulchri* and the Chronology of Their Early Sources', *Comparative Drama*, 14 (1980), 46–69. On the dating the *Regularis Concordia* see Lucia Kornexl, *De Regularis Concordia und ihre Altenlische Interlinearversion* (Munich, 1993), xxv–xxx.

2 Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy. Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, 1988), 1–11; Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans R.F. Bennett (Oxford, 1966), 75–88; J.H. Forse, 'Bruno of Cologne and the Networking of the Episcopate in Tenth-Century Germany', *German History*, 9 (1991), 264–79.

3 Karl Leyser, *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe. The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, ed T. Reuter (London, 1994) 178, 194; Cora E. Lutz, *Schoolmasters of the Tenth Century* (Hamden, CT, 1977), 4–20; R. Köpke and E. Dümmler, *Kaiser Otto der Grosse* (1876, rpt Darmstadt, 1962), 220–43.

4 Edgar Nathaniel Johnson, *The Secular Activities of the German Episcopate 919-1024* (Lincoln, NE, 1931), 252-5; Forse, 'Bruno', 263–79.

5 Henry Meyr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, v 1 (New York, 1991), 37; Köpke and Dümmler, *Kaiser Otto*, 545.

6 Patrick Wormald, 'Aethelwold and His Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast', in *Bishop Aethelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge, UK, 1988), 22–32; Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom, eds, trans, *Wulfstan of Winchester. The Life of St. Aethelwold* (Oxford, 1991), li–lxi, xciv–xcv; J. John Nightingale, 'Oswald, Fleury and Continental Reform', in *St. Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubit (London, 1996), 24–8; J. Armitage Robinson, *The Times of St. Dunstan* (1923, rpt Oxford, 1969), 86–8, 95, 97–8, 108–12, 127–42; F.J. Tschan, *Saint Bernward of Hildesheim*, vol 1 (Notre Dame, 1942), 36–7; Kornexl, *De Regularis*, lxxiv–xcv.

7 George B. Bryan, *Ethelwold and Medieval Music Drama at Winchester* (Bern, 1981), 104; Michal Kobialka, *This is My Body: Representational Practices in the Early Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor, 1999); Robinson, *Dunstan*, 154.
8 Wormold, 'Aethelwold', 30; Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, lviii; Nightingale, 'Oswald', 27–32; Blumenthal, *Investiture*, 7–12.
9 Kornexl, *De Regularis*, xci–xcv discusses the debate regarding the influences of Cluny, Fleury, Ghent, and Lotharingia on the *Regularis concordia*. Bjork 'Dissemination', 49–62 stresses rapid dissemination of the *Quem quaeritis*.
10 Douglas T. Hall and Benjamin Schneider, *Organizational Climates and Careers. The Work Lives of Priests* (New York, 1973), 148–59; see Lutz, *Schoolmasters*, *passim*, for recruitment practices of tenth-century reformers.
11 G. Simmel, *Conflict and the Web of Group-Affiliations*, trans K.H. Wolff and R. Bendix (New York, 1964), 127–67.
12 C.S. Jaeger, 'The Courtier Bishop in *Vitae* from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century', *Speculum*, 58 (1983), 291–325; Blumenthal *Investiture*, 66–70; Tellenbach, *Church*, 68, 82, 126–61.
13 Knud Ottosen, 'Liturgy as a Theological Place', in *Liturgy and the Arts*, 172. See also Forse, 'Bruno', 264–79.
14 Jody Enders, 'Visions with Voices: The Rhetoric of Memory and Music in Liturgical Drama', *Comparative Drama*, 24 (1990), 36, and her *Rhetoric and the Origins of Medieval Drama* (Ithaca, NY, 1992), 20–30; John Newell, 'Education and Classical Culture in the Tenth Century', in *Hrotsvit of Gandersheim: Rara avis in Saxonia?* ed, Katherina M. Wilson (Ann Arbor, 1987), 127–36; Forse, 'Bruno', 264–79.
15 Harriet Pratt Lattin, trans, *The Letters of Gerbert with His Papal Privileges as Sylvester II*. (New York, 1961), 5, 51; Enders *Rhetoric*, 30–1.
16 Leyser, *Communications*, 165–80; Lattin, *Letters*, 4–6.
17 Wormald, 'Aethelwold', 22.
18 Rosalie Green, *Studies in Ottonian, Romanesque and Gothic Art* (London, 1994), 4–5; Wormald, 'Aethelwold', 22–32; Flanigan, 'Liturgy', 11–12; Meyr-Harting, *Book Illumination*, 16, 54–78.
19 Meyr-Harting, *Book Illumination*, 121–2.
20 Leyser, *Communications*, 194; Brian Stock. *The Implications of Literacy* (Princeton, 1983), 14, 50–1.
21 D.H. Farmer, 'The Progress of the Monastic Revival', in *Tenth-Century Studies. Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester*, ed D. Parsons (London, 1975), 15; Enders, 'Visions', 37; Lutz, *Schoolmasters*, 69–70, 86–7; Newell, 'Education', 134–6.
22 Flanigan, 'Liturgy', 16; Stock, *Implications*, 26, 69.

23 Peter L.D. Reid, trans, *The Complete Works of Rather of Verona* (Binghamton, 1991), 222, 235–41, 444–52; David Bevington, *Medieval Drama* (Boston, 1975).
24 Butler, *Hrotsvitha*, 2–5; Reid, *Rather*, 161.
25 Newell, 'Education', 133–4. Quotation from Aethelwold in Bryan, *Ethelwold*, 64.
26 Bjork, 'Dissemination', 49–56; Ottosen, 'Liturgy', 168; Bevington, *Medieval*, 25–6.
27 Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, lii.
28 Translation by Flanigan, 'Liturgy', 12–13. He discusses the lack of congregational participation on page 16. See also W. Tydeman, *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1978), 33–6.
29 Bevington, *Medieval*, 7; Kobialka, *Body*, 83–7; Flanigan, 'Liturgy', 14.
30 *Nouum Testamentum Latine. Secundum Editionem Sancti Hieronymi*, ed John Wordsworth and Henry Julian White (Oxford, 1911), *Iohannes* 20:15.
31 Kobialka, *Body*, 88–93, Bjork, 'Dissemination', 64.
32 Robert L. Thomas and Stanley N. Grundy, eds, *A Harmony of the Gospels* (Chicago, 1979), 267–9; Sandro Sticca, 'The Hagiographical and Monastic Context of Hroswitha's Plays', in *Rara avis*, 5–7; Bjork', Dissemination', 62.
33 Flanigan, 'Liturgy', 14–17.
34 Quotation of *Regularis concordia* in Kobialka, *Body*, 76; Stock, *Implications*, 9, 26, 50; Flanigan, 'Liturgy', 14–17.
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36 Suzanne Fonay Wemple, 'Monastic Life of Women from the Merovingians to the Ottonians', in *Rara avis*, 41–6.
37 M. Harrsen, 'The Manuscripts. Lost Manuscripts', in *Hroswitha of Gandersheim. Her Life, Times, and Works, and a Comprehensive Bibliography*, ed, A.L. Haight (New York, 1975), 41–4; Sibylle Jefferis, 'Hrosvit and the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*', in *Rara avis*, 239–40; Henk Vynckier, 'Arms Talks in the Middle Ages: Hrosvit, *Waltharius* and the Heroic *via*', in *Rara avis*, 185; Johnson, *Secular*, 187.
38 A.L. Haight, 'Hroswitha of Gandersheim. Her Life, Times, Her Works', in *Hroswitha*, 9; Harrsen, 'Manuscripts', 43–4; Peter Dronke, 'Hrotsvita', in *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (_ 203) to Marguerite Porete (_ 1310)* (Cambridge, 1984), 56–70; E.G. Holt, *A Documentary History of Art*, v 1 (Garden City, NY, 1957), 1; Nightingale, 'Oswald', 28–32.

39 Dronke, 'Hrotsvita', 56-7; Johnson, *Secular*, 48–55.
40 Johnson, *Secular*, 39, 50–2, 64, 165, 169, 190–4; 204, 211, 229–33; Lutz, *Schoolmasters*, 123–4.
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44 Lutz, *Schoolmasters*, 86–102.
45 Judith Tarr, 'Terentian Elements in Hrosvit', in *Rara avis*, 55–60; Enders, *Rhetoric*, 30–2; Wailes, 'Virginity, ' especially 2–6, 24–7; Reid, *Rather*, 161, 222, 235–41, 444–52; Dronke, 'Hrotsvita', 56.
46 Katharina Wilson, trans, *The Plays of Hrotsvit of Gandersheim* (New York, 1989), 3.
47 Sticca, 'Hagiographical', 10; Lowrie. J. Daly, *Benedictine Monasticism. Its Formation and Development through the 12th Century* (New York, 1965), 204; Newell, 'Education', 131–3.
48 Jaeger, 'Courtier', 291–325.
49 E. Zeydel, 'Were Hrotsvitha's Dramas Performed during Her Lifetime?' *Speculum* 20 (1945), 443–56; Enders, *Rhetoric*, 23–32, 44–52.
50 David Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria. Women and Work in Medieval Europe* (New York, 1990), 64–5. Suzanne Fonay Wemple, 'Monastic Life', 37–8, 41.