

MUSIC AND PERFORMANCE IN THREE FRENCH HAGIOGRAPHIC MYSTERY PLAYS

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Introduction

French mystery plays, in this case those plays devoted to the embodiment on stage of the lives of notable Christian saints, generally contain some musical components: *menestriers* herald a transition between narrative sequences; angels sing a joyful hymn as they ascend to paradise; torturers intone a jolly ditty as they inflict pain on a long-suffering saint. Instrumental as well as vocal works, liturgical pieces as well as popular songs, are among the varied inventory in these performance remnants of the late medieval era. Our perception of the role music may have played in mystery plays, like our characterisation of these community-produced spectacles, has evolved significantly in the past few decades. Gone are the days when Grace Frank, among others, could argue that mystery plays included the *Te Deum* because they had developed from liturgical performances and rituals.¹ Nor is it necessary to repeat the admonition from Howard Mayer Brown that music in mystery plays was merely decorative and 'had no leading part'.² Instead, it is likely that the musical variety that characterises mystery plays developed as an integral part of an urban phenomenon that borrowed from a variety of cultural sources, including the liturgical traditions of the day. More appropriate, then, is JoAnna Dutka's contention that music in these plays may not only have set the production's pace and style, but even participated in the narrative's advancement.³ If this is so, music may well have been an integral feature in some, if not all, mystery plays. Thus, while theatre historians and practitioners alike acknowledge that the performances themselves are long lost, we can better appreciate the contexts in which they took place by paying closer attention to the performative aspects of late medieval culture and to the textual evidence retained in performance artefacts. To date, unfortunately, few studies have explored in any detail the musical content and structure of these elaborately orchestrated performances.

With regard to the three textual artefacts that constitute the focus of the present study, the mystery plays of *St Lawrence*, *St Martin*, and *St Stephen the Pope* have benefited from unequal levels of scholarly

consideration. The *Mystère de saint Laurent* (Paris: BNF MS rés. Yf.122) survives as a post-performance copy, in this case as an early printed edition with no known performance history or sponsoring affiliation. Published as a modern edition in 1891, the six-page introduction does not mention the play's musical components at all.⁴ Furthermore, since its publication, the *St Lawrence* play has been the object of very few scholarly studies, only one of which discusses its music.⁵

The *Mystère de saint Martin* (Paris: BNF MS fr. 24332), composed by André de La Vigne for a performance in Seurre (Burgundy) in 1496, is one of three surviving plays that bring to the stage this prominent figure of the early Christian church. A signed copy of La Vigne's text survives together with the city's *Procès verbal*, a document that outlines not only the planning and execution of the play but the names of many of the players as well. Edited by André Duplat in 1979, the *Mystery of Saint Martin* enjoys a prominent station among French mystery plays, both hagiographic and Christo-centric. Unfortunately, Duplat focuses less than one page of his introduction on the Seurre production's musical content, while at the same time acknowledging that: [*l*]a musique tient une place importante dans le *Mystère* ('music plays an important role in this mystery play').⁶ Though brief, his analysis does note La Vigne's selection of songs as well as the fact that musicians must have been placed near the paradise décor on a raised platform.⁷ In a subsequent study in which Graham Runnalls counters Duplat's proposal that the *Mystère de saint Martin* was performed on horizontally arranged platforms,⁸ no further attention is afforded the role that music may have played in reconfiguring that performance. More recently, one study of the three extant *St Martin* plays does analyse to some extent the musical content of that play, maintaining that the 'song choices underline its dual sponsorship by both civic and church leaders'.⁹

Finally, the *Jeu de saint Estienne pape et martire* (Paris: BNF MS Roth. I-7-22A), performed in 1548 in St Mihiel (Belgium), is also a complete post-production manuscript copy that has been signed by its *fatiste*, Nicolas Loupvent, though this text has yet to be published in modern times. Until quite recently, in fact, the *St Stephen* text had benefitted from only minimal attention; no published study has focused on its musical content.¹⁰ Thus, while one of these performance remnants has been studied extensively and the two others have seen only occasional scrutiny, the musical content and structure of all three plays has yet to be thoroughly examined.

The aim of the present study is to provide evidence of how music is integrated into French mystery plays using as examples the three

aforementioned performance remnants. Despite their differing textual histories, these three plays share a number of external cultural conditions and internal structural features that allow us to compare them as a ‘fuzzy set’.¹¹ First, all three are multi-session mystery plays: the *St Lawrence* survives as the first session of a two-day performance; both *St Martin* and *St Stephen the Pope* are three-day performances. All three plays appear to have been produced on multiple scaffolds that enclosed the staging arena from the outside world.¹² Typically, that type of staging configuration was sponsored by either a municipality itself or by a community within the city, for mixed audiences, sometimes with the assistance of religious leaders. Internally, all three plays weave together at least two narrative threads,¹³ implying that simulated action at one décor narrates one such thread while dialogue taking place at another décor either detours from the first thread or constitutes an entirely different narrative thread.¹⁴ Complex narrative schemes such as these share a number of internal features. First, formalised segment endings, such as *rondeaux*, announce transitions from one thread or segment to another. Next, the spoken narratives include a variety of poetic formats that guide the tone, rhythm, and timing of the performance as well. In addition, longer, more frequent stage directions, supplementing the standard embedded staging cues spoken by the actors themselves, become necessary as the players’ movements must be coordinated spatially. Finally, such complex staging implies the need for different types of music as well as the multiplication of musical pieces. Since the three plays in this study-set all conform to these external and internal features, a comparison of their common and disparate characteristics should allow us to better contextualise their performance styles. To that end, we propose: (1) to analyse how and where music of various types is integrated into these three productions; (2) to define the relevancy of the musical selections to the specific narratives and to the musical traditions that created them; and (3) to describe the possible impact of those selections on an informed audience. We will build on previous work where it exists, but in many ways the present study breaks new ground by bringing together theatrical, historical, and musicological approaches in order to explicate its findings.

Instrumental Music

The *Procès verbal* attached to the *St Martin* play provides a most useful introduction to the use of instruments in the three plays under discussion. It describes, among other things, the *monstre* or procession during which the civic officials and the players moved to the performance arena. The

procession was, of course, accompanied by instruments, which the *Procès verbal* describes as follows:

*et marcherent avant à sons de trompetes, clerons, bussines, orgues, harpes, tabourins et aultres bas et haulx instrumens, jouans de tous costez jusques sur le dit parc.*¹⁵

‘And they processed forward to the sounds of trumpets, clarions, busines, organs, harps, tambourins, and other soft and loud instruments, playing from all sides up to the said stage.’

The *Procès verbal* also provides, along with the names of individual instruments, the general classification of instruments used throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance. This classification was based on volume level at which instruments played, and, by inference, the usual arena of performance: some instruments were loud (*haut*) and usually played outdoors, while others played softly (*bas*) and were most suitable for indoor use, and a few could be used in either place. It is unlikely that these two groups would ever perform together in a single ensemble. The *haut* instruments would overpower the *bas* instruments, and no amount of balance adjustment would solve the problem. They could, however, play antiphonally; that is, in alternation with one another, and this may be how the two groups performed in the St Martin procession.

TABLE 1 divides instruments into these two groups. The information is derived from four sources: 1) the *Procès-verbal* of *St Martin* and other indications in the play;¹⁶ 2) the items Yves Le Hir lists in his summary of *St Stephen the Pope*;¹⁷ 3) the indications in the edition of *St Lawrence*;¹⁸ and 4) the items compiled by Howard Mayer Brown in his summary of music and musicians in *mystères* and *miracles*.¹⁹ The less familiar instruments are described in APPENDIX 1.

TABLE 1: Haut and Bas Instruments	
Haut	Bas
<i>Trompette</i> (Straight trumpet)	Organ (Portative/Positive)
<i>Cleron</i> (<i>Clairon</i> ; Clarion; <i>Clarino</i>)	<i>Musette</i>
<i>Buisine</i> (Bussine)	Recorder (<i>Flûte à bec</i>)
Sackbut (Slide Trumpet)	Flute (Transverse)
<i>Trompe de venerie</i> (hunting trumpet)	<i>Rebec</i>
<i>Tabour/Tabourin</i>	<i>Cornemuse</i>

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Phiffre (fife, with tabor)	Bedon
Hautbois/Haute-vente/Shawm	Harp
Drums	Lute/ Guitar (<i>guiternes; glisternes</i>)
Cymballes (<i>tynbolz; tynbaloz</i>)	Psalterion
Others (for Infernal Scenes):	Viol (<i>vielle</i>)
Gunfire, Barrels with Stones	<i>Espinette organisée (claviorganum?)</i>
Metal Pipes, Organ Pipes,	
Tambour	Pipe and Tabor

Haut and *bas* instruments were grouped into performing ensembles in four main ways. The *menestriers* constituted an ensemble of loud instruments known as the *alta* (*alta capella; haute musique*), consisting of a minimum of two or three shawms and a sackbut (or *buisine*).²⁰ Illustrations commonly show these groups playing without music, indicating that they were improvising or performing from memory. The division of parts seems to have been that the sackbut would play a *cantus firmus* line, while the shawms improvised counterpoint above it. Courts, towns, and civic organisations such as guilds customarily employed such ensembles, and they would, of course, have participated in large-scale civic functions such as the *mystères* under discussion here.

Trumpets, along with kettledrums, were treated as a special group and listed separately from the other *haut* instruments. They served both as military and civic instruments. The military used trumpets of all sizes, and there is a well-known repertory of military calls used for various points in battles. Both the instruments and the calls would have been used in any battle scene, and often the cries of the actors show which calls are to be used. The trumpets were also part of the town waits, in the employ of cities, and they participated in all civic rituals. Their role was to draw the attention of the populace to special proclamations by means of fanfares, or *tantaras*, and they would have served the same purpose in any ceremonial scene in the *mystères*. The calls were simple and brief, of a sort that may be preserved as the first three notes in the *cantus* and tenor parts of Jean Molinet's chanson *Tart ara* (see EXAMPLE 1).²¹

The town trumpeter of Seurre, Philibert Bourdin, who acted the role of *La trompète* in *St Martin*, was required to perform such a fanfare:

EXAMPLE 1
Tantara in Jean Molinet: *Tart ara*

[Cantus] 1, 4, 7. Tart a - ra
3. Tart a - ra
5. Tart a - ra

Contratenor I

Tenor

Contratenor II

TROMPECTE

*Maintenant, messieurs, or oyez!
Ici sonne sa trompette trois fois.*²²

‘Your attention, gentlemen, kindly listen to this!’
He sounds his trumpet three times.

Longer pieces for trumpet ensemble likewise existed and were known by a variety of names and spellings: *chiamata* (*chamade*),²³ *intrada*, *toccata*, *tuck*, or *tucket*. The *sennet* (*senet*, *sonnet*, *sennit*, *sennate*, *sinet*, *synnet*, *cynet*, *sarasinetta*) was used in theatres for the entrance and exits of actors portraying high nobility, emperors, and kings.²⁴ The *Procès verbal* also refers to fanfares assembling the performers and announcing the close of businesses and shops in preparation for the performance.

Ensembles of *bas* instruments were much less structured. They could consist of a variety of wind, string, and keyboard instruments, and were usually played indoors for dancing or as background music for meals. They also formed the core group of instrumentalists for any celestial scene, often in conjunction with a small group of singers. Keith Polk has compiled a list of *bas* ensembles (including solo lute and organ) from the late fifteenth century.²⁵ His FIGURE 5 shows a group of three singers performing a *Gloria* from a scroll with music, accompanied by a *bas* ensemble composed of lute, portative organ, and harp. The

instrumentalists depicted are not using music. Brown's PLATE IV, a miniature illustrating the *Mystère de Sainte Apolline*, shows a small choir of angels accompanied by an organ.²⁶ The *menestriers* played many of the soft instruments, and church musicians who participated in the performance would have played the organ (the positive organ required two performers, one to pump the bellows and a second to operate the keyboard).

A fourth ensemble type, probably not recognised as a musical group at the time, was the collection of noisemakers used for infernal scenes. These instruments — utensils, really — were charged with making the horrible, terrifying sounds that accompanied the entrance and exits of Lucifer and his minions. Only the *tambour* (large gong) and the organ pipe are recognizable musical instruments, although the latter may not have been treated in the standard manner.

Instrumental Music in the Individual Plays

The most prevalent type of music in French mystery plays is the multi-functional *pause* or *silence*.²⁷ These instrumental intervals were of variable duration ranging from a few notes to entire musical pieces. The instruments to be played during these intervals depended on the type of scene: if coming from heaven, a *bas* ensemble of some sort was used, as testified by the *St Stephen* copyist:

*Et ce temps pendant se fera joye en paradis avec instrumens musicaulx, comme orgues, violes, ou psalterions, avec chansons armonieuses, Dieu estant assis au moyant de ses anges dira.*²⁸

'And during this pause joyous music will play from heaven, with musical instruments including organs, *vielles*, or *psalterions*, with harmonious songs; then God, being seated among his angels, will say.'

Trumpet bands were used in military scenes, where they performed well-known calls, as already noted. Single trumpet players, the civic musicians of the town, served the function of announcing royal proclamations in court or imperial scenes. The minstrels (*menestrieres*), as they are identified in the *St Martin* text, played the instruments associated with the *alta capella*, and they would have either improvised or played from memory, selecting pieces from their own repertoire that corresponded to the desired mood of the performance.²⁹ Often, the texts only describe the joyful or restrained nature of the requisite pieces, leaving the selection thereof to the musicians themselves.³⁰ Hellish sounds, made by the various noisemakers already described and which *St Stephen's* compiler qualifies as

fors espouventable a ouyr ('truly horrific to hear'), emanated from the Hellmouth.³¹

In simple, linear plays, these musical *pauses* commonly serve one of two functions: they announce a transition as the narrative thread moves from one *décor* to another, or they allow time for portable props to be put in place.³² However, in complex narratives like the three in the present study-set, these intervals may have served a number of additional functions, helping us to distinguish among their performance styles, as the following comparison demonstrates.

St Lawrence

Despite its 8,812 spoken lines, the *St Lawrence* play contains only sixteen musical *pauses*. While it is conceivable that *St Lawrence*'s sixteenth-century editor removed most of these references from an edition that was not meant to be performed,³³ a more convincing explanation for this relative paucity of musical intervals is that the play's verbal performance alone did not require (or desire) music as an organisational feature. After all, that edition does include 257 staging notations that coordinate the actors' movements and clarify the narrative. Printing constraints, then, do not seem to have been an editorial concern. Had the sixteenth-century editor included these hypothetical intervals in the surviving edition of *St Lawrence*, it is likely that noisemakers were used in the scenes with Lucifer and the other devils, and that soft instruments participated in the several celestial scenes, as convention would have dictated. However, the only instruments that are mentioned specifically are trumpets, and then only in conjunction with the one battle scene. Moreover, none of the players refers to them or to the familiar military calls; the trumpets are named only in the three relevant stage directions:

*Adonc marchent Arculés et les tirans (et Passevent va devant) en maniere de bataille comme une avantgarde a tout trompettes devant.*³⁴

'Then Arculés and the mercenaries (with Passevent heading off first) proceed ahead in advance-guard formation with all the trumpets playing.'

*Adonc les trompettes sonnent, et viennent les ungs contre les aultres sans s'entremesler et bataillent fort sans parler, et Arculés chet mort et puis reculent les Romains et Arthus dit.*³⁵

‘Next the trumpets sound, and both sides come at each other, but without interacting. They fight fiercely, without speaking, until Arculés falls dead. Afterward, the Romans retreat and Arthus says’.

*Adonc sonnent les trompettes, et les armees entrent les ungs sur les aultres et bataillent tres fort sans parler, et cheent mors Taillement et Auger, Remon, Ferrant, et Eustace, et puis les François s’en revont.*³⁶

‘Then the trumpets sound, and the armies engage each other, battling very fiercely, without speaking, and Taillement, Auger, Remon, Ferrant and Eustace all fall dead; then the French retreat.’

While it is clear that the trumpets were called upon to play, no reference in the play tells us what that music was. Perhaps the choice of call was determined by the staging created by the *meneur du jeu*. Otherwise, *St Lawrence* seems not to have relied very heavily on instrumental music of any sort.

Another internal feature of the play further reinforces this observation. In his examination of *St Lawrence*’s staging style, Graham Runnalls reveals that the text is action-heavy. That is, the continual travel by players among the four scaffolds, the interlacing of several narrative threads, and the recurrent symmetry of all of this movement constantly opposes action to dialogue.³⁷ This dramatic opposition, rather than musical intervention, is what appears to coordinate the *St Lawrence* production. Players are consistently moving up, down or around the staging arena during another player’s speech, thereby forcing the narrative forward in a deliberately dynamic and declarative manner.

In addition, the sixteen *pauses*, which are grouped together in each of four narrative segments, serve only the simplest of functions.³⁸ In one such arrangement, a *pause* accompanies each of three messengers as they descend from the upper level of the king’s scaffold and make off, one after the other, to their various destinations on other scaffolds. We can only assume that while each messenger descends a ramp, steps, or ladder onto the staging arena and the next messenger moves into place to hear his own assignment, a short musical interval, possibly a trumpet fanfare, takes place. As each messenger reaches the arena itself, the conversation between the king and a subsequent messenger can begin. This pattern repeats itself three times. Then, a fourth interval takes place as the first messenger begins his return trip to the king’s scaffold, having delivered his message while *le deffenseur et ses gens s’arment sans parler* (‘the warden and his men arm themselves without speaking’).³⁹ These soldiers must not

speak because the second messenger to have been dispatched by the king now arrives at his own destination. The delivery of his message to the emperor moves the action forward. Thus, while the first messenger is returning to the king's scaffold, two others are still en route to their appointed destinations, an army prepares for battle, and the second messenger prepares to speak. This 271-line narrative segment, in which instrumental music simply announces the departure of messengers, contains one-fourth of the entire session's intervals. And, as we will see below, *St Lawrence's* vocal music is limited in a similar way.

St Martin (Seurre)

In contrast to the *St Lawrence* text, both La Vigne's *St Martin* and Loupvent's *St Stephen* integrate musical intervals that serve a variety of functions, distinguishing among at least three types.⁴⁰ The *St Martin* play, with more than 10,000 lines, includes seventy-seven musical intervals in its production; that is, over four times as many intervals as are noted in *St Lawrence*.⁴¹ In general, these intervals follow standard instrumental usage. The noisemakers, often mentioned in the stage directions, accompany the entrances and exits of the devils in their several scenes.⁴² The staging remarks actually describe special effects of fire, thunder, and lightning, and imply the musical and technical means necessary to achieve them.

The trumpet serves both its civic function of announcing imperial proclamations, and its military function of giving orders for the conduct of battles. Philibert Bourdin in the role of the trumpet player announcing the royal proclamation, and the music he might have played, have already been mentioned. The military trumpets appear in *St Martin's* extended battle scene.⁴³ Most clear is the passage in which the barbarians attack and the defenders sound the alarm. The Constable orders the trumpet to sound (*Sonne, trompette!*), the porter and the bourgeois sound the alert (*Alarme! Alarme!*) and the Turk orders the attack (*A l'assault! A l'assault!*).⁴⁴ These cries of the characters are, in fact, trumpet calls that are sounding at the same time, from different areas of the performing arena (the barbarian army and the Roman defenders), and probably overlapping with each other, thereby producing the cacophony of the battle scene. Furthermore, in an earlier scene, the knights, including Martin, arm themselves and then mount their horses. The directions read: *Pause, tandis qu'ilz s'arment, puis montent a cheval* ('Interval while they arm themselves then mount their horses'),⁴⁵ and *Le Pere: Or sa, messieurs, montez tous a cheval. Pause. Ilz*

montent a cheval ('The Father: Alright, gentlemen, let's mount our horses. Interval. They mount their horses.')

⁴⁶ There is also a trumpet call, a *cheval*, ordering soldiers to mount up, that was probably used as the *pause* at these points. The military calls are shown in APPENDIX 2.

Even fairly mundane segments might be accompanied by music in La Vigne's production. A tired St Martin, for instance, is told that his bed is ready. The text reads: *Et cependant que saint Martin se couchera, les menestriers joueront* ('And while St Martin gets into bed, the minstrels will play').⁴⁷ But this *pause* also serves to introduce God, Gabriel, and Raphael, who descend from heaven to visit Martin while he sleeps. A second *pause de menestriers* occurs as God approaches Martin's bed. For these two *pauses*, an ensemble of soft instruments, played by the *menestriers*, would be appropriate.⁴⁸

Unlike the several narrative threads that are interwoven verbally in *St Lawrence*, the *St Martin* production generally — though not exclusively — announces a transition from one narrative thread (and décor) to a second thread musically. This is apparent from the very beginning of the play. The first scene is a *diablerie* of 114 lines set at the entrance to hell, from which devils enter with cries and howls to the accompaniment of thunder and fire (lightning) provided by the infernal noisemakers. As they exit to the same din, a fanfare by trumpets and clarinos announces the arrival of an imperial Roman family — Martin, his parents, and their attendants: *Pause de tourmens, de cris et hurlemens terrible en enffer, puis jouent trompetes et clerons* ('Interval of storms, of terrible screams and howls in hell, then trumpets and clarinos play').⁴⁹ The infernal noise allows the exit of the devils, while the overlapping fanfare announces a change in scene, directs the audience's attention to another part of the performance arena, and identifies the characters who have entered.

In another instance, after the bishop leads St Martin *en ung eschaffault* ('to a scaffold') where he will be dressed as an acolyte, a group of robbers, looking for sport, attack and kill two passing merchants. The church leaders perform their own simulation without words above the central arena, which is itself taken over by the chatty highwaymen as they perform their murderous deed. Next, the text announces a pair of simulated actions:

*Pause. Ilz emportent les marchans en leur caverne, puis s'en retournent apprez qu'ilz les ont despoillé en leur place. Puis parle saint Martin en abit d'acolite sur le parc à saint Hillaire.*⁵⁰

'Interval. They carry off the merchants' bodies to their cave where they strip them before returning [to the arena]. Next, dressed as an acolyte and standing on the arena, St Martin speaks to St Hilary.'

Clearly, the musical interval allows for two simultaneous, and nonverbal, actions: the robbers strip the merchants' bodies in their cave (no doubt on the lower level of a scaffold) while St Martin and St Hilary move back onto the arena. Only after arriving there do the two holy men speak to each other. Once they have said their benediction, however, they too find themselves face to face with the robbers who have been dawdling nearby. Music not only provides the time required for the two simulations to take place, it adds to the dramatic tension as the unknowing holy men come into the robbers' territory.

In a similar vein, after Martin resuscitates a child he extols the child's mother to remain humble and good. At that point, the text announces: *Pause prolixie de menestriers; cependant saint Martin s'en retourne a son abbaye et les autres se retirent* ('Extended instrumental interval during which St Martin returns to his abbey and the others move from the platform').⁵¹ In this example, there is again no speech taking place on the arena. Instead, the *pause prolixie*, played by the *alta* ensemble, covers the players' return to their assigned locations. After that juncture, the action moves elsewhere. From the new location, the dean of Tours, who is with the other canons in a chapter-like décor, speaks about their need for a new prelate.⁵² Only forty spoken (and sung) lines later, a second *pause prolixie* accompanies the prostrate canons as they pray. More than merely a transitional device, these double intervals serve a thematic function: they literally extend the gravity of the moment. Martin has proven his worthiness; the church is in need of a worthy leader.

St Stephen the Pope

The variable pace of the *St Martin* performance is seconded by St Mihiel's celebration of the third-century pope to whom their church was dedicated. However, while *St Martin* featured four times the number of instrumental intervals as *St Lawrence*, with an astounding twenty-nine intervals per session, *St Stephen the Pope* is the most musical of these three productions.⁵³ As is the case with *St Martin*, *St Stephen's* musical intervals vary in duration and emanate from three predictable décors: harmonious (soft) instruments from paradise, trumpets (the *instrumentz joyeux* playing sonnets) and the *alta* ensemble from on or near the staging arena, as well as demonic noise from hell. The text's staging notations suggest appropriate instruments and

moods. Again, the intervals themselves generally provide musical transitions from one décor and narrative thread to another, as in this example that follows a speech made by the angel Uriel:

*Après se fera pose à son d'instrumentz joyeulx; puis apres, l'empereur estant assis en son throne imperiale sumtueusement vestus, tenant son ceptre royale, parlera haultement et dira.*⁵⁴

'Afterward, there will be an interval played by jubilant instruments; next, the luxuriously-dressed emperor, seated on his imperial throne and holding his royal sceptre, will speak forcefully, saying.'

In this case, the interval simply prepares the spectators for a transition from the paradise décor to another décor that is located somewhat lower on the staging configuration. No action is implied by the marginal *didascalia*. Instead, music is followed by the subsequent speaker, who is pointed out and directed to speak when the interval concludes. In another sequence, a short interval allows the cardinals enough time to move into their little chapel and fall to their knees before its altar. Thereafter, as the staging notation states, the first cardinal will perform a humble prayer.⁵⁵ This standard type of simulated action and music moves the narrative forward, but not to the same extent that seems to be implied by the *St Martin* text. In a similarly-constructed example, *St Stephen's* devils end one of their characteristic tirades with a hardy 'Amen':

*Puis apres font ung tour sur le houx et se viennent tous rendre en Enfer, menant grant bruyt en passant par devant Cereberus, qui est assis près de la porte et gouffre d'enfer et les enferme léans. Puis cela fait, avec une grande modestie commencera l'empereur à parler.*⁵⁶

'Afterward, they parade around the arena on their way back into hell, making lots of noise as they pass in front of Cerberus, who is seated near the door to the Hellmouth and who locks them inside. Then, once that is done, the emperor begins to speak with great modesty.'

Once again, the pace of the production adds abundant time for music (or noise) and for simulated actions by the players. Furthermore, in both *St Martin* and *St Stephen*, the distribution of musical pauses is broad, with fairly equal numbers in each of their daily performance sessions, unlike *St Lawrence's* condensed groupings of a few intervals. Both of the former productions assign to music an essential role that either complements the narrative's pace, as in *St Stephen*, or that serves as the more integrated dramatic device created by La Vigne.

But, in this particular case, *St Stephen the Pope* is as much about pageantry, spectacle, and effect as it is about action, and here music contributes significantly, especially in the choice of instruments. In several instances, the stage directions give not only the type of ensemble to be used (*harmonieux, joyeux*), but also suggestions for specific instruments. Early in the play, the four cardinals retire to their chapel to pray for wisdom in selecting a new pope. When their prayer is completed, they seat themselves around the altar. At that point:

*Se fera joye en paradis avec instruments musicaulx, comme orgues, violes, ou psalterions, avec chansons armonieuses.*⁵⁷

‘From paradise a joyful noise is made by musical instruments such as organs, viols or psalterions, along with harmonious songs.’

That is, the soft ensemble, which one would expect, contains a choice of organs, viols, or psalterions, or perhaps even a combination of all three, accompanying the *chansons armonieuses*.

There are no battle scenes in *St Stephen*, and thus military trumpets are not required. The trumpets are used instead to announce imperial scenes or to precede announcements.⁵⁸ Once again, however, the *fatiste* suggests rather than commands. Trotemenu, in announcing one of the imperial edicts, may use either the trumpet or *buisine*, that is, either the short or long version of the instrument.⁵⁹ Similarly, at the beginning of the third day, the entrance of the emperor is announced by both trumpets and clarinos. The most surprising use of a trumpet occurs at the end of the play. The devils begin to search *parmy le monde* (‘among those present’) for the emperor, to carry him, body and soul, to hell.⁶⁰ The instrument that accompanies the search is the *trompe de vènerie* (hunting trumpet), a particularly appropriate instrument whose sound must have startled the audience members close to it.

Other small touches nuance the performance as well. Early in the play, a *pause* played by oboes or other instruments (*hautboys ou aultrement*) accompanies the cardinals as they search for Stephen to consecrate him as pope. During the second day, the four soldiers return to the jailor who has imprisoned Nemesius, and they are accompanied by fife and drum (*tabourin et fifre*). All of this detail demonstrates that there was a wealth of instruments available to the producers of *St Stephen*, that the producers took full advantage of the situation, and that their work was recorded with greater attention to detail than that given to *St Martin*.

Vocal Music (Liturgical Music; *Chansons* (Popular Songs) in the Individual Plays

St Lawrence

Hymns, other liturgical pieces, and songs of various sorts constitute the other type of music that is performed in these and many other mystery plays. In a recent analysis of the types of musical pieces found in French hagiographic mystery plays we were able to identify the variety of ways in which these spectacles had integrated vocal pieces as well as the relative importance given to liturgical, lyrical, and popular songs respectively.⁶¹ The *St Lawrence* play, for instance, includes nine different liturgical hymns (not counting the final *Te Deum*), all of which are intoned by angels as they escort the souls of the recently martyred to heaven, as well as one vernacular piece, sung by four Christian believers as they face martyrdom, for a total of eleven vocal pieces. The hymns, in order of their appearance, and the martyrs for whom they are intended, are given in TABLE 2. They all fall in the violence-filled second half of the play.

TABLE 2: *St Lawrence* Hymns

Deus qui genus humanum [4740: Sixtus]⁶²

Eterne rex altissime [6500: To Christ for Rommain]

Deus tuorum militum [6610: Rommain]

Beate martir [6998: Lawrence]

Martir Dei, qui unicum [7016: Lawrence]

O lux beata trinitas [7044: To the Trinity for Lawrence]

Virginis proles (7812: Concorde)⁶³

Vrai Dieu [7851–4: Sung by Ypolite's wife, Malquentim, Mimerius, and Lucille]⁶⁴

Sanctorum meritis [8063: The above four Martyrs]

Martir Dei, qui unicum [8308: Ypolite]

Te Deum [8818: everyone]

A cautionary remark is in order about melodies to liturgical pieces in general, and hymn melodies in particular. Hymn-texts are usually associated with several different melodies, which vary by country, city, church, monastic rite, and liturgical season, to mention a few variables. Thus it is not possible to associate a single definitive melody with any of

the hymns in TABLE 2, even the *Te Deum*. Several possibilities exist, and even when the melodies are nearly identical, there are small differences in concordant sources that preclude giving priority to any one source. In addition, these hymns always have more than one strophe, and no mention is ever made about the number of strophes to be sung. Perhaps this decision too was in the hands of the *meneur du jeu*.

We have not yet discovered a hymn with the text *Deus qui genus humanum*; perhaps it is a prayer that would have been sung to a reciting tone. It actually names Sixtus II, an early martyr who, according to the *Golden Legend*, encounters Lawrence on the way to his (Sixtus's) death.⁶⁵ Five other hymns in *St Lawrence* come from the Common of one or of several martyrs, depending on whether one martyr is celebrated, or several (*Sanctorum meritis*). Two others hymns are in praise of Christ or the Trinity, who are glorified by the martyrs' deaths. The vernacular piece does not appear to be a hymn, although it follows a hymn-like structure:

*Vrai Dieu, veuillez nous recevoir
En la grant consolation,
Fay nous t'amour apercevoir,
Car de noz cueurs te mercion.*

'True God, please welcome us
Into your glorious consolation;
Help us sense your abiding love
For, from our hearts, we thank you.'

The text used for this piece may have been written especially for this play (and hence had to be included in full), and the melody may have been taken over from a familiar piece, in which case no melody needed to be recorded.

The thematic congruence of these hymns with the performance itself is absolute, since all but one are sung by the archangels as they descend to earth, or as they return to heaven after retrieving the souls of martyred believers, in the six consecutive sequences that constitute the second half of the performance session. For instance, *Deus qui genus humanum*, which names Sixtus, is sung by angels as they return to Paradise carrying with them Sixtus's soul.⁶⁶ In the sequence narrating St Lawrence's grisly death, angels descend to the arena singing *Beate martyr*.⁶⁷ Once they have gathered the saint's soul, they return to Paradise intoning *Martir dei*, and, after praising God, they end the segment by singing a hymn honouring the Trinity: *O lux beata trinitas*.⁶⁸

Thus, a series of martyr-focused hymns which are consistent in tone, content, and dramatic function has been selected for the *St Lawrence* production. In three cases, partial lyrics of the required hymn appear in the text, while in the other instances only the incipit is cited, as previously noted. Since, as Richard Rastall has suggested, much of the music in these performances came from a ‘largely memorised repertory’ that did not need to be recorded in the manuscripts,⁶⁹ it is probable that, like *St Martin*’s cantor, persons trained in liturgical song played the angels’ roles in this play. Cantors, choir members, monks, clerics, or priests may have participated in what is largely a militarised spectacle, and they all would have been able to shoulder the rather modest responsibilities the vocal music presented. Only two vocal pieces are performed by human characters in *St Lawrence*: *Vrai Dieu, veuillez nous recevoir* (although this may not have been a hymn at all, since vernacular hymns were not part of religious observances in this period), and the *Te Deum* that ends the performance session.

With musical intervals limited to a handful of re-enacted sequences accompanied by military trumpets in the play’s first half, and hymns relegated to the prolonged series of torture segments in the second half, the musical demands are minimal, involve very little in the way of subtle interaction with the text, and would have required no special preparation or abilities on the part of the performers. From the theatrical point of view, the *St Lawrence* production is now dynamic, now grave, prompting us to wonder about the dramatic sensibilities of the unidentified community that produced such a text.

St Martin (Seurre)

La Vigne’s *St Martin* text includes four different hymns, performed by Christian believers, as well as four popular songs intoned alternatively by devils or by thieves, one lyrical song performed by angels, and three untitled hymns also sung by angels. With thirteen songs intoned in three performance sessions, in addition to the seventy-seven musical intervals already described, *St Martin* is much more richly endowed with music than is *St Lawrence* (see TABLE 3).

TABLE 3: Vocal Music in <i>St Martin</i> (Seurre)	
Liturgical pieces:	<i>Te Deum</i> [5362; 6682] <i>Honor, virtus et potestas</i> [5897] <i>Veni sancte spiritus</i> [6131]

<p>Non-liturgical sacred song (<i>Rondeau</i>):</p> <p>Secular songs:</p>	<p><i>Veni creator spiritus</i> [6638] Unspecified liturgical pieces [9715 (3 parts); 9791; 10445] Unspecified responsory, Common of Martyrs [6873] <i>De Martin, le bon catholique</i> [10232]</p> <p><i>Et amye, amye, je vous aime</i> [3213] <i>Sçavez vous pourquoi</i> [3233] <i>Endure, povre cueur, endure</i> [3249] <i>Touchez moi la</i> [7550]</p>
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All three morning sessions of *St Martin* include one vocal piece each, while the afternoon sessions include two or more songs of various types.⁷⁰ Although instrumental *pauses* most often accompany angels as they move between the paradise décor and the arena, in three instances the angels are instead directed to sing. Each of these instances corresponds to a key moment in the narrative, but it is only at the simulation of the saint's death that La Vigne calls for a specific vocal piece.⁷¹ In that segment, the angels sing a *rondeau cinquain* entitled *De Martin, le bon catholique* rather than a traditional liturgical piece, as they claim his soul for God's glory.⁷² While La Vigne may have composed the *rondeau* for the Seurre audience, his adoption of three specific liturgical pieces in other parts of the production is more characteristic of this performance genre. The pieces he selected are all taken from the Office, where they are used for Matins and Vespers. Their placement within the narrative parallels the action being simulated on the central arena. After Martin has resuscitated a catechumen, those present sing *le repons de la trinité* ('the responsory from Trinity') entitled *Honor, virtus, et potestas*,⁷³ perhaps to reinforce that it was the power of the Trinity, and not Martin's alone, that caused the miracle. This responsory from Trinity Sunday was used at both Matins and Vespers, and is by no means brief. We estimate its performing time at two and a half minutes, and there is no indication that it was abbreviated in any way. Such a substantial work constitutes a sort of vocal 'pause,' where action stops and reflection takes over.

In two other instances, church leaders seek divine inspiration for their choice of a new bishop by intoning first *Veni sancte spiritus* then *Veni*

creator spiritus.⁷⁴ *Veni sancte spiritus* is an antiphon that could be used at First Vespers on Pentecost, or, as here, in a special service invoking the Holy Spirit when a difficult decision had to be made.⁷⁵ *Veni creator spiritus* is a hymn, again for the season of Pentecost (Second Vespers) or for a special service. It occurs relatively frequently in the *mystère* repertory overall; its performance in *St Martin* would seem to be optional.⁷⁶

Later in the same session, an unspecified responsory from the Common of the Martyrs follows the saint's sermon.⁷⁷ A logical choice may have been *Gloria et honore coronasti eum domine. V Et constituisti eum super opera manum tuarum*.⁷⁸ As Duplat points out, the text assigns three pieces to a cantor who is instructed to lead the others in singing, a common performance feature of responsories, where the cantor sings the entire verse.⁷⁹ Finally, both instances of the familiar *Te Deum* correspond to thanksgiving sequences in which Martin has been appointed to a new church office.⁸⁰ The play ends, not with an expected *Te Deum*, but with another liturgical melody, possibly the *Salve Regina*. However the text itself does not mention a title.⁸¹

The popular songs sung by *St Martin's* band of thieves, on the other hand, may have been performed by local street artists enlisted for the production. One of those players, for example, has the rather evocative title of Le Roy Fallot.⁸² The text includes a single stanza of two of the songs that this band of scoundrels sings out of sheer boredom, thereby inviting the hypothesis that La Vigne may have written them for the play. The first example, sung by Toutlyffault and Souldouvrer, is the lament of a jilted lover (*Et amy, amy*) and the second, sung by all four brigands, concerns an unlucky husband (*Sçavez-vous pourquoi*). Only the first line of the third selection is actually sung, according to the text, and that song, Souldouvrer's *Endure, povre coeur, endure*, happens to be included in another French hagiographic play, the *Mistere des Trois Doms*.⁸³ The fourth popular title in *St Martin* is performed by an unfortunate man who is possessed by the devil. His master and two servants, unable to calm him despite the iron shackles that he wears, ask Martin to intervene. As the saint approaches, the man speaks/sings:

*Touchez moy la ! Et puis, comment?
Ou deable sont ses amoureux?*

'Stroke me here! So, what?
Where the hell are her lovers?'⁸⁴

About the music for the popular songs we can say virtually nothing. In fact, we do not even know that *Touchez moy* is a song; it may be nothing more than the gibbering of a madman. At least one title appears to have been a well-travelled song. The other two selections could well be songs, but they have apparently not infiltrated the recorded chanson repertory, and so have left no trace in song manuscripts and publications of the time. Unless we can find a collection of pieces performed by street performers that contains music, the melodies to these songs may be forever lost.

What characterises the *St Martin* production's music, then, is its variety of tones, themes, and sources, all of which are interwoven throughout its three daily sessions. In this case, the *Procès verbal* informs us that the play was sponsored by the municipal and church leaders of Seurre who hired André La Vigne to write the *livre*, that the city's merchants, priests, and lawyers played roles in the production, and that the performance was attended by people from the community and surrounding countryside. Performed in an open-air arena next to the church dedicated to St Martin himself, this delightfully-concocted yet nostalgic spectacle 'self-consciously draws its spectators back into that sacred space' to reinforce both a communal tradition and a communal identity.⁸⁵

St Stephen the Pope

The third mystery play text in the present study-set features the highest number and greatest variety of vocal pieces, just as it features the highest number of instrumental intervals. It is also the only text in the study-set to include the musical notation for both popular and liturgical selections alike. Like *St Martin*, *St Stephen* contains polyphonic as well as monophonic music: three of the unspecified liturgical pieces are referred to as 'motets'. The *St Stephen* play contains: seven different liturgical works performed either by Christian leaders or by angels; five secular songs involving devils, pagan priests, or thieves; and five additional, but unspecified, sacred pieces (see TABLE 4). Asterisks indicate items with musical notation.

TABLE 4: Vocal Music in *St Stephen the Pope*

Liturgical pieces:	<i>Veni sancte spiritus</i> * (fols 13 ^V -14 ^F) <i>Te Deum</i> up to <i>Sanctus, sanctus</i> (fol. 18 ^V) <i>Istorum est enim regnum</i> * (fol. 166 ^V)
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Unspecified liturgical pieces:	<i>Corpora sanctorum</i> * (fol. 168 ^r ; 193 ^r)
	<i>Isti sunt sancti</i> (fol. 189 ^r)
	<i>Dico vobis</i> (fol. 189 ^v)
	Brief motet from a devotional antiphon (fol. 76 ^v)
	Brief motet (fol. 106 ^v)
Secular songs:	Unspecified antiphon (fol. 233 ^f)
	Unspecified antiphon or motet (fol. 233 ^f)
	<i>Tant plus a</i> * (fol. 49 ^f)
Unspecified secular songs:	<i>Gezi garpha balzamithos</i> * (fol. 95 ^f)
	<i>Quant Flocque</i> (fol. 28 ^f)
	Pretty little song (fol. 89 ^f)
	Melodious song (fol. 202 ^f)

In a previous study, we have discussed the form and content of two of the non-liturgical pieces found in *St Stephen the Pope*: first, a devils' song entitled *Tant plus a* and secondly, a pagan song called *Gezi garpha balzamithos*.⁸⁶ The former title is a short ditty in praise of Lucifer. Musically, the two verses of the text are set to very nearly the same music. The only difference lies in the first words of each verse. The first verse begins with three syllables (*Tant plus a*) while the second has four (*S'il veoyt*), clearly shown in the music. The manuscript shows the rhythm by means of semibreve, minim, and semiminim. Longs appear at the end of each verse, and are indicated in the transcription as half notes, although they are probably unmeasured pauses.

The latter piece, referred to textually as a Hebraic (macaronic) song, is intoned by pagan priests in their temple. The piece has three stanzas, each set to the same music. However, each verse has a different pattern of syllables, with small slash marks to show word division. *Gezi garpha* uses the rhythmic value of the semibreve throughout, with the exception of an unmeasured long at the end of each stanza. However, here the semibreve seems to have no rhythmic intent at all. Instead, each verse proceeds in equal note values, much like the note values of chant. This gives to *Gezi garpha* an appropriate air of antiquity, as a chant melody would, while at the same time avoiding chant notation, which would not be appropriate for a pagan song.

A third popular song's lyrics, this time without musical notation, are included within a staging notation, where the compiler suggests this refrain as one possible choice. Sung by a soldier of fortune, this song promises wealth to those who embark on adventure:

*Quant Flocque fust sur son cheval monté
Dient à ses gens: Ne vous hebaiés my.
Or et argent aurons a grante planté
Et sy aurons honneur et bonne vie.
Hé! Hé! Hé! Vaugué la gallee.⁸⁷*

'When Flocque was mounted on his horse
He said to his men: Don't be afraid!
We will have tons of gold and silver
And thereby honour and the good life.
Hey! Hey! Hey! Come what may.'

Despite the fact that it carries no music, *Quant Flocquet* is in many ways the most interesting of the three popular pieces. Its tag line *Hé! Hé! Hé! Vaugué la gallee* associates it with a family of pieces that Brown itemised under the title *Et vague la gallée* in his catalogue of Theatrical Compositions (#126).⁸⁸ The family has two branches. The first consists of five items: three theatrical works (the *sottie Sotz triumphans*, the *mystère Vengeance*, and the farce *Maistre Mimin à six*) and two chansons (Jean Jappart's *Trois filles estoient*, and the anonymous *Eh! Vogue la galée/Il y avoit trois filles*). However, the music to these *chansons* cannot be adapted to the text of *Quant Flocquet* because the metrical structure of the text lines in the two chansons is at odds with the metrical structure of *Quant Flocquet*.

The second branch of the family consists of at least two items, the Anonymous *Voca la galiera*, and an intabulation in the Buxheim Organ Book carrying the title *Allegalea*.⁸⁹ The *chanson* is preserved in the Italian manuscript Montecassino 871 without text, but *Quant Flocque* can easily be adapted to it, as shown in APPENDIX 2. Moreover, the date of the composition seems appropriate, because the Buxheim Organ Book comes from approximately 1460, by which time the *chanson* must have been known in Northern Europe.⁹⁰ The music in the Montecassino manuscript is for four voices. The lower two seem to be instrumental; at least, they cannot be made to agree with the text according to standard text underlay procedures. On the other hand, the text agrees easily with both of the upper parts, and either could be used as the melody in the *Mystère*. The tenor part is the more likely of the two.

Loupvent leaves the choice of two other popular songs to those who play the soldiers' roles in the play. One of the mercenaries is asked to lead the others in singing *une chansonnete jolye* ('a pretty little song') as they hunt for Christians in the first such instance.⁹¹ The second occasion, also calling for a melodious song, takes place in a tavern.⁹² Loupvent's lyrical largesse extends as well to the liturgical hymns that are intoned in *St Stephen*. In five instances, the text suggests that the angels sing an antiphon or a motet without specifying a title. However, in five additional instances the compiler stipulates the liturgical title, and intends, at least, to supply the lyrics and musical notation as well. Three liturgical pieces (*Veni sancte spiritus*, *Istorum est enim regnum*, and *Corpora sanctorum*) are presented in the text with musical notation and lyrics.⁹³ These are given in APPENDIX 3. They are written in the black, rhythmically unmeasured chant notation, in contrast to the white mensural notation of the secular songs. Two other pieces (*Dico vobis* and *Isti sunt sancti*) were meant to have music.⁹⁴ The staves for *Dico vobis* are written into the body of the play, and the text was written under the staves, but no music was entered. The staves for *Isti sunt sancti* are written in the margin but carry neither text nor music. There is one other pair of staves, written, like those for *Dico vobis*, into the body of the text, and bearing the following heading:

*Ils s'an vont eulx quatres chantant jusques en paradis ceste antienne qui s'en suite.*⁹⁵

'The four of them walk away singing the following antiphon all the way to paradise.'

The music is to be sung by the four archangels as they bear the soul of St. Stephen to heaven, but there is no music, no text, and no title. Finally, after God speaks, the angels also sing some antiphon or some motet that the *meneur du jeu*, Jacques Buffelot, has chosen.

The seventeen songs that *St Stephen's* compiler has placed in this production are spaced throughout the performance. In each of the three sessions, at least one popular song and three to five liturgical pieces are intoned. Thus, with an average of twenty-nine instrumental intervals and at least five songs in each session, *St Stephen the Pope* does qualify as the most musical of the three texts in the present study-set.

All of the liturgical pieces found in *St Stephen* are antiphons, and most have been borrowed from the musically elaborate Office of Vespers (some manuscript sources also use these antiphons at Matins and Lauds). Like *St Martin*, its selections are varied in tone and in theme. Like *St Martin*,

St Stephen's Christians intone *Veni sancte spiritus* as they seek guidance about the choice of a new leader. This is the antiphon used in the service to invoke the Holy Spirit.⁹⁶ *Corpora sanctorum* and *Istorum est enim regnum* are martyr-focused. The first of these, a Vespers antiphon from the Common of Several Martyrs, is sung twice in the production. In both sequences, church leaders sing it as they participate in a funeral procession. St Stephen, at the head of one such procession, announces:

*La croix portons sans point faillir
Ce qu'il faut necessairement
Pour les saintz corps ensepvelir.*⁹⁷

'We carry the cross without fail,
As of course it is required
For the burial of saintly bodies.'

The second use of a martyr antiphon (*Istorum est*), also an antiphon for Matins or Vespers for Several Martyrs, is likewise incorporated into one of the two funeral sequences, but in this case by angels who accompany Lucille's soul to heaven. Angels too intone *Isti sunt sancti*, an antiphon from the Common of Several Martyrs, sung as they carry to heaven the souls of Olimpius, his wife Exuperia, and his son Theodolus (or perhaps Simphronius) who have been burned at the stake. Unfortunately the staves for this piece were left completely blank, so we do not know the text or melody that was intended. There are, in fact, two candidates: *Isti sunt sancti, qui pro amore Dei ...* and *Isti sunt sancti, qui pro testamento Dei ...* The text to the former is more appropriate than is the latter to the dramatic situation:

Isti sunt sancti, qui pro Dei amore minas hominum contempserunt: sancti martyres in regno celorum exsultant cum angelis. O quam pretiosa est mors sanctorum, qui assidue assistunt ante Dominum, et ab invicem non sunt separati.

'These are the holy ones, who for God's love despised the threats of men: holy martyrs in the kingdom of heaven exult with the angels. O how precious is the death of saints, who constantly stand before the Lord and are never separated from one another.'

God asks four classes of angels (cherubim, seraphin, archangels, and angels) to welcome Olimpius to heaven by singing *Dico vobis*, an antiphon for Vespers or Lauds on the third Sunday after Pentecost expressing the angels' joy at seeing a sinner do penance:

Dico vobis gaudium est angelis Dei super uno peccatore penitentiam agente.

‘I say to you that there is joy among the angels of God over one sinner doing penance.’

This idea, appropriate since Olimpius was once one of the Emperor’s advisers, is reiterated by the angels themselves as they welcome new souls into the heavenly fold: *Chantés et demenés grant joye | A fin telle qu’on se resjoy* (‘Sing and express our great joy | In such a way that we might rejoice’).⁹⁸

In the remaining instances in which *St Stephen’s* compiler calls for vocal music, he either leaves the selection thereof to the play’s *meneur du jeu*, Jacques Buffelot, or implies by his language, as in the following inter-textual *didascalía*, that the choice can be made by that same individual:

¶ *Les anges commenceront à chanter ung motet musicale de quelque antienne devote que sera bresve.*⁹⁹

¶ ‘The angels will begin singing a musical motet from some devotional antiphon that is brief.’

The final word of that staging notation is an especially relevant one, since once again the production’s pacing is being addressed by the play’s compiler. In another instance where Loupvent calls for the four angels to sing together he also requests a brief motet of some kind.¹⁰⁰ It should be remembered that in this production many of the instrumental intervals are ‘short’, ‘long’, or ‘very long’. Their length corresponds to narrative or staging needs. After the angels sing a hymn to celebrate Stephen’s election as pope, for example, a long *pause* from heaven, announced in the margin and referred to in an inter-textual notation as the characteristic *joye en paradis* (‘joy in heaven’), augments its array of harmonious instruments with pleasant songs.¹⁰¹ This divine celebration is followed by the newly elected pope’s sermon. By contrast, the hellish procession referred to earlier and in which devils participate before returning to the bowels of the earth is instead a ‘very long’ instrumental interval. As noted earlier, it is accompanied by the requisite hellish cries and noise. The devils must have processed in disorderly fashion, howling and harassing each other and the spectators alike. This screeching interval ends when the pagan emperor announces that he is awaiting news from his messenger. The inter-textual notation adds that that he should speak *avec une grande modestie* (‘with great modesty’), thereby contrasting his own style with that of the devils who had preceded him on the arena.¹⁰²

Because Loupvent was prior of the church of St Mihiel where St Stephen the Pope was venerated, it is no surprise that his production mirrors to some extent the Seurre production's focus on a community's identity with its local icon. What is more, the multiplicity of vocal pieces and the sheer number of instrumental intervals of varying length in *St Stephen the Pope* seem to focus the spectators' attention on a visual and musical extravaganza. In this case, however, in what was probably a smaller venue than those proposed for *St Martin* and *St Lawrence*, the play's narrative gives way time and again to pure pageantry.

Conclusion

La Vigne's *St Martin*, the most studied of these three mystery plays, is punctuated throughout with both verbal and musical dexterity, as the play's editor has maintained.¹⁰³ In many ways, its musical intervals and vocal pieces counterbalance the lyrical variety that characterises this master poet's narrative, creating a rollercoaster ride of aural tones and styles. While similar in its stylistic variety, Loupvent's rarely examined *S. Etienne pape et martir* goes so far as to incorporate both original and liturgical notation into the post-performance commemorative copy of the production, preserving for posterity not only the narrative and its staging clues, but its music as well. This celebration implicates the viewing public when St Stephen turns toward them to pronounce sermons, when the devils noisily process before entering the Hellmouth, and when a funeral procession tours the staging space. *St Lawrence*, on the other hand, restricts its musical intervals even within the context of simulated battles but fills its message-focused second half with restrained hymns that are generally intoned by angels.

From the preceding analysis, it is evident that in two of these plays instrumental and vocal music have been thoroughly woven into the productions. In these plays, a musical *silence* or *pause* ended narrative segments or threads, forming a kind of aural curtain. Music was also essential during pantomimes. Without music, much of the audience might not notice the pantomime, and those that did might not understand that the pantomime was related to the drama. Because of the plays' narrative complexity, music was also necessary to accompany actors as they exited the stage or moved from one place in the performing arena to another. As an example, in *St Martin*, God and his angels leave the stage singing. What they sang could be left up to the actors, but it was essential to focus audience attention on the fact that God and his angels were ascending into

heaven and thereby leaving the earthly realm. Without the appropriate music, the audience would simply see a group of actors walking off the playing area. Furthermore, music was essential in providing a realistic element in any battle scene. The military calls shouted by the actors (*a l'arme, a l'assault*) were to be accompanied by the appropriate military calls, as the stage directions indicate. Finally, who could possibly imagine a procession, either outside of or within the drama, without music? Thus, music could not be eliminated without at the same time destroying the illusion, display, and spectacular elements that created the 'underlying didactic intention'.¹⁰⁴

Both *St Martin* and *St Stephen the Pope* include numerous instrumental *pauses* of varying duration that provide transitions between narrative segments or *décors*; both plays also integrate the use of music into their spoken narratives. Additionally, in these spectacles music might alter the production's pace to focus audience attention on grave moments in the narrative or on pageantry and visual effects. The vocal pieces in both plays are varied: alternately polyphonic or monophonic, sacred or secular, they are performed by thieves and angels alike. Both *St Stephen the Pope* and *St Martin* likewise incorporate loud and soft instruments as well as trumpets and disturbing sounds that emanate from the Hellmouth. However, the *St Mihiel* production is much more precise in identifying a wealth of possible instruments for different purposes, and all of its liturgical pieces are antiphons from the Office of Vespers. *St Martin* is somewhat less invested in its choice of hymns, but equally creative in its inclusion of secular or popular songs. Both plays, it would seem, are very aware of their mixed audiences.

If the sixteenth-century edition of *St Lawrence* does indeed reflect the production's intended performance, instrumental music served therein as a simple organisational feature in only a few narrative segments in the first half of the production. Only the trumpet is named in its staging notations; never do its characters, or the *fatiste* himself, integrate into their speech a reference to any other instrument. In the second half of the performance session, each drawn-out torture sequence ends with at least one sombre hymn, providing thematic congruency but not requiring more than the usual musical training from the performers. For their part, the human characters sing only a vernacular, hymn-like song and then join in the final *Te Deum*, which, as in the Seurre production, invites the spectators to process to a near-by church where a liturgical service might reinforce the play's message:

*Allons a Dieu louenge faire
A l'eglise, grans et menus,
A la fin de ceste exemplaire
Chantans: Te Deum laudamus.*¹⁰⁵

'Let us all, big and small, go to the church
At the end of this illustration
To render thanks to God,
Singing *Te Deum Laudamus*.'

Despite incorporating this common convention of the mystery play tradition, the *St Lawrence* production as documented does not share the diversity of tone or the mingling of different musical styles and musical functions that are found in the *St Martin* and *St Stephen the Pope* commemorative manuscripts. Even were this obvious difference due simply to *St Lawrence's* status as an early edition, it would nevertheless remain that the narrative text groups musical intervals around very simple transitions rather than incorporating them throughout for varied pace and effect. Moreover, while the angels do sometimes announce their intention to sing as they return to heaven, only the staging notations identify the intended liturgical pieces. Nor does the *fatiste* elaborate in any way on tone or instrumentation. What is more, countless times in the text the staging notations, which refer only infrequently to music of any kind, stipulate instead that no speech or noise should occur from a given group of players while others are speaking.¹⁰⁶ Alternation between narrative segments is also a convention of this type of performance, but *St Lawrence's fatiste* insists on silence among the players time and time again, as if the perceptible restraint demanded of them serves as an example for whoever is watching the performance. The relatively monochromatic nature of *St Lawrence's* acoustic components is all the more perplexing because the edition has retained very nearly all of the staging notations required to produce the play, including references to characters moving from one scaffold to the next.¹⁰⁷ It may be that the *St Lawrence* reflects a performative tradition that was focused more on its message and its militancy than it was on pleasing an audience. Or, it may be that local circumstances demanded a solemn approach to this highly-charged communal event. It may even be true that the *fatiste* relegated most of the musical accompaniment to someone more experienced than himself, thereby leaving the editor with an incomplete text. In any case, it is clear that the extant *St Lawrence* does not share with *St Martin* and *St Stephen*

the Pope any evidence of having integrated a variety of vocal styles and instrumental functions.

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NOTE: All musical transcriptions are the authors' own.

APPENDIX 1

Glossary of Musical Instruments

Buisine: by the thirteenth century the term referred to a large straight trumpet with a tapering tube 4–7 feet long, ending in a wide bell. They were played in pairs, and were used both as domestic (civic?) and military instruments (two *buisines* are shown in Brown's PLATE IV).
<<http://www.photographersdirect.com/buyers/stockphoto.asp?imageid=2796197>>

Trompette: shorter than the *buisine*, the standard trumpet used for military purposes and for public announcements.
<<http://www.photographersdirect.com/buyers/stockphoto.asp?imageid=2746283>>

Trompe de vènerie: also *trompe* or *cor de chasse*. Coiled instrument used for hunting signals.
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Trompe_de_chasse.jpg>

Cleron: this, in its various spellings (*clairon*; *clarion*; *clarino*), referred to a high-pitched trumpet with a tube length correspondingly shorter than the *buisine* or *trompette* and a narrower bore. It was played with a broad flat mouthpiece that enabled the player to produce the higher partials.

Sackbut: the French term is *trompette saquebboute*, or 'pull-push trumpet,' and is thus very similar to the slide trumpet.
<<http://www.freewebs.com/jorgeferzea/photos/Baroque%20Instruments/Sackbut.jpg>>

Slide Trumpet: developed in the fifteenth century, it is a trumpet, or *trompette à coulisse*, with a slide incorporated in the tube to give the instrument a complete scale. It is thus a forerunner of the trombone. It is not clear that the instruments Brown describes as 'slide trumpets' were in fact these instruments. They may instead be standard trumpets with curved tubes.

<<http://www.oocities.org/vienna/6173/history/06renaissance/eggermemling.jpg>>

Tabourin: this is not the tambourine in the way it is understood today. Instead, *tabour* (also *tambour*) is a generic term for 'drum', and *tabourin* is 'small drum'. As Brown mentions, it was almost always played along with a fife, or pipe (*phiffre*), and often by the same player. In the fifteenth century the term changed to *tambourin*, but it still indicated a drum.

<<http://www.medieval-life-and-times.info/images/tabor.jpg>>

Hautbois/Haute-vente/Shawm: the French terms refer to volume ('loud wood'; 'loud wind'). All were double reed instruments, and came in seven different sizes, from the small discant (21 inches long) to the double bass (100 inches long, a true monster!). The terms *bombarde* (French) and *Pommer* (German) were also used for this instrument.

<<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Salmaj.jpg>>

Cymballes (Tynbolz; Tynbaloz): the term referred at different times to both the cymbals and to the triangle. The following web site shows the medieval cymbals.

<http://home.earthlink.net/~curtis_c_bouterse/sitebuildercontent/sitebuilderpictures/cymbals.jpg>

Organ (Portative; Positive): the portative organ was small and had a single set of pipes of one timbre or octave placement, unlike the larger organs that had a great variety of pipes. When used in processions, it was suspended from the player's neck by a strap. The mechanism for activating the pipes (it is not clear that it was a keyboard in our sense) ran perpendicular to the player, who played with the fingers of the right hand, while the left hand worked the bellows. It was thus a melodic instrument, and did not play harmonies. The player could also be seated, in which case the instrument sat on the player's left thigh. The several 'organists' portrayed in the Squarcialupi Codex (Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87) are all playing the portative organ. The miniature of Francesco Landini (fol. 121^v) is especially famous:

<<http://scholar.library.miami.edu/facsimile/images/squarcialupi/squarci4.jpg>>

The positive organ was either placed on a table or could stand on the floor by means of legs. This was a two-person instrument. The

performer faced the instrument, played with both hands, and could produce at least two parts. A second individual stood behind the instrument and worked the bellows. Brown's FIGURE 4 illustrates a positive organ in performance, as does 'The Lady and the Unicorn' tapestry illustrating the sense of hearing:

<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Lady_and_the_unicorn_Hearing.jpg>

Musette: a generic term for a small bagpipe. Some at least had drone pipes. It is mentioned but not described in French literature from the thirteenth century on. The familiar type comes from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

<<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O130851/musette-unknown/>>

Cornemuse: another name for the bagpipe with double chanters, equipped with double reeds, and two drone pipes, also with double reeds. The instrument was associated with Abruzzi, Italy and with Catalonia.

<<http://www.music.vt.edu/musicdictionary/textc/Cornemuse.html>>

Rebec: small bowed stringed instrument with a pear shaped body, three strings, and an unfretted neck. Examples are mentioned in the early fifteenth century and continued in use through the eighteenth century. It was especially popular from the late fifteenth through the mid sixteenth centuries.

<<http://www.gaita.co.uk/rebec.html>>

Bedon: this could be a generic term for drum, or, in the fifteenth century, a kettledrum, and finally in the seventeenth century, a cylindrical drum. The *Bedon de Biscaye*, in the seventeenth century, was a small tambourine with jingles, while a *Bedon de Suisse* was a snare drum.

<http://www.nicolamainville.com/folio/tambour_bedon.html>

Lute/Guitar (Guiterne; Glisterne; Cittern; many others): the difference between instruments of the lute type and those of the guitar type lies in the shape of the body. Lutes have pear-shaped bodies with rounded backs.

<<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:ReinassanceLute.jpg>>

Instruments of the guitar type, for instance the cittern, have flat backs.

<<http://orgs.usd.edu/nmm/PluckedStrings/Citterns/English/13500/Cittern13500.html>>

Psalterion: in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, the term referred to a trapezoidal zither whose strings were plucked with the fingers. The portrait of Lorenzo da Firenze in the Squarcialupi Codex (fol. 45^v) shows the composer playing such an instrument:
<<http://everyhistory.org/images35/1320/31.jpg>>

Espinette organisée (also *claviorganum*): the term was applied to a harpsichord combined by means of some sort of coupling device with a positive organ (Prague, ca. 1460, Spain, 1480). An example from 1579 exists in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. The instrument came in a variety of sizes. This web site shows a large example by Laurentium Hauslaib, Nuremberg, 1598:
<<http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/89.4.1191>>

A small instrument is shown in another web site:
http://xfree.hu/kep_show.tvn?aid=250091&kid=114768&sort

Pipe and Tabor: the pipe and tabor were often played by a single player who manipulated the finger holes of the pipe with one hand, while striking the drum with a stick held in the other.
<[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pipe_\(instrument\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pipe_(instrument))>

NOTE: Live links to the URLs cited here will be found on the METH website at:
<www.medievalenglishtheatre.co.uk/summaries35.html>.

* * * * *

APPENDIX 2

Music for *St Martin*

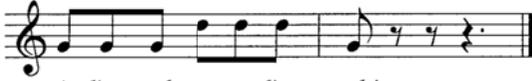
Military Calls

Alarme



Clément Janequin *La Guerre* (1528), Part 2, 'Alarme'. See also Grimace *A l'arme, a l'arme*: Chantilly, Musée Condé MS 564, fol. 55^v.

A l'assault



A l'as-sault et a l'as - sault!

Robert Morton *Il sera pour vous/L'Ome armé*: Yale Univ: Beinecke Rare Books & Manuscript Library, MS 91 (Mellon Chansonnier), fols 44^v-45^r.

A cheval



À che - val à che - val. À che - val, à che - val.

Clément Janequin *La Guerre* (1528), Part 2, 'À cheval'.

APPENDIX 3

Music for *St Stephen the Pope*

Popular pieces

Tant plus a



Tant plus a Et ung veult a - voir: Lu - ci - fer no - tre grant dya - ble
S'il ve - o - yt Les a - mes pleu-voir: Il est tou-jours in - sa - tia - ble.

Gezi garpha balzamithos

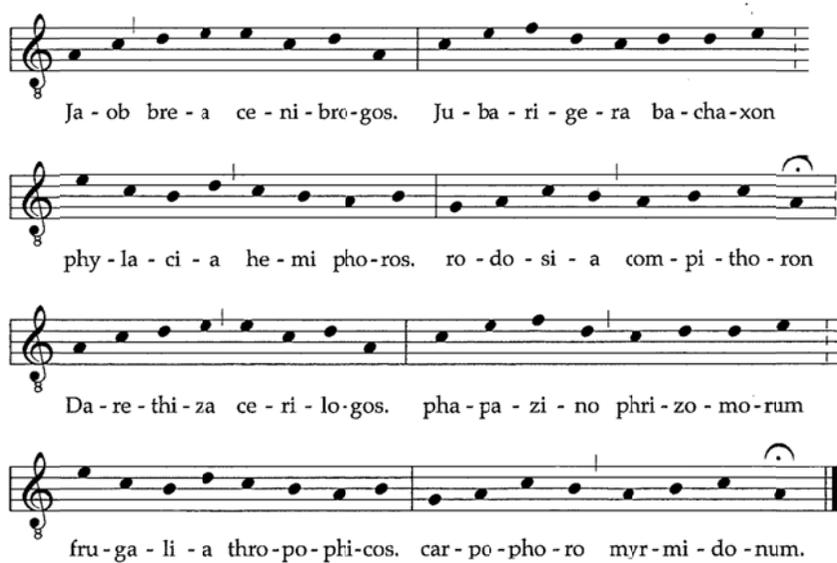


Ge - zi gar - pha bal - za - m - thos. Mel - chi wa - xath his - tri - za - me



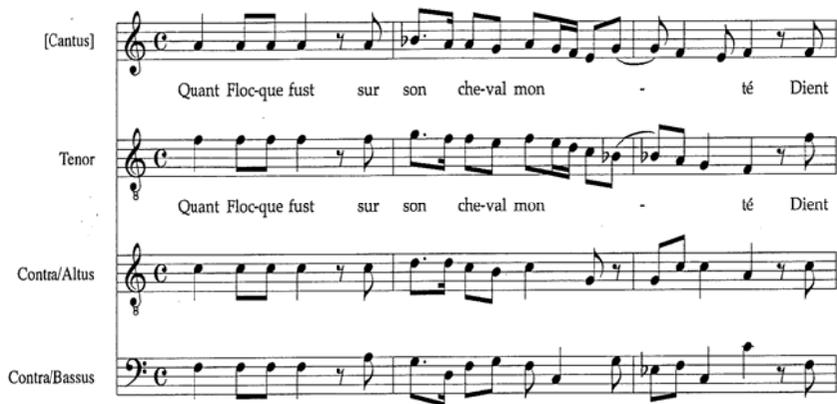
ze - rith ba - xuth a - tha - ra - thos. hy - za - no - ros na - bu sax - den

VINCENT CORRIGAN AND VICKI HAMBLIN



Ja - ob bre - a ce - ni - bro - gos. Ju - ba - ri - ge - ra ba - cha - xon
phy - la - ci - a he - mi pho - ros. ro - do - si - a com - pi - tho - ron
Da - re - thi - za ce - ri - lo - gos. pha - pa - zi - no phri - zo - mo - rum
fru - ga - li - a thro - po - phi - cos. car - po - pho - ro myr - mi - do - num.

Quant Flocque



[Cantus]
Quant Floc-que fust sur son che-val mon - té Dient

Tenor
Quant Floc-que fust sur son che-val mon - té Dient

Contra/Altus

Contra/Bassus

MUSIC AND PERFORMANCE IN THREE FRENCH MYSTERY PLAYS

à ses gens: Ne vous he - bai - és my. Or et ar - gent au -

à ses gens: Ne vous he - bai - és my. Or et ar - gent au -

rons a grante plan - té Et sy au - rons hon - neur et

rons a grante plan - té Et sy au - rons hon - neur et

bon - ne vie. Hé! Hé! Hé! Vau - gué la ga - le - e.

bon - ne vie. Hé! Hé! Hé! Vau - gué la gal - le - e.

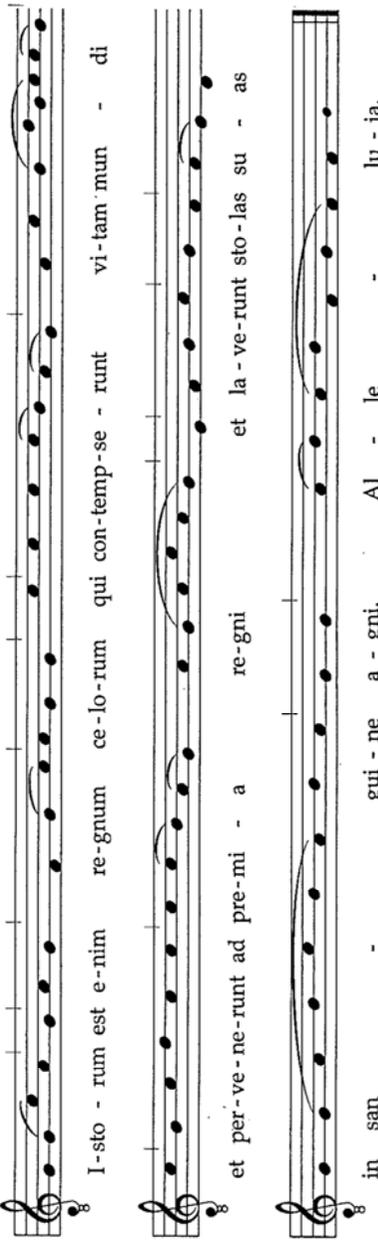
Liturgical pieces

Veni sancte spiritus

Ve - ni san - cte spi - ri - tus, re - ple tu - o - rum cor - da fi - de - li - um,
et tu - i a - mo - ris in e - is i - gnem ac - cen - de:
qui per di - ver - si - ta - tem lin - gua - rum mul - ta - rum gen - tes in u - ni - ta - te
fi - de - i con - gre - ga - sti, Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia.

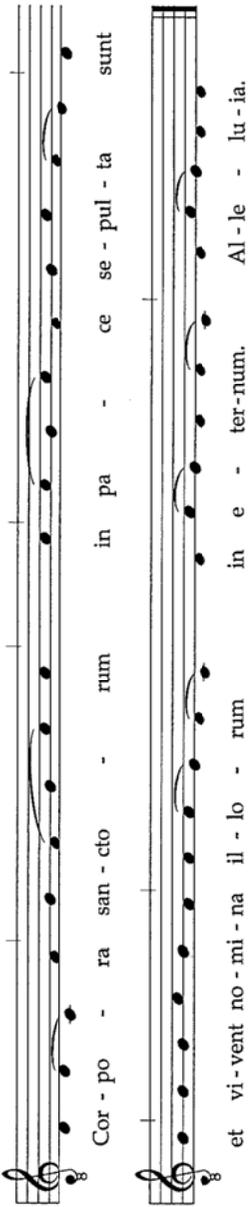
The musical score is written on four staves in G-clef, 8/8 time. The melody is simple and repetitive, with a clear rhythmic pattern. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. The piece is a liturgical setting of the 'Veni sancte spiritus' prayer.

Istorum est enim regnum.



I - sto - rum est e - nim re - gnum ce - lo - rum qui con - temp - se - runt vi - tam mun - di
et per - ve - ne - runt ad pre - mi - a re - gni et la - ve - runt sto - las su - as
in san - gui - ne a - gni. Al - le - lu - ia.

Corpora sanctorum



Cor - po - ra san - cto - rum in pa - ce se - pul - ta sunt
et vi - vent no - mi - na il - lo - rum in e - ter - num. Al - le - lu - ia.

NOTES

1. Grace Frank *The Medieval French Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954) 162.
2. Howard Mayer Brown *Music in the French Secular Theater, 1400–1550* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1963) 42. Elsewhere in the same paragraph, Brown states that: ‘Without music ... the *mystères* and *miracles* would not have been very much different’. These statements need qualification. While it is true that the *mystères* were not sung throughout, as were the earlier liturgical dramas, they were not spoken throughout, and they certainly were not armchair dramas. We hope that the present study provides sufficient evidence of how very different these plays would have been without music.
3. JoAnna Dutka *Music in the English Mystery Plays* (EDAM Reference Series 2; Western Michigan University: Medieval Institute Publications, 1980) 142.
4. See *Le Mystère de Saint Laurent, publié d’après la seule édition gothique et accompagné d’une introduction et d’un glossaire* edited W. S. Söderhjelm and A. Wallensköld in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ* 18 (1891) 111–287.
5. See Graham A. Runnalls ‘Langue de la parole ou langage du geste? *Le mystère de saint Laurent*’ in *Langues, codes et conventions de l’ancien théâtre* edited Jean-Pierre Bordier (Paris: Champion, 2002) 122–34; Vicki L. Hamblin ‘Striking a Pose: Performance Cues in Four French Hagiographic Mystery Plays’ *Comparative Drama* 44.2 (Summer 2010) 131–54; ‘Performance and Place: Mystery Play Productions in Fifteenth–Century Orleans and Seurre’ in *Performance, Drama and Spectacle in The Medieval City: Essays in Honour of Alan Hindley* edited Catherine Emerson, Adrian P. Tudor, and Mario Longtin (Leuven: Peeters, 2010) 73–86).
6. *Le mystère de saint Martin 1496; édité avec une introduction et des notes par André Duplat* (Geneva: Droz, 1979) 48. Duplat does, however, discuss the versification of one of the song texts (99–100).
7. *Le mystère de saint Martin* 48.
8. Graham A. Runnalls ‘The Staging of André de La Vigne’s *Mystère de saint Martin*’ in *Etudes sur les mystères* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998) 355–63.
9. Vicki L. Hamblin ‘Pauses musicales et mise en scène: Comparing the Role of Music in Three Saint Martin Plays’ *European Medieval Drama* 11 (2007) 120.
10. See Yves Le Hir ‘Les indications scéniques dans le *Mystère de Saint Etienne* de Nicolas Loupvent’ *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 42.3 (1980) 661–76; Gordon Kipling ‘Le régisseur toujours sur les planches: Gustave Cohen’s Construction of the Medieval “Meneur du jeu”’ *Medieval English Theatre* 28 (2006) 29–130; and Jacques E. Merceron ‘L’Étrange parole du vilain ou Rusticus dans le théâtre religieux français de la fin du Moyen Âge’ in *Performance, Drama and Spectacle in The Medieval City: Essays in Honour of Alan Hindley* edited

- Catherine Emerson, Adrian P. Tudor, and Mario Longtin (Leuven: Peeters, 2010) 17–46.
11. Borrowing from the social sciences, we use the term ‘fuzzy-set’ in order to constitute a sample group of similarly-complex entities, in this case three French hagiographic mystery plays, which can be shown to share specific features through comparative analysis.
 12. The *St Lawrence* text explicitly identifies four such constructed scaffolds with upper and lower levels. Runnalls’ analysis of *St Martin* finds a similar structure (see note 9). According to Yves Le Hir (‘Les indications scéniques dans le *Mystère de saint Etienne* de Nicolas Loupvent’ *Bibliothèque d’humanisme et renaissance* 42:3 (1980) 664), *St Stephen the Pope’s* staging configuration was also enclosed. Our own analysis proposes a somewhat simpler production type. See Vicki L. Hamblin *Saints at Play: The Performance Features of French Hagiographic Mystery Plays* (Western Michigan University: Medieval Institute Publications, 2012) 141.
 13. We are using the term ‘narrative thread’ to describe a story line in the play, and ‘segment’ to indicate the part of a narrative thread that intersects with another story line (whether related or completely distinct).
 14. This is not the ‘simultaneous staging’ that critics have used to describe the presence of all stage décors and actors before spectators. It constitutes instead a dynamic weaving of narratives that simulates both the passage of time and the reality of great distances. See Pascale Dumont ‘Du texte narrative au drame: codes et conventions d’ordre spatio-temporel dans quelques *Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages*’ in *Langues, codes et conventions de l’ancien théâtre; actes de la troisième rencontre sur l’ancien théâtre européen* edited Jean-Pierre Bordier (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002) 101–120. This type of narrative weaving does not characterise many of the shorter, iconographic saints’ plays which are more linear in their performative structure.
 15. *Mystère de Saint Martin* 120 and *passim*. This and all subsequent translations are ours. This is not the only place in the *Procès verbal* where instruments are mentioned. Trumpet fanfares were used to assemble the players at two different times (*Mystère de saint Martin* 118–19), and again to announce that all shops close and no one carry out business for the three days of the performance (120). Finally, the performance was to have begun on Sunday, but the city was plagued with a rainstorm, and the assembly of civic officials and players marched in procession to the church of St Martin to pray for good weather.
 16. *Le Mystère de Saint Martin* 120 and *passim*.
 17. Yves Le Hir ‘Les indications scéniques dans le *Mystère de Saint Etienne* de Nicolas Loupvent’ *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 42 :3 (1980) 661–76.

18. See *Le Mystère de Saint Laurent publié d'après la seule édition gothique et accompagné d'une introduction et d'un glossaire* edited W. Sonderhjelm and A. Wallensköld in *Acta societatis scientiarum fennicae* 18 (Helsinki: Societatis litterariae fennicae, 1891) 111–287.
19. See Brown *Music in the French Secular Theater* (see note 2).
20. Keith Polk has remarked that the bagpipe (*musette*; *cornemuse*) was preferred over the *buisine* early in the history of the *alte* ensemble. See Keith Polk 'Brass Instruments in Art Music in the Middle Ages' in *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments* edited Trevor Herbert and John Wallace (Cambridge UP, 1997) 45. Perhaps this is the ensemble represented in Fouquet's illustration of the *Mystère de Sainte Apolline* (see note 26).
21. Dijon: Bib. Municipale MS 517 (Dijon Chansonnier), fols 85^v–87^r. Another *chanson*, *Tart ara quaresme prenant* (Dijon Chansonnier, fols 57^v–58^r), uses the same figure, but in note values twice as long.
22. *Le mystère de saint Martin* 159.
23. The *chiamata* was an introductory piece to 'alarm' trumpet calls, and was synonymous with the other terms *intrada*, *toccata*, *tuck*, and *tucket*. *Chiamata* could also refer to the alarm signal itself.
24. See *Grove Music Online* sv *Sennet*. Examples of sennets can be found in Cesare Bendinelli's *Tutta l'arte della trombetta* (1614). He states that sennets could be 'long or short, and used for all situations', just the thing for the *pauses* of various lengths in *St Martin* and *St Stephen the Pope*. Despite its late date, Bendinelli's treatise seems to record trumpet calls of all sorts from the preceding two and a half centuries.
25. Keith Polk 'Voices and Instruments: Soloists and Ensembles in the 15th Century' *Early Music* 18 (May, 1990) 179–98.
26. See the four plates and discussion in Richard Southern *The Medieval Theatre in the Round* (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1975) 91–107. The musicians occupy Scaffold No. 2. They consist of an organist and two other groups: three *buisines* or curved trumpets, and a loud ensemble composed of three instruments that look like two shawms and a bagpipe player. These groups must comprise three separate ensembles, not a single group accompanying the singers.
27. While the *silete* has been equated both with a call for silence and with a call for sacred music in early liturgical dramas, its function in community-based plays seems to have become diluted. In French mystery plays, a call for silence is consistently included at the beginning of a performance (aloud, and in the vernacular language of the play). However, when the term appears in the margins of a mystery play manuscript, it is instead equated with the instrumental *pause* (of varying kinds) that interrupts the spoken narrative of the play.

28. *Le jeu de saint Estienne pape et martire* fol. 14^r. The description recalls God surrounded by the angels and an organ in Brown *Music in the French Secular Theater* PLATE IV.
29. Numerous *didascalia* describing the performance refer to the play's *menestriers* ('minstrels'). See, for instance, *Mystère de saint Martin* edited Duplat 207.
30. On folio 172^v of the *St Stephen* text, for example, the interval consists of *trompetes* and *clairons* who must play *joyeusement* ('joyously') to announce the arrival of the emperor. The trumpet band would have played this music, not the *menestriers*.
31. *Le jeu de saint Estienne pape et martire* fol. 79^r. The devils make a tour of the stage carrying burning flares and other fiery darts, after which the *meneur d jeu* announces the end of Day 1 on fol. 79^r — a suitably spectacular conclusion to the first session.
32. A linear mystery play is one in which the same story line advances from one décor to the next, punctuated by travel and/or musical interludes.
33. Graham Runnalls's analysis of medieval play manuscripts describes early editions as having left out such performance-specific marginalia on purpose. See 'Medieval Actors and the Invention of Printing in Late Medieval France' *EDAM Review* 22 (2000) 59–80.
34. *Le Mystère de Saint Laurent* 154.
35. *Le Mystère de Saint Laurent* 158.
36. *Le Mystère de Saint Laurent* 159.
37. Graham A. Runnalls 'Langage de la parole ou langage du geste? *Le Mystère de saint Laurent*' in *Langues, codes et conventions de l'ancien théâtre* edited Jean-Pierre Bordier (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002) 127.
38. Hamblin *Saints at Play* 202.
39. *Le Mystère de Saint Laurent* 139.
40. While *St Lawrence's* *pauses* all have the same label, *St Stephen's* intervals are short (*pausula*), long (*pause*), and lengthy (*magna* or *grandis*), and *St Martin's* are short (*petite*), long (*maxime*), and extended (*prolix*).
41. The difference between the two plays appears also when the spoken lines of the *St Martin* play are divided by 8/10 in order to compare the two texts more accurately. This is more easily understood when we consider that the surviving session of *St Lawrence* was evidently performed in one long session while the Seurre production was divided into three daily sessions, not unlike *St Stephen's* 15,000 spoken lines and ninety-six musical intervals.
42. For instance: *Pause de cris et hurlemens orribles et sortent tous les deables d'enffer, gectant canons, feu et fusees a puissance* ('Interval with terrible screams and howls

as all the devils emerge from hell, launching plenty of fire, cannon balls and fiery darts' (368).

43. *Le mystère de saint Martin* 226–54.
44. *Le mystère de saint Martin* 232.
45. *Le mystère de saint Martin* 183.
46. *Le mystère de saint Martin* 194.
47. *Le mystère de saint Martin* 207.
48. When God and the angels exit, they sing *ce qu'il leur plaira* ('whatever they choose') and there is no mention of instruments.
49. *Le mystère de saint Martin* 139.
50. *Le mystère de saint Martin* 273.
51. *Le mystère de saint Martin* 393.
52. *Le mystère de saint Martin* 393.
53. This count does not include the sounds that accompany infernal scenes. They are usually referred to with the word *tumult*, not *pause*.
54. *Le jeu de saint Estienne pape et martire* fol. 5^r. The punctuation and diacritical marks in this and subsequent citations are ours.
55. *Le jeu de saint Estienne pape et marire* fol. 13^v.
56. *Le jeu de saint Estienne pape et martire* fol. 25^v.
57. *Le jeu de saint Estienne pape et martire* fol. 14^r.
58. It seems that the actor portraying Trotemenu was a trumpet player, since he carries the instrument and is expected to play it. See, for instance, fol. 90^r: *Trotemenu s'en va devant le temple de Mars ... y commence à tromper de sa trompette troys ou quattres sons* ('Trotemenu leaves for the temple of Mars ... from there he plays three or four notes on his trumpet').
59. *Le jeu de saint Estienne pape et martire* fol. 36^r: *Mais premierement luy convient sonner trois foyz de la trompette ou busine*.
60. This expression could refer to the players present or even to the spectators present.
61. Hamblin *Saints at Play* 211.
62. The text is written into the edition (*La vie de monseigneur saint Laurent* 209), perhaps because it refers specifically to Sixtus, and thus had to be recorded: *Deus, qui genus humanum | Salvasti per tuam mortem, | Tu scuscipe [sic] papam Sixtum | Et fac sanctorum consortem*.
63. This text, also inserted in the manuscript, differs from the standard current hymn text. It reads: *Virginis proles, opisea que matri | Virgo quen iessit, perperit que virgo; | Virginis festum canamus tropheum, | Accipe votum*. The Latin is quite garbled and the editors of the play (see note 4) have corrected some of the

- faulty words: *opiseaque matri* changed to *opifexque matris*; *quen* changed to *quem*; *canamus* changed to *canimus*. They have retained *ieffit*, whereas the current hymn has *gessit*.
64. This does not appear to be a hymn, although it is hymn-like in structure.
 65. See Jacobus de Voragine *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* translated William Granger, 2 vols (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1993), 2 64–5.
 66. *Le Mystère de Saint Laurent* 209.
 67. *Le Mystère de Saint Laurent* 250.
 68. *Le Mystère de Saint Laurent* 250–1. The hymn is used on Trinity Sunday. It should be noted that hymns constituted the entry-level musical training for all those in ecclesiastical service, and would not have required any specialised study or particular musical skill.
 69. Richard Rastall *The Heaven Singing: Music in Early English Religious Drama I* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1996) 86.
 70. The songs are distributed as follows: Day 1: 1 hymn and 3 popular songs; Day 2: 6 hymns; Day 3: 1 popular song and 2 hymns.
 71. Typically, La Vigne's notes tell the players to sing *ainsi qu'ilz voudront* ('as they wish'). See *Le mystère de saint Martin* 555.
 72. *Le mystère de saint Martin* 573.
 73. *Le mystère de saint Martin* 384–5.
 74. First, they seek inspiration (*Le mystère de saint Martin* 394) then they intone the same hymn when Martin refuses his election as bishop (*Le mystère de saint Martin* 416).
 75. *Veni sancte spiritus* also appears in *St Stephen*, where it carries music. There is a sequence *Veni sancte spiritus* used at Pentecost, a much longer work, whose text is less appropriate to the dramatic situation.
 76. *Le mystère de saint Martin* 416: *Qui voudra sur ce point on pourra chanter: VENI CREA[TOR] SPIRITUS et, qui ne voudra, non* ('Those who wish may sing VENI CREA[TOR] SPIRITUS, and those who don't want to, need not').
 77. *Le mystère de saint Martin* 425.
 78. For sources, see Paris: BNF n.a. lat. 1412, fol. 151^r or Prague: Abbey of Strahov, MS D.E.I.7, fol. 2^r.
 79. *Le mystère de saint Martin* edited Duplat 43. The relevant passages in the text are: 364 (*Te Deum*); 385 (*Honor, virtus*); 394 (*Veni sancte spiritus*). The cantor also participates as the cantus part in the unspecified three-part composition, 551–2. Because this passage takes place in the context of a Mass, the piece the group sang was probably an Introit. In the afternoon session of the second day, where many of the works are performed, Jehan Taconot played the cantor,

- according to the list of players that accompanies the text: see *Mystère de saint Martin* 111.
80. The first such occurrence is when Martin joins the order as a monk (*Le mystère de saint Martin* 364). The second is when he is named bishop of Tours (*Le mystère de saint Martin* 418).
 81. See *Le mystère de saint Martin* 121.
 82. The names of the performers who played the parts of the four brigands are known from the *Liste des Personnages*: Le Roy Fallot (Toutlyffault); Pierre Belleville (Souldouvrer); Messire Jousse (Courte Oreille); and Enguerrant (Sote Trongne).
 83. *Le mystère des Trois Doms joué à Romans en 1509* edited Paul-Émile Giraud and Ulysse Chevalier (Lyon: Auguste Brun, 1887) 294. This coincidence, occurring some forty years apart, has been pointed out in another study: see Hamblin *Saints at Play* 210.
 84. *Le mystère de saint Martin* 460. This fragment is too brief for us to know if both of these lines were sung.
 85. Hamblin 'Performance and Place' 85 (see note 5).
 86. Hamblin *Saints at Play* 213.
 87. *Le jeu de saint Estienne pape et martire* fol. 28^r.
 88. Brown *Music in the French Secular Theater* 217.
 89. Brown remarks that the last two items in his list are unrelated to all the other versions. He does not include the organ intabulation.
 90. François Rabelais uses the *Vogue la gualée* tag-line in chapter 3 of *Gargantua*, which was published in Lyon in 1534. See François Rabelais *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Seuil, 1973) 48.
 91. *Le jeu de saint Estienne pape et martire* fol. 89^r.
 92. *Le jeu de saint Estienne pape et martire* fol. 202^r.
 93. *Veni sancte spiritus* (fols 13^v-14^r); *Istorum est* (fol. 166^v); *Corpora sanctorum* (fols 168^r and 193^r).
 94. *Isti sunt* (fol. 189^r); *Dico vobis* (fol. 189^v).
 95. *Le jeu de saint Estienne pape et martire* fol. 233^r.
 96. The *alleluia* that concludes the chant implies that it was taken from the Common in Paschal Time.
 97. *Le jeu de saint Estienne pape et martire* fol. 167^v.
 98. *Le jeu de saint Estienne pape et martire* fol. 189^v.
 99. *Le jeu de saint Estienne pape et martire* fol. 76^v.
 100. *Le jeu de saint Estienne pape et martire* fol. 106^v.
 101. *Le jeu de saint Estienne pape et martire* fol. 14^r.

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102. *Le jeu de saint Estienne pape et martire* fol. 25^v.
103. *Le mystère de saint Martin* 38.
104. *Brown Music in the French Secular Theater* 42.
105. *Le mystère de saint Laurent* 284. A similar scene plays out in *Le mystère de saint Martin* (584). By contrast, Loupvent's *meneur du jeu* invites the audience to stay on for a short farce composed by the players themselves (*Le jeu de saint Estienne pape et martire* fol. 246^v).
106. *Le Mystère de Saint Laurent* 139, 143, 145, 155, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 165, et *passim*.
107. See Runnalls (note 5).