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AN INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN AND THEOLOGICAL
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CORPUS CHRISTI FESTIVAL AND
PROCESSION, AND THEIR RELATION TO THE
CORPUS CHRISTI PLAYS.

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A T h e s i s

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INTRODUCTORY

The origin of the Corpus Christi Plays, so far as their connection with the Corpus Christi festival is concerned, has, till now, been hedged about with a great deal of uncertainty. Some few investigators have indeed broached the subject, but with rather indifferent results. In the early days of research in the Pre-Shakesperian drama, Sharpe, Davies, Klein and Anz made some occasional striking remarks, and, more recently, Ungemach, Hohlfeld, Chambers, Gayley, and Spencer, together with numerous others, have even ventured some general conclusions. However, the lack of thorough research is apparent. The writers, in every case, had a particular object in view, and therefore touched upon the relationship between the plays and the festival of the same name only in a rather incidental fashion. And the theological significance of the Corpus Christi procession and plays has never engaged the attention of any investigator.

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The present writer has attempted to take away a little of the uncertainty in regard to the relationship and significance of the Corpus Christi festival, its procession, and the plays of the same name. He was fortunate enough to find some hitherto overlooked entries which are quite valuable for the purpose of clearing up some obscure points. The general outline of the paper is as follows:

I. Problem of the origin and theological significance of the Corpus Christi festival and its procession.

- A. Reasons for introduction of the festival:
 - a. Not the commonly accepted version,
 - b. But theological, doctrinal reasons; ecclesiastical polity.
- B. The introduction of the procession.
- C. The purpose of the procession.
- D. Conclusions.

II. Relation of festival and procession to the plays.

- A. Outline of the development of the liturgical play.

B. The Corpus Christi plays.

a. The records.

b. The theories hitherto advanced.

c. Discussion.

C. Final conclusions.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE FESTIVAL OF CORPUS CHRISTI.

The origin of the Corpus Christi Festival has, to some extent, been shrouded in mystery. This fact has tended to accentuate the impression of the festival itself on the minds of the laity as well as to emphasize the importance of some persons alleged to have been instrumental in instituting the festival, as will be shown. An examination of all extant and available records will enable us to separate legend from history, to show the chronological sequence of events, to consider the relative importance of the various factors which resulted in the institution of the central festival of the Roman Catholic Church, and thus to give an unbiased account of the establishment of the festival. This is evidently a prime requisite for the successful treatment of the topic of this paper.

The Catholic account, which is repeated by almost every liturgist (Gueranger, R.R., *The Liturgical Year*, Vol. VII, 1, p.155 FF; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*,

sub. "Corpus Christi Festival"; Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, sub. "Corpus Christi", and "Bolsena, Miracle of"; Encyclopedia Britannica; Brockhaus, Konversationslexikon; Meyer, Konversationslexikon; Alt, "Das Kirchenjahr" p. 57 ff., "Der Christliche Kultus", p.550 ff; mentioned by Gieseler, "Kirchengeschichte", II, 2, p.448; not cited by Bäumer, "Geschichte des Breviers"), is probably based on the book "Vita benedictae Julianae ab auctore coaevo scripta" and on the narrative of Joannes Blaerus Diesthemius, prior of the Benedictine Monastery Sancti Jacobi at Liege, in his "Historia revelationis benedictae Julianae anno 1230 divinitus factae de institutione festi Corporis Christi". The story is substantially as follows.

It was in the year 1208 that Juliana, now usually called the Blessed Juliana, a member of the Congregation of Hospitallers and prioress of Mont Cornillon, near Liege, had a mysterious vision in which she beheld the moon at its full, but with a hollow on its disc. The vision, which she at first thought an illusion, continued to haunt her whenever she said her prayers. After

two years of supplication she received a revelation. The moon, she was told, signified the Church as it then was, and the hollow on the disc expressed the want of one more solemnity in the liturgical year, a want which God willed should be supplied by the introduction of a feast to be kept annually in honor of the institution of the blessed Eucharist. The solemn commemoration made of the Last Supper on Maundy Thursday was no longer sufficient "for the children of the Church, shaken as they had been by the influences of heresy" (Gueranger). Besides, the Church itself had its attention divided on that day by the important function of the washing of feet, followed, a few hours later, by the sad mysteries of Good Friday. When Juliana received this command, she was at the same time told to make known to the world these revelations. Juliana confided everything to her friend Eva, but she herself was so timid and humble that she did not dare to mention the matter to persons in authority. Finally, after twenty years, she gained sufficient courage to mention the subject to a Canon of St. Martin's of Liege, named John of Lausanne, whom she respected very highly.

She begged him, at this time, to get the opinion of theologians on the subject confided to her. The consensus of opinion among the leaders of the Church in the district was that the institution of a festival as suggested was not only feasible, but would, no doubt, redound to the glory of God and the benefit of many souls. This favorable opinion encouraged Juliana to such an extent that she herself had a proper Office for the new festival composed and approved. It has been stated that she chose a young unknown cleric by the name of John to compose the liturgy, who had refused the honor at first but finally succeeded with the aid of her prayers. The office begins with the words: "Animarum cibus". Portions of it are extant in missals and breviaries.

The festival of Corpus Christi was first celebrated in the church of Liege. Robert de Torote, Bishop of the diocese, in 1246 published a synodical decree commanding that each year on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday there should be observed in all the churches of the diocese a solemn feast in honor of the Blessed

Sacrament. The passage reads: "Ut de excellentissimo Sacramento singulis annis feria quinta proxima post octavas Trinitatis festum solemne cum novem lectionibus et responsoriis, versiculis et antiphonis propriis, quorum vobis copiam faciemus, in singulis ecclesiis Leodiensis diocesis de caetero perpetualiter celebretis" (Binterim, Denkwürdigkeiten, p.276 ff). The usual desistance from servile work and the fasting of preparation on the eve of the feast was ordered. But Bishop Robert died at this time and the decree would probably have been forgotten had not the Canons of Saint Martin-au-Mont determined upon the observance of the new festival. In 1247 the festival was celebrated for the first time in this church. But Robert's successor, Henry de Gueldre, took no interest in the new festival. It happened, however, about this time that Hugh de Saint Cher, Cardinal of Saint Sabina and Legate to Germany, came to Liege. He had formerly been Prior and Provincial in the Order of St. Dominic, and had been one of the theologians who had passed favorably on the idea of the new festival. He not only celebrated the new feast with great solemnity

himself, but also issued a circular dated Dec. 29, 1253, which he addressed to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and Faithful of the territory of his legation, and in which he ordered the festival to be observed. He even granted one hundred days indulgence to all who, contrite, and after confession of their sins, should, on the feast itself, or during its octave, devoutly visit a church in which the office of Corpus Christi was being celebrated. His successor, the Cardinal of St. George in Velabro, confirmed and renewed the ordinance. The opposition of the Franciscans, however, was still so strong that the observance of the feast did not spread far. All consistent effort was terminated by the death of Juliana in 1258.

On the 29th of August, 1261, James Pantaleon ascended the papal throne under the name of Urban IV. He had formerly been an archdeacon of Liege and had been interested in the festival. Eva now took occasion to remind the new pope of the festival in a letter of congratulation through the Bishop of Liege, Henry de Gueldre. Since the miracle of Bolsena was recorded at this time, and several other incidents made a deep impression on Urban IV., he

determined to make the new feast general. Thomas of Aquin was commissioned in 1263 to compose a new office for the Festival to supersede the one which Juliana had had prepared, and which had been adapted to the ancient liturgy of France. In 1264 Pope Urban IV. issued the bull "Transiturus", permanently establishing the Feast of Corpus Christi for the whole Catholic Church. (For complete text, see Appendix). In this decree, the fifth feria after the Octave of Pentecost (*feria quinta proxima post octavam Pentecostes*), that is, the Thursday after Trinity, was designated as the day set apart for the new festival. The principal reason for the institution is stated in the words: On Maundy Thursday the Church was too much occupied with the reconciliation of the penitents, with the Holy Chrism, and with the ceremony of the washing of feet. The object of the new festival was mainly "*ad confundendam specialiter haereticorum perfidiam et insaniam*". The Bull closes with a list of indulgences granted to all the faithful who would attend the various services of the festival.

Although the decree of the Pope was now, theo-

retically, a law in the Church, it nevertheless remained a dead letter for the time being. This was due mainly to the disturbances in Italy at that period. It was not till 1311 that the Bull was again promulgated. But even then its publication was attended with difficulties. It was Pope Clement V. who, at the Council of Vienne, in 1311, had the decree confirmed. But since he at the same Council recalled the Clementine Constitutions, the seventh Book of Papal Decretals, a sort of confusion seems to have resulted as to the validity of all decretals published by him. However, order was restored by his successor, Pope John XXII. This able and energetic man renewed the Clementine Constitutions and incorporated them in the Papal Law, inserting also the entire Bull "Transiturus" and adding the order for the procession, "Clemens quintus....
.....septimum librum Decretalium quae constitutiones Clementinianaee vocantur, ordinavit, sed cito post in concilio quod apud Viennam celebraverat, eundem librum revocavit, quem tamen successor suus Papa Johannes XXII innovavit, incorporavit, et publicavit.....Anno MCCCXVI.....
Johannes XXII. post Clementem quintum sedit Papa annis

circiter XVIII, qui septimum librum Decretalium innovavit" (Annales Monastici, Ed. by Henry Richards Luard, IV., 341,344).

In this account, which is substantially that of the best Catholic sources, fact and legend are intermingled. In our all too scientific age we do not readily credit visions of that kind. It was undoubtedly not veneration for the Blessed Juliana which was the reason for the introduction of the festival. The remarks and notes of Giese-ler (Lehrb. d. Kirchengesch., II, 2, 448) in this connection are worth considering. "Dem kann aber nicht so sein", he writes in regard to the conventional account, "denn der Cistercienser Aegidius, ein Zeitgenosse (er endigt seine Geschichte mit 1251) gedenkt in seinen Gestis pontificum Leodiensium, obgleich er sonst kein Wunder verschmähnt, und auch der durch Robert bewirkten Erhöhung der Feier des Lambertus festes erwähnt, dieses Festes mit keiner Silbe. Der erste Lüttichische Geschichtsschreiber, der über dasselbe spricht, Joannes Hocsemius (Kanonicus in Luttich um 1348), Gesta pontificum Leodiensium sagt nur Folgendes: Anno vero Domini 1259 (vel forte 1260 cum tunc

secundum quosdam Urbanus praeesse coeperit) Henricus
Episcopus instinctu cuiusdam Reclusae juxta Ecclesiam
s. Fidis, cui de sacramento fuit ostensa visio, Urbano
Papae quarto (cui nihilominus haec nota fuerat, cum du-
dum fuisset Canonicus Leodinesis [nämlich bis 1255])
super hoc suas literas destinavit, quibus inductus Papa
hoc festum instituit celebrari, quod ex tunc a Leodinen-
sibus est receptum, et postmodum continue per plures
Ecclesias in Germania et Francia a Clero et populo cele-
bratum, sed demum per alias universaliter recipitur Ec-
clesias, cum Joannes Papa XXII. constitutionem Urbani
super hoc factam, quae incipit Transiturus de hoc mundo
ad Patrem (quam Clemens Papa V. observari districte praece-
perat ab omnibus in Concilio Viennensi), fecisset cum
caeteris Clementinis constitutionibus celebrari. Die
folgenden Luttichischen Geschichtschreiber Joannes Ultra-
mosanus und Joannes Warnantius Wissen nicht mehr darü-
ber. Erst 1496 schrieb Joannes Blaerus Diesthemius,
Prior des Benediktinerklosters Sancti Jacobi in Lüstich,
seine Historia revelationis benedictae Julianae anno
1230 divinitus factae de institutione festi corporis

Christi, wo alles, selbst der Name Juliane, neu ist .
Onuphrius Panvinius (+1558) erklärte daher wohl mit vol-
lem Rechte alle jene Revelationes für Fabeln". A criti-
cal examination of the book "Vita benedictae Julianae ab
auctore coaevo scripta", which appeared even later, would
undoubtedly prove the writing an attempt "ex post facto"
to substantiate legendary claims.

After culling out all legendary fancies, then,
the following facts will remain, which we present in form
of a table:

- 1246, Synodical decree of Robert de Torote, es-
tablishing the feast in his diocese;
- 1247, First celebration;
- 1253, Dec. 29th, circular of Cardinal Hugh de St.
Cher, extending the territory of the cele-
bration over his entire legation;
- 1263, Composition of the Office for the Corpus
Christi Festival by Thomas of Acquin;
- 1264, The Bull "Transiturus";
- 1311, Confirmation of the festival at Council of
Vienna, Pope Clement V.;

1316, Renewal and incorporation of decree into
Clementines (Canon Law) by John XXII.

Arguments of probability and facts of history thus compel us to reject the sentimental veneration for Juliana of Liege as a reason for the introduction of the festival. In order to find the real reason for the introduction of the Corpus Christi Festival we are obliged to trace the history of the doctrine of transsubstantiation briefly from its inception and thus see whether logical sequence and the evolution of dogma were not determining factors in the establishment of the festival, in brief, that ecclesiastical polity made the step of the institution "festi Corporis Domini" necessary.

The idea of an actual physical change of elements taking place in the Eucharist, that bread is converted into the body and wine into the blood of Christ, may have been broached at a pretty early date, as Gieseler notes, though the teaching of Augustine makes this improbable. In the ninth century, however, the concept of transsubstantiation, as we now know it, is plainly found. We find the idea stated plainly in the writings

of Paschasius Radbertus (born at Soissons, near Paris, about 786, died at Corbie, near Amiens, about 865). In his "Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini", 831, he expressly states: "Nihil aliud quam caro Christi et sanguis post consecrationem credenda sunt. - Substantia panis et vini in Christi carnem et sanguinem efficaciter interius commutatur", and in his "Epistola de corpore et sanguine Domini ad Frudegardum", who had opposed him: "Cum ait (Christus) hoc est corpus meum vel caro mea, seu hic est sanguis meus, non aliam puto insinuisse, quam propriam et quae nata est de Maria, virgine, et pependit in cruce neque sanguinem alium, quam qui profusus est in cruce, et tunc erat in proprio corpore". He was followed in his views by Florus, subdeacon of Rheims, Hincmar of the same city, Remigius, and Pseudo-Alcuin. But the new idea also found strong and influential opponents. Rhabanus Maurus (born at Mainz, between 776 and 784, died near there 856) in his "Epistola ad Heribaldum Antissidorensem Episcopum" and in his "De institutione clericorum" declares the assumption of a physical change to be absurd. Ratramnus (monk of

Corbie, died after 868) was just as outspoken in his denunciation of the new doctrine. He addressed his "De corpore et sanguine liber ad Carolum Regem" on the subject to Charles the Bald. In the next two centuries there was no material change in the status of the controversy. About the middle of the XII. century the concept of Paschasius had not yet been accepted generally. But the controversy with Berengar of Tours (born perhaps at Tours, died 1088 on the Island St. Cosine, near there) served to bring matters to a climax. Berengar had openly declared himself against the idea of transsubstantiation. In his "Epistola ad Laufrancum" in regard to the controversy he had declared his adherence to the ideas of Ratramnus (which were at that time attributed to Johannes Scotus Erigena), and had said that, if he were pronounced an heretic, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, "ut de caeteris taceam", would come under the same heading. Berengar did not stand alone in his views. Heriger, Abbot of Laubes, and the Anglo-Saxon Aelfric were opponents of the teaching of Paschasius. This should be noted here to understand the bitterness with which the contro-

versy was carried on as well as the fixation of the dogma in detail which it resulted in. But Berengar was the only one that had the courage of his convictions. He was attacked most bitterly by Laufranc (lived at Pavia, in Normandy, till the Berengarian controversy; since 1070 Archbishop of Canterbury, died 1089) in his "De Eucharistia". The controversy lasted for about three decades and was the subject at several Councils and Synods (Vercelli, Rome 1059 and 1078). Berengar was summoned several times and a refutation forced upon him. After he had revoked his last refutation, he was permitted to spend his last years quietly. It should be noted that he opposed only the idea of transsubstantiation, but did not deny the real presence.

Now although Berengar's views had been declared heretical, his influence remained. There were always some few who refused to accept transsubstantiation. Zacharias Episcopus Chrysopolitanus (about 1157) wrote in "Commentarius in Monotessaron": "Sunt nonnulli, imo forsan multi, sed vix notari possunt, qui cum damnato Berengario idem sentiunt, et tamen eundem cum

Ecclesia damnant. In hoc videlicet damnant eum, quia formam verborum Ecclesiae abjiciens, nuditate sermonis scandalum movebat.....Aliis verolatenter imponunt, quod non intelligant tropos es figuratas locutiones. Illud quoque maxime dirident, quod panis et vini species dicunt in aëre apparere." Algerus Presbyter at Liege, in his "Prologus in librum de Sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini" gives a few of the ideas which were held: "Alii panem et vinum non mutatum, sed solum sacramentum, sicut aquam baptismatis, vel oleum chrismatis, corpus Christi non vere, sed figurate vocari dicunt. - Alii autem dicunt, panem non solum Sacramentum, sed in pane Christum quasi impanatum, sicut Deum in carne personaliter incarnatum. Alii autem panem et vinum in carnem et sanguinem mutari, sed non Christi, sed cuiuslibet filii hominis sancti et Deo accepti, ut compleatur, quod Christus dixit: Nisi manducaveritis, etc. Alii autem gratiae Dei derogantes dicunt, sacerdotum malis meritis ita invocationem divini nominis annullari, ut eorum indigna consecratione non debeat panis in Christi carnem converti. Alii vero mutari quidem in carnem Christi, sed malis meritis sumen-

tium non permanere carnem Christi, sed iterum reverti in purum sacramentum panis et vini. Alii, quod est deterius, dicunt, per comestionem in foedae digestionis converti corruptionem." So we find the ideas of impanation and consubstantiation having adherents, as well as that of transsubstantiation. It must be remembered, however, that the term "transsubstantiation" was not coined till the latter part of the XI. century. Pietro Domiani uses it in his "Expositio canonis Missae", Hildebert, Archbishop of Tours, in his "Sermo XCIII. synodicus ad sacerdotes"; Stephen, Bishop of Autun, 1113-1129, in his "Tractatus de sacramento altaris" uses the verb transsubstantiare: "hoc est corpus meum, i.e. panem, quem accepi, in corpus meum transsubstantiavi".

If anything could have urged the Roman Curia at this time to have the controversy settled as speedily as possible and the doctrine fixed, it was the fact that minor questions, such as the mode and duration of the change, were beginning to agitate the minds of some teachers. Anselm of Canterbury, the successor of Lanfranc, had already touched upon the question of communion under

one form and claimed: "In utraque specie totum Christum sumi." The fourth Lateran Council, 1215, fixed the dogma proper by stating: "Una vero est fidelium universalis Ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur. In qua idem ipse sacerdos et sacrificium Jesus Christus, cuius corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, transsubstantiatis pane in corpus et vino in sanguinem potestate divina ut ad perficiendum mysterium unitatis accipiamus ipsi de suo, quod accepit ipse de nostro. Et hoc utique sacramentum nemo potest conficere, nisi sacerdos, qui fuerit rite ordinatus secundum claves Ecclesiae, quas ipse concessit Apostolis et eorum successoribus Jesus Christus." It should be noted here that not merely the doctrine is fixed, but also the power of the priests clearly defined. If we add to this the fact that the elevation of the monstrance was required by papal law in 1217, we have a pretty clear picture of the trend of teaching and polity.

The next questions concerned the manner of transsubstantiation and the duration of the change. Of greater importance for our purpose, however, is the

gradual withdrawal of the chalice. In the case of communion of children and of the sick, it had long been the custom to dip the bread into the wine and thus to administer the Sacrament. In the XII. century this practice became a more general custom, based on the assertion of Anselm quoted above. Rudolph, Abbot of St. Trone near Liege, wrote the following:

"Hic et ibi cautela fiat, ne presbyter degris
Aut sanis tribuat laicis de sanguine Christi;
Nam fundi posset leviter, simplexque putaret,
Quod non sub specie sit totus Jesus utraque."

Robert Pulleyn (about 1140) wrote: "Primo corpus, post sanguis a presbyteris est sumendus; institutio Christi mutanda non est. Verum qualiter a laicis eucharistia sumi deberet, sponsae suae commisit iudicio", so long as the laity receive the body (bread). The universal acceptance of this idea did not take place, however, till after the time of Thomas of Aquin (born about 1225 at Roccasecca, 75 miles from Rome; died at Fossanova, Italy, 1274), whose influence was almost decisive. He writes in his "Summa Theologiae": "Sub utraque specie sacramenti

totus est Christus, aliter tamen et aliter. Nam sub speciebus panis est quidem corpus Christi ex vi sacramenti, sanguis autem ex reali concomitantia, sicut supra dictum est de anima et divinitate Christi. Sub speciebus vero vini est quidem sanguis Christi ex vi sacramenti: corpus autem Christi ex reali concomitantia". The omission of the chalice was defended by Thomas in the same book: "Utrum liceat sumere corpus Christi sine sanguine? ---Provide in quibusdam Ecclesiis observatur, ut populo sanguis sumendus non detur, sed solum a sacerdote sumatur". We might note here that the views of Thomas were embodied in the Roman Catechism: "The substance of bread and wine is so changed into the very body of the Lord that the substance of bread and wine entirely ceases to be, etc. " Bonaventure, although a Franciscan, and therefore really opposed to the Dominicans, nevertheless agreed with Thomas on this point and wrote: "Ideo fideles recipiunt perfectum sacramentum sub una specie, quia ad efficaciam recipiunt" (Senkutiæ, Liber IV.). Since that time (about 1260) the Dominicans and Franciscans united on the "communio sub una."

There now remains the question of the latria or adoration of the host to discuss. After the rite of elevation had been made obligatory by papal law, and transubstantiation become a dogma of the Church, the next step was so obvious as almost to be self-evident. After some preliminary local ordinances, Gregory X. (Pope 1271-1276) made the law: "In elevatione corporis Christi, cum antea parum debeant surgere, prosternant se ad terram, et adorent reverenter in facies cadendo: et sic prostrati stent usque ad Per omnia, ante Agnus dei, et dant pacem, et iterum se prosternunt, et stant sic prostrati, quousque sacerdos corpus et sanguinem sumat." This practice of the adoration of the host was always upheld and defended with the greatest fervor by the Roman Church. Bellarmin, in his "De Eucharistia" writes: "Cultu latriae per se et proprie Christus est adorandus, et ea adoratio ad symbola etiam panis et vini pertinet, quatenus apprehenduntur, ut quid unum cum Christo, quem continent." The Council of Trent, which fixes the dogma of transubstantiation once more, as well as all the customs connected with it, says (Sess. 13, De Eucharistia):

"Nullus dubitandi locus relinquitur, quin omnes Christi fideles pro more in ecclesia Christi semper recepto latræ cultum, qui vero Deo debetur, huic sacramento sanctissimo in veneratione exhibeant, neque enim ideo minus adorandum, quod fuerit a Christo domine, ut sumatur, institutum."

From this brief survey of the history of the concept of transsubstantiation and its attendant factors four points stand out for the purpose of our argument:

1. The idea of transsubstantiation itself;
2. The celebration of the Eucharist under one species;
3. The emphasis on the power of the priests;
4. The adoration of the host.

The doctrine was the center, the very core of the Roman Catholic dogma. It was a stronghold which had to be held at all costs, now that it had been established and its importance recognized. It cannot be surprising then that the idea of a festival for the glorification of this central dogma of Romanism and its attendant features was hailed with delight by the leaders of the Church. The doctrine itself was emphasized on the proposed festival,

it was the "festum corporis Domini"; the host was magnified, the consecrated bread being exhibited before the assembled multitude; the power of the priests was demonstrated; and, finally, the adoration of the host was insisted upon and practiced.

The theologians that passed on the feast may have gotten the original idea of the institution of such a festival from Liege, Robert de Torote probably being the father of the thought; the leaders of the church gladly accepted the story of the vision of Juliana for the sake of the credulous laity; but there can be no doubt that the real and only reason for the institution of the festival of Corpus Christi was ecclesiastical polity, as outlined above.

This impression is strengthened when we consider, in addition to the foregoing, the question of indulgences in connection with the festival. Urban IV., in the Bull "Transiturus" establishing the festival, says concerning indulgences: "Nos enim Christi fideles ad colendum tantum festum et celebrandum donis volentes spiritualibus animore, omnibus vere poenitentibus et

confessis, qui matutinali officio festi ejusdem in ecclesia, in qua idem celebrabitur, interfuerint, centum; qui vero missae totidem; qui autem in primis ipsius festi vespers interfuerint, similiter centum; qui vero in secundis, totidem; illis vero qui primae, tertiae, sextae, nonae, ac completorii officiis interfuerint, pro qualibet horarum ipsorum, quadraginta, illis autem qui per octavas illius festi matutinalibus, vespertinis, Missae ac praedictarum horarum officiis interfuerint, centum dies, singulis octavarum suarum diebus, in omnipotentis Dei misericordia, ac beatorum apostolorum eius Petri et Pauli autoritate confisi, de injunctis sibi poenitentiis relaxamus." The sum of indulgences for the Corpus Christi day alone would, according to this, amount to 460 days. If, in addition to that, one attended matins, vespers, and mass, together with the canonical hours on any other day of the Corpus Christi octave, a hundred days indulgences for each day was granted. This fact explains the entry of "a thousand days' pardon" in some books and proclamations, this being, in a round sum, the total of the indulgences granted.

The object of the special unusually high pardon was to make the festival as attractive as possible to the great mass, to get the laity interested, and also to impress them with the greatness of the power of the pope and the priests. This last idea is emphasized very strongly to this day. This may also be sufficient to explain the Chester record of 1544, in which we are told that "Henry Fraunces.....obtaind and gave of Clement, then beyng [bushop of Rome, a thousand] daies of pardon, and of the Busshop of Chester at that time beyng X^{ti} daies of pardon graunted from thensforth to every person, etc." (Chambers, Vol. II, p.349). If nothing else, it at least shows us what stress was laid on everything connected with play cycles that represented the story of the redemption. How important this is from the standpoint of the clergy, will be shown later.

This same reason of ecclesiastical polity, of a definite plan and object from the viewpoint of the Church, stands out very prominently also when we examine the Corpus Christi office, as composed by Thomas of Aquin. The idea of transsubstantiation is defined. "The

Word Incarnate, by a word, From bread his own flesh di-
vine, And from pure wine his blood prepared";

"After the Paschal Lamb, when the feast's course
was run,

Gave he his body entire to each single one";

"In the Sacrament the substance of bread and wine
is changed into the body and blood of Christ";

"That true bread to flesh is turned,

Is in Christian dogma learned,

And to blood the holy wine."

There is also a full copy of that part of the Bull
"Transiturus" dealing of the indulgences: "To all those
being truly penitent and having confessed their sins,
who are present at the office of Matins in a church in
which it is celebrated, he (the pope) granted an in-
dulgence, to endure forever, of a hundred days from the
penances they have incurred; for being present at Mass,
the same number, and similarly to those hearing the
first and second vespers; to those present at prime,
terce, sext, and compline, - forty days for each part of
the office; to those hearing the offices of matins,

vespers, and mass, and the hours mentioned before, during the octave - on each of the days, a hundred days." The entire office of Corpus Christi seems to point to the reason for and the object of the festival, as they have been outlined above. Werner, in his "Der heilige Thomas von Acquinas", makes the statement that the institution of the Corpus Christi Festival was one of the chief purposes of Acquin's life and that he urged Urban IV. to establish the same. This again points to the same conclusion: that it was not veneration for a poor religious and her visions which prompted Urban IV. to issue the order for the establishment of the Corpus Christi Festival, but rather that this central festival of the Roman Church was the result of the consistent development of the dogma of transubstantiation and its attendant features. The argument, no doubt, was this: Since the institution of a festival as outlined will present the sum total of the plan of salvation with its central idea of a vicarious sacrifice, since it will enhance the glory of the Church and the power of the priests, we ought to have it, and with all the splendor and impres-

siveness we can summon to our aid.

The impressiveness of the festival was made necessary by its theological significance. And no one was better equipped to bring out the one by keeping the other constantly in mind than Thomas of Acquin. His office for the Feast of Corpus Christi is a liturgical masterpiece. If we want to understand the theological significance of the later attendant features of Corpus Christi day, especially the plays, we must have a good idea of the scope of the Corpus Christi office and its symbolism. That the concept of transsubstantiation was sufficiently emphasized in the office, we have seen above. But the office embraces a great deal more. This is hinted at, when the reason for the establishment is given: "In order that the faithful, by the entire office of the feast, might recall the institution of so great a sacrament." Accordingly, the sacrificial character of the death of Christ is emphasized: "His body he offered as a sacrifice for our reconciliation on the altar of the cross to God, the Father"; "To thee, O Lord of earth and heaven, Be glory everlastingly, who life for us hast

likewise given." The fact that the vicarious sacrifice of Christ is given such prominence is significant, because it thereby reaches backward to Adam and forward to eternal bliss. The salient points in the entire plan of redemption are touched upon. We have allusions to the Paschal Lamb, Christ the Paschal Lamb, the Lamb, the Sacrifice of a Kid on the evening of the Paschal Festival, The Slaying of Isaac, the Offering Isaac Bore, King Melchisedek, King David, Treading the Press, the Holy Prophets, Bread from Heaven, Manna's Store, Bread which the Lord hath Given, the Going out of Egypt, Elijah's Meal of the Hearth-Cakes, The Manger Birth, the Visit at Simon the Leper's, The Sacrifice on the Cross, the Lord's Supper. The fall of Adam is presupposed and implied in the entire office. Before continuing, it will be of advantage to us to tabulate the references, to present their parallelism with the cycle plays.

The liturgy presents:

The creation,
The Slaying of Isaac,
The offering Isaac bore,
King Melchisedek,
The sacrifice of a kid on the evening of the
Paschal festival,

The Paschal Lamb,
The going out of Egypt,
Bread from Heaven,
Manna's Store,
King David,
Elijah's meal of the hearth-cakes,
The Holy Prophets,
Treading the press,
The manger birth,
The ministry of Christ,
The visit at Simon the leper's,
The Lord's Supper,
The Lamb,
The sacrifice on the cross.

The cycle plays present:
The creation,
Abraham and Melchisedek,
Abraham and Isaac,
Moses and the Exodus,
Moses in the wilderness,
David,
Prophetae,
Nativity,
Ministry of Christ,
Visit at Simon the Leper's,
Last Supper,
Crucifixion,
Death of Jesus.

It will be noted that the principal events in the order of salvation are presented in either case. That these allusions and quotations in the liturgy were by no means accidental or for the purpose of mere liturgical embellishment is evident from the words of the office: "He (Christ) instituted this sacrament as a perpetual memo-

rial of his passion, the fulfillment of olden types, .
the greatest of the miracles he performed, and he left to
those saddened by his absence a singular consolation."
In one of the hymns of the office we are told that the
mystery of the Eucharist was

"In divers types foreshown of yore,
In the offering Isaac bore,
In Paschal Lamb, and manna's store
To our sires contributed."

And besides giving a summary of the plan of redemption
the final end and object of salvation is plainly stated:
"Since men desire meat and drink that they may neither
hunger nor thirst, this verily none can bring about save
only that meat and drink that maketh them who partake of
it immortal and incorruptible, namely that fellowship of
the saints where dwelleth peace, and the fullness of per-
fect unity"; "To thee, O Lord of earth and heaven, Be
glory everlastingly, Who life for us hast likewise given,
In our own Father's home to see." We may add, also, that
the entire tendency of the office is toward this object,
and the climax is wonderfully effective. O'Neill says of

this work of St. Thomas: "The glory of the Sacrament was the object of his work." Werner is even more emphatic in his praise. He writes of the Corpus Christi office:

"Man hat dies Wrk mit Recht eine grozartige liturgische Epopäe genannt; in der Conception desselben offenbart sich die Meisterschaft eines erhabenen Geistes, in Wahl und Zusammenstellung seiner Bestandstücke wurde die Idee des Festes erst zum vollständigen Ausdruck gebracht. Er feiert den Frieden und die Glorie des neuen Jerusalems, die aus geheimnisvollen Tiefen entströmenden Quellen seiner fortgesetzten himmlischen Erneuerung die gnadenreiche Herrlichkeit der Kirche des neuen Bundes, unter bildlicher Veranschaulichung durch die prophetischen Typen der Kirche des alten Bundes und begeisterter Anticipation der zukünftigen Glorie der im Genusse Gottes seligen Gemeinde der Heiligen" (p.792). Summing up these rather extravagant remarks, we have this plain fact that the office of Corpus Christi was to demonstrate and symbolize the glory of the Church, as based upon the plan of redemption shown in the Old and New Testament, and finally the glory of the Church Triumphant. There is

every reason, then, to speak of a dramatic element in the Corpus Christi liturgy, as shown in its office. Gayley, whom we quote not because of the conclusiveness of his arguments, but because of a happy faculty of hitting on fitting expressions, in "English Comedies" says in regard to the dramatic element of the festival in relation to the plays: "The climax of a tragedy in life was from the first recognized in the marvellous self-sacrifice of Christ. Around the Eucharist, the memorial of thanksgiving for that death and resurrection, grew up the Christian worship. As a fit approach to that solemn feast, various acts of preparation were introduced, until, as a result, an established mode of procedure, a formal liturgy, expressed the devotion of the disciple not less by action than by word (Davis). But so long as the feast remained a mere memorial, a thanksgiving, purely symbolical, the element capable of arousing 'dramatic' emotion was lacking; for dramatic emotion centers, not about a memory, a doctrine, an idea, but about an action, a suffering, a Presence..... When, in the ninth century, by the formulation of the doctrine of transsubstantiation, the bread

and wine of the Eucharist came more generally to be regarded as the real body and blood of Christ, no longer a mere memorial, but a sacrifice for our sins, then began the dramatic development of the liturgy in all countries of the Roman Catholic faith. This is more than coincidence, it is cause and effect. The dramatic element, hitherto lacking in the Christian liturgy, was now present through a belief that aroused the most intense emotions in the worshipper. Day after day the devout among the clergy saw the Son of God offered up, a present sacrifice for their sins." And, we may add, every year on the Corpus Christi day they had the chief circumstances of prophesy and fulfillment before them in the office, culminating in the death on the cross. And what is more, they had been told that they had the power to change the bread of the Eucharist into the very body of the Savior, as it hung on the cross, in agony and shame. The representation of Gayley may, in part, be exaggerated, but there is more than one grain of truth contained in it. The concept of transsubstantiation took the Savior out of the abstract and made Him concrete, especially to the

unlearned mass it took the purely spiritual aspect away and made Him a physical being. And this enhanced the dramatic possibilities a hundredfold. The "blood miracles", in which, owing to the presence of bacteria, the wafer shows blood-red spots, and the "miracle of Bolsena", in which a few drops from a consecrated chalice, falling on the linen corporal, assumed the color of blood and the outline of a consecrated host (See Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, "Miracle of Bolsena") intensified this feeling. To the people everything became very real that they saw before them. And the Pope (Urban IV.), seeing in this unquestioning acceptance of the alleged miracles by the people the strongest bulwark of the Church against enemies and heretics, very prudently sought and obtained the approval and the unswerving allegiance of the laity. Other purposes of the Church, other objects of the Curia, may be carried out by the clergy or by clerical orders alone, but not the idea of the Corpus Christi festival. And the people, whose interest was sought, responded most nobly, especially when the Corpus Christi exercises were extended to include the procession, as we shall see presently.

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THE GENERAL INTRODUCTION OF THE FESTIVAL
AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRO-
CESSION.

We have, till now, given the history of the establishment of the Corpus Christi Festival, endeavoring to present, especially, the real reason for its institution, as well as its purpose. The festival, as we have seen, had its inception at Liege, in Belgium. It may be that Pope Urban IV. caused it to be celebrated in Rome and as far as his personal influence extended. It was not till 1311, however, that the festival was officially accepted by the Church. And even then, on account of the difficulties in regard to the Clementine Constitutions, there may have been some hesitation yet. All this seems to have been changed by the action of John XXII in 1316, when he removed all doubts in regard to the validity of the Decretals. The order to celebrate the festival was from that time on a part of the Canon Law, and while news and also papal orders of that day did not travel with

the speed of electricity, yet the festival was rapidly introduced. We have several records of the second decade of the XIII. century in France, and Alt, in his "Der Christliche Kultus", says that the festival was early accepted in Spain. Of Italy we may be quite sure, and there is also evidence from Germany to show the early celebration of the new festival (Cologne 1306, Worms 1315, Strassburg 1316; See Catholic Encyclopedia). Spencer indeed, in his "Corpus Christi Pageants in England", says: "Of the growth and spread of the Corpus Christi feast on the continent and in England we have very little authentic information. It is not even known when the procession was first introduced into England. Thomas Sprott in his Chronicles records that the festival was a confirmed institution by the year 1318." This remark is based on Davies, in his "York Records." As a matter of fact, we have some pretty good and reliable information in regard to the introduction of the Corpus Christi Feast in England. In the Reports of the Hist. MSS. Commission, Eight Report, Vol. VII., under "Dean and Chapter of Canterbury", p.321, there is the following

entry:

"Early in the Fourteenth Century the Priors drew up fresh regulations for services in the church on festival days, and, the Chapter having agreed that the new feast of Corpus Christi and the Oblation and Conception of the Virgin should be adopted at Canterbury, measures were taken for their orderly celebration. Ordinacio Capituli de festiuitate Corporis Christi. By this article, dated 1317, Corpus Christi day was declared to be a principal feast. It was at the same time decreed that any monk absent from the special services appointed for the festival, should on the next day have but half his commons in the refectory and be forbidden to eat or drink elsewhere."

This is surely one of the earliest records for the celebration of the feast anywhere. But there is another significant entry in "The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages", Vol. I., "Historia Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae", p.44: "Nota de festiuitate Corporis Christi (1318). Anno Domini

millesimo trecentesimo decimo octavo incoepit festivitas de Corpore Christi generaliter celebrari per totam ecclesiam Anglicanam." These entries are so plain that comment is unnecessary. The festival of Corpus Christi had been discussed even before 1318 and was celebrated in 1317 at least at Canterbury, which makes it likely that it was held also at other places, and from 1318 on it was generally celebrated throughout England.

Turning now to the question of the Corpus Christi Procession, the difficulty of a dearth of records again presents itself. In spite of this fact, however, we are enabled to form a good idea of this very important feature of the day from the extant records. Religious processions were nothing unusual in the Church at that time. They had been in use on special occasions since the IV. century. Processions in the time of drought, for the purpose of blessing the fields, as well as the mere marching through the streets, were a matter of custom. But the Corpus Christi festival, as originally planned, had no procession as an integral or attendant feature. Urban IV. had made no provision for such an addition, nor

does he even mention the idea in his Bull of institution. In 1286, Durandus of Mende (1237-1296, Bishop of Mende, Southern France, 1286-1296) published his "Rationale divinatorum officiorum." In this book he mentions all the processions which were then in use. That of Corpus Christi is not mentioned. When John XXII. in 1316 re-issued the Canon Law, containing also the papal decree for the celebration of the Corpus Christi day, he very cleverly added an order for an attendant procession, whether as an amendment to the original Bull or in separate form, is not quite evident. All authorities agree that the procession was ordered by this pope (1316-1334), and Binterim fixes the date as 1316 (see "Denkwürdigkeiten", p.289, and note). Now it may seem strange that the order for the institution of the festival, although announced at the Council of Vienna, was so long delayed in its execution. But the reason for this is most probably the following. Clement V. had the decisions of the Council of Vienne and his own decretals collected (according to the traditional system) into five books, which he promulgated in 1313, apparently under the title

of "Liber Septimus" (of the decretal collections), and sent to the University of Orleans. Then, however, he stopped its further circulation and had it revised, so that it was sent to Paris and Bologna only by his successor, John XXII. in 1317. This collection afterward became known as the Clementine Constitutions (see above, P. 11.).

The procession seems to have been introduced at the same time and perhaps to the same extent as the festival itself. A Council held at Sens in 1320 and one held at Paris in 1323, both speak of the procession. After granting indulgences to those who observe abstinence and fasting on the vigil of Corpus Christi, they add these words: "As to the Solemn Procession made on the Thursday's Feast, when the Holy Sacrament is carried, seeing that it appears to have been introduced in these our times, by a sort of inspiration, we prescribe nothing at present and leave all concerning it to the devotion of the clergy and the people" (Gueranger, *The Liturgical Year*, Vol. VII. pt. 1, p. 287 ff). It seems then that the order of John XXII. had merely named the procession

as a part of the celebration, leaving the extent and the manner, in which the procession should be held, to the parishes. It was implied, no doubt, that the procession be held at least in the churches, as a part of the liturgy. But whether the procession should also leave the church and march through the principal streets, and whether the clergy alone should participate, or whether the lay people should also be asked to join, that was put entirely into the hands of each diocese or parish. This latitude ought to be kept in mind, for it is a very important factor in the later development of the festival. The procession is mentioned in an act of the Chapter of Tournai, in 1325, and in a manuscript of the Church of Chartres in 1330. That the custom of carrying the sacramentarium through the streets was not a general one in the XIV. century, is seen from the Chronicle of Donatus Bossius of Milan, who tells us that on Thursday, the 24th of May, 1404, "there was carried, for the first time, solemnly, the Body of Christ in the streets of Padua, which has since become the custom." In this city they had always held the procession inside of the churches

(the Dome of Padua being exceptionally spacious, there was sufficient room), but they followed the lead of other cities and had the theophoric procession in the open. By the time of the Popes Martin V. (1429) and Eugenius IV. (1433) the procession was in such general use, that they, in their Constitutions, grant indulgences to them that are present at the carrying of the host.

If we now turn to England, we find evidences that the procession was held there very early in connection with the festival. The earliest record is that of Ipswich. "In 1325 the former Guild Merchant was reconstituted as a Guild of Corpus Christi. The constitution provides for a procession on Corpus Christi day, unless it is hindered 'pro qualitate temporis' (J. Wodderspoon, Memorials of the Ancient Town of Ipswich, 161) . The constitution is given complete in the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Vol. VIII. Ninth Report, 244 f. The Corpus Christi Guild at London, according to Spencer, who probably bases his note on Davidson ("Corpus Christi Pageants", p.11), dates back to 1327. At Lincoln, the Gild of Tailors was founded in

1328 and we read in their ordinances: "All the bretheren and sisteren shall go in procession on the feast of Corpus Christi" (Smith, English Gilds, 182). Next in order comes Beverley, of which we are told: "The Gild of Corpus Christi, consisting primarily of priests, was founded at Beverly between 1330 and 1350 to regulate the procession. Its ordinances have been printed (Proc. of the Soc. of Antiquaries, XV. p.116), Selden Society, Beverley Town Documents, p. IX. In the ordinances of the Gild of Tylers, Lincoln, founded 1346, occurs the passage: "A feast shall be held on the festival of Corpus Christi" (Smith, English Gilds, p.184), and it is very probable that this feast was held after the procession. The Corpus Christi Gild of Hull was founded on the 31st of May, 1358 (English Gilds, p.160). The Corpus Christi Gild at Coventry antedates the last mentioned by at least ten years. There is a confirmation of a license of mortmain granted to the gild under date of 26th of May, 1348, in which occurs the following passage: "On the feast of Corpus Christi, all the bretheren and sisteren shall be clad in livery, at their own cost, and shall carry viij

torches around the body of Christ when it is borne through the town of Coventry" (L.C. p.232). Chambers, according to this entry, is obviously wrong when he states that the Coventry procession on Corpus Christi day is first mentioned in the "Leet Book" in 1444. It is interesting to note though that in 1446 an order was issued "quod le Ruydyng in festo Corporis Christi fiat prout ex antiquo tempore consueverint" (Chamberg, p.362). There is at least one more interesting record from the XIV. century: "The first entry (relating to the Corpus Christi festival) which occurs in the York records is of the reign of Richard II. On the 8th of May, 1388, William de Selby, then mayor, delivered to Stephen de Yolton 100 shillings which Master Thomas de Bukton had given for furnishing four torches to be burnt in the procession of the feast of Corpus Christi" (Davies, York Records, p.230). In 1408 the Corpus Christi Guild at York was founded. This was a very powerful guild, having, at one time, a membership of 14,850, including a great many nobles and influential people, English Gilds, p.142, Note. These records show that the procession was

adopted in England almost with the introduction of the festival, for in every case but that of Ipswich, provision is made for a feature which was already acknowledged and in use, but needed better regulation and supervision. They also show the great interest which the people of England displayed from the very inception of the idea. This, again, is very significant for our argument.

Owing to the reasons given above, there was a great variety as to the order of the procession and the various degrees of splendor with which it was put forth in the several cities. Moreover, local conditions often made it necessary to make changes in the established order or mode. Ipswich offers the most complete records for the order of the procession in earliest times. We are referred (Hist. MSS. Commission, Vol. VIII. Ninth Report, p.245) to a Liber Quartus of Richard Percyvale, wherein is contained the constitution for Corpus Christi Procession. - Anno M^oCCC vicesimo quinto. The members of the Guild, the "priors ecclesie Sancti Trinitatis et ecclesie Sancti Petri in Gippewico, et omnes sacerdotes parochiales ville praedictae ordinauimus firmiter

per praesentes perpetuis temporibus, - In primis ordinamus quod singulis annis quinta feria post octavas Pentecostes quando sacrosancta ecclesia circa hoc sacramentum venerandum specialiter occupatur -----unumquemque sacerdotem parochialem precedentem cruce cum vexillis quotquot fuerint ad processionem solemnem in praedicta villa faciendam ad devocionem majorem fidelium excitandam et haereticorum pravitatem detestandam et sic cum tabernaculo nostro huic processioni specialiter deputato, in quo sacramentum Christi Corporis et Sanguinis continebitur et per ecclesiam S. Petri cum viris religiosis processuri, etc." With the host carried before them and the clergy at the head of the procession, the members of the guild marched through the streets, one year from St. Trinity to St. Peter, the next year from St. Peter to St. Trinity. It is interesting to note the similarity of many passages in this constitution to corresponding passages in the Bull "Transiturus" in the Decretals.

The records from Beverley are dated a century later. An entry of the year 1416, concerning the Barkers,

provides "duas torchias deferendas coram Corpore Christi." Leach translates this: "Two torches to be borne in procession in the feast of Corporis Christi." The context does not make it quite clear whether these torches were to be carried by special bearers before the host, or whether the Barkers simply bore the expense of two torches which were carried at the head of their draft in the procession. The complete order of the procession is given in an entry 1430-31. First came the clergy of the Corpus Christi Guild, then the guilds of various saints, then the craft-guilds, and finally several minor religious guilds. But they all were to march "behind the most holy Body of Christ." The host, then, was carried at the head of the procession, according to the general order of processions. In 1498 the "Order of Procession on Corpus Christi Day" was much the same, the host evidently again being borne at the head of the procession, and followed by the twelve governors, the merchants, drapers, and the other craft-guilds. - After these plain records, it must certainly strike one as rather strange that Sharpe, in his Dissertation, p.165, makes the remark: "It seems

reasonable to infer that the laity preceded the Host, and that the various orders and denominations of Religious persons followed it." If this was true, then Coventry presents a unique exception. However, Sharpe is probably wrong. He bases his remark on an entry in the Dyers Accounts: "1519. It p'd to the *iiij* torchberers for beryng of *iiij* Judaces byfor the Sacrament...1520. It payd to *iiij* men for beryng of the *iiij* torchis uppon Corp's *Xpc* daye byfor the sacurment." This, however, refers merely to the custom that all guilds had one or more torches borne just before the Host, the torchbearers acting as escort or body-guard, while the body of the guild marched in due order behind the host. This is all the more evident, if we compare the other entries, especially the accounts of the Corpus Christi Guild. This will be still more evident, if we consider the complete records from York. Spencer, basing his remarks mainly on Davies, "York Records", and Davidson, "English Mystery Plays", says about the procession: "In the earliest processions the lay societies seem usually to have preceded the sacrament while the clergy followed. Certainly this was the

order of the processions at Coventry and Newcastle, though at York the crafts were put last" (p.69). The argument in regard to Coventry is based on Sharpe and, by inference, on Harris, "Coventry Leet Book", where, however, the position of the host is not given. The supposition is merely that in all cases the oldest guild, the Merchant's Guild, had the place of honor near the host. The evidence seems to point as much one way as it does the other. Speaking about the order of the procession, Spencer says (p.77 ff): "In the earliest days the draftsmen led the procession and the ecclesiastics followed, but later this order was reversed." There may be evidence for this assertion, but if so it has not been adduced. "After this change in the early order, we are told of the procession at York that a boy usually led the line, bearing in his hands a great cross." Then came in order the town clergy, the master and ex-masters of the Corpus Christi guild, the shrine, the city officials, the craftsmen. This is based on Davies, whose account is as follows: "On the morrow of Corpus Christi day, the persons who were to join in the procession as-

sembled at the great gates of the priory of the Holy Trinity in Micklegate. The parochial clergy of the city, in their surplices, walked first. The Master of the Guild, invested with a silken cope, appeared as "praesidens principalis." He was supported on either side by two of the clergy who had previously filled the same office, and was attended by the six keepers of the guild, with silk stoles about their necks and white wands in their hands. The costly shrine was borne in the midst by the chaplain of the guild. After the ecclesiastics came the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and other members of the Corporation in their robes of ceremony, attended by the city officers,..... and followed by the officers and members of the numerous crafts or trade companies of the city with their banners and torches, taking their places according to a prescribed order of precedence. - - From the priory gates they marched to the cathedral, where a sermon was preached in the chapter house. That this account of Davies is, at least in the main, correct, appears from several entries. Fifteenth year, Edward IV. (1461-1483), Expenses at the Feast of Corpus Christi in-

clude the reward of the Friar Preacher on the Friday next following, according to custom" (Davies, p.43). Three years later we have the entry: "Expenses at the Feast of Corpus Christi..... " and 3 s. 4 d. paid to one preaching and delivering a sermon on the morrow of the said feast, in the cathedral church of St. Peter of York, after the celebration of the procession, according to the like custom" (p.77). From a Compotus of the reign of Henry VIII. (1509-1547): "In processione generali in crastino Corporis Christi..... Clerico portanti crucem aute processionem *y^d* " (p.246). This agrees also with the original ordinances of the York Corpus Christi Guild (Smith, English Guilds, p.141 ff). "They are bound to keep a solempne procession, the sacrament being in a shryne born in the same through the city of York, yerely, the Fryday after Corpus Christi day; and the day after, to have a solempne mass and dirige to pray for the prosperity of brothers and sisters lyving and the souls departed."

Of the greatest importance in this festival was the participation of the laity, and especially the craft-guilds. The interest of the laity was eagerly sought and

assiduously fostered by the granting of indulgences and by a special degree of pomp and splendor in the festival. And the craft-guilds, which were just about at this time beginning to develop, responded nobly. It is very likely that the clergy alone took part in the original Corpus Christi procession at the introduction of the festival in England. After the organizing of special Corpus Christi guilds, to which not only the parochial clergy, but, at least in later years, also laymen belonged, these guilds took charge of the procession. The way having thus been opened to the laity, the other craft-guilds either made application to be permitted to join in the procession or were requested to do so by the Corpus Christi guild, for the purpose of enhancing the impression and the pomp of the procession. We are expressly told that the Gild of Tailors of Lincoln, founded 1328, went in the Corpus Christi procession. And if this newly organized guild could immediately participate in the procession, surely the older guilds would not stand back. And any new guild that might be organized would surely clamor for a like privilege. Some guilds were old even

at the time of the introduction of the festival. The Merchant Guild of Beverley dates back to 1130, its earliest ordinances to 1210. The Weavers pointed back to 1209, the Bakers, Brewsters, and Butchers to 1279, with new ordinances in 1366. Moreover, when the monopoly of the merchants was broken in 1335, other tradesmen had the opportunity of forming guilds. At Lincoln, the Fullers dated back to 1297. At Norwich the guilds were somewhat late in getting a start, but even there the Tailors were organized in 1350, the Carpenters in 1375, the Peltyers in 1376, and the Saddlers and Spurriers in 1385. Each guild, according to its age, its membership, and its wealth, wanted to be represented in the religious life of the community, which found its vent in all manner of processions and its culmination in the Corpus Christi celebration. In the middle of the XIV Century, when the number of guilds was still small, the procession was indeed the most noteworthy of the year, but still comparatively insignificant in contrast to later days. It was with the rapidly growing number of wealthy guilds that the procession became the very brilliant affair

which is described in the accounts of that period. This gradual expansion of the procession and the accompanying splendor exerted an influence in various ways. One of the most significant changes was in regard to the time of the procession. Originally, the procession was held on the morning of Corpus Christi day, in connection with the regular celebration of the festival. At Coventry the order was: procession, mass, plays, feast. At Ipswich the procession occurred early in the morning, as we have seen, followed by services. At Bristol the order for St. Katherine's festival was: plays on the evening of St. Katherine, procession in the morning from church, mass after procession. At Norwich the order for St. George's Gild, organized 1385, was: procession, mass, feast. It is very probable that this order was followed in accordance with prevalent custom. At Newcastle-on-Tyne, the procession was held in the morning "by vij in morning", while the plays were in the afternoon (Chambers, Vol. II. 385). The idea of Chambers in this connection is worthy of note: "Perhaps the pageants first took part in the Corpus Christi procession proper (as floats) and after-

wards gathered in a field." At Beverley the plays originally followed the procession, according to Leach (Beverley Town Documents, p.LIX), but there is an entry under date 1498: "Procession of Corpus Christi, or of the morn after." At York, at one time, the plays were held on the Vigil of Corpus Christi morning. This was after the sermon of Friar William Melton in 1426. Later on in the same century, however, we are told that the procession was held on the Friday after Corpus Christi, followed by services with a sermon in church, while the plays were presented on the Corpus Christi day.

Now as to the purpose of the solemn public procession, we hardly need further testimony. The words of the Bull of institution about emphasizing the central dogma of the Roman Church and about "confounding the perfidy and insanity (lack of good sense) of the heretics", apply here also. This is evident from the Constitution of the Ipswich Corpus Christi Guild, in which the object of the procession is stated: "Ad devocionem majorem fidelium excitandam et hereticorum pravitatem detestandam et six cum tabernaculo nostro . . . processuri, etc."

That the displaying of the host and its worship with a special degree of splendor, including the idea of proselyting, was the purpose of the procession, is especially apparent also from the resolutions of the Council of Trent (1546-63), Sessio 13, C.5, de Eucharistia: "The Holy Council declares that there has been most piously and religiously introduced into God's Church the practice that each year, on a certain special feast, the august and venerable Sacrament should be honored with singular veneration and solemnity, and that it should be reverently and with every honor carried in procession through the public roads and places. For it is most just that certain holidays should be appointed, whereon all Christians should, with special and unusual demonstrations, evince their gratitude and mindfulness toward their common Lord and Redeemer for this so unspeakable and truly divine favor, in which is represented his victory and triumph over death. And it was also necessary that thus invincible truth should triumph over lying and heresy that herenemies, seeing all that splendor, and being in the midst of such great joy of the whole Church, should either

grow wearied and acknowledge their being beaten and broken, or, being ashamed and confounded, should be converted" (For Latin text see Appendix). These words are so plain that further comment is unnecessary.

We are now in position to draw our conclusions and make our applications from the material presented above. This summary would embrace the following:-

1. The festival of Corpus Christi was established as the result of a gradual development of the doctrine of transsubstantiation and its attendant features, and culminating in the concept of a visible sacrifice, the adoration of the host, and the supreme power of the priests.
2. Its establishment being urged by the leaders of the Church, including principally Thomas of Acquin and Bonaventure, its chief purpose was the glorification of the Roman Church in its central dogma.
3. The procession which was established at the time of the general promulgation of the festival, was originally held on Corpus Christi day, perhaps, in some cases, preceded by an early mass, and followed by ser-

vices. In some cases the day of the procession was later changed to Wednesday or Friday, on account of the plays.

4. The order of the procession originally was: clergy with host, followed by the other participants; exceptions: Coventry? Newcastle-on-Tyne?
5. The procession was held with different degrees of splendor, according to the wealth and importance of a diocese, city or parish. (Cf. Davies, "York Records", p.228).
6. The craft-guilds were added to the procession in many places for the sake of splendor and impressiveness. These guilds gradually came to exert a great influence in regard to the procession. Since they were in the great majority and very powerful, their desire often became the law.
7. The purpose of the procession was: the public display of the host and its worship, the glorification of the Church, the impressing of heretics with the power and splendor of the Church, and finally, proselyting.

* * * *

THE RELATION OF THE CORPUS CHRISTI FESTIVAL
AND PROCESSION TO THE CORPUS
CHRISTI PLAYS.

Our attention is now to be directed to the Corpus Christi play as a literary form in its relation to the festival and procession. And in order to get a comprehensive view of all the important connected factors, a brief survey of the early development of the liturgical play will be more than useful. It is now generally conceded that the modern drama may be traced back to the so-called trope of the Roman office. Bäumer (Geschichte des Breviers, p.293) says of the trope: "Mit dem Namen Tropus, *τρόπος*, in der Musik ursprünglich so viel als der 'Modus' oder die gregorianische Choraltonart, bezeichnete man im Mittelalter jene poetischen oder prosaischen, rhythmischen oder versifizierten Texte, welche man den langen Reimen oder Notenreihen einiger Choralstücke unterlegte. Besonders galt er zur Bezeichnung der Kehrverse (*τρέπων*) auf musikalischen

Phrasen, Jubilus, am Schlusse des Alleluia. Diese Notenformel des Alleluja selbst trug aber, wie aus Amalar ersichtlich, schon vor der Entstehung solcher Texte den Namen Sequentia. Daher für die unterzulegenden Worte der Titel pro sapro sequentia, Prosa." So the words fitted to the music of the sequences in various parts of the liturgy were called tropes. These tropes, of which the Introit tropes were originally the most important, were sung in the form of antiphonies either by two choirs alternately, or by the clergy and the choir in the same manner. If we now keep in mind the dramatic tendencies of Christian worship on account of the symbolism of ritual and ceremonial, if we remember, furthermore, that antiphonal singing is nothing but dialogued speech, we have the reason for the further development of the trope. The simple form of the Easter trope of the IX. Century, the well-known: "Quem quaeritis in sepulcro, christicole", was soon enlarged by other suggestions from ancient Libri Antiphonarii, especially from that of Gregory the Great. Before the passing of two further centuries, the scenes of the unguentarius and the "Quis revolvit"

preceded the "Quem quaeritis", while the Apostle scene and the Mary Magdalene scene followed. And while the text originally was sung only, it was soon represented dramatically by priests, acolytes, and choir boys at stations in the church (Cf. Lange, *Lateinische Osterfeiern*). In the meantime, similar tropes had been adopted for Ascension Day and for Christmas. To summarize briefly, with reference to Creizenach (*Geschichte des neueren Dramas*) and Chambers (*The Medieval Stage*, Vol. II.), at the end of the XIII. Century there was a series of play-scenes at Easter, one at Christmas, and one representing the Passion story. Of course, these liturgical plays were not, in all places, equal in extent and elaborateness of production, but there had, nevertheless, been developed a set of liturgical plays with full dramatical possibilities.

But that is not all. The liturgical cycle, including, in some cases, many scenes, became too long for part of the regular services. The liturgy retained, very often, the antiphonies and even the amplified trope, but the liturgical play was given at special times. It was

significant, however, that men were breaking away from the fetters of the Latin language. Since the common people found their greatest delight in the dramatic representations, there arose a tendency to give them plays in the vernacular. We are told that Geoffrey of St. Albans and Hilarius had French affiliations. The play of Hilarius "The Miracle of St. Nicholas" was in Latin, with French refrains. The "Ordo representationis Adae" is a Norman-French or maybe an Anglo-Norman play of the XII. Century, and includes Adam, Cain and Abel, the Prophets (A "Jacob and Esau", preserved as part of the Towneley cycle, is placed by Ten Brink at 1280. The Brome play of "Abraham and Isaac" is also placed before the end of the XIII. Century). Older than either of the last two mentioned perhaps is the "Harrowing of Hell", said to be our "oldest vernacular drama". "Three extant manuscripts of it date from the reign of Edward II", 1273-1307 (Pollard, English Miracle Plays, XXI.). There was, finally, an "Interludium de Clerico et Puella" in English, at the end of the XIII. Century. It is beyond a doubt, then, that there were plays in English at the end of the XIII.

and the beginning of the XIV. Century, which were patterned after the liturgical plays, were perhaps in part, translations of them.

Then there is another factor to be considered. With the expanding and popularizing of the liturgical plays, they were gradually taken out of the church. The comic element was perhaps the most decisive in bringing about this change. The dignity of the church services would scarcely permit such levity as people gradually demanded. So the expanding plays gradually passed out of the church. We find them, first, in the church yard. It is here that we have the record at Beverley given by Chambers (p. 339) and by Leach, in Furnivall Miscellany (p. 206). Some time shortly before 1220 a "repraesentatio Dominicae resurrectionis" was made "verbis et actu", and evidently outside of the church, under the church windows. It was one of the boys who had climbed into the triforium, "ut liberius personarum et habitus et gestus respicerent, et earumdem dialogos auditu faciliori adverterent" - that fell down into the church and was so miraculously preserved. This playing in the church yard

or in the square before the church reminds one somewhat of the "Attolite - portas" ceremony in the early liturgies. Since the church often faced the square of the town or city, it is not surprising to hear of performances in the market place at this time. But there is another record for the transition stage. In the so-called Shrewsbury Fragments, which Prof. Skeat found in the library of Shrewsbury School, we have a series of plays, each dealing, as an integer, with a crisis in the career of the Lord, and corresponding to a Pastores, a Quem quaeritis and a Peregrini (Gayley, English Comedies XIV., Chambers, p.90). The parts of the single actors are in English, while the choruses are in Latin. It is probable that these scenes were played in the school hall before the end of the XIII. Century. There are evidences also that some church orders had plays in the monasteries or at the gates of the monasteries (Sharpe).

The last important feature in this connection is the fact that there were, by the end of the XIII. Century, series of plays, given "verbis et actu." And we have records not only from the continent, but also from

England. At Regensburg in 1195 the Creation of the World and the Fall of Lucifer were given. Fragments from Kloster Himmelgarten near Nordhausen, which appear to belong to a very early date, include scenes from both the early and the late life of Christ (Sievers, Zeitschr. für deutsche Philologie, XXI. 393). An Orleans play of the XII. Century has amalgamated the stories of the Stella, the Magi, Herod, the Shepherds, and the Birth, and has already passed from the church to the gates of the monastery (.). We have here a complete Christmas cycle. At Padua, on the other hand, in 1244 a play of the Passion and Resurrection was given. The record of Cividale is so complete and important that we reproduce it here (D'Ancona, I, 91. Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. XXIV, 1205, 1209): "Anno dom. MCCLXXXVIII die vii exeunte Maio, videlicet in die Pentecostes et in aliis duobus sequentibus diebus, facta fuit Repraesentatio Ludi Christi, videlicet Passionis, Resurrectionis, Ascensionis, Adventus Spiritus Sancti, Adventus Christi ad Judicium, in curia Domini Patriarchae Austriae civitatis, honorifice et laudabiliter, per Clerum civitatensem

Anno MCCCIII facta fuit per Clerum, sive per capitulum Civitatense, Repraesentatio sive factae fuerunt Repraesentationes infra scriptae, in primis, de Creatione primorum parentum, deinde de Annunciatione Beatae Virginis de Partu et aliis multis, et de Passione et Resurrectione, Ascensione et Adventu Spiritus Sancti, et de Antichristo et aliis, et demum de Adventu Christi ad Judicium." We have here a complete cycle, embracing both Old and New Testament scenes, arranged in logical and chronological order.

In England we have the London record, when Wm. Fitzstephen writes of the time about 1170-82: "Lundonia pro spectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis scenicis, ludos habet sanctiores, representationes miraculorum quae sancti confessores operati sunt, seu representationes passionum quibus clariut constantia martyrum." Without going into a discussion of the form of these plays, the fact remains that there were plays given for the public in general even at that early date, plays which differed from the liturgical plays in the strict sense of the word. Then we have the record from Shrewsbury School, referred to above.

At Lincoln there are pretty definite records from 1189 and 1244, while the York Cathedral records, dating back to 1255, provide for a Christmas play in a series. The Cornish records also go back to the beginning of the XIV. Century, if not into the XIII.

We have followed then, up till now, the gradual development of the liturgical play, the forming of liturgical play cycles, the change into the vernacular, the passing out of the church. During this process of secularization, the Church retained its liturgical scenes as part of the office and the nucleus of the English drama may still be viewed in some ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church. But the fact remains that there had now developed a form of play which had a character of its own and which was destined gradually to throw off all clerical restraint.

Having followed the development of the plays to the beginning of the XIV. Century, we now come to a very difficult task, on account of the dearth of records during the first half of the XIV. Century, and even later. And it is here that we meet with the Corpus Christi plays,

whose origin we are interested in. It will be best, therefore, to bring all available records first. The earliest record of Corpus Christi plays is that of Chester, commonly given as 1327 or 1328. It is not necessary for our purpose to go into a discussion of the authorship of these plays. This has been done with great attention to detail by Chambers (Vol. II., p.348 ff) and others. It appears that a certain monk, with some assistance from another monk, perhaps his superior, wrote the plays now known as the Chester plays. The date given has been the crux. If Clement IV. is meant in the records, then 1268 would be the correct date, since he was Pope from 1265-1268. In case a later Clement is meant, the date 1328 would seem improbable. It seems impossible to reach a definite conclusion without some more authentic records. Whether the author's name was Randolph Higden, Randall Higden, or Randall Higgenet, whether he was assisted by a Sir Francis or not, whether the mayor's name at that time was Arneway, Erneis, or Herneys, is of minor importance here. There are other factors which especially engage our attention. One is that there can be no doubt here that a

member of the clergy was the author, or at least the translator and compiler, and the other is that the year 1328 is the latest date at which the origin of the Chester plays has been placed. The York cycle in its original form, according to the judgment of competent critics (Davies, Smith, Gayley), must be dated back to 1340-50. The Cambridge record seems to be clear enough: "William de Lenne and Isabel, his wife, joining the guild of Corpus Christi (+1350) spent half a mark in ludo Filiorum Israelis" (Masters, Hist. of C.C.C. Cambridge, ed. 1753, I, 5). The reference is probably to a "Slaughter of the Innocents" play, for whose performance they were obliged to contribute. These are the only direct references in the first half of the XIV. Century. There is, however, a fact noted in Furnivall, English Miscellany, p. 190 ff, which is of more than ordinary interest. A book describing very probably English customs in the early XIV. Century and profusely embellished with illustrations was discovered some years ago. In this book there are also pictures which plainly are intended to depict dramatic performances, as they were given at that time. It is, in short, an il-

lustrated or illumined manuscript, very likely compiled for English people, on English soil; representations of dramatic performances with "pageants", special stages, and roofs. The scribe of this manuscript finished his work Dec. 18, 1338, the painter, Jean de Grise, on April 18, 1344 ("Ce livre fu perfais de le enluminure au xvii^e jour d'avryl par Jehan de Grise, l'au de grace MCCCXLIII^e"). The "pageants" seem to be movable floats, or at least out-door stages, for the auditors are represented as standing or walking. If this is really an account of English customs, then the performance of plays on "pageants" or out-door stages in England at this time seems to be well established. That there were dramatic performances of this kind at London at a very early date, can not be doubted. There are a great many references, but, unfortunately, we have no extant full description of the plays or the manner of production. The scattered allusion hardly justifies one in making definite conclusions. "In 1378", we read (Davies, York Records, p.231), "the choristers of St. Paul's School of London, who were celebrated for their theatrical talent,

and were then in full exercise upon their mysteries, presented a petition to King Richard II. praying him to prohibit some inexpert people from presenting the history of the Old and New Testaments, to the great prejudice of the clergy, who had been at great expense in order to represent it publicly at Christmas. Their complaint was doubtless directed against the exhibitions of the crafts."

Other London records are from the years 1384, 1391, 1393, 1409, 1411. It appears from the entries that plays were given at Skinners' Wells, in London, in August, and that some of the performances must have been elaborate, lasting from five to seven days. The records from Beverley are more complete, although still very far from being satisfactory. "The Corpus Christi play is first mentioned, appropriately enough, à propos of the tailors in 1377, when it was agreed in the Guild Hall that all tailors should appear at the account of the expenses of the pageant of the Corpus Christi play" (Leach, Beverley Town Documents, p.45). Even this entry, treating of pageant and play in such a self-evident way, certainly tends to show that the plays were an established custom.at Beverley,

even at that early date. In 1390 the number of craft-guilds having pageants and plays on Corpus Christi day was thirty-nine. "Ordinacio ludi Corporis Christi cum pena. - Item ordinatum est anno Dom. millesimo CCC^o nonagesimo, per totam communitatem, quod quilibet artifices ville Beverlaci ----- habeant suos ludos et pagentes paratos amodo qualibet die in festo Corporis Christi (henceforth on every Corpus Christi day)." For 1392 there is a significant entry: "Quia Thomas Lorymer defecerunt in festo Corporis Christi, anno Dom. M^oCCC^o nonagesimo secundo, in ludo suo; ideo consideratum est quod solvant communitati ville Beverlaci x *LS.*, prout ordinatum fuit per totam communitatem ab antiquo." If someone should want to argue from the 1390 entry that the plays were first established at that time, this last entry should soon convince him of the contrary. The phrase "in ancient time" in this connection argues not only for an established custom, but places the emphasis on the ordinance in respect to the fines. Looking at the records in the light of other evidence, the most probable conclusion would be that the plays, before 1390,

had been still, at least in part, under the control of the clergy and that the guilds were acting under their direction, or at least, upon their suggestion. From 1390 on, however, the community had charge of the plays and their performance. At York some records are quite as early. In 1378 a fine was levied on the Bakers "a la pagine des ditz Pestours de corpore cristi." In 1394 a civic order required all the pageants to play in the places "antiquus assignatis." Here again a conclusion drawn from the records would tend to confirm the date of the cycle as being between 1340 and 1350 or earlier. There is a further entry in 1397. From 1415 we have Roger Burton's "Ordo paginarum ludi Corporis Christi." This gives a list of the plays and the craft-guilds which played them. At this time the power of the crafts and their influence were decidedly in the ascendancy and were factors to be reckoned with at all times. In 1440 we have another York list of crafts and their plays on Corpus Christi day. For Coventry we have a record from 1392 of a "domum pro le pagent pannarum." The first available record from Newcastle-on-Tyne is from 1426-27.

There is a part of an interesting letter preserved from Norwich, 1478, May 20, from J. Whetley to Sir John Paston 'at his beyng ther that daye ther was never no man that playd Herrod in Corpus Crysty play better or more agreeable to hys pageaunt than he dud.' The earliest date on which the Corpus Christi festival may fall is the 21st of May. If the writer is correct in his date and the mention of Corpus Christi even, the year 1478 had the unique distinction of having Easter on the 22nd of March, which happens once every other century. In that case, the plays must have been given on the Vigil of Corpus Christi. If, however, the writer spoke of Corpus Christi even only on account of the plays of that name, then we may conclude that the plays were given in Whitsun-week. These records will probably be sufficient for the purposes of this paper. The next question is: Who wrote the plays? and "How were the complete cycles developed? So far as Chester is concerned, the answer to the first question is clear, as mentioned above. "Higden was the author, Francis added to and revised The probabilities are that his contribution was largely of adaption and translation;

the latter from Latin sources, and early French mysteries" (Gayley, Plays of our Forefathers, 85, 109). What was done at Chester, was by no means improbable at other places. From the decretal of Innocent III. in 1210, forbidding the acting of "ludi teatrales" in churches, which was confirmed by the Council of Treves in 1227 and from that of Gregory IX. which repeated the injunction, "lest the honor of the church should be defiled by these shameful practices", the argument has been advanced that the Church was positively hostile to the plays. There can scarcely be any doubt, however, that these injunctions were directed against the expanded liturgical play with the comic element. This could, of course, not remain in the church, nor could the clergy, as such, participate in anything that might reflect upon the dignity of the Church. But a far different question is whether it was not still advisable to retain control, direct, if possible, but at least indirect, over the plays which dealt with Biblical subjects. In one case, at any rate, we have express information on the subject. "We must not imagine that the Church took its hand altogether off the

plays. In many places the clergy of the collegiate church or cathedral continued to cooperate as a guild, for instance, the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral as late as 1483" (Gayley). See also Furnivall Miscellany, 225; Chambers, p. 379.

The Corpus Christi play cycles were originally short, including only a few plays, for in the early part of the XIV. Century the number of craftguilds was yet comparatively small (See above: account of founding of guilds). Some cities were also much better favored localities for the growth of old and establishment of new craft-guilds than others. Thus the Chester and Towneley cycles, in the form which has come down to us, contain fewer plays than either the Beverley or the York cycle. Aside from the internal evidence in structure and form of the plays, we have historical evidence to show that new plays were added from time to time as new craft-guilds came into existence or old ones clamored for more recognition, while in other cases plays were condensed. At York there were fifty-one in 1415, fifty-seven a little later (list of Davies, but only forty-eight in 1440.

At Beverley there were thirty-eight or thirty-nine in 1390, but only thirty-six in 1520, and the assignment of plays was a different one in some cases. At York in 1397 "four new scenes and a new banner were provided" (Davies, p.231). On the other hand, we are told, of the same city: "In 1422 it was ordered that 'pagina de lez Salsmakers ubi Judas se suspendebat et crepuit medius in ludo Corporis Christi, et pagina de lez Tilemakers ubi Pilatus condemnavit Jesum morti, et pagina de lez Turnors, Hayresters et Bollers ubi Jesus ligatus erat ad columpnam et flagellatus, et pagina Molendinariorum ubi Pilatus et alii milites ludebant ad talos pro vestimentis Jesu et pro eis sortes mittebant', should be combined and form one pageant, to be called Pagina condemnationis Jesu Christi" (Davies, p.235).

The Corpus Christi plays might have become a still more important feature in many places or at least have become so much more rapidly, if there had not been factors which tended to delay their development and retard their growth. Some of these reasons have been mentioned above, but only incidentally. According to his-

torical accounts, the plague or Black Death in England in 1348 with its attendant distress and horrors, greatly hindered the material development of the country for more than a decade. The Peasant's Revolt, in 1381, with its preceding unrest and consequent disorder, did not permit of much artistic development. The people of the middle class, the burghers and craftsmen, were very decidedly affected by the disorder of the times. Since a state of continued prosperity was an essential condition for the growth of the pageant plays, it is evident that any hostile influence would be felt at once. But there were other reasons which influenced the plays directly. The importance of Wiclif is not likely to be over-estimated, partly on account of his position in England, partly on account of his fearlessness in stating and defending his position. It was in 1362 that he had his first doubts about transsubstantiation, and while it was not till 1382 that his "Twelve Theses on the Eucharist" and perhaps also his treatise "De sacramento altaris, corpus domini" appeared, he surely was not silent on the subject in the meantime. His arguments were chiefly these, that trans-

substantiation is a cause of idolatry, that it is a cause for the veneration of the priests, that the doctrine is the result of a constant desire to heighten the dignity of the central act of worship. He strongly objected to everything connected with such a purpose, and the impression which he made, for the time being at least, was very profound. That this did not remain without its effect on the growing splendor of the Corpus Christi celebration, could hardly be imagined. Then there is lastly to be remembered that the guilds were not really powerful till 1350. After that, however, they grew both in numbers and in wealth, soon becoming a factor to be reckoned with.

After we have thus arranged the various records of the performance of Corpus Christi plays and the attendant features, the question arises for discussion: Why is it that, after a gap of a quarter or almost a half century (1308-1328 or 1350), we suddenly find play cycles, pretty well developed, on Corpus Christi day? A good many writers have touched upon the subject, but only incidentally. Their theories, however, are quite interesting and well worth comparing, especially since they offer at least part of a solution. Symonds (Shakesperian Pre-

decessors, p.105) refers especially to the report of the one-thousand days of pardon granted at Chester to those who heard the plays. Brander Matthews (The Development of the Drama, p.135) writes: "Corpus Christi day was early chosen as the festival most fit for the performance of the mysteries; and in great Britain the pageants followed in the wake of the Corpus Christi procession through the town." Matthews here is not very satisfactory, since he gives no references. He assigns no special reason for the choice of Corpus Christi day and draws a general conclusion as to the order of the procession with reference to the pageants. Gregory Smith (The Transition Period, p.277) advances a theory worthy of note: "In the early decades of the fourteenth century, after the confirmation of the institution of the Festival of Corpus Christi by the Council of Vienna (1311), the English drama begins to show secular tendencies, and at the same time to become more national in character..... The authorization of the Corpus Christi ceremonies was the direct cause of the interference of the Gilds, whose enthusiasm to take part in the spectacles may be said to have both made and un-

made the early popular drama in England." We shall see presently that he is not the only one to advance the theory in regard to the guilds. Ten Brink (English Literature, II. p.247) speaks of this subject at greater length: "The important step of joining these cycles may have taken place in England soon after the beginning of the XIV. Century. Of great influence toward the union was the Corpus Christi Day, which was introduced into the church in 1264 and attained to undisputed observance by the year 1311. Such a celebration which brought together under the open sky and in the finest season of the year a whole population, lay and clerical, and which referred to the very core of all their worship and the secrets of their faith, which led past a long procession, pompous and imposing, with its beautifully ornamented altars and stages, and made still more striking by its figurative representations and tableaux vivants from sacred history, was above all things especially appropriate for the introduction of a magnificent religious secular play intended as an exposition of the historic basis of their faith from beginning to end." Ten Brink here touches upon several

factors which were very influential in determining the plays and their character, but his thought is so condensed as to make a positive explanation almost impossible.

W. Creizenach (Geschichte des neueren Dramas, Ed. 1911, p.169) also touches upon this question. "1264 wurde die Frohnleichnamsfeier gestiftet und sie entwickelte sich bald zu dem Feste, bei welchem die Kirche ihren höchsten Glanz entfaltetete. Das Fest fiel in die Zeit des Jahres, wo die Natur in vollem Schmucke prangt. Die Frohnleichnamsprozession wurde bald die glänzendste Schaustellung im ganzen Kirchenjahr, gleichsam ein Triumphzug, in welchem die Kirche nach jahrhundertelangen Kämpfen den unbedingten und vollen Sieg über die Gemüter der Menschen feierte. - p.170: Die uralte Neigung des Volkes zu Kleidungen und festlichen Umzügen fand hier Gelegenheit, sich auf dem Boden des Christentums zu betätigen. p.171: Wie sich diese Form allmählich herausbildete, darüber haben wir gar keine Nachrichten; wir können uns jedoch eine Vorstellung davon bilden, wenn wir die Nachrichten über deutsche Frohnleichnamsprozessionen heranziehen, denn dort, wo die frühere Inszenierungsart dieselbe blieb, ist

die dramatische Form der Prozession nicht über die ersten Anfänge hinausgekommen." So he deplores the dearth of records, hinting, however, at the same time, at several probable factors. Ungemach (Quellen der Chesterspiele, p.11) is far more emphatic and perhaps even dogmatic in his utterances. "Die Entwicklung der Kollektiven (Cycles). Die Anregung welche in den ersten Jahrzehnten des XIV. Jahrhunderts zur Entwicklung der Kollektiven führte, erhielt das geistliche Schauspiel Englands durch den Aufschwung den das Bürgertum, wie überhaupt der nationale Wohlstand des Landes im Laufe des XIII. Jahrhunderts genommen hatte, und der sich unter anderem auch in dem Emporkommen der Zünfte geltend machte. Den Mittelpunkt aber, um welchen sich diese Äußerungen einer im Volksgeist begründeten und zur lebendigen Anschauung gelangten religiösen Gesinnung konzentrierten, bildete notwendigerweise das im Jahre 1264 eingesetzte und mit dem Jahre 1311 allgemein anerkannte Frohnleichnamfest, eine Feier, die sich zum erhabensten Ausdruck des zur Herrschaft gelangten Christentums gestaltete und durch ihre eigenartige Prachtentfaltung den dramatischen Bestrebungen jener

Zeit auf halbem Wege entgegen kam. Durch den gegenseitigen Wettstreit der Zünfte, an der öffentlichen Prozession teilzunehmen, wurde der Glanz derselben nur erhöht, und indem bereits hier einzelne Gestalten der biblischen Geschichte, wie die zwölf Apostel, persönlich dargestellt wurden, war der direkte Anschluss der darauffolgenden Spiele vermittelt. (In Coventry begleitete König Herodes die Frohnleichnamsprozession, wie aus einem bei Sharp, Dissertation on the Coventry Mysteries, p.18, mit geteiltem Auszuge der städtischen Rechnungen ersichtlich ist.) Auch in Leicester entwickelten sich dramatische Aufführungen geistlichen Inhalts im Anschluss an eine alljährlich am Pfingstmontage abgehaltene Prozession (Vgl. Kelly, Notices, p.15,18). Aus dem bisher Gesagten folgt, dass es besonders fünf Elemente sind, die zur Entwicklung der Kollektivmysterien beigetragen haben:

1. Das liturgische Drama;
2. Die freiere Behandlung der Bibel;
3. Die französischen Vorbilder;
4. Das Aufblühen der Zünfte;
5. Die gegenseitige Beeinflussung englischer Spiele."

This author touches upon two questions, one, the introduction of the play cycles, the other, the development of the play cycles. Leach (Beverley Town Documents, p. 2x.) confines himself to the brief remark: "Not less careful were the Governors of the Corpus Christi procession, out of which the play had originally sprung." Spencer, in his excellent presentation (Corpus Christi Pageants in England, p. 12, 61, 62) leaves the subject an open question: "It is not known when the great cycles of religious plays came to center around Corpus Christi day in England, though they would seem to have got there within a short time after the procession reached England There is the same uncertainty about the time when the pageants and the plays first became a part of the Corpus Christi ceremonies. Whether the cycles of plays grew up by themselves and were then transferred to Corpus Christi day and thus became more or less attached to the procession, or whether they developed from pageant tableaux and dumbshows in the annual procession, is not known. Davies (York Records) thinks it not improbable that the celebration of the Corpus Christi Festival on its first introduction into

this country was accompanied by the exhibition of pageant plays produced by the several companies into which the tradesmen and artisans of cities and towns were then incorporated. But there is a strong probability that the later Corpus Christi cycles began in the procession as dumbshows designed by the clergy to impress more forcibly on the people the doctrines of the church, and that as the bas-relief of living figures counterfeiting a bas-relief of stone became more and more popular, the earlier Christmas, Easter, and other biblical plays from the church were put into the mouth of the mimetic actors, and the dramas thus developed became the later Corpus Christi cycles." Chambers (The Medieval Stage, II, p.94) disposes of the question briefly: "With out-of-door plays climatic conditions began to be of importance. Even in sunny France, Christmas is not exactly the season to hang about the marketplace looking at an interminable drama. It is not to be denied that Christmas plays continued to be occasionally acted well through the fifteenth century, but the number of these, compared with the Passions, is small. Even Easter weather is not invariably

genial. Nor, as the cycles lengthened, was the attachment of them to any one of the feasts, whose events they commemorated, a matter of first-rate importance. A tendency set in towards playing them as far as possible in the long warm days of the summer months. The first Whitsuntide performances are those at Cividale, in 1298 and 1303, and Whitsuntide became a favorite date." Finally, Gayley (Plays of Our Forefathers, p.92) discusses the subject somewhat at length: "For various reasons, the festival celebrates the central, most concrete and most dramatic conception of the liturgical service, - the Real Presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament; it seizes also the most thrilling moment for commemoration, - the elevation of the consecrated Host, the sacrifice made for man; it provides that the Host be borne in monstrance with all pomp, dignity and ceremony out from the Holy of Holies and through the streets of the city The festival stirred the sense both of civic solidarity and of that wider communion of the saints which is the church universal. Archbishop and acolyte, cleric and layman, mayor and craftsmen, not^{of} one city or

diocese or province, but of every corner of the spiritual principality of the Catholic world, on that day marched in ecstatic procession to honor the church invisible, visible in the flesh, - the God incarnate, manifest in the Host. History and prophecy were fused in one moment, and that the present. The season, too, was the most propitious of the year, - the end of May or within the first four and twenty days of June. It was but natural, therefore, that the guilds taking part in this annual solemnity, rivalling one the other in the demonstration of industrial splendor and civic pride, should gradually undertake to present, in pantomimic pageant or dumbshow, some part of that scriptural history which all were celebrating and to present it by a scene appropriate to the function of the individual guild. And it was but a question of time that these "pageants", or floats upon wheels, should become the stage for acting and speaking performers of plays formerly liturgical, but now rapidly assuming popular features and vernacular speech." In this specimen of oratorical flight there is a great deal of generalizing and perhaps as much theorizing, the theory

agreeing with that of Davies and Spencer.

In order now, to discuss these theories presented in the preceding pages in an orderly and logical manner, it will be best to give them in a short summary. According to the writers, the Corpus Christi plays had their origin in or owed their existence to the following factors: The pope's interest in the presentation; the growing power and interference of the guilds who were anxious to show themselves in a dramatic performance; the spectacular character of the procession; the dramatic tendency of the people; the climatic conditions; the mimetic presentation of the twelve Apostles in the Corpus Christi procession; they were taken directly from the church; they were developed from pantomimic pageants in the procession. In regard to both origin and development of the Corpus Christi play cycles, the French influence and the mutual influence of English plays are noted.

We shall now take up the principal ideas and theories as summarized above, discuss them separately with constant reference to the available records and finally present the conclusions of our arguments in a brief

summary.

The relation between the theological significance of the Corpus Christi festival with its office and procession on one side, and that of the Corpus Christi play cycles on the other side was hardly touched upon by any of the writers mentioned above. Yet this relation is undoubtedly of prime importance. We have seen that the reasons for the establishment of the festival were those of ecclesiastical polity: the emphasis on the doctrine of transubstantiation as the central dogma of the Church, on the power of the priest in reference to this dogma, and on the monstrance and adoration of the host. We have seen that the office of the festival really portrays the entire plan of salvation, including prophecy and fulfillment, and culminating in the sacrifice which is represented by the blessed host. We have seen that the procession was to emphasize all the points which had been reasons for the institution of the festival. On the other hand, the play cycles, as they have come down to us, express the scheme of redemption, the cycle of salvation, from the creation and fall of man to the sacrifice of Christ

on Calvary and the glorification of the Savior. That this is actually the plan of the cycles, and not mere coincidence, appears for instance from the York play "The Judgment Day", where God rehearses the creation, Paradise, the fall, the sending of His Son to save the world, the sacrifice of Christ. "For þame he shedde his harte and bloode, What kyndnesse myght I do þame mare?" The Corpus Christi festival was the one festival of the liturgical year on which the great miracles of salvation, Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, with every item that made these miracles possible, was presented to the people in one beautiful office. The entire plan of salvation, with all its dramatic power and element, was here presented in historical and logical sequence, with the sacrifice of Christ as the crowning glory. It was the one logical thing to have the cycle plays, the series of dramatic presentations which had grown out of the liturgical plays of the church and gave the history of the redemption, on this day.

Then there is the problem of the processional origin of the plays mentioned by several writers, and the

manner in which plays probably developed from the procession. We have seen that, in the original procession, the clergy with the host marched first, while the craft-guilds followed. In one case, at least, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, the pageant-wagons were used as floats in the procession in the morning, but the plays were not given till the afternoon. There is no evidence that this was not the general rule, or, if there was a different observance in some place, it was this that the plays were not included in the procession at all. The so-called "dumbshow theory" of Gayley, Spencer and others, according to which the cycle plays should have originated from mimetic performances in the line of march, has neither historical nor logical reasons for it. Spencer devotes a great deal of space to the discussion of the dumb-show theory. He bases his arguments (p.69 ff) for mimetic development on the records of the Guild of St. Mary of Beverley, founded 1355, and on those of Dundee and Dublin. Gayley argues along the same lines: "As to the dramatic quality of the shows, though they were at first after the fashion of the French, bas-reliefs of living figures, they rapidly took on the

braver qualities of the mumming and masking; and as to the mumming and masking, we know that they before long added to themselves speech and gesticulation like the regular drama..... The guilds undertook to present in pantomimic pageant or dumbshow some part of that scriptural history which all were celebrating." In the Beverley, Dundee, and Dublin records we cannot find one word in support of the dumbshow theory, and even Spencer writes: "In all these cases it is to be supposed that they conveyed the message of their pageants by action only" (p.73). The theory of pantomimic drama is improbable on the very face of it. So far as historical evidence is concerned, we have the entry concerning the Gild of the Lord's Prayer (Pater Noster) at York, dated Jan. 21, 1388 (1389): "As to the beginning of the said gild, be it known that once on a time, a play, setting forth the goodness of the Lord's Prayer, was played in the city of York..... Hence, the keeping up of that play in times to come, for the health and amendment of the souls, as well as of the upholders and of the hearers (audientium) of it, became the whole and sole cause of the beginning

and fellowship of the bretheren of this brotherhood." This record goes back beyond that of Beverley, speaking of an old custom, and plainly speaks of the hearers of the play. As to the logical development, the following factors should be noted: In the first place, the very early date of the Chester plays makes it improbable that there was a gradual development of the mystery play through the dumbshow stage. 1328-9 is given as the latest date for the inception of the Chester cycle, while it has not even yet been definitely proved that 1268 was not the date (Chambers' argument, though ingenious, is by no means conclusive). So we have here the improbability of re-introducing dumbshow after a succession of plays was known and performed. Then there is the unity of the cycle pattern to be considered, which could hardly be accounted for according to the dumbshow theory. It is very easy to imagine a complete cycle, in which plays were divided and subdivided, lengthened and shortened or expanded and contracted with the coming in of new guilds and the dropping out of old ones. But it is very hard to imagine a chance arrangement of plays such as would have

resulted from dumbshow representation with such a logical and historical unity of pattern.

Then it must be considered that people were not trained dramatically for dumbshow. They had for decades and generations seen plays acted with actors speaking, in fact they had seen representations of Bible scenes with spoken parts all their lives. Why, then, suddenly shut up the mouths of the actors.

We must also consider the narrowness of the streets in many of the old English towns. Only in a few favored open places was there room for spectators and hearers. A mimetic presentation to the houses would hardly have been appreciated according to the dumbshow theory. Besides, the supposed spectators, for the most part, were participants in the procession, how, then, could they see a mimetic performance somewhere in their rear?

And, finally, there is the argument from the order of the procession as given in the records quoted above. To have constructed a procession de novo in the proper order was a harder thing than to construct the

procession with a cycle of plays as a guide. The construction of the procession, with the guilds arranged in order of age and precedence, looks as though it were based on the play cycle. In other words, it is very probable that as soon as the craft-guilds were added to the procession in larger numbers, they were arranged in the order in which the plays of the cycle had been assigned to them. At Beverley, for instance, although the Mercers and Drapers played Black Herod and Domesday, the last plays in the cycle, they marched next to the clergy, after the Host, in the procession. In 1520 the order of the plays only is given, and there we find them mentioned last.

Another argument against the idea of a gradual development is the fact that the play cycles as a literary form, as they had come down to later generations since 1328 (1268) at Chester and since about 1340 at York, were known as the Corpus Christi plays. Even plays which were not played on Corpus Christi day or which were transferred from Corpus Christi day to some other date, if they had the cyclical form and included the entire plan of re-

demption, were known by the technical term of Corpus Christi Plays. In 1377 we have an "Ordinacio de expensis pagine et ludi Corporis Christi, cum pena." In 1390 we have an "Ordinacio ludi Corporis Christi, cum pena." In 1392 we have a "Pena perdita per fabros causa ludi eorum non lusi die Corporis Christi." In 1411 we have an "Ordinacio eiusdem ludi Corporis Christi imperpetuum ludendi" "ludent pagendas ludi Corporis Christi." In 1457 we are told of a "Ludus Corporis Christi." Although the Chestercycle plays, at least in the fifteenth century, were given in Whitsunweek, the Chester White Book, 1544, speaks of "pagyns in play of Corpus *Xpi*". At Lincoln a Play of St. Anne with cyclical character was designated as Corpus Christi Play, in 1554: "It was ordered that St. Anne's Gild with Corpus Christi Play shall be brought forth and played this year." There are numerous other references which will substantiate this point. The note in Sharp's Dissertation and the lines of John Heywood are well known.

If we thus eliminate all elements of chance and all mere suppositions, such as the climatic conditions,

and if we confine ourselves strictly to the records themselves, we are able to present the following conclusions as to the origin of the Corpus Christi Play in relation to the Corpus Christi festival and its procession.

According to the historical accounts which we examined above we find the following condition of affairs in regard to plays at the beginning of the fourteenth century: The liturgical plays of the Church, which had grown out of the tropes of various offices, had, in some localities, been secularized. They had probably been taken out of the church with the introduction of the comic element, they were given in the vernacular, they had, at least in certain places, been connected into series. In France these so-called mysteries had developed a character of their own, while retaining the form of the liturgical play, and were performed on stages in the open (cf. Ungemach, Spencer, and others). The clergy, however, had not ceased to take an interest in the plays. In many cases, the connected plays, though performed mainly by laymen, were yet controlled by the clergy.

Then came the establishment of Corpus Christi

festival as a general festival, the adding of the procession, and its introduction into England in the second decade of the fourteenth century. The scope and significance of the Corpus Christi office and of the procession were, in certain respects, identical with that of the connected plays. The great events of Christmas, the Passion, and the Resurrection had the same ultimate objects as the Corpus Christi office showed. The scope of both was the plan of redemption. The culmination of both was the sacrifice on the cross, the vicarious suffering and resurrection of Christ. What more logical and natural than to suggest the performance of the plays in connection with the procession on Corpus Christi day? The recasting of the plays to suit this purpose was easily accomplished. The minor clergy especially could probably be depended upon to perform this part of the work. In the case of the Chester cycle that part of the records is clear, and at Lincoln the friendliness of the clergy to the plays is vouched for. Besides, the French plays were easily accessible to them, so their use as models is readily explained.

The number of guilds being small at first, the

performance of the plays did not take very long. They either followed in the wake of the feast or were performed after the mass which came after the procession. In some cases, the procession was held in the morning and the plays were given in the afternoon. This state of affairs continued till about the last quarter of the fourteenth century. The fact that the clergy still had control of the entire festival would easily account for the comparative absence of records at this time.

With the growth of the guilds in numbers, in wealth, and in power, the clergy gradually lost control of the plays. From about 1390 on, the laity seems to have had exclusive power over the plays. They still respected the clergy and their rights, but they considered the plays and everything pertaining to them as their territory and within their sole jurisdiction. The plays had now grown so in number, if not in comparative length, that a complete separation of procession and plays followed. And since they consumed more time than the day permitted after the procession, either plays or procession had to give up the day. For a while it seems that

the clergy held out for their rights to keep the Corpus Christi day for the procession. At York and, most likely, at Norwich, the plays were, for some time, given on the vigil of Corpus Christi day. But the laity were soon in a position where they could dictate. Accordingly, we find the plays on Corpus Christi day at York, while the procession was held on the morning after. At Chester, the plays seem to have been given first on Corpus Christi day (1466-1471), then at Whitsuntide (perhaps the clergy were strong enough to overcome the influence of the guilds), and then again on Corpus Christi (1544).

* * *

These are, in brief, the deductions we have drawn from all the available records. And if this attempt to interpret the historical accounts of the origin and development of the Corpus Christi play in its relation to the Corpus Christi festival and its procession is the means of clearing up even a little of the uncertainty which has hitherto prevailed in regard to some of the facts adduced, the writer will feel well repaid for his efforts.

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A P P E N D I X

A. LETTER OF URBAN IV., ESTABLISHING THE CORPUS
CHRISTI FESTIVAL.

Extract from:

"SACRORUM CONCILIORUM NOVA,
ET AMPLISSIMA COLLECTIO.
TOMUS VIGESIMUS TERTIUS.
VENETIIS MDCCLXXIX.

(Editio iterata ad Editionis principis
exemplum ab Huberto Welter, Bibliopola,
Via dicta Bernard Palissy 4, Parisiis
MDCCCIII)"

VITA URBANI PAPAE IV.

Anno
Christi
1261.

EPISTOLA II. AD OMNES PRAELATOS.

DE FESTO CORPORIS CHRISTI.

Urbanus episcopus servus servorum Dei venerabili-
bus fratribus, patriarchis, archiepiscopis,
episcopis, et aliis ecclesiarum praelatis, salu-
tem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Transiturus de hoc mundo ad patrem salvator
noster dominus Jesus Christus, cum tempus suae passionis,

instaret, sumpta coena in memoriam mortis suae, instituit summum & magnificum sui corporis & sanguinis sacramentum, corpus in cibum, & sanguinem in poculum tribuendo. Nam quotiens hunc panem manducamus, & calicem bibimus, mortem Domini annunciamus. In institutione quidem hujus sacramenti dixit ipse apostolis: Hoc facite in meam commemorationem: ut praecipuum et insigne memoriale sui amoris eximii, quo nos dilexit, esset nobis hoc praecelsum & venerabile sacramentum: memoriale, inquam, mirabile ac stupendum, delectabile, suave, tutissimum, ac super omnia pretiosum, in quo innovata sunt signa, & mirabilia immutata; in quo habetur omne delectamentum, & omnis saporis suavitas, ipsaque dulcedo Domini degustatur; in quo utique vitae suffragium consequimur & salutis. Hoc est memoriale dulcissimum, memoriale salvificum, in quo gratam redemptionis nostrae recensemus memoriam, in quo a malo retrahimur, & in bono confortamur, & ad virtutum & gratiarum proficimus incrementa, in quo profecto proficimus ipsius corporali praesentia Salvatoris. Alia namque, quorum memoriam agimus, spiritu menteque complectimur; sed non propter hoc realem eorum praesentiam obtinemus. In

hac vero sacramentali Christi commemoratione Jesus Christus praesens, sub alia quidem forma, in propria vero substantia est nobiscum, Ascensurus enim in coelum dixit apostolis & eorum sequacibus : Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi: benigna ipsos promissione confortans, quod remaneret & esset cum eis etiam praesentia corporali. O digna & nunquam intermit-tenda memoria, in qua mortem nostram recolimus mortuam, nostrumque interitum interiisse, ac lignum vivificum lig-no crucis affixum fructum nobis attulisse salutis! Haec est commemoratio gloriosa, quae fidelium animos replet gaudio salutari, & cum infusione laetitiae, devotionis lacrimas subministrat: exultamus nimirum, nostram memo-rando liberationem; & recolendo passionem Dominicam, per quam liberati sumus, vix lacrimas continemus. In hac ita-que caceratissima commemoratione adsunt nobis suavitatis gaudium simul & lacrimae; quia & in ea congaudemus lacri-mantes, & lacrimamur devote gaudentes, laetas habendo lacrimas, & laetitiam lacrimantem, nam & cor ingenti per-fusum gaudio dulces per oculos stillat guttas. O Divini amoris immensitas, Divinae pietatis superabundantia,

Divinae affluentia largitatis! Dedit enim nobis Dominus omnia, quae subjecit sub pedibus nostris, & super universas terrae creaturas contulit nobis domini principatum. Ex ministris (forte, ministeriis) etiam spirituum superiorum nobilitat & sublimat hominis dignitatem. Administratorii namque sunt omnes in ministerium, propter eos qui haereditatem salutis capiunt, destinati. Et cum tam copiosa fuerit erga nos ejus munificentia, volens adjuce ipse nobis suam exuberantem caritatem praecipua liberalitate monstrare: semetipsum nobis exhibuit, & transcendens omnem plenitudinem largitatis, omnem modum dilectionis excedens, attribuit se in cibum. O singularis & admiranda liberalitas, ubi donator venit in donum, & datum est idem penitus cum datore! Quam larga & prodiga largitas, cum tribuit quis seipsum. Dedit igitur nobis se in pabulum, ut quia per mortem forte, cibum homo corruerat, & per cibum ipse relevetur ad vitam. Cecidit homo per cibum ligni mortiferum, relevatus est homo per cibum ligni vitalis. In illo pependit esca mortis, in isto pependit vitae alimentum. Illius esus meruit, laesionem, istius gustus intulit sanitatem. Gustus sauciavit, & gustus

sanavit. Vide quia unde vulnus est ortum, prodiit et medella: et unde mors subiit, exinde vita evenit. De illo siquidem gustu dicitur. Quacumque die comederis, morte morieris. De isto vero loquitur: Si quis comederit ex hoc pane, vivet in aeternum. Hic est cibus qui plene reficit, vere nutrit, summeque impingat, non corpus, sed cor; non carnem, sed escam; non ventrem, sed mentem, Homini ergo, qui spirituali alimonia indegebat, Salvator ipse misericors, de nobiliori & potentiori hujus mundi alimento, pro animae refestione pia dispositione providit, Decens quoque liberalitas extitit, & conveniens operatio pietatis, & verbum Dei aeternum, quod rationabilis creaturae cibus est et refectio factum caro, se rationabili creaturae carni & corpori, homo videlicet, in edulium largiretur. Panem enim angelorum manducavit homo; & ideo Salvator ait: Caro mea vere est cibus. Hic panis sumitur, sed vere non consumitur; manducatur, sed non transmutatur quia in edentem minime transformatur: sed si dig-ne recipitur, sibi recipiens conformatur. O excellentissimum sacramentum, o adorandum, venerandum, colendum, glorificandum, praecipuis magnificandum laudibus, dignis praeconis exaltandum, cunctis honorandum studiis, devotis

prosequendum obsequiis, & sinceris mentibus retinendum!
O memoriale nobilissimum intimis commendandum praecordiis, firmiter animo alligandum, diligenter reservandum in cordis utero & meditatione, ac celebritate sedula recensendum! Hujus memorialis continuam debemus celebrare memoriam, ut illius, cujus ipsum fore memoriale cognoscimus, semper memores existamus; quia cujus donum vel munus frequentius aspicitur, hujus memoria strictius retinetur. Licet igitur hoc memoriale sacramentum in quotidianis Missarum solenniis frequentetur, conveniens tamen arbitramur & dignum, ut de ipso semel saltem in anno, ad confundendam specialiter haereticorum perfidiam & insaniam, memoria solennior & celebrior habeatur. In die namque coenae Domini, quo die ipse Christus hoc instituit sacramentum, universalis ecclesia pro poenitentium reconciliatione, sacri confectione chrismatis, adimplerione mandati circa lotionem pedum, & aliis, quamplurimum occupata, plene vacare non potest celebrationi hujus maximi sacramenti. Hoc enim circa sanctos, quos per anni circulum veneramus, ipsa observat ecclesia, ut quamvis in litanniis & Missis, ac aliis etiam, ipsorum

memoriam saepius renovemus; nihilo minus tamen ipsorum natalitia certis diebus per annum solennius recolat, festa propter hoc eisdem diebus specialia celebrando. Et quia in his festis circa solennitatis debitum, aliquid per negligentiam, aut rei familiaris occupationem, aut alias ex humana fraglitate omittitur: statuit ipsa mater ecclesia certum diem, in qua generaliter omnium sanctorum commemoratio fieret, ut in hac ipsorum celebratione communi, quidquid in propriis ipsorum festivitatum omissum existeret, solveretur. Potissime igitur exequendum est erga hoc vivificum sacramentum corporis & sanguinis Jesu Christi, qui est sanctorum omnium gloria & corona, ut festivitate ac celebritate praefulgeat speciali; quatenus in eo, quod in aliis Missarum officiis circa solennitatem est forsitam praetermissum, devota diligentia suppleatur; & fideles, festivitate ipsa instante, intra se praeterita memorantes, id quod in ipsis Missarum solenniis, saecularibus forsan agendis impliciti, aut alias ex negligentia vel fraglitate humana, minus plene gesserunt, tunc attente in humilitate spiritus & animi puritate restaurent. Intelleximus autem olim, dum in minori essemus officio

constituti, quod fuerat quibusdam catholicis divinitus
revelatum, festum hujusmodi generaliter in ecclesia cele-
brandum. Nos itaque ad corroborationem & exaltationem
catholicae fidei, digne ac rationabiliter duximus statuen-
dum, ut de tanto sacramento, praeter quotidianam memoriam,
quam de ipso facit ecclesia, sollemnior & specialior an-
nuatim memoria celebretur, certum ad hoc designantes, &
describentes diem, videlicet feriam quintam proximam post
octavam Pentecostes, ut in ipsa quinta feria devotae tur-
bae fidelium propter hoc ad ecclesias affectuose concur-
rant, & tam clerici quam populi gaudentes in cantica lau-
dum surgant. Tunc enim omnium corda & vota, ora & labia,
hymnos persolvant laetitiae salutaris: tunc psallat fides,
spes tripudiet, exultet caritas, devotio plaudat, jubilet
chorus, puritas jucundetur. Tunc singuli alacri animo
pronaque voluntate convenient sua studia laudabiliter
exequendo, tanti festi sollemnitatem celebrantes. Et uti-
nam ad Christi servitium, sic ejus fideles ardor inflammet,
ut per haec & alia, proficientibus ipsis meritorum cumulis,
apud eum qui sese dedit pro eis in pretium, tribuitque
se ipsis in pabulum, tandem post hujus vitae decurtum eis

se in praemium largiatur. Ideoque universitatem vestram monemus & hortamur in Domino, & per apostolica scripta in virtute sanctae obedientiae districte praecipiendo mandamus, in remissionem peccatorum injungentes: quatenus tam excelsum & tam glotiosum festum, praedicta quinta feria, singulis annis, devote & solenniter celebretis, & faciatis studiose per universas ecclesias civitatum vestrarum & dioecesum celebrari, subditos vestros in Dominica dictam quintam feriam proxime praecedente, salutaribus monitis sollicite per vos & per alios exhortantes, ut per veram & puram confessionem, eleemosynarum largitionem, attentas & sedulas orationes, & alis devotionis & pietatis opera taliter se studeant praeparare, quod hujus pretiosissimi sacramenti mereantur fieri participes illa die, possintque ipsum suscipere reverenter, ac ejus virtute augmentum consequi gratiarum. Nos enim Christi fideles ad colendum tantum festum & celebrandum donis volentes spiritualibus animare, omnibus vere poenitentibus & confessis, qui matutinali officio festi ejusdem in ecclesia, in qua idem delebrabitur, interfuerint, centum; qui vero Missae, totidem; qui autem in primis ipsius festi vespere

interfuerint, similiter centum; qui vero in secundis, totidem; illis vero qui primae, tertiae, sextae, nonae, ac completorii officii interfuerint, pro qualibet horarum ipsarum, quadraginta; illis autem qui per octavas illius festi matutinalibus, vespertinis, Missae ac praedictarum horarum officii interfuerint, centum dies, singulis octavarum suarum diebus, in omnipotentis Dei misericordia, ac beatorum apostolorum ejus Petri & Pauli autoritate confisi, de injunctis sibi poenitentiis relaxamus.

Datum apud Urbem veterem sexto Idus Septembris, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

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B. RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT (1546-63),
SESS.13, c.5, de EUCHARISTIA:-

"Declarat sancta Synodus, pie et religiose admodum in Dei Ecclesiam inductum fuisse hunc morem, ut singulis annis peculiari quodam et festo die praecelsum hoc et venerabile Sacramentum singulari veneratione ac solemnitate celebraretur; utque in processionibus reverenter et honorifice illud per vias et loca publica circum-

ferretur. Aequissimum est enim, sacros aliquos statutos esse dies, quum Christiani omnes singulari ac rara quidam significatione gratos et memores testentur animos erga communem Dominum et Redemptorem pro tam ineffabili et plene divino beneficio, quo mortis eius victoria et triumphus repraesentantur. Atque sic quidem oportuit victricem veritatem de mendacio et haeresi triumphum agere, ut eius adversarii in conspectu tanti splendoris, et in tanta universae Ecclesiae laetitia positi, vel devilitati et fracti tabescant, vel pudore affecti et confusi aliquando recipiscant."

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