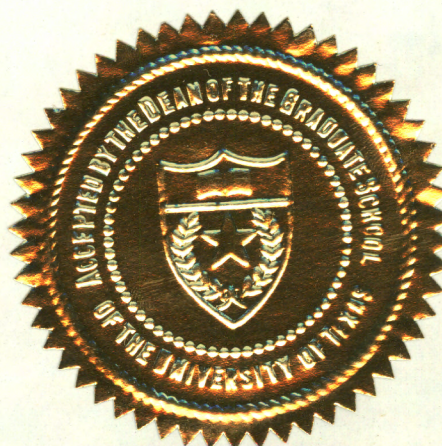


FRAME ELEMENTS IN THE EARLIEST GERMAN
FASTNACHT PLAYS

APPROVED:

Wolfgang F. Kriebel
J. H. Widdowson



to Brad, for everything ...

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FASTNACHT PLAYS

by

PHYLLIS J. MANNING, B.A.

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P. M.

ABSTRACT

Frame elements of early Nürnberg Fastnacht plays were examined with respect to audience-play relationships and staging, and compared with other, contemporary dramas.

Possible source of Fastnacht-play prologues and epilogues and Passion-play prologues were found in the very simple Fastnacht speeches, and in the Silete. It was hypothesized that Vagantes helped adapt the latter to secularized contexts and transmitted the Passion-play prologue and staging to Tirolean secular plays. These later influenced the Nürnberg prologues.

The Nürnberg frames preserved an "open" form; but one type of "closed" drama specific to the Nürnberg stage discarded or absorbed the prologue.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Ever since Keller's collection of Fastnacht plays appeared in 1853, the problems of defining, and ordering and tracing the authorship, dates and sources of these unique little dramas have both fascinated and baffled students of German literature. They remain a mystery to us in many respects. In contrast with the medieval religious drama, which can be traced through more than six centuries of development from the liturgical tropes, such as quem queritis, to the great Passion play cycles of Tirol and Lucerne, the earliest known Fastnacht plays appear in already written form, flourish in Nürnberg and a limited number of other German-speaking areas for about two centuries, and then disappear.

They are tantalizing in their very simplicity and lack of self-consciousness. We seem to have before us the very beginnings of a dramatic tradition which arose neither from religious ceremony and observance--as with the Greek,

the European medieval and most Eastern dramas--nor through deliberate borrowing from the dramatic arts of other cultures--as the Humanist theater borrowed from the Latin, the Baroque theater from Italian and French, and the German Classical drama from the Greek models. The search for the sources of the Fastnacht plays has ranged from ancient Germanic cults to medieval literature and contemporary forms of dance, pageant, poetry and informal storytelling; but the origin of the actual drama is still unaccounted for.

There are basic problems in systematizing the materials. What is "Fastnachtspiel"? In what respects is it a specific genre, and how can this genre be defined? As Catholy questioned as recently as 1961:

Welche Kriterien aber soll man anwenden, um sich einen Ueberblick über das zunächst verwirrende Material zu verschaffen, wenn die Frage nach Verfasserschaft und Datierung keinen sicheren Weg weist? Gibt es irgend eine Möglichkeit, aus der uns vorliegenden Textgestalt von ungefähr 150 Fastnachtspielen einheitliche Grundzüge herauszuarbeiten...?

Oder ist die Annahme einer einheitlichen Gattung des Fastnachtspiels überhaupt eine

Fiktion, faßt jener volkstümliche Begriff
Erscheinungen äußerlich zusammen, aus denen
sich niemals ein Idealtypus gewinnen läßt?¹

The primary problems of defining and ordering the materials
have been solved in so many different ways as to lead to
confusing and contradictory pictures of the genre's de-
velopment--and thus compounded the confusion that reigns
in research on its "origins".

Two early scholars--Victor Michels and L. Lier--
have established useful organizations on the basis of
form types, Michels on the basis of the type of "dia-
logue":

Mann kann verschiedene Typen scheiden, die indessen
nicht reinlich aus einander gehalten werden:

- 1) verschiedene Personen treten auf und mono-
logisieren, ohne Rücksicht auf einander oder auf
dritte Personen zu nehmen;
- 2) sie sind in Beziehung gesetzt
 - a) zu einer führenden Persönlichkeit (einem
Preisrichter, einer Preisrichterin),
 - b) zum Wirt;
- 3) sie sind unter einander in Beziehung gebracht,
insofern als jeder folgende auf die Rede des
früheren Sprechers (die Reden früherer Sprecher)
repliziert.²

¹ Ekehard Catholy, Das Fastnachtspiel des
Spätmittelalters. (=Hermea 8) Tübingen, 1961, pp. 141,
142.

² Victor Michels, Studien über die ältesten
deutschen Fastnachtspielen. (=Quellen und Forschungen, LXXVII)
Strassburg, 1896, pp. 202, 203.

Lier¹ established form types on the basis of speech length and the presence or absence of rime connections (Reimbrechung) between speeches.

The particular value of these structural categories lies first in the fact that they are based on a formal element--the speech--specific to the drama, rather than on content, theme, or techniques of presentation which occur in and might have been "borrowed" from non-dramatic literature or non-literary customs and traditions. Secondly, in the absence of a "dating" for the various plays, they allow us to arrange them in a developmental sequence from "primitive" to more "complex" types. As W. F. Michael has pointed out, this procedure is valid for discussion of the whole corpus of the texts, even though it cannot be applied in dating specific plays:

Im geistlichen Drama zum Beispiel sieht man immer wieder, daß die allereinfachste Gestalt der liturgischen quem-queritis-Feier sich völlig unberührt von

¹ Leonhard Lier, "Studien zur Geschichte des Nürnberger Fastnachtspiels," Verein für Gesch. der Stadt Nürnberg. Mitteilungen, VIII, (1889) pp. 87-160.

der sonstigen Entwicklung vielfach bis ins 16, ja 17. Jahrhundert erhalten hat. Aber gerade dieser Vergleich stützt unsere Auffassung. Denn diese späten einfachen Formen haben sich ja nicht aus den komplizierten rückentwickelt, sondern sie sind eben stehengebliebene Ueberbleibsel aus sehr viel früherer Zeit. So ist es doch auch beim Fastnachtspiel. Wenn wir also gewiß nicht das einzelne Dokument nach seiner Form allein datieren wollen, so dürfen wir doch auch für das Nürnberger Fastnachtspiel die einfachere Form als die frühere Stufe ansehen.¹

Both Michels' and Lier's work indicates that the basic element of the Reihenspiel is the monologue. Moreover, the monologue survives in more complex Handlungsspiele both within the play as an alternative to dialogue, and in the special form of the prologue and epilogue, which continue to use the principle of Michels' type 1, and stand in sharp contrast to the main body of such plays as Folz' "Salomon und Markolf".

The prologue and epilogue are the most obvious and-- in the absence of extensive external evidence--the most reliable indices to a definition of Fastnachtspiel as a dramatic genre. Not only do they contain numerous references to the staging or playing conditions; but the elusive

¹ W. F. Michael, Frühformen der deutschen Bühne. Berlin, 1963, p. 59.

factor of audience-play relationship is reflected through the relationship of pro- and epilogue to the play text. An attention to this particular relationship seems to be extremely important if we are to understand the Fastnacht drama on its own terms, rather than through concepts of drama borrowed from the classical, or "Aristotelian" theater. As Hennig Brinkmann cautions:

Unseren Begriffen vom Aufbau eines Dramas widerspricht das geistliche Schauspiel des Mittelalters durchaus...¹

the same is true for the medieval secular drama.

As a constant feature of the Fastnachtspiel tradition, the prologue and/or epilogue appear not only in almost all the Nürnberg texts, but also in many of the secular plays from outside Nürnberg and in the later religious Volksdrama. They contain a limited number of rather stereotyped formulae, which are easily catalogued and which make individual variations easily recognizable, despite the large number of texts. But the formal relationship of pro- and epilogue to the main body of the plays

¹ Hennig Brinkmann, "Die Eigenform des mittelalterlichen Dramas in Deutschland," Germanisch-Romanisch Monatschrift, XVIII (1930), pp. 16-36, 81-98, p. 81.

varies over a definable range from additive, symmetrical structuring (in which the opening and closing speeches differ very little from the other speeches "in" the play) to "framing" of the main play by speeches on a different level of audience-play relationship. Within this range it should be possible to establish a small set of categories, on the basis of Michels' and Lier's organizations, which would reflect the development of audience-play relationship with a reasonable degree of accuracy and reliability.

Of the work that has been done on the prologues and epilogues of the Fastnacht plays, O. Koischwitz' Der Theaterherold im deutschen Schauspiel des Mittelalters und der Reformationzeit,¹ contains many valuable insights but is somewhat marred by his desire to prove that nearly all the pro- and epilogues in medieval drama were delivered by herold figures. Eva Mason Vest's Prolog, Epilog und Zwischenrede im deutschen Schauspiel des Mittelalters,²

¹ = Germanische Studien, XLVI (1926).

² Diss., Basel, 1949.

is primarily concerned with rescuing the religious drama from Stumpf's theory that the medieval dramas could all be traced to "lost" Germanic cult Bräuche. Unfortunately, her analysis of the religious pro- and epilogues and their relations to medieval rhetoric is directed, ultimately, at the same concept as Stumpf's--namely at non-dramatic "sources" of content and motifs, rather than at the dramatic form and function of the frame elements.¹

Edwin Zellwecker's Prolog und Epilog im deutschen Drama,² is an excellently balanced and reliable description of the elements and "practical" functions of the pro- and epilogue in both the religious and the Fastnacht drama; but he is not concerned with the formal relationship between the reality of the audience and the sphere of the play. Catholy, however, has concerned himself with just this problem. Proceeding from the discovery that the closing dance was a relatively late innovation (rather than the basis of the Fastnacht plays, as suggested by

¹ Significantly, she accepts Stumpf's thesis for the Fastnacht prologue: "Das Urbild des Vorläufers sieht Stumpf im Wegauskehrer des Faschingrennens. So Überzeugend dies für den Praecursor des Fastnachtspiels ist..." Op. cit., p. 17.

² Diss., Wien, 1906.

Creizenach), Catholy argues that the frame elements were an attempt to integrate the play into the "real" world of the Fastnacht festivities, and therefore one general form principle can be established for both Reihen- and Handlungsspiele of the fifteenth century in Nürnberg:

Beide Spieltypen unterwerfen sich ein und demselben Grundsatz: Die Aufführung darf sich formal und inhaltlich nicht vollständig von den Gegebenheiten des heiteren fastnachtlichen Beisammenseins entfernen und ihm gegenüber verselbständigen. Infolgedessen ist man berechtigt, beide Typen in dem Begriff "Fastnachtspiel" zusammenzufassen.¹

In discussing the development of the Fastnacht drama, Catholy argues that, even in the fifteenth century, the plays underwent some sort of progressive development from an open form that made no distinctions between audience and stage reality to a--relatively--more closed form, although the latter may appear only in isolated scenes:

Dieser archaischen Heteronomie weltlicher Prägung gegenüber sind bereits gewisse Tendenzen zu künstlerischen Autonomie zu beobachten, die sich zwar nicht im ganzen des Stückes, aber gelegentlich schon innerhalb einzelner Szenen zu verwirklichen vermag.²

¹ Catholy, Hermea 8, p. 229.

² Ibid., p. 230.

There are certain limitations to Catholy's work. His analysis of the frame elements concentrates largely on the later or more complex of the Nürnberg texts, and largely on the closing of the play. In discussing plays from the Low German, Tirolean and Swiss traditions, he tends to normalize the concept Fastnachtspiel to an ideal model based on the Nürnberg plays and does not connect variations with the fact that the Nürnberg drama had a stage type not found elsewhere, either in religious or secular drama of this period.

In fact, the pro- and epilogues are extremely important as a source of information on the staging of the Fastnacht plays--the physical components of audience-play relationship. As W. F. Michael has defined the Nürnberg stage:

Ein entscheidenes Merkmal aller Spiele ist etwas, was ich mit Ortlosigkeit der Bühne bezeichnen möchte. Der Spielraum stellt durchaus nicht irgendeine bestimmte Lokalität vor, wie doch selbst die primitivste Spielraum der liturgischen Feier, vielmehr die Wirtsstube bleibt auch innerhalb der einfachen Handlung auch Wirtsstube. Es ist dies nicht dasselbe wie die sogenannte neutrale Bühne bei der geistlichen Dramen, wo demselben Spielplatz bald diese, bald jene Bedeutung gegeben wird...die Wirtsstube ist und bleibt das Lokal.¹

¹ Michael, Frühformen, p. 65.

The ortlose Bühne therefore has only one "place", which is the actual area of performance, no distinction between on- and off-stage, and no fictional reality whatsoever, except in the degree to which the players establish themselves as fictional characters by their speeches. Certain of the principles of the ortlose stage are violated in the complex Handlungsspiele, and it disappears, along with the pro- and epilogue, in Hans Sachs' later Fastnacht plays. It is incommensurate with both the staging of the religious drama and with the adaptations of Simultan- and Neutralbühne in Tirol. Even the slightest violation of the ortlose staging principle in Nürnberg usually indicates the presence of a literary or non-Nürnberg dramatic "source".

The purpose of the following study will be to "test" Catholy's hypothesis of heteronomy by examining the audience-play, audience-stage relationships revealed in the pro- and epilogues of the simpler Nürnberg Fastnacht plays and comparing these with the frame elements in more complex Nürnberg dramas, the religious Volksdrama and the secular plays outside Nürnberg in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The following questions will serve as the guidelines of our discussion:

Is there a discernible trend of "development" in the form and function of the frame elements of the Nürnberg Fastnacht drama?

Does this trend support Catholy's hypotheses that, within the traditional "open" form, the onset of a "closed" form can be detected as early as the second half of the fifteenth century, and that the latter tendency was "resisted" by the frame elements?

In what relationship does this trend stand to the introduction and frame elements in the religious drama and non-Nürnberg secular drama? What are the implications for theories of borrowing and influence among these various types of drama?

What interrelationships are revealed between text composition and staging? Can the development and characteristic form of dramatic genres be said to be dependent upon the availability of staging techniques during this period?

CHAPTER II

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN DRAMA AND NON-DRAMATIC SOURCES

The Question of Origins

The search for the "origins" of German secular drama of the later middle ages--both the Nürnberg Fastnacht plays and the so-called "courtly" dramas represented by the Neidhartspiel--has led scholars into many fascinating by-ways but at the same time obscured some of the most obvious facts. It may be useful to set forth two of these facts and their implications.

The unique feature of the Fastnacht plays which has been almost forgotten by folklorists is that they are secular. In contrast, not only with the European medieval church drama, but also with the Greek theater and Eastern drama, the Fastnacht plays flourished independently of any support from cult groups. Neither priestly hierarchy nor faithful believers were represented by the players or audience of the earliest Fastnacht plays we can find.

To this basic statement the folklorists, such as Stumpfl, would object that the plays had their inception in ancient customs originally derived from Germanic religious cults; but this involves our second very obvious fact. As W. F. Michael has stated the case:

Wir müssen hier einen Grundsatz aufstellen, der eigentlich selbstverständlich ist, der aber doch immer wieder mißachtet wurde. Brauchtum ist noch kein Drama. Schwerttänze, Winteraustreiben, Maifeste, Fruchtbarkeitskulte, Fastnachtsbräuche, sie mögen so alt sein, wie man nur will...für unsere Betrachtung gewinnen sie erst Interesse, wenn sie nicht nur dramatische Züge enthalten, sondern sich zu wirklichem Drama entwickeln...Und das formt sich erst im 14. und mehr noch im 15. Jahrhundert.¹

This statement is relevant, as well, to the search for "sources" in medieval, non-dramatic literature, whether courtly, folk literature, rhetorical verse or prose.

While a study of the "sources" of Faust may cast much light on that work as a literary form; no scholar would be tempted to place the "origin" of the German classical stage in the Volksbuch. The same consideration should be obtained for the medieval stage.

Thus, while Lenk's defense of the Fastnacht plays

¹ Michael, Frühformen, p. 58.

as a "worthy" object of literary criticism is well put; we cannot agree with his thesis that the Fastnachtspiel originated in non-dramatic literature. In asserting the truism that the Fastnachtspiel was, at least by the standards of the time, a separate genre, he mentions only in passing that it was wholly a performance genre.

Der Fastnachtspieldichter ist nicht Stegreifdichter; seine Werke, auch wenn sie der literarischen Kleinkunst gehören, sind "verfaßt"....Das Nürnberger Fastnachtspiel des 15. Jahrhunderts kann, diesem Sachverhalt entsprechend, nicht pauschal dem Bereich brauchtümlicher Veranstaltungen zugeordnet und als Träger und Produkt eines Sammeluriums von "suvivals" aufgefaßt werden, sondern es muß als Dichtwerk und als literarisches weltliches Schauspiel anerkannt und als solches interpretiert werden.¹

Both Lier and Michels came long ago to the conclusion that the most primitive type of Fastnacht play now extant was a series of unconnected monologues--we would hardly call this "drama" today--and Lier further subdivided this group to find an extremely primitive type in which each speaker, including pro- and epilogist, had exactly the same number of lines. This he considered to be the original form of the Fastnachtspiel:

¹ Werner Lenk, Das Nürnberger Fastnachtspiel des 15. Jahrhunderts. (= Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für de. Sprache u. Lit., XXXIII) Berlin, 1966, p. 109.

Eine primitivere Form als die Aneinanderreihung
unzusammenhängender Monologe ist nicht denkbar.¹

In fact, there is no reason not to believe that we have in the Keller collection, if not the earliest Fastnacht plays, at least some plays which are representative, in their primitive form, of the earliest plays performed in Nürnberg. And these plays are obviously secular in nature and "non-literary" in form. In order to determine what this fact means for the early Fastnacht drama, one must compare the criteria by which drama can be differentiated from non-drama in the two spheres of the religious and the Fastnacht plays.

The Transition from Pre-drama to Drama

In the Regularis Concordia of St. Ethelwold from the tenth century, we have what appears to be the earliest Visitatio play of the medieval church. It takes place during the office of Matins and is exceedingly simple, involving the singing of certain "dialogue" tropes (quem queritis...Non est hic...Ite, nuntiante...) over a sepulchre-shaped structure at the church altar. The clerics involved

¹ Lier, p. 91.

have slightly modified garb and certain prescribed gestures by which they are to imitate the Marys and an angel. This single fact of imitation marks the change from a liturgy containing numerous "dramatic" elements to a real "play".

Karl Young has stated that the Easter trope did not become a real play--did not lead to imitation of characters by its recitors--until it was detached from the mass of Easter and placed before the Te Deum at the close of Easter Matins.¹ Jude Wordeman has offered a reason for this transfer based on the liturgical changes imposed by the Concordia itself. Previously, the monastic office of Easter Matins had included a reading of the gospel passages describing Christ's resurrection. The Concordia substituted the shorter Roman office, which had no gospel reading. Wordeman points out that the dramatized trope is an attempt to, "preserve as much of the solemnity of the monastic rite as possible."²

¹ Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church. Oxford, 1933, Vol. I, p. 231: "In this new position it achieved a generous amount of literary freedom and developed into an authentic Easter play...the Visitatio Sepulchri."

² Jude Wordeman, "The Source of the Easter Play," Orate Fratres, XX (1945-46), pp. 262-272, p. 267.

The earliest medieval religious dramas arose, then, by the additions first, of freely composed texts (the tropes) and then, of imitation of the characters in the texts, to the already existing ritual and liturgy of the church. In the case of the Regularis Concordia, at least, the drama was a direct substitute for a narrative reading of the Gospel "story".

How does the development of the religious drama compare with what we can determine of the Fastnacht plays? Here, too, we find a festival with certain customs--parades, dances, etc.,--but all of these customs lack one important feature: words and literary texts. On the other hand, the impersonation of various characters from folk lore literature, or even from the actual populace of the town, was a regular feature of Fastnacht costumes and masks. How did the conjunction of custom and impersonation with texts come about? Catholy suggests that the tradition of (recited) Spruchdichtung may have been the decisive factor in Nürnberg:

Zwar wurden mehrfach Sprüche als Vorlagen von Fnssp. festgestellt. Sie haben jedoch keine andere Bedeutung für das Fnsp. als sonstige stoffliche Quellen. Darüberhinaus könnte es jedoch sein, daß das Nürnberger Fnsp. sogar seine Entstehung...indirekt der

Tatsache verdankt, daß Nürnberg im 15. Jh. zu einem Wichtigen Zentrum der Spruchdichtung wurde.¹

The key word here, however, is "indirekt". The tradition of oral recitation helps explain why the monologue form was so popular in Nürnberg; how and why it was dramatized, by persons imitating the characters, on a stage--is another matter. Certainly, Lenk goes far afield in defining the basic forms of the Nürnberg plays, as "Dialog und Handlung", which he then finds only in the more complex Fastnacht plays.² Not only is he guilty of seeing the Fastnachtspiel with the eyes of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century theater; but he attempts to explain the simpler Revue forms away as "parodies" of Minnedichtung:

Wir haben die Nürnberger Fastnachtspiele vom Gericht und von der Buhlschaft--sie machen einen bedeutenden Teil des Spielrepertoires aus--in ihrem Zusammenhang mit der nachklassischem höfischen Minnedichtung gesehen...im Fastnachtspiel auf eigentümliche Weise gebrochen, parodiert, zerzerzt und karikiert.³

¹ Eckehard Catholy, Fastnachtspiel. Stuttgart, 1966, p. 17.

² Lenk, pp. 37, ff. His list of examples concentrates heavily on Folz' plays (K 43, 60, 106) and other Handlungsspiele (K 6, 17, 22, 37), some of which have been attributed to Folz, and includes such non-Nürnberg plays as K 21, 53, 56, 68, and 128.

³ Lenk, p. 72.

Various sources have been suggested for the earliest known Austrian plays: epic and Schwank literature (Neidhart, Aristotle), and the already dramatized Teufel and Artzt scenes of the religious drama (Keller 56, 57). But with the exception of the St. Pauli Neidhartspiel which seems to represent a slightly different genre, the so-called "courtly" drama; the Tirolean texts have such complex forms that it is impossible to discern the "original" elements of drama there. For Sterzing, as for Lübeck, the influence of the Nürnberg dramatic genre was probably the decisive impetus to secular performances; although the local tradition of the religious stage seems to modify the form in Sterzing, and we might assume that the directorship of the patrician Zirkelbruderschaft modified at least some of the performance conventions in Lübeck.

The earliest known play from the Alemannic language area, the Mai-Herbst play, seems to be a combination of literary texts and folklore with the conventions of the religious stage similar to that in the Neidhart play. The oldest known plays from the Low German area are the

sixteenth-century plays edited by Seelman.¹ And even the simplest and perhaps oldest drama in this collection is a genuine dialogue between two peasants whose speeches are connected by Reimbrechung--one of Lier's criteria for "late" plays in the Nürnberg tradition. Only the Streitgedicht between Life and Death (Seelman 3), which is "dramatized" by the simple expedient of assigning the two "roles" to two players, gives any hint of the possible nature of earlier forms.²

None of these relationships--nor any combination of them--will answer the question of the origin of the secular drama; but the possible routes of investigation have been reduced to a very small number of the available texts--namely, the simplest Nürnberg plays, the St. Paul Neidhartspiel, and the Swiss Mai-Herbst play--which can be considered the most primitive, if not the earliest, examples of their types. With these exceptions, the other

¹ W. Seelman, Mittelniederdeutsche Fastnachtspiele. 1885.

² We can omit here the much-altered version of the Lübeck play Von der rechverdicheyt, produced about 1484 and printed as Henselin sometime between 1497 and 1500 -cf. C. Wehrmann. "Fastnachtspiele der Patrizier in Lübeck," Jb. des Vereins für niederdt. Sprachforschung, VI (1880), pp. 1-5.

texts can be traced to a conscious adaptation of existing dramatic models (either the religious drama or the Nürnberg Fastnacht play tradition itself) to new materials.

Fastnacht Plays as "Drama"--an Intentional Definition

The case in Nürnberg is rather unique; not only because the religious drama seemed to have very little influence there, but also because the simplest texts and the customs first dramatized have no inherent relationship to dramatic action--to Handlung in the sense that the Christmas and Easter "stories" automatically imply. It appears that the oldest Nürnberg texts are primarily rhetorical in character, insofar as they consist of short, present-tense speeches by persons whose "role" is merely implied (Marktausschreier, Artzt, etc.) rather than stipulated by the text. If this is true, then the plays which contain past-tense narratives of events or which dramatize specific situations (such as the frequent Gerichtspiele) may already be secondary developments.

On the other hand, the situation may be analogous to that in the religious drama which developed various types of plays (Visitatio, Dreikönigsspiel, Ordo Prophetarum) to fit slightly different texts (the liturgy and

gospel, the gospel and Herod legends, the sermon). Although the origin of these three types of religious play was not simultaneous, and although obvious examples of "borrowing" can be found at their early stages (for example, in the use of the quem queritis Easter trope in the scene at the manger in Christmas plays); it is precisely in the matter of staging that these three types show subtle but decisive differences.¹ The use of the "stage" in Nürnberg will help us to distinguish the relationships between various types of Fastnacht plays.

The earliest plays in Nürnberg actually had no available "stage". As long as the religious drama stayed in the choir and front nave of the church, it had a ready-made "stage" which provided both a vocal point of audience viewing and numerous symbolic-geographic associations, attached to the different stations of the church itself. Even when the Passion plays moved outside the church, an

¹ Specifically in the treatment of space, which varies from the largely stationary scene at the sepulchre to the procession of the three kings, and the sequential appearances of the prophets.

attempt was usually made to reconstruct this symbolic geography (at least the east-west axis of the church) in the market place.¹

For the Fastnacht play, no such centralization and no symbolic place referents were available. While the Tirolean plays and the Swiss Mai-Herbst play seem to have borrowed the religious Simultanbühne, the ortlose Bühne used the Wirtshaus itself as the play's "setting". Any fictional place associations had to be created entirely by the dramatic text; and in Nürnberg this was a relatively late development, borrowed in part from the religious stage through indirect routes (the Neidhart drama, for example). Further, since the early Nürnberg plays had no physical focus, and since the actors and audience might be dressed in equally fantastic carnival costumes, the connection between audience and play was necessarily much closer, even, than that between the worshipers and the clerical actors of the early religious dramatic offices.

¹ In Lucerne, for example, "heaven" was located in the Haus zur Sonne in the east, "hell" under the platform in the west; a similar arrangement was constructed on the Römerplatz in Frankfurt.

The practical difficulties of engaging audience attention are illustrated by the consistent use in, Fastnacht play prologues, of demands for "quiet". Hört or Schweigt occurs in some form in almost every prologue. The well-known prologue to Folz' "Alt und Neu Ee" (Keller 1) demonstrates how the players entering the Wirtsstube had to create all the conditions necessary for the performance:

Weicht ab, tret umbe und raumet auf,
 Ee man euch blupfling uberlauf
 Und alles das durch einander rutt
 Und nicht darzu den wein außschut,
 Hebt von den penken polster und kussen,
 Das ir geschant werd mit den fußen,
 Tragt kind und wiegen als vom weg,
 Das nit ir ains ein ploßen leg,
 Ruck stül und penk als auf ein ort,
 Und, das dest pas werd zugehort,
 So stet darauf und spitzt die oren
 Und seit still hinden, neben und foren,
 Dann wer sein maul allzuvil wer peren,
 Must man den weg zu der tur auß leren.¹

Beyond the practical difficulties of achieving a cleared space and a relatively quiet audience lay the general one of conveying some notion--however primitive--of the fictional nature of the play itself. The Nürnberg

¹ Adelbert von Keller, Fastnachtspiele aus dem 15. Jahrhundert. (=Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins Stuttgart, XXVIIIXXX) Stuttgart, 1853, Vol. 1, p. 1 ff. 5-19.

stage did not represent a fictional world with its own level of reality. The typical themes or events of the simpler Fastnacht plays--the Fastnacht "kangaroo court", the speech contest or dance contest--are not "symbolic" events in the sense that they conveyed an awareness of imitation of something outside the play to their audience. They are simply non-dramatic festival entertainment "dramatized" by the addition of set speeches appropriate to the various roles. If we compare this with the pre-dramatic religious offices (which were already both a "re-creation" of certain events believed to be historically true and a celebration of the symbolic, present significance of those events, which had ready-made Handlügenen in the traditional stories of the Gospel and Church Fathers, and which were already partially in dialogue form), the unique reality status of the Nürnberg drama becomes evident.

Given these facts--that the use of costumed impersonation or the enactment of certain "rituals"--will not differentiate drama from non-dramatic festivities in Nürnberg, what concept can we apply to such varied forms as the Narrenrevue, the Gerichtspiel or the Morischgetanz to define these as a single genre of "drama"? Catholy

operates with an intentional, rather than a formal, definition:

Erst wenn es sich um eine nicht mehr improvisierte, sondern organisierte Darbietung mehrerer Personen für einen bestimmten Zuhörerkreis handelt, können wir also von "Fastnachtspiel" sprechen.¹

In other words, the combination of custom, character impersonation and texts becomes a "play" whenever there is an explicit intention by as few as two persons to perform a "play". In terms of textual analysis, this definition becomes somewhat circular: a play is anything called a "play". But it has the rare virtue of allowing contemporary standards of "drama" to determine our evaluation.

Frame Elements as Definitions of "Drama" and "Stage"

The other dimension of drama--the stage--is equally important for our definition, however; and both the intention to put on a play and the designation of a certain area of the Wirtsstube as the "playing" area are reflected in the frame elements of the Fastnachtspiel texts.

¹ Catholy, Fastnachtspiel, p. 19.

This is evident in the few plays which appear to have been performed without pro- or epilogue: K 76, 77, 101 and 36.

All four of these plays fit Michels' first category of the most primitive Revue plays--those in which several persons deliver a monologue without reference to each other or to a third person. K 76 and 77 are Einsalzen plays. In each, two speakers appear, one after the other, and address the Wirt and/or audience, offering to salt down the unused maidens in order to preserve them through Lent. No reference to the fictionality of their speeches is offered by either player; they neither introduce themselves by fictional names nor give any indication as to what sort of role they are impersonating. The general effect is that of two poems on the same theme.

Similarly, in K 101, three Krämer appear and offer their various ointments for sale to the public--i.e., the Wirtshaus guests. Again, their speeches are of equal length (Lier's "earliest" type), and, again, self-introductions are omitted. Finally, in K 36, four speakers talk on various themes, the third making several references to the Wirthaus guests and the eating and drinking going on.

In none of these plays is any attempt made to create a fictional situation--either by "setting" a scene, or by asserting the fictional reality of the characters. There is no indication, in other words, that any of these four plays are "drama", or that they have a reality status any different from a public speech on purely factual matters. The players involved will be at first indistinguishable from the rest of the costumed audience and its activities--unless they or some other person have previously indicated that they are about to put on a play.

This is, then, the primary function of the pro- and epilogue in the Fastnachtspiel: to indicate that a play is beginning and ending, and to define the boundary between it and the audience in some way. K 91 and 98 are similar to our examples in every respect, except that they have pro- and epilogues which define the fictional situation. In K 98, "Vier Erzt Vasnacht", the prologist announces this quite definitely:

Nu schweigt und hört selzame mer!
 Es sein fremd maister kumen her,
 Das sein hübscher maister drei
 Mit künsten reicher erznei...¹

¹ Keller, Vol. II, p. 751, l. 3-7.

After the four "doctors" each introduce themselves and cry out their wares, the epilogist asks for Urlaub and then makes a joke about the places they will visit next-- formulas characteristic of the Fastnacht plays at almost every point of development. In K 91, another Einsalzen play, the form is much more primitive (here, again, Lier's type 1) and the fiction much less obvious in the introduction:

Got grüß euch, wirt und frau wirtin!
 Die fasnacht wont uns noch im sinn,
 Die schül wir nu laßen farn.
 Doch ist ain sach, die wir süln bewarn,
 Das uns die mait nit schmecken wern,
 Die da man heten genumen gern.¹

The next three speakers address various parts of the audience in about the same fashion; and the Auszschreier closes by promising to begin the merrymaking again after Easter.

In the last example, we can see a very clear relationship between the plays without pro- and epilogue and the simplest forms of the frame. All of these have one characteristic in common: the audience is either the

¹ Keller, Vol. II, p. 722, *ll.* 3-9.

subject or a "silent partner" in the speeches. That is, beyond the conventional direct address formula used in the Reihenspiele in which characters describe themselves or narrate some action they have participated in, the characters in these primitive plays engage the audience directly in some type of implied or expected interaction. And this is precisely the technique employed in the pro- and epilogues of nearly all the Nürnberg plays, not only in the commands for silence or to clear the stage, but also in numerous specific references to the Wirt and/or audience, requests for advice, invitations to "take part" in the play, requests for money, food, or drink.

We can define the pro- and epilogue on the basis of their function and relation to the audience as: a special form of direct address which engages the audience directly in the play, and defines the setting and characters as part of a slightly different level of reality from that of the preceeding and following festivities. The plays which have no prologue either do not assume this intermediate reality status ("illusion" is not a feature of the Nürnberg stage) or, in the case of some later plays, are able to draw upon a tradition in which it has become self-evident. In the context of the Fastnacht activities

to which the plays were subordinated, the use of frame elements can be seen as the first step towards autonomy-- i.e., towards regarding the drama as a "closed" world. In the history of the Fastnacht play, on the other hand, the pro- and epilogue are the elements which preserve the most "archaic" relationship between audience and drama, the completely "open" interaction seen in our "prologue-less" plays.

CHAPTER III

FRAME ELEMENTS IN THE NÜRNBERG REIHENSPIEL

External Functions and Frame Figures

Zellwecker has described the traditional Nürnberg pro- and epilogues according to their secondary, or practical functions.¹ Characteristic of the prologue are: greeting the Wirt (K, 4, 7, 8, 10, etc.), the demand for silence (K 1, 11, 12, 14, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 57, 71, 81, etc.), sometimes an apology for the type of humour (K 13, 21), or a command to prepare the playing area (K 1). The simplest plays proceed without any announcement of the content; but a statement of the theme or content of the play is frequent in slightly more complex examples (K 1, 11, 14, 15, 22, 23, 25, 60, 67, 68 have brief summaries; K 8, 19, 20, 53, 57, 58, 81 more extensive ones.)

¹ Zellwecker, pp. 23-27, 28-31.

The epilogue is generally a combination of some or all of: the Gesegenreim, or farewell to Wirt and guests (K 3, 4, 7, 10, 13, 14, 17, 21, 22, 24, 26, 30, 47, 71, 73, 94, etc.), an excuse for the rough humour of the play, due to the general freedom of the carnival (K 3, 4, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 23, 24, 60, 67, 79, 94, etc.) and the request for Urlaub, often combined with a promise to return again the next year (K 10, 11, 13, 19, 23, 25, 30, 47, 78, 127). Sometimes a request for drink or money for the players is included (K 7, 78, 81, 127), or a command to the audience to go on enjoying itself with food, drink or dancing (K 5, 8, 13, 14, 20, 60).

Rare in plays of the fifteenth century are: the divided prologue in which two or more speakers are designated as Einschreier (K 1, 13, 57), the epilogue with a recapitulation or moral (K 19, 127), or the appearance of the poet himself (K 7). In describing the development of the frame from the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, Zellwecker points to the great variety of forms and combinations in the earlier plays:

Charakteristisch für Pro- und Epilog ist die große Mannigfaltigkeit der Form, ein Zeichen wie lebendig sie in dieser Zeit gewesen. Die späteren Fastnachtspiele zeigen schon das Streben nach Uniformierung

oder Abstoßung des Prologes wie des Epiloges. Hans Sachs und Jakob Ayrer werden uns das zeigen.¹

Not only the figure of the pro- and epilogist, but also the exact relationship of frame figures to play varies from play to play in the Nürnberg texts. The frame may be delivered by a nominally neutral figure or figures, who identify themselves as closely with the audience as with the play. Here, the relation is made specific by having the prologist introduce the central characters in the third person; while the epilogist may use the first-person plural, but in reference to the actual players, rather than to the fictional characters. Often, but not always, the neutral figures are designated by one of the conventionalized terms: Einschreier, Auszschreier, Vorläufer, or Praecursor; these are largely interchangeable, and the prologue may be delivered by an Auszschreier.² Just as frequently, the prologist (less often the epilogist) may consider himself one of the group of characters in the

¹ Zellwecker, p. 31.

² cf. K 7, 8, 13, 30, 81, 82, etc.

play, announcing the fictional theme or situation in the first-person plural. Often, such a prologist is designated as "der erst", sometimes as Ein- or Auszschreier, or by name.¹

A figure who is either designated by one of the conventional terms or is simply anonymous delivers both pro- and epilogue in: K 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 38, 41, 42, 43, 47, 49, 51, 52, 58, 62, 63, 64, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 78, 79, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 102, 103, 106, 108, 109. An Ein- or Auszschreier delivers either pro- or epilogue in: K 2, 4, 8, 12, 13, 33, 40, 50, 59, 66, 73, 81, 94, 97, 104, 112; and part of one of the frames in: K 1, 44. However, the frame figure is not actually detached from the fictional characters in many of these instances. For example, the Praecursor in K 25, 28, 32, etc., identifies himself quite clearly as one of the fools in a Narrenrevue.

It will be useful to make another distinction between the actually neutral prologist and a semi-neutral

¹ Koischwitz notes: "Demgegenüber ist jedoch zu betonen, daß unter precursor, ausschreier, etc. oft ein Mitspieler gemeint sein kann." Op. cit., p. 46.

figure who is not a role character but who implicitly identifies himself in some way with the play's fictional dimensions, for example, by serving as an "official" announcer of the Gericht, or by introducing an Artzt, Meister, or König as "mein Herr". The simple plays in Keller which use a completely neutral prologist--one who introduces the fictional characters in the third person and implies no further connection between himself and the dramatic situation--are relatively few: K 10, 11, 14, 15, 23, 43, 58, 64, 70, 72, 78, 83 and 103. The neutral prologist appears again in such complex plays as K 1, 6, 7, 8, 19, 21 and 46, but frequently in combination with a role figure, and as part of a complex transition from audience to play spheres.

Rarely does the prologist in the Nürnberg plays distance himself from the fictional characters as explicitly as the herold in K 78, "vom Babst, Cardinal und Bischoffen", does in his ironic "aside" on the nature of justice in this court:

...so müß wir alle wol lachen!¹

¹ Keller, Vol. II, p. 642, l. 13.

Nowhere in these early plays can we find a figure comparable to Koischwitz' stylized "Theater-herold":

Der Einschreier-Herold steht demnach in keiner Beziehung zu den Vorgängen des Fastnachtspieles - oder positiv ausgedrückt: er gehört zum Theater, nicht zum Drama.¹

The reason seems rather obvious--the Nürnberg plays did not have this sense of "Theater" at all. The "herold" figures in all but a few later plays are identified in some way with the fictional characters of the Fastnacht drama; while the generally neutral epilogist appears simply as a player at the same level of reality as the audience.

The Relationship of Frame Figures to Play Types

There are two distinct types of frame introductions by characters definitely in the play: the pro- or epilogues labeled "der erst", "der letzt" and possible only in the simpler Revue plays; and those delivered by a specific, often a central, character in the play. The latter type appears in some complex Handlungsspiele (K 17, 37, 55, 60, etc.), often in a divided pro- or epilogue

¹ Koischwitz, p. 48.

in combination with a more neutral figure. Borderline figures combining a specific role with the functions of a neutral or semi-neutral prologist necessarily develop whenever the different roles in a play are more sharply differentiated (i.e. as a variety of different type-figures, rather than a series of the same type).

Simple plays in which both pro- and epilogist are designated merely by number include: K 18, 45, 65, 86, 99, 105. In addition, the numbered figure appears either in the pro- or epilogue of K 13, 44, 73, 91, 104, 112, and in the divided prologue of K 1. The fact that a numbered figure may appear in combination with a neutral pro- or epilogist indicates the direct relationship between the two; often the difference is merely a matter of terminology. Catholy's statement:

Ein- und Ausschreier Reden wurden fast immer
von demselben Spieler gesprochen.¹

obscures this "organic" connection.

Role figures appear either alone or in combination with another pro- or epilogist in K 1 (Synagoge, Hofmeister), K 2 (Walbruder), K 3 (Precursor = der Mann), K 4 (Bauer),

¹ Catholy, Hermea 8, p. 106.

K 5 (der Mann), K 12 (Heinz Mist), K 20 (Narr), K 31 (Precursor = der Mann), K 35 (Bauer), K 39 (Turkenkeiser's Herold), K 40 (Knecht), K 44 (Hofnarr), K 50 (Robelstein), K 66 (Rubin), K 67 (Jeck Schrollentritt), K 80 (Herold), K 100 (Priest), and K 120 (an unnamed friend of the sick man). Of these, K 1 and 44 are Folz' dramas; K 2, 4, 5, 20, 35, 55, and 120 contain Reimbrechung - Lier's criteria for relatively late Fastnacht plays; K 40 has a rather late date (1486); and K 39, 66, and 80 involve either Rubin or the herold figure, both of which border on the neutral prologist figure.

The plays introduced or closed by a numbered figure are (with the exception of Folz' K 1) relatively "primitive". K 91 is an Einsalzen play of Lier's type 1 (all the speeches are of equal length: 5x6 verses). K 45, 86, 94, 99, and 105 are Revue's of Michels' first type. K 18, "Spil von dem Einliften Finger", and K 73, "von der Vasnacht und Vasten Recht", are simple Gericht plays, very much like Michels' type 2. (In K 18, the judgment is left to the Wirt.) K 13, "Aliud von der Puolschaft", and K 104, "Di Karg Baurhohzeit", are just beginning to show features of Michels' type 3 Reihenspiel. In K 13, the frame is the more complex

portion of the play; after the prologue, a neighbor introduces a father and his foolish sons to the audience, and the father asks them to narrate their adventures. The remainder of the play is a Revue, loosely connected by the original reference to the father.¹ In K 104, a Gericht is preceded by a short Revue describing the rigours endured by the guests at the peasant's wedding.² K 65, "von der Baurnhochzeit", is again a Gericht, but the first two speakers address themselves to the Wirt, asking his advice on the matter. (Again, a combination of types 2 and 3.)

If we compare these plays with Lier's categories, they fall roughly into two groups. K 91 and K 105 make no distinctions between the various speakers and the frame on the basis of speech length. In K 45, by contrast, the "first" and "last" speakers have 32 and 30 lines, respectively; while the other speeches range from 8 to 18 lines

¹ The first, third and fifth speakers address the audience directly.

² The presence of a divided epilogue, including both Auszschreier and herold, indicates that this may be a composite of the two plays; the prologist does not mention the Gericht.

with 12 lines the most frequent length. This stress on frame speeches is found in K 99, again a Revue, where the first and last speakers have 18 and 24 lines, the other speakers either 10 or 12. The pattern of speeches in the Revue play K 86, puts great emphasis on the prologue, while treating the epilogue simply as another character speech: 18 + 8x12 verses.¹ K 94, however, emphasizes the epilogue in the pattern: 12 + 10, 4x12, 16, 12 + 20.

Zellwecker seems to assume that there is no essential difference between the Revue prologue delivered by a "first" speaker and the prologue delivered by a role character in the later plays. In regards to Hans Sachs' plays, he concludes:

Die Verschiedenheit der Personen, denen der Prolog Übertragen ist, erklärt sich aus dem Wesen des Fastnachtspieles, zu welchem niemals eine steife Einleitung paßte; man nahm infolgedessen nach altem Muster einfach die erstauftretende Figur als Prologisten in Anspruch...²

But Catholy's work indicates that the role character was re-introduced into the frame of later plays that had a

¹ The content of the last speech supports this pattern--only the last line, the Gesegenreim, is actually an "epilogue".

² Zellwecker, p. 83.

strong tendency to autonomy, and in order to support the transition to and from the fictional sphere.

The fact that we can find characters as pro- or epilogists at every stage of complexity in the Nürnberg drama attests to the continuity of the development. A comparison of K 50 with the same text in K 105 indicates that the second epilogue delivered by Robelstein--who is not listed with the other speakers in the prologue--is less a "transition" than a little embellishment added to the play.¹ In K 12, Heinz Mist is both prologist and the "third person" to whom the various speeches of the Revue refer (i.e. Michels' type 2); and Jeck Schrollentritt in the "alt Hannentanz" (K 67) is an ancestor of the theater fool in a play which mingles various conventional comic types (including Metze) in any chance order at all.

The Relationship of Frame Figures to Audience

In fact, a great variety of audience-play relationships can be established by a pro- or epilogist who

¹ K 105 may be an older version, as well as a bad copy; the unusual short, unrimed market cries in K 50 indicate an attempt at "realism" in character delineation which would be out of place in the older style Revue plays.

is also a role character in the drama. In K 12, Heinz Mist appears to be offering his daughter's hand and dowry to any of the Wirtshaus guests; the characters who respond are the fictive representatives of the audience and pretend to "overhear" his offer. In K 67, Schrollentritt emphasizes the fact that the dance is a stage production, limited to the characters in the play:

Hört, ir herrn, ir schült verstan,
Her kumpt auf disen plan
Von volk ain wild geschlecht,
Dorfmaid und baurnknecht,
Die wollen tanzen umb den han...¹

In K 80, "Das spil mit der Kron", the first herold addresses the assembled characters representing the court, with no reference to the audience:

Nu hört zu, ir fürsten al,
Die her geladen sein auf disen sal
Zu meinem herrn Arthaus her.²

The second herold addresses King Arthur, the third announces the arrival of Aristoteles to the court, alone.

In K 120, the play actually begins with the entrance of the players; the first speaker's address to the

¹ Keller, Vol II, p. 580, ll. 4-9.

² Keller, Vol. II, p. 654, ll. 3-6.

Wirthaus guests is already part of the dramatic fiction of the play. This is true in K 2, 4, 5, 35, and 55 as well.

Rosenplüt's work seems to be in a slightly different mode. K 100, "Künig von Engellant Hochzeit", while technically a herold's Revue, doesn't quite fit our other examples of Michels' type 1. Not only are the speeches rather long--particularly the first, and the last speech, which is delivered by the priest--but there is some ambiguity about the formula of address. The first and second herolds have silence formulas; but none of the speakers refers either to the Wirt or to the actual setting in any way, and none mentions the fact that this is some sort of "play" situation. The first speaker defines his "audience"--i.e., those invited to the wedding--very carefully:

Nu schweigt und hört fremde mer
 Die kumen auß ferren landen her,
 Es hat der künig auß Engellant
 Sein erwerge potschaft außgesant
 Und leBet allermeniglech bedeuten
 Burgern und purgerinn und edelleuten
 Und fürsten und herrn und graven und freien
 Und leBt ainn hof außBrüfen und schreien.¹

¹ Ibid., p. 761, fl. 3-11.

The audience addressed in the opening of K 100 does not seem to be quite identical with the Wirtshaus guests--despite Rosenplüt's inclusion of Bürger and Bürgerin. Certainly this address has less immediate relevance to the actual situation than the Krämer or Markt figures who pretend to be selling their wares. The only other comparable form occurs in the Tirolean "Große Neidhartpiel" (K 53), where an identification of actual with fictive audiences is created. Theoretically, of course, the direct address is always a kind of "fiction", even in our primitive examples of Einsalzen plays. As Lenk argues:

Einige Spiele nämlich scheinen von der Thematik her literarisch fixierte Fastnachtsbräuche zu sein; bei genauerer Untersuchung jedoch wird man feststellen können, daß das Brauchtum im Fastnachtspiel zu dichterischer Fiktion erhoben ist.¹

But K 100 also has a less "open" epilogue than usual for the Revue plays. The priest delivers an exceedingly long "sermon", completely in character to the end.²

¹ Lenk, p. 25.

² The priest's last line: "Die Ier habt euch allen zu einer letz!" has nothing in common with the Gesegenreim close but rather ignores completely the actual situation by continuing the sermon or "teaching" motif right to the close.

If we also attribute K 39, "Des Turken vasnacht-spil", to Rosenplüt, the fact that the herold who delivers that prologue is at different times both a neutral figure and a character in the play becomes quite significant. Catholy uses this prologue as an example of the situation in which,

...das Streben nach einer unabhängigen Spielrealität auf einen Teil des Rahmens, nämlich auf die Praecursorrede übergreift.¹

In both K 100 and K 39, the somewhat innovative approach to the traditional forms of the frame speeches seems to be dictated by a consideration of the content of the plays. But we can hardly find any such general trend as Lenk hypothesizes:

Ein solches Spiel, in der Mitte des Jahrhunderts geschaffen, macht deutlich, daß das Fastnachtspiel bereits zu dieser Zeit...sich sogar von dem Charakter der Fastnacht als einem Fest fröhlichen Ausgelassenheit entfernt hatte, daß es damit auch aus dem Bereich des Grobianismus zu kultivierter Gestaltung und Sinnggebung fortgeschritten war.²

Although Rosenplüt is poetically more ambitious than the compiler-authors of the simple speeches narrating old

¹ Catholy, Fastnachtspiel, p. 26.

² Lenk, pp. 88, 89.

jokes or anecdotes in a straight-forward, almost prosaic verse form; the real innovations in dramatic techniques appear in Folz' period, and his work includes--even in K 1--a liberal dose of gross humour.

Not all of the possibilities of these character-prologists are available to the simpler "first" speaker forms. In most of the plays begun by such figures, the address stresses the reality of the Wirtshaus setting and the characters' appropriateness to it, as in K 99, "Di Harnaschvasnacht":

Herr der wirt und wirtin, ir schult nit erschrecken,
 Das ir uns secht in harnasch plecken,
 Darinn wir ernstlich sein gestellt;
 Dasselb euch nit zu schimpf gefellt.
 Hie wirt euch ain ieglicher besunder sagen,
 Warümb er harnasch an muß tragen;
 So wil ich der erst sein, ders euch melt.¹

An address to the audience and a signal alerting the guests to the fun come in the first line; the remainder of the speech is devoted to establishing the fact that the costumes are a special part of the Fastnacht activities.

The references to the Fastnacht situation are common, as well, in simple Revue plays begun by a semi-neutral Einschreier. In K 51, the characters enter the

¹ Keller, Vol. II, p. 754, ll. 3-10.

Wirtshaus in search of Vasnacht herself--she pretends to have been there among the guests. In K 44, Folz' Revue of Puloern, the prologist mentions an activity related to the carnival:

Got gruB den wirt und all sein gest
 Und was mer hinnen pei im rest!
 Her wirt, wir sein zuo euch gewisen,
 Wan wir gleich wie die farren umb pisen
 Und suochen nun schön maid und frauen.¹

The reference to the search for sweethearts combines the carnival fun with the theme of the following speeches delivered by jilted lovers.

In several of the simpler types of Gericht plays introduced by a "first" speaker, an additional fictional relationship between the play and the setting is implied. In K 18, the Wirt is asked to be the judge; in K 65 the players pretend to be peasants from the Wirt's own Meierhof (including the epilogist, here). After the first two speakers have asked for the Wirt's advice, the third interjects:

Gots knopf, las dem wirt sein ru!
 Wir wollen die sach selber wol pringen zu.²

¹ Keller, Vol. I, p. 337, ll. 4-9.

² Keller, Vol. II, p. 567, ll. 20, 21.

The Gericht form is actually two steps away from the most "open" form of dialogue with the audience. The simple technique of leaving the judgment to the Wirt as the audience representative extends this open form to plays of Michels' type 2. The frame in K 65, moreover, is an extremely effective transition from this extension to the main body of a play where simple "dialogue" of Michels' type 3 is used.

Frame Techniques in Lier's Three Types of Reihenspiele--
"Development"

If we compare with these cases the various simple plays used by Lier as examples of his three types of Reihenspiele, we can find a similar development from the frame techniques of the Revue to the Gericht plays. All but one of Lier's examples have semi-neutral pro- and/or epilogists.¹ Although designated by the conventionalized terms, the prologists identify themselves with the plays' characters either by using the first-person plural in introducing them or by acting as the official of the court

¹ Both pro- and epilogist of K 84 are neutral figures.

(calling forth the judge, jury, witnesses, etc.).¹

Lier's first group--plays in which all the speakers, including the pro- and epilogist, have speeches of equal length--includes our old friends K 91 (Einsalzen) and K 101 ("Drei Artzt"), two Gerichtspiele (K 27 and K 52), and a speech contest (K 33). In the last three cases the prologist uses some special technique for including the Wirts-
haus guests in the play. In K 52, the Einschreier ostensibly recruits the Schöpfer from the audience:

Hie wirt besetzt ein gericht;
Der daran hab zu schaffen nicht,
Der weich palb umb und tret hin dan.
Wer zu dem rechten weiß und kan,
Der sei zu schopfen hie gepeten,
Urteil, als ie die weisen teten.²

The practical problem of clearing the stage is solved here before the fictional invitation is offered; the audience has been notified of the fact that it's a "play", or Kurzweil in the second line. Similarly, in K 27, the

¹ Except for K 30, the epilogists in this group are neutral; here the pattern is reversed and the prologist is neutral, but the epilogist identifies himself as one of the fictional characters.

² Keller, Vol. I, p. 391, *ll.* 6-12.

Praecursor promises that after the case now being tried, anyone may come forth as a plaintiff; the second case does not, of course, come up. The prologist in K 33 ostensibly represents the interests of the ladies, who are offering a prize for the best speech, and invites "anyone" to be a contestant; he later awards the prize himself, although still in the ladies' name.¹

Lier's second group--plays in which only the pro- and epilogist are given different-length speeches and the other speeches in the play are equal--contains simple Revue plays: K 25, 28, 71, 74, 84, 90, 93. In none of these does the fiction of inviting audience participation appear. Only in K 84, where the prologist is a genuinely neutral figure and the structure of the opening resembles the Gericht form, is there any departure from a straightforward address. The "masters", who are handled with the same techniques as the Gerichtschöpfen elsewhere, are very briefly equated with the audience:

¹ Compare K 16, where the ladies appear as characters in the play and award the prize at the close.

Nu schweigt ain weil und habt eur ru
Und hört dem jungen maister zu,

...
Der wil ain actum thun vor euch allen,
Ob er den maistern müg gefallen...¹

Lier's third group contains plays with symmetrically arranged speeches, based on the similarity of certain roles in the play: K 9, 16, 29, 30, 32, 41, 61, 69, 87, 88, 92, 96. The Revue plays in this group show a very slight tendency towards a less "open" form. For example, in K 16, which has the same theme as K 33, there is no connection between audience and "judges" of the contest; the ladies now appear as characters in the play itself. At the same time, the frame seems to be undergoing a gradual expansion. K 9 has a predominance of frame materials; five speakers take part in or comment on the prologue before the actual Revue speakers are called forth. In K 30 the (neutral) prologist is followed by the Bauer and his Knecht who engage in a little dialogue before the actual Revue of the plow-maids. In K 32, the prologue is followed by the Fürsprech and then Venus

¹ Keller, Vol. II, p. 692, *ll.* 3, 4 and 7, 8.

before the Revue of twelve fools.¹

The most striking feature of the Gericht plays in Lier's third group is the regular appearance of a formula inviting the audience to appear as plaintiffs before the court. In K 29, 41, 69, 87, 88, and 96, the central character to whom the speeches of the judge and jury are addressed is ostensibly a member of the actual audience.² For example, in K 87:

Nu schweigt ain weil und redt nicht!
Hie wil man haben ain gericht.
Ob iemant zu kurz wer geschehen,
Der sol es meim herrn richter da verjehen,
Es sei von frauen oder von mannen...³

The address appears to include both the men and women in the audience, identifying the audience with the fictional characters (rather than with the actors, who were men). Or in K 41, both "social classes" of the audience are included in the speech:

¹ Compare K 14, 17, 23, Revues which are begun by a neutral prologist, who calls forth another character, who then calls forth the Revue speakers.

² The same formula occurs also in K 24, 40, and 102.

³ Keller, Vol. II, p. 704, *ff.* 3-8.

Ob iemant hab ze schicken dran,
 Es sei maid, knecht, frau oder man,
 Der leg es hie dem richter für...¹

A similar device occurs in K 96, which has the same structure as the Gericht plays, despite the very different content and the extreme length of the prologue. The herold closes his description of the "Siben weisen Meistern" by inviting any member of the audience to come forth for instruction:

Ob iemant die kunst hie lernen wolt
 In kurzer weil und umb cleinen solt,
 Der sulle es den meistern offenbaren
 Und sulle in das mit worten erclern,
 Wie er heiB und wer er sei.
 Der lernen wolle, der trete her pei!²

A number of other plays have similar invitations to the audience to participate as central figures in the play. K 89, "Kurz Hannentanz", closes the prologue in this way:

Darzu wollen wir alle die piten,
 Knecht und maid, man und frauen,
 Wer ichs kan, der laB sich schauen.³

¹ Keller, Vol. I, p. 314, *ll.* 7-11.

² Keller, Vol. II, p. 741, *ll.* 9-15.

³ Keller, Vol. II, p. 715, *ll.* 8-11. Compare with K 67, "alt Hannentanz", which does not include the fictional invitation.

K 97, "Der Wittwen und Tochter Vasnacht", invites plaintiffs to the court; the herold in K 39, "Des Turken vasnachtspiel", closes his prologue by inviting the audience to come forth and get the emperor's advice. In the Artzt plays K 6, 82 and 85, the prologue includes an invitation for patients to come forth--again, supposedly from the actual audience, as the second Auszschreier in K 82 indicates.

Ob iendert ain kranker unter euch wer,
Der kum her zu diser stund,
Wolt er nimer werden gesunt.¹

In K 85, the fictional invitation is continued into the epilogue in a variation on the standard joke about the player's next stop:

Hört ir iemanz, der erznei wöll pflegen,....
Den weist zu uns, den wöll wir erzneien.
Halsprunner hof den wil man uns verleihen:²

Frame Techniques and the Categories of Audience-Play Reality

The Artzt plays given as examples here are relatively complex Fastnachtspiel types; but the frequency with

¹ Keller, Vol. II, p. 679, ll. 20-23.

² Keller, Vol. II, p. 699, ll. 8 and 11, 12.

which this prologue formula appears in the simpler Gericht plays supports Catholy's statement that:

...jene Spiele, die sich praktisch nur durch die Aufführungssituation von den sonstigen Unterhaltungsbeiträgen unterscheiden, in den Rahmenteilern eine zusätzliche textliche Verbindung zwischen Spiel und Zuhörern ... besitzen.¹

Zellwecker is aware of the phenomenon we have described, but certainly not of the variety of pro- and epilogue techniques involved nor the extent to which some form of audience-play identification pervades even the "earliest" development of the Fastnacht genre on the ortlose Bühne.²

It is clear that all of the prologues which invite the real audience to take part in the play are a type of fictionalization of the situation. Even in the "Kurz Hannentanz" (K 89), which is not a dance but a series of speeches, those who take part in the play are actors in the fullest sense--they deliver memorized set speeches

¹ Catholy, Fastnachtspiel, p. 21.

² Zellwecker makes only one distinction and lumps K 87, 88, 98, and 120 together into what he considers a rare type of play in which "...das zusehende Publikum mit dem mitspielenden identifiziert (wird)." cf. Op. cit., p. 27.

and gestures--rather than extemporaneous speakers from the real audience. Here, as in the Gericht- and Artzt play examples cited, the invitation comes at the close of the prologue, following an announcement of the "fictionality" of the situation. On the other hand, the audience addressed in these prologues is not a purely fictional one--the emphasis is on the actual presence of Wirtshaus guests. Catholy's suggestion:

...daß man bei der Betrachtung der Fastnachtspiele nicht ganz mit den Kategorien der realen und der Ästhetischen Wirklichkeit auskommt...¹

is really an understatement of the problem!

Even in the simple Revue and Gericht plays in the Keller collection, we can discern several different frame techniques:

I. In the "prologueless" Einsalzen and Jahrmarkt plays, each character enters into an open "dialogue" with the audience, entreating its attention, reactions and interaction.

II. In the simplest Revue plays of Michels' type 1, the speakers generally describe themselves or their experiences to the audience, as an open monologue. The pro- and epilogist retain the dialogue with the real audience: they form the boundary between play and audience

¹ Catholy, Hermea 8, p. 51.

spheres, but generally set up the fictional situation in terms of the Wirtshaus and Fastnacht activities.

The prologist generally appears as "first" speaker or as a semi-neutral figure. The epilogist may be "last" speaker or a neutral figure who identifies himself with the players but not with the fictional characters.

III. The subordination of play to audience reality is extended to the simplest Gericht or contest plays (Michels' type 2) when either the first speaker or a semi-neutral Einscheier invites the Wirt or audience to take a peripheral role in the play.

IV. In slightly more complex Revue plays (Michels' type 2-3), the tendency toward a closed form is balanced by the expansion of the frame. The "first" and "last" speakers may have speeches much longer than those of the Revue characters; or the semi-neutral or neutral Einschreier may be followed by as many as four other introductory speakers before the actual Revue.

V. In Gericht plays of Michels' type 2-3, the tendency toward a closed form is offset by a fictional invitation to the audience to participate as central characters in the play. This technique may be used by a semi-neutral or neutral prologist or by a role figure in the play, and appears in some much more complex Fastnacht plays, as well.

In all of these types, the prologist very often identifies himself in some way with the fiction of the play; while the epilogist usually does not. Occasionally, as in K 65, and 85, the identification is carried through the epilogue; in K 30, the pattern is reversed and the epilogist identifies himself with the characters, but the prologist does not. Rosenplüt's technique of aiming the frame address at some point not quite identical with the

actual setting or audience in K 100 is quite unusual in the early Nürnberg drama and may even have been borrowed from an "outside" source.

Most of these techniques are "re-introduced" in the Nürnberg Handlungsspiele, along with two new forms: the "prologue" addressed only to the characters in the play; and the opening in medias res by a central character as he enters the Wirtshaus. In different ways, both involve conscious understanding, by the audience, of the stage conventions. For the most part, the latter type involves only two or three characters in a dialogue connected by Reimbrechung, hence "closed" to the audience.

The simplest Nürnberg Fastnacht plays seem to have very little connection with the religious drama. Although the figure of the Krämer is present in some form at every phase of development in Nürnberg; it is only in the more complex Artzt plays that we find echoes of Rubin's prologue, sometimes combined with departures from the ortlose Bühne. On the other hand, the prologue to the Wiener Osterspiel from the second half of the fourteenth century has a very puzzling resemblance to the Fastnachtspiel frame. After the formulas, "hört, tretet aus dem Wege, bleibt stille stehen...", the neutral prologist adds:

Wir wellin haben eyn ostirspil
das ist frolich und kost nicht vil.¹

Zellwecker applies Hampe's Theaterzettel theory
to the prologist of the religious drama:

Der Prolog zunächst vertrat nicht nur den Theater-
zettel, da er Titel und Personen - was sich in
jener Zeit mit der Inhaltsangabe des Stückes
deckt - angibt, er vertritt auch den Vorhang.
Wie dieser immer, hält er mitunter den Raum für
die Darsteller frei und sein Beginn zeigt wie
das Aufziehen des Vorhanges den Beginn der
Handlung an...²

The older Latin dramas generally began with the Silete
and a choral procession, first of the Marys or three
kings, later emphasizing the "secular" figures (Ingressus
Pilatus or Herod's entrance). The elaborate processions
of herolds and actors in Lucerne or in the Tirolean
"Kaiser Constantinus" (K 125) also signal the beginning
of a performance--but in a completely different context.
As the religious drama became increasingly separate, first
from the liturgy, and then from the church itself, it be-
came necessary to remind the audience quite explicitly of
the symbolic level of the play. Thus, in the youngest

¹ Eduard Hartl, Das Drama des Mittelalters. 1937,
Vol. II, Wiener Osterspiel, ll. 23, 24.

² Zellwecker, p. 3.

portions of the Frankfurt Passion play, Augustinus moves about the stage during the drama, introducing and commenting upon the various figures and scenes.

In the context of this development, we question whether the appearance of the Volksdrama Praecursor actually signaled the beginning of the play's special--in this case more symbolic than "fictional"--reality. (Zellwecker's "Handlung" is in any case a misleading term here.) Even though the Simultanbühne was more distinctly separated from the audience than the Nürnberg stage, the good burghers who acted in the Lucerne Passion plays continually had to be restrained from eating and talking on stage during the drama. Thus, it appears that, the farther the religious drama moved from the liturgical context, the more it became the task of the frame speakers to explicitly recreate and enforce this context during and by their speeches. It seems significant that our oldest example of a "neutral" prologue in the religious drama is the Innsbruck Easter play, where the prologue also carries a possible reference to the fact that it was performed outside the church.

In a large number of the religious Volksdramas--particularly the younger plays--the situation was very

close to that described by Catholy in the Fastnacht play:

Der "Auftritt" der Gruppe ist also nicht der für uns gewohnte Beginn der Vorstellung, der meist mit dem Einsetzen der fiktiven Realität eines Dramas identisch ist.¹

¹ Catholy, Fastnachtspiel, p. 21.

CHAPTER IV

FRAME ELEMENTS IN THE RELIGIOUS DRAMA

The Distinction Between Dramatic Frame and Liturgical Context

Various sources have been suggested for the pro- and epilogue of the religious drama. Koischwitz traces the prologue speaker back to the priest who delivered the sermon or lectio. As Mrs. Mason-Vest summarizes his theory:

Koischwitz glaubt in der Gestalt des Priesters, der die liturgische Feier leitet und die Lectio vorliest, den Vorgänger des Precursor und des Rector processionis sehen zu dürfen. Durch eine allmähliche Profanierung dieser Gestalt, die mit der Entwicklung des geistlichen Schauspiels als Ganzes parallel ging, und eine sekundäre Verschmelzung mit dem mittelalterlichen Turnierherold sei der Prologsprecher des geistlichen Dramas entstanden.¹

Leaving aside the herold-figure--which, as Mrs. Mason-Vest points out, was a much later development--we question this interpretation of the relationship of pro- and epilogue

¹ Mason-Vest, p. 22.

to the liturgical service surrounding the dramatic offices.

It is quite true that the Latin religious drama was performed as part of the regular canonical office for appropriate holidays. (The Visitatio, for example, took place at the close of Easter Matins between the last responsory and the Te Deum.) We even have some evidence that quite elaborate plays continued to be performed during the liturgical service. The Benediktbeuren Weihnachtspiel was not only performed inside the church¹ but utilized, as Young points out,² a liturgical chorus. Creizenach shows that Hilarius' freely-composed Daniel was intended to be played either during Matins or Vespers and had alternate closing choruses taken from the two liturgies.³ In general, there seem to be no internal criteria for detaching a religious drama--including some

¹ The rubric in fronte ecclesia simply means that Augustinus stood at the front, or west, end of the nave. See Michael, Frühformen, p. 161.

² Young, Vol. II, p. 196.

³ W. Creizenach, Geschichte des neueren Dramas. 1911, Vol. I, p. 66.

not played entirely or even primarily in the church--from the liturgy.

The problem with Koischwitz' theory, then, is not the proximity of sermon or lectio to dramatic office; rather it is the fact that the functions of the liturgy are simply not the same as those of the later, Volksdrama frame. By no stretch of the imagination can we assign a "dramatic" function to either the sermon or the lectio in their original, liturgical context; whereas the later prologues clearly have a function similar to that of the Fastnachtspiel prologue--namely, to provide both the physical conditions (audience silence, cleared stage, etc.) and the special level of reality necessary for the performance.

The lectio yields most easily to our criticism. As Wordemann has pointed out, the earliest Visitatio play was in part a substitute for--or a dramatization of--the Gospel reading. And in terms of their content and style, the pro- and epilogues generally resemble the "rhetorical" sermon far more than they do the Gospel narratives which were used as "sources" for the episodes in the religious plays. The pro- and epilogists remind the audience of the present significance of Christ's life and death and

exhort it to reflection during and after the play.

But Mrs. Mason-Vest's comparisons of the medieval sermon with the pro- and epilogues of various religious dramas make very clear the fact that traditional rhetorical formulas may appear in different genres with widely different functions. Although she finds numerous stylistic resemblances between the sermon and the prologue, she points out:

Die Frage wird noch kompliziert durch die Tatsache, daß sich ähnliche formelhafte Elemente auch in der mittelhochdeutschen Epik finden.¹

For example, the formulas: "Aufforderung zum Zuhören, Berufung der Quellen, Anruf an Gott oder die Trinität zum Beistand..."² are characteristic, not only of the sermon and of a large group of religious dramas, but also of the courtly epic. Further, another group of religious dramas differs markedly from the sermons in the introductory formulas employed and resembles more closely the Helden- or Spielmansepik, according to Mrs. Mason-Vest's study.

¹ Mason-Vest, p. 98.

² Ibid., pp. 98 ff.

On the other hand, Koischwitz' argument that the pseudo-Augustinian sermon was the source, via the Prophet plays and debates between Ecclesia and Synagoga, of the Volksdrama pro- and epilogue,¹ seems to fit the evidence better. Here, we shall have to distinguish very carefully, however, between content borrowings and various, specifically dramatic, functions.

Development from Prophet Play to Prologue--Augustinus

The frame of the Benedikbeuren Weihnachtspiel has a dramatic function, insofar as Augustinus' sermon and the dramatized prophesies introduce the action of the play through role impersonation. A similar instance can be found in the early Einsiedeln Visitatio (twelfth to thirteenth century), to which a Wechselgesang between chorus and prophets was attached by way of introduction:

Gloriosi et famosi
regis festum celebrantes
gaudeamus,
cujus ortum, vitae portum,
nobis datum praedictantes
habeamus.²

¹ Koischwitz, pp. 9 ff.

² Mone, Schauspiele des Ma's. Vol. I, 1846/1851, pp. 10-12.

In both cases, however, the frame speeches (or songs) proceed at the same level of reality as both the foregoing religious service and the subsequent play. Neither group addresses the audience; Augustinus addresses himself only to the other characters of the frame, the prophets and Archysinagogus.¹

In the Frankfurt circle of Passion plays we can trace the development of Augustinus' theatrical function towards the intermediate role between audience and play characteristic of the Fastnachtspiel and younger Volksdrama prologues. The texts of the prologues to the Passion play of 1493, the Heidelberg Passion play--and, we assume, the Dirigierrolle--are essentially the same. Examination of the 1493 prologue reveals that Augustinus' remarks are addressed largely to the audience within the play--the Jews. The Old-testament prophecies are thus motivated:

Ir Judden, ir hait spehen mut!
war zu ist uwer claffen gut?
wir han uns iB selber nit ersagen,

¹ In both the Benediktbeuren and the Frankfurt play Augustinus ends the Vorspiel by suggesting that the play will "prove" his case to the Jews.

wan is ist uB uwer schrifft getzogen,
das diese herren sagen hie:¹

But the 1493 text includes several addresses to the populace which are not present in the Dirigierrolle and which clearly place Augustinus in the position of "glossing" the play to the audience, as, for example:

Nu horet, ir frawen und ir man!
swiget als ir hait gethan!
wir wullen uch wisen ein wonder groB:
wie Jhesus macht eynen loB,
der waB von eynem stumen tufel
besessen sicher an zwifel.²

Such interpretations of the action, usually begun with the silence formula, are scattered through the first day of the 1493 Passion play--that is, of the youngest portion of the text. They place the opening line of the frame:

Ir hirschafft, stellet uwern schalle!³

in a new light. Apparently, there is a tendency in the two Frankfurt plays to identify the fictional audience

¹ R. Froning, Das Drama des Mittelalters. (=DNL, XIV), Stuttgart, 1895, Pt. 2, Passionspiel von 1493, ll. 259, 264.

² Froning, 1493, ll. 630-636. Also, ll. 656, ff., 788, ff., 824, ff., 882, ff. are addressed directly at the audience.

³ Ibid., 1493, l. 1 and Rolle, 1.

of the frame with the actual audience, or even to transpose Augustinus' speech into a direct address to the latter. A second speech added to the frame of the 1493 play between David and Salomon's prophesies is definitely directed at the real audience, rather than at the Jews:

Dis hort, ir seligen gottes kint,
die hude hie gesamet sint:¹

In the Heidelberg Passion play, which omits the prophet frame altogether, the same prologue text is delivered by a neutral Regierer des spils directly to the audience. In announcing the "prefigurations", he implicitly identifies himself with the actual players, rather than with the fictive characters, of the drama:

Der bey spill in der alttenn ehe
Zur gleichnus sint gescheenn mehe,
Die man zeygenn wirtt zcu diesser stundt.
darumb beschliessent eweren mundt.²

In other words, the prologist of the Heidelberg Passion play is the first in the series of plays we have been

¹ Ibid., 1493, ff. 79, 80. Compare ff. 823, ff. "ad synagogum".

² Gustav Milchsack, Heidelberger Passionspiel. (= Bibliothek des lit. Vereins, CL) Stuttgart, 1880, ff. 21-25.

been considering to make explicit the fact that the players intend to put on a "play" which will be a symbolic representation of events. In the two Frankfurt plays, this intent was implicit to varying degrees; in the Benediktbeuren Weihnachtspiel, on the other hand, the special level of reality was already present in the liturgical context and did not have to be re-created by the prologist.¹

Of the various other dramas in the complex network of the Frankfurt cycle, the Alsfeld Passion play has a "triple prologue" and separate pro- and epilogues for subsequent days of the play, all delivered by a neutral Proclamator. This is the characteristic form of the later stages of the Volksdrama, as in the Tirolean and Lucerne cycles. The St. Gall Passion play, on the other hand, presents Augustinus as prologist and occasional commentator on events in the play.

¹ The epilogue situation is somewhat chaotic in this group of plays. The 1493 and Heidelberg texts are incomplete; the closing line of the former: "Concluser concludit," may even be an interpolation. The Rolle appears to have had a closing "sermon" or "benediction" delivered by Ecclesia; Augustinus then introduced the "Christ ist erstanden", an archaic element from the late Latin dramas.

The prologue to the Leben Jesu is addressed directly to the audience, and Augustinus' fictional role is suggested only by the unusual form of the silence formula:

Hore heilge cristenheit,
 dir wirt noch hude vorgeleit,
 wie aller der werlte schoppere
 mit zeichen offenbere
 daz zû mit heilger lere
 und auch bit grozer sere
 gewandelt hat ur ertrich...¹

The first line and the use of "vorgeleit," rather than a verb indicating the visual nature of the presentation, suggest a very close relationship between this prologue and the Augustinian sermon; its connection with the prophet-play frames is problematic, however.

Unfortunately, the dating of the St. Gall Passion play has been based on Froning's incorrect assumption that the Frankfurt Dirigierrolle was written after 1350 by Baldemar von Peterweil. Hugo Stopp, who has traced

¹ F. Mone, Schauspiele des Mittelalters. Karlsruhe, 1846/1851, Vol. I, St. Galler Leben Jesu, ff. 1-7. The Kindheit Jesu uses the prophets but has no prologue; Augustinus does not even appear there.

the dialect of the St. Gall play to the Rheinhessen-Rheingau area, still follows Froning:

Der terminus ante quem kann auf 1350 zurückverlegt werden, da die in diesem Jahr entstandene Frankfurter Dirigierrolle des Baldemar von Peterweil von GP beeinflusst ist.¹

But, as W. F. Michael has pointed out, the Rolle actually dates from the early decades of the fourteenth century. Not only is the handwriting earlier than Baldemar's²; but the various layers of the text described by Petersen³ represent several different performances, and the improvised division into two days belongs to the oldest of these. Apparently, the one-day Easter play (represented by the more archaic text of the second day of the Rolle) was moved outside the church at the end of the thirteenth century or in the first decade of the fourteenth and then began to expand very rapidly.

¹ Hugo Stopp, Untersuchungen zum St. Galler Passionsspiel. Diss., Saarland, 1959, p. 117.

² Michael, Frühformen, pp. 27-33.

³ Julius Petersen, "Aufführung und Bühnenplan des älteren Frankfurter Passionsspiels," ZfdA, LIX (1922), 82-106, pp. 85-88.

Is the source of the Rolle the St. Gall play, which then must be given a much earlier date than Wolter's¹ and Stopp's; or is the Augustine figure in the frame of the Leben Jesu derived from a Frankfurt version immediately preceding the Rolle? The prophet-play frame is "reduced" to a neutral prologue in Heidelberg; and the St. Gall frame resembles this technique, despite the differences in the text, more closely than it does the Frankfurt version. Moreover, the prophet play began to develop into an independent, processional drama in the mid-fourteenth century--the Innsbruck Fronleichnamspiel; while its appearance as Vorspiel in Benediktbeuren and the Rolle is apparently an outgrowth of the liturgical attachment of the older drama. Wolter pointed out that Heidelberg uses several of the St. Gall motifs which are missing in both the Frankfurt and Alsfeld plays. It appears, either that the influence from St. Gall to Frankfurt was a secondary one, or that the St. Gall play was influenced by an older version of the Rolle but adapted

¹ Emil Wolter, "Das St. Galler Spiel vom Leben Jesu," Germ. Abh., XLI (1912). He suggests the date 1330.

the Vorspiel to a direct address prologue, just as the 1493 and Heidelberg plays did.

In general, then, the prologue was not a "degenerate" version of the sermon or lectio, but rather was developed some time after the religious plays were detached from the liturgical context, and it becomes increasingly prominent when the dramas are moved outside the church. Older elements may be adapted to this new purpose, as in the St. Gall and 1493 texts; but in general, we must agree with Zellwecker's statement:

Solange das deutsche Drama--in nationalem, nicht in sprachlichem Sinne--sich in lateinischer Sprache in der Kirche streng begrenztem Gezirke abspielte, fehlte jede Art von Pro- oder Epilog.¹

This is true even of the Tegernsee Ludus de Antichristo, where the opening processional is simply an elaboration upon the traditional choral processions of the Easter and Christmas plays.²

¹ Zellwecker, p. 1.

² Compare the anthem ingressus Pilatus in the two Benediktbeuren Passion plays and the related Ludus de Rege Aegypti, Young, Vol. II, pp. 463, ff. The Freising Christmas play in Young, Vol. II, pp. 93-97, also has a choral processional for Herod, on this anthem.

"Secular" Frame Elements--Comic Scenes and Figures

On the other hand, it is highly unlikely that the religious drama's pro- or epilogue were borrowed from the Fastnachtspiel or from the Wegauskehrer of pre-dramatic Fastnacht custom. Mrs. Mason-Vest points out one flaw in Stumpf's argument for this hypothesis, namely:

...daß er sich bei der Begründung dieser These fast ausschließlich auf späte Spiele beruft, die eine Mischung geistlicher und weltlicher Elemente aufweisen. Auch geht er sorgfältig allen Problemen aus dem Wege, die sich aus der Tatsache ergeben, daß Augustin oder ein Engel die Rolle des Prologus übernehmen.¹

Moreover, if we restrict our search for secular sources to purely dramatic phenomena--as opposed to pre-dramatic customs--we find that the Innsbruck Christi Auferstehung, with its expositor ludi and a prologue similar in all functional respects to those of the Fastnacht plays, antedates the extant secular dramatic prologues, with the possible exception of the St. Pauli Neidhartspiel.

The Innsbruck play does, however, appear to have been influenced by the same quasi-secular source which

¹ Mason-Vest, p. 23.

heavily influenced the Tirolean Neidhart dramas--the Vagantes. And there are certain similarities in the playing conditions. The Neidhart plays were performed in the open and on a stage borrowed from the religious Simultanbühne; the Innsbruck Easter play appears to have also been performed in the open, outside the church:

Vornemet alle gliche
 beide arm und riche,
 ir jungen mit den alden,
 daB uwir got mü^eBe walden!
 (swige und) seczt uch neder czu der erden,
 wir wullen uch laßen kunt werden,
 wy^e unser her ist enstanden¹

The influence of the Vagantes appears not only in the mercator scene of the Innsbruck play, but also in Johannes' epilogue, where the actor steps out of his role to ask the audience for alms and cakes for the poor students among the players:²

Ouch hatte ich mich vorgessen:
 dy armen schuler haben nicht czu^e essen!³

¹ F. Mone, Altdeutsche Schauspiele. Leipzig, 1841, Innsbruck II, Christi Auferstehung, 1-7.

² cf. W. F. Michael, "Fahrendes Volk und mittelalterliches Drama," Kleine Schriften der Gesellschaft für Theatergesch., XVII (1960), 3-9.

³ Mone, Altdeutsche S., Innsbruck II, ff. 1174, 1175.

The mercator scene in Innsbruck and a number of other plays has a special prologue of its own in which the mercator's self-introduction is prefaced by some form of reference to the audience--in Innsbruck, to the "suckers" who may buy his wares:

Got grüß uch, ir hirn, ubir al,
alz sprach der wolf und kückte in den genBestal.¹

Although the Erlau Passion play has no general prologue, Rubin and Pusterpalk are treated in the mercator scene as pro- and epilogist:

Tunc veniet Rubinus proclamando ludum...

Pusterpalk benedicens populum...²

the latter in a comic parody of the closing speeches often delivered by an Apostle (as in the Benediktbeuren Passion plays, Innsbruck II, and the Erlau play), Ecclesia, or even the pope (in Innsbruck III). Generally, however, the mercator scene has no epilogue.

The Alsfeld Passion play uses a different opening to the mercator scene. Rubin sings the Ypocras song,

¹ Ibid., ll. 455, 456.

² K. F. Kummer, Erlauer Spiele: Sechs altdeutsche Mysterien. Wien, 1882, Visitatio Sepulchri, l. 56 and l. 932.

which beings with a goliardic couplet:

Hic est magister Ypocras de gracia bovina:
non est inventus melior in arte medicina!
Ich thun kunt alle man gemeyn,
armen, richen, groBen und kleynen...¹

This introduction is not present in the Dirigierrolle.

The Melk Salbenkrämerspiel combines the Ypocras song with the Vaganten strophe, "Nuper veni...", which was used in Erlau and the Wiener Osterpiel; the play is apparently a composite of a number of such scenes.²

Melk has no epilogue either; as W. F. Michael points out, the closing lines are actually the Wegstrophen of the three Marys.³

These mercator-play prologues have one feature in common with the Fastnacht plays--they are quite emphatic about the presence of the actual audience, but are delivered by either the central character or by the Knecht figures, who regularly accompany

¹ Froning, Pt. 3, Alsfelder Passionsspiel, ll. 7483-7487.

² Carl Bühler and Carl Selmer, "The Melk Salbenkrämerspiel," PMLA LXIII (1948), pp. 21-63. cf. p. 44, note 28.

³ Michael, "Fahrendes Volk...", pp. 6, 7.

the Artzt or Meister in the Fastnacht plays. The same emphasis on audience reality appears in such later comic frame speeches as the third prologue to the Alsfeld Passion play and the alternate epilogue to the Hessian Christmas play. The former is actually the prologue to the Teufel scenes and draws the audience "into" the play with the threat:

wer da betreden wirt in dissem kreyB,
 er sij Heyncz adder Concz adder wie er heyB,
 der do nit gehoret in dit spiel,
 (vor war ich uch das sagen wel!)
 der muB syn buBe groiplich entphan:
 mit den tufeln muB er yn die helle gan!¹

Besides the practical purpose of keeping unwanted guests off the stage--and this prologue follows two long announcements of the "play"--this seems to place the Teufel scenes slightly closer to the audience than the serious scenes of the drama.² The technique is actually quite different from the "closed" address of Augustinus to the players, only, in the Rolle. The Hessian Christmas

¹ Froning, Pt. 2, Alsfelder Passionspiel, pp. 111-117.

² The staging tradition also placed the station representing "hell" in the west, closest to the audience, in Frankfurt right in the ditch between audience and staging area.

play epilogue uses the Fastnachtspiel formula promising to return again the next year and may even have been borrowed from it.¹ But both of these plays are late, and the two frame speeches belong to their youngest levels.

The Latin Silete as Prologue--The Angel Figure

In addition to the possible sources from the non-dramatic sermon and the secular or quasi-secular influence through the Vagantes, there is a third possible source for the religious drama's pro- and epilogue which is so simple that it seems to have been overlooked--the angelus Silete which was a traditional feature of the Latin, liturgical drama. Mrs. Mason-Vest mentions the fact that the angel appeared as prologist in several of the religious plays; Zellwecker considers the Silete a kind of Szenenabteilung:

...diese Formel - es war schließlich nur mehr eine ganz erstarrte Formel - hatte eigentlich weniger die Aufgabe, zum Stillschweigen aufzufordern - denn sie

¹ cf. Froning, Pt. 3, Das hessische Weihnachtspiel, "Lucifer concludit ludum", (pp. 13, 14): wille got, daB mir unB uber eyn jar mochten gesünt hy fyngen, / szo wollen mir aber frolich syngen und springen!"

wurde ja in lateinischer Sprache gesungen, mußte als ihren Zweck viel weniger also gesprochenes Deutsch erfüllen, sondern diente vielmehr zur Szenenabteilung, vertrat also ebenfalls den Vorhang.¹

There is an obvious parallel, however, between the Silete and the vernacular silence formulas; and certainly a medieval audience must have understood as much Latin as was needed for the one or two-line speech.

Young reprints the text of a Laon Ordo Joseph of the thirteenth century which demonstrates how the Silete could be turned into, "... a prologue in which are set forth the scope and moral of the piece."²

Letetur hodie
chorus fidelium;
quiescant fabule,
crescat silentium.

Sequantur homines
Ioseph consilium;
vitent mulieres
nature vitium, etc.³

The Innsbruck Maria Himmelfahrt has both a Praecursor, who introduces the various characters of the drama, and

¹ Zellwecker, p. 4.

² Young, Vol. II, p. 274.

³ Ibid., p. 267.

a second prologue, delivered by the "primus angelus de primo choro", and similar in every other respect to the neutral introduction:

Nû hort frowen und man,
 dy^e hy^e syczen ader stan,
 man schal uch mit dessem spel thuon bekant,
 wy^e dy^e czwelf boten worden zcu^e sant
 und predigeten den glouben in der cristenheit
 den luten und der werlde gemeyt:
 dez bit wir uch durch got den werden,
seczet uch neder uff dy^e erden,
nue swiget al glich,¹

The angel explicitly announces the play here (and also indicates that it might have been performed outside the church).

In at least two Passion plays of the fifteenth century, the vernacular prologue appears to be a translation and extension of the Latin Silete. In the St. Gallen Christi Himmelfahrt, the short prologue before the processional entrance of the characters was delivered either by a single angel or by the chorus representing the angel:

Silete, silete, silentium habete!
 Swigent lieben luten
 man wil uch hie betuten,

¹ Mone, Altdeutsche S., Innsbruck I, Maria Himmelfahrt, 45-54.

wie unser herre Jhesus Crist
uf zû himelrich gefaren ist...¹

The ascension at the close of this play is narrated by an angel figure. The Redentiner Osterspiel has two prologues, both delivered by angels; the first begins with the vernacular silence formula:

Swiget all ghelike,
beyde arm unde rike!
wy willen jw eyn bilde gheven...²

Again, the play was possibly performed outside the church; but here the epilogue was delivered by a neutral Concluser.

Finally, in such plays as the mid-fifteenth century Wien Passion play, the Silete is incorporated into the neutral prologue altogether:

(after the pueri sing "Silete":)

Silete, silentium habete!
Hoeret, ir hêrren unt ir vrowen,
di daz spil wellent schowen
ir sult alle stille wesen
so muget ir von gôte hêren singen unt lesen!³

¹ Mone, Schauspiele des Ma's, St. Galler Christi Himmelfahrt, pp. 1-6.

² Froning, Pt. 1, Redentiner Osterspiel, pp. 1-5.

³ Ibid., Wiener Passionspiel, pp. 1-6.

The Silete opening persists side by side with the prologue well into the century, appearing, for example, in both the Frankfurt and Alsfeld Passion plays (also scattered through the text), before the prologue of the Erlau Maria Magdalene Spiel, and on both days of the Donaueschingen Passion play.

Of the three figures considered, the Augustinus-sermon figure seems least likely to be the source of a direct-address prologue; the mercator-scene figures use such an address but don't seem to be the source for a neutral prologist (although later comic scenes and the opening to the Wiener Osterpiel have such a prologist); the angel traditionally signaled the beginning of the play with a direct address, but this figure disappears rapidly in the prologue of the Volksdrama as its functions are duplicated or absorbed by the neutral prologist.

None of these figures stood in precisely the same intermediary relationship to the audience as did the Praecursor or expositor ludi of the later cycles in, for example, Alsfeld, Tirol and Lucerne. And the distribution of the Augustinus and angel prologists is very different, the one occurring in only the Frankfurt

cycle and related plays, the other--like the mercator scene--in three apparently unrelated areas. Of the vernacular dramas which seem to have been performed without a prologue, one is the Innsbruck Fronleichnamsspiel¹, which was still very closely attached to the liturgical context,² and we find four more cases in Erlau I, II, V, and VI and a sixth if we count the Frankfurt Dirigierrolle. Elsewhere, the introduction of a prologue seems to correspond with one or both of two conditions: the influence of the Vagantes is evident, and/or the play is performed outside the church.

Although we have few manuscripts from the transition period of the religious drama to vernacular Volksdrama,³ the epilogue of the Innsbruck Easter play and the prologue to the Wiener Osterspiel suggest that the

¹ Mone, Altdeutsche S., Innsbruck III, Fronleichnamsspiel. The play simply opens with the line, "Ich bins der Adam..."

² The procession was centered around the host, perhaps even at the altar; cf. W. F. Michael. Die Geistlichen Prozessionsspiele in Deutschland. (= Hesperia, XXII), p. 1947, pp. 31-33.

³ The beginning and end of the Muri play have been lost; possibly it too, was "prologueless".

Vagantes had some hand in the development of the pro- and epilogue; and the mercator scene pro- and epilogues in Erlau III and the appearance of Rubin as the epilogist in Erlau IV (the Mary Magdalene play) demonstrate that these frame elements could be attached to otherwise relatively "archaic" plays.

We need not hypothesize a secular "source" for these frame speeches, then; the mercator and the Mary Magdalene scenes were very much part of the religious drama even at the beginning of its transition period. Moreover, the point at which the prologue was attached had traditionally had a similar function--the Silete announced the beginning of the Latin drama as well. This is noticeable, for example, in the fact that the prologue to the Innsbruck Easter play precedes the procession of characters, as did the angel's prologue in the St. Gall Christi Himmelfahrt, and as the older Silete often did.

The fact that the Vagantes also influenced the Tirolean drama through the Neidhart plays, and the similarity of the staging in Tirol to that of the religious drama suggest that there may have been some connection

between the frames of the two genres as well; therefore, indirectly with that of the Nürnberg Fastnachtspiel.

CHAPTER V

FRAME ELEMENTS IN THE NON-NÜRNBERG SECULAR DRAMAS

Secular Drama on the Simultanbühne

We have observed the very close relationship between staging and frame techniques in the early Nürnberg Reihenspiel, where pro- and epilogue represented the earliest phase of "drama". The pro- and epilogues of the religious drama, while functionally equivalent to the Fastnachtspiel frame, arose in quite another way. They are both an index to increasing "secularization" and an attempt to continue, by new means, the traditions of the liturgical plays--just as the Simultan stage in the market place was an attempt to "re-create" the interior of the church. If we now trace the secular dramas from the early Neidhart play, which is connected via the Vagantes to the religious drama, "out" to the later Neidhart and Tirolean plays, and finally to Nürnberg, we will find several indications that the capacity of a dramatic genre for developing or for successfully borrowing various frame techniques goes hand-in-hand with its staging arrangements.

Unfortunately, we have only a few secular dramas from outside Nürnberg at this period. The only texts which definitely pre-date the Nürnberg Fastnachtspiele are the Swiss Mai-Herbst and the St. Paul Neidhartspiel from Kärnten. In addition, the Tirol plays, K 54, 57 and 128, and the "Große Neidhartspiel", K 53, belong to the first half of the fifteenth century; while K 21 and K 68 are Nürnberg adaptations of the earlier Neidhart drama and of a fourteenth-century Swiss morality play.

All the non-Nürnberg examples except K 54, ("Tan-aweschel") show definite traits of Simultanbühne staging borrowed from the religious drama. Two separate "places" and the concept of simultaneous action are necessary for the staging of the St. Paul Neidhartspiel. Neidhart goes away from the duchess, "finds" the violet, and returns, as indicated:

Vadat Nithardus et ponat florem sub pileo et redeat.¹
Presumably, the flower is removed by a peasant or peasants while he is at court--a technique quite feasible on the Simultanbühne. Staging the so-called "Mai-Herbst play"

¹ A. E. Schönbach, "Ein altes Neidhartspiel," ZfdA, XL (1896), pp. 368-374, after l. 32.

would require a messenger to carry the action back and forth between the two kings, and the battle might be staged in a neutral area on the bi-polar axis suggested by the two stations of Mai and Herbst.

The fifteenth-century plays from outside Nürnberg all have more complicated stage devices and fictions. Some of these could be played in the Wirtstube as well, but are quite contrary to the ortlose technique. K 56, for example, includes both the Taverne and a scene "outside" which is introduced by teichoskopia:

Da treiben die pösen Weiben das Vich fuder und der
Hiert ersicht das in der Taverne und schreit. .¹

This device is found in one Nürnberg play from our period, K 37. In the Tirol play, K 128, there may be separate stations for the court and for Aristoteles; after the first portion of the play, Aristoteles pronounces a moral and then leaves the stage:

Mein red wil ich enden
Und will mich von hynnen wenden.²

¹ Keller, Vol. I, p. 491, *l.* 20.

² Keller, Vol. III, p. 222, *ll.* 14, 15.

"Stage exits" are not a proper feature of the Simultanbühne; the players may "leave" the action simply by returning to their stations. On the other hand, we find several "exits" and "entrances" in the later Nürnberg Handlung plays, as the more convenient method of representing widely separated "places" or actions.

K 57 and K 53 use techniques quite foreign to the small space of the Nürnberg staging area. In the Tirolean play, K 57, a messenger goes back and forth carrying the play's "action" between the stations of the young and old knights. The "Große Neidhartspiel", K 53, makes the most extensive use of the Simultan stage. There are separate stations for the court, the peasants (Zeislmauren), hell and the Kloster, and a neutral area where the violet is found and the two groups meet in battle. At least twice, two different scenes (one silent) are staged simultaneously: the violet is removed while Neidhart is at court; and later, the rubrics indicate:

Da get der Knecht hin gen Zeislmauren zu beschauen,
was die Pauren thuon. Und da tanz man und der Knecht
tanzat auch. In der weil legt sich der Neidhart und
die Ritter in Harnasch an.¹

¹ Keller, Vol. I, p. 417, f. 8.

Some influence from the staging of these various plays seems to be reflected in the Nürnberg Handlungsspiel staging. In fact, traces of a more complex stage remain in our two Nürnberg adaptations. As Christ-Kutter describes K 68:

Pantomime, Kostüme und Requisiten scheinen im Spiel "Des Entkrist Vasnacht" ein nicht unwesentliche Rolle gespielt zu haben...Der Entkrist erscheint auf einem RoB (Z. 118): Aufführung im Freien?¹

As far as "props" go, very simple ones were at hand and were used in a few Nürnberg Stubenspiele (in K 120, a bench; in K 22, a table), but not in the Revue and simple Gericht plays. However, in the Nürnberg play K 20, where the theme and some of the characters are very similar to those of K 68, a Wheel-of-Fortune appears as an unusual and essential part of the play.²

The Nürnberg "Kleine Neidhartspiel", K 21, uses the same device for staging the flower as we found in the St. Paul play:

¹ F. Christ-Kutter, Frühe Schweizerspiele. Berlin, 1963, p. 40.

² K 20 also has a number of separate "entrances" during the opening scene which violate the ortlose staging principle.

Neithart spricht zu der Herzogin und setzt den Feiel heimlich nider und deckt in mit eim Hutlein zu.¹

The borrowed materials make it impossible to avoid staging the central scene in two different places with simultaneous action. While Neidhart is engaged in the dance at "court", a peasant is removing the violet on the neutral area which represents the "anger grün". In general, however, the adaptor seems to have avoided episodes which would require unusual staging devices. The devil appears as a single speaker, for example, rather than calling forth his comrades from another "place" representing "hell".

Origins of the Prologue in the Early Neidhartspiel

Despite the extreme simplicity of the St. Paul Neidhart play, we find there a neutral prologist whose speech resembles that of the religious play prologists much more closely than it does the opening of the simplest Nürnberg plays. In a sense, the secular drama on the Simultanbühne was "born" with a full-fledged prologue; while most of our examples omit the epilogue which was an integral part of the Nürnberg drama.

¹ Keller, Vol. I, p. 192, *l.* 1.

The St. Paul Neidhartspiel has a fairly complete "Handlung". Neidhart enters into the contest, "finds" the violet, and goes off to tell the duchess and claim his prize. In the meantime the violet is stolen by a peasant, and when the duchess discovers this, she blames Neidhart, who then threatens the peasants. Gusinde, who stresses the connection between the secular drama and the dialogue forms of Spruchdichtung or the dialogue portions of the epic, argues that there were only two characters on stage:

Nur an zwei Spieler ist zu denken: Neidhart und Herzogin. Von einer Jungfrauenbegleitung wird zwar v. 5, 20, 30 gesprochen, sie bestand aber nur in der Vorstellung; ebenso jedenfalls die am Schlusse angeredeten Bauern. Die Drohung gegen sie wird vielmehr einfach ins Publikum hineingesprochen worden sein.¹

In any case, the St. Paul play still shows certain resemblances to the Reihenspiel. The speeches have a certain degree of symmetry.² But the Proclamator at the beginning takes a completely neutral position in introducing the two characters and the situation:

¹ K. Gusinde, Neidhart mit dem Veilchen. (= Germanist. Abh., XVII), 1899, p. 26.

² The pattern is: 10/ 10+12+ 3x6 + 8.

Horent frawn unde man,
 Es kumēt her uf disn plan
 Jetzo an diser vart
 Ain herczogin un her Nithart,
 Mit in vil schöner frauen
 Von den ir abentur sünd schawn
 Wie der vest ritter her Nithart
 Mit der herczogin verwetet hat:
 Wer vinde das erst blēmelin,
 Der sol derer ander bül jarlang sin.¹

The hunt is arranged between the two principals here, and the "Große Neidhartspiel" prologue motif of announcing the May festivities to an assembled court has no place in the shorter play.

What is the function of the prologue in this very early play? Gusinde considers it a kind of "summary of contents" designed to overcome the dramatic shortcomings:

Je mehr dabei der Phantasie des Zuschauers zugemutet wurde, desto notwendiger war eine Einleitung, die den Inhalt, die Quintessenz des Ganzen darlegte.²

The prologue is a substitute for the omitted narrative portions of the source, according to this theory. But only the background situation is actually given in the frame; subsequent events are, in fact, dramatized in the play.

¹ Schöblich, "Ein altes Neidhartspiel," *pp.* 1-11.

² Gusinde, p. 20.

Further, in pointing out the fact that the prologue was created precisely for the performance Gusinde shows the method used:

Im St. Pauler Spiel ist noch ersichtlich, wie der Verfasser sich geholfen hat. Aus den Reden der beiden Personen stellte er sich eine Vorrede zusammen, kunstlos und einfach wiederholend, was in späteren Versen gesagt war.¹

He accounts for lines 3, 5 and 9-10 in this way; line 3 is a tag-line, 5 refers to the maids who may or may not be present in the performance, only the last two lines are the actual "Quintessenz" of the background situation. This leaves us with the opening address to the audience and specific reference to the "play"--specifically, lines 1-2 and 6--unaccounted for. The same opening appears regularly in the religious drama prologues and also in the Fastnachtspiel; but the St. Paul reference to an actual stage, or Plan, differs from the frequent Fastnachtspiel opening reference to the Wirt or Wirtshaus.

We have pointed out that the Vagantes were active both in this genre and in our earliest religious plays with definite prologues, that the St. Paul play is probably a little later than Innsbruck, and that the playing conditions

¹ Ibid.

were similar. The Vagantes also had access to the various forms of oral poetry which included silence formulas. It seems quite likely that we can credit this group with the insight that the secular Simultanbühne plays, at least, needed some sort of reference to the fictionality of the situation, an announcement which would set the stage and place the characters in a dramatic context. The neutral prologists in Innsbruck and Kärnten are much earlier than the neutral prologist who gradually developed, as we have seen, from the "first" speaker of the Nürnberg Fastnacht plays; they are, in fact, our earliest examples of their type. It is possible, however, that the Swiss Mai-Herbst text represents a simpler form of the secular, Simultanbühne drama than in St. Paul.

The Mai-Herbst text includes several "dramatic" motifs: bride theft, challenge, battle and outcome; but the structure of speeches closely resembles the Reihenspiel and fits Lier's type 3. (Similar characters have equal-length speeches.) There is no prologue indicated in the manuscript; and the text ends with Mai's challenge to Herbst:

Das ir mir min kint haind genomen
Es mag uch wol zuo schaden kommen.¹

Singer² considered this a textual error; he placed Mai's speech before those of his knights, separating them from those of Herbst's knights, and making the ending of the text a sort of "epilogue":

Sie haind die bluomen nider geschlagen
Das mügen wir wol zuo end sagen
Und dar zuo den gruenen kle
Das düt in allen umer we.³

But, although Christ-Kutter considers the herold who appears in the battle to be a Praecursor;⁴ we can't even be sure that Mai-Herbst is a performance text at all. The epilogue produced by emendation is only an implied address to an audience. In the absence of any rubrics for roles or staging, we must assume that the manuscript is "correct"--that the "play" had no epilogue. On the other

¹ Christ-Kutter, "Vom Streit zeischen Herbst und Mai," ff. 75, 76.

² S. Singer, in Archiv für Volkskunde, XXXIII (1920).

³ Christ-Kutter, "Vom Streit zwischen Herbst und Mai," ff. 169-72. (The final two lines of the Ms. are separated by a differently lineated "Amen" and not part of the text.)

⁴ Ibid., p. 7.

hand, the absence of any prologue does not necessarily prove that early secular plays outside Nürnberg were performed without frame speeches. The Mai-Herbst, if performed at all, probably had some sort of introductory speech, as Christ-Kutter hypothesizes. There is no evidence, in other words, that the secular plays outside Nürnberg ever underwent the "earliest" phases of the Nürnberg frame development, even though two or three of them are definitely similar to the Nürnberg Reihenspiel structure.

Frame Expansion in the Later Neidhart and Tirol Plays

By contrast with the simple, straightforward prologue to the St. Paul play, the tendency of the fifteenth-century dramas outside Nürnberg was to expand the frame and establish intermediary fictions between audience and play spheres (as did one later type of Nürnberg Handlungsspiel). The "Große Neidhartspiel", K 53, probably includes at least two stages of the frame expansion. The prologue is delivered by a Vorläufer who at first appears to be a neutral figure but gradually begins to stress his connections with the court as he praises "his" lady:

Die schönsten frauen pot ich pin.¹

and announces the May festival and hunt for the violet.

Like the first herold in Rosenplüt's "Künig von Engellant Hochzeit", the prologist in our non-Nürnberg example carefully defines his audience:

Schweiget, hört und vernemet alle,
 Lat euch dise red wol gefalle!
 Fürsten, graven, wo die sind,
 Herren, ritter und ritterskind,
 Auch kaufleut, die mit hübschait
 Sich zieren klünen in hohe klaid,
 Und darnach klünnen wol geparn,
 Sein si in sollichem jarn,
 Das si sich klünnen hüpschlich zieren
 Mit guoten leuten und hoffieren,
 Den will ich wol glünnen zwar,
 Das si tretten an dise schar,
 Und wil allen den tuon bekant,
 Warumb ich pin her gesant.²

In announcing the festival, he twice invites the young men to take part in the dance. The audience addressed here is actually a fictional one, however. This appears as part of the action in the play, when the peasants mistake it for a general invitation and are rudely excluded from the dance. Two separate fictions are thus involved: the

¹ Keller, Vol. I, p. 393, ll. 20, ff.

² Ibid., ll. 4-18.

apparent audience address is directed at a fictional audience, but the guests are encouraged to identify with the players; and the apparent open invitation is directed at only part of the fictional audience, i.e. at the maids and knights who represent the real and the fictional court in the dance. A similar motif appears again within the play when the duke announces to his court:

Nun hört ir herren all geleich,
 Ich pins ain fürst lobleich
 Hört und merkt der rechten m^uär,
 Warumb ich sei komen her...¹

Here, the address is quite clearly directed to the fictional characters alone.

The second appearance of the Vorläufer combines audience address with an address to the fictional characters sequentially, only, and in a much simpler form. In introducing the second part of the play, the Vorläufer fills in the "epic" materials and stresses the fact that he is a completely neutral "observer" in the traditional epic formula for a "factual source":

Da laufen die Teuflen under den Paurn und
 machen Krieg und Unainikait. Der Vorlaufer
 des Spils spricht:

¹ Keller, Vol. I, p. 403, ll. 34, 35, p. 404, ll. 1, 2.

Hört zu, ich will euch künden.
 Engelmair mit seinen freunden
 Wil aber gen Zeislmaur komen.
 Der pringt mit im, als ich hab vernomen,
 Herr Neithart mit den freunten sein.¹

After explaining the background to the action, the Vorläufer then introduces all the peasants by name and calls them to a dance. Again, the apparent "open" invitation.:

Wer nun den tanz wil meren,
 Die kômen gezogen here!²

is answered by a specific group of characters.

The compository nature of the "Große Neidhartspiel" makes it quite likely that the second prologue speech originally introduced a separate play, including dances, a battle and the winecask episode. The Teufel scene forms a tenuous connection between the two halves of the present text and seems to have been taken directly from the religious drama; the direction:

Lucifer thuot ain Predig³

¹ Keller, Vol. I, p. 444, *ll.* 18-25.

² Ibid., p. 446, *ll.* 10, 11.

³ Ibid., p. 439, *l.* 20.

is at least remarkably similar to Pusterpalk's "benediction" in the Erlau Passion play.

The two Vorläufer speeches in the "Große Neidhartspiel" may then represent two separate stages of the frame: the completely neutral figure who addresses himself largely to the actual audience and is not too different from the prologist of the St. Paul Neidhartspiel; and the semi-neutral prologist who is a functionary of the play's court and introduces an intricate relationship between actual and fictional audience. The device of supposedly drawing the subordinate characters from the audience closely resembles the Nürnberg Gericht plays, with the difference that these operate at the same reality level as that of the audience throughout the play.

A similar technique for producing audience identification is used in the prologue of K 54, the Tirolean "Tanaweschel", a Gericht play which could be performed on a "neutral" stage. The Vorläufer's prologue here, however, is specifically labeled, "zu dem Volk," although he appears to be part of the Landmarshall's retinue. After introducing the latter, he invites "anyone" to come forth, exactly as in the Nürnberg Gerichtspiele:

Wer klagen well, der kumpt her.¹

A "transition" follows in which a traveling scholar greets the Landmarschall in the name of the "audience":

Herr marschalk, seit wilkomen!
Eur zukunft hab wir gern vernomen,
Baidu frauen und auch man.²

The Landmarschall replies, thanking the "Volk". Beginning with the Vorläufer's invitation, the audience has been encouraged to identify itself with the various representatives of medieval society who will appear against the Tanaweschel in the play. And, although it is obvious as early as the second speech that there is an intermediary fictional audience, this group remains "open" throughout the frame.

The two Neidhart plays and the "Tanaweschel" all have very abrupt endings--in mid-dialogue--quite unlike the Nürnberg plays. If we arrange them in order of relative complexity, we find a sequence: neutral Praecursor (St. Paul), semi-neutral figure with "open" prologue (K 54), and semi-neutral figure with nearly a "closed " prologue (K 53); the "intermediate step" between St. Paul and K 54

¹ Keller, Vol. I, p. 469, *l.* 3.

² Ibid., *ll.* 5-8.

seems to be the second Vorläufer in K 53, a neutral figure with a list of characters and an "invitation" to the dance. Apparently, the secular, Simultanbühne frame "begins" with a type very like that of the religious dramas but developed only secondarily in Nürnberg. Where, then, do the figures and forms of address in the "Tanaweschel" and in K 128, another play which closely resembles the Nürnberg frame and makes very little use of the Simultanbühne, arise? We recall that an alternative to the neutral prologist in the early religious Volksdrama was the role figure, especially, in the comic scenes influenced by the Vagnates, the figures of the mercator and Rubin. But, as we have pointed out before, the same motif or formula may be used in different genres for very different purposes or functions. This will be clear if we compare two Tirolean plays which appear to lie at the extremes of "closed" vs. "open" form: K 57, and K 128.

The Gewabtnär and Schlütz who deliver the divided prologue of K 128 both identify themselves as functionaries of the court; but the latter addresses various members of the audience by "name" and refers extensively to their activities, even to those of the women:

Dört sitzen dye alten weyben und schwätzen,
 Darumb wellen die hüener nit gagatzen.
 So schwätzen die andern von iren man,
 Das man mein nit gehören kan.¹

This play closes with a dance, announced by the Blackmoor herold and perhaps actually involving members of the audience. In K 57, by contrast, the Vorläufer is a genuinely neutral figure who not only introduces the characters but also gives a summary of what will happen in the play--one of the few cases of a real "Theaterzettel" prologue in this period. The close of the play is an episode borrowed straight from the religious drama. The mercator's wife, servant, and the mercator himself (who figures in an earlier scene of K 57) comment on their family battles. This is the device of recapitulating the play's theme--here, a domestic comedy--on another level; and none of the mercator-scene characters step out of their roles in any way. In other words, the play is rounded off much more than the two Neidhart and the "Tanaweschel" plays, but without any kind of epilogue that refers to the audience or the actual situation. If we consider the fact that K 57, with its

¹ Keller, Vol. III, p. 216, ff. 23-26, p. 217, f.
 1.

closed frame, makes extensive use of the Simultanbühne features, while K 128 does not; we can see the connection between staging arrangements and the "open" forms of prologue, even within the context of the non-Nürnberg drama.¹

The mercator scene figures appear again, in a number of Nürnberg play frames--as do other echoes of the staging and themes of both the "courtly" and the religious drama, but for the most part in much modified forms, surrounded by older elements of the Gericht or Revue plays, or simply altered by the change of context.

¹ I had not seen the text of the Aristotle play discussed by Otto Springer in his article, "A Philosopher in Distress," Germanic Studies in Honor of E. H. Sehrt, Coral Gables, Fla., 1968, pp. 203-217, before writing this thesis. Springer considers the text to be an early fifteenth-century version of K 128, written in southern Middle Franconian dialect, and forming the "link" between the Aristotle Schwank literature and the later Fastnacht plays. The prologue, which begins:

Horent, ir lude, uber alle,
WaB dit spiel beduden sal.

contains an exceedingly long (120 line) exposition of the situation, similar to the prologue of the narrative epics; and the fact that the "stage directions" are given in the past tense (as, after line 120, "Allexander der konyng sprach,") suggests that we are dealing here with a relatively primitive form of "dramatized" epic. Neither the presence of a specialized prologist nor any type of stage action is specified by the text; we might assume a neutral Praecursor and, possibly, a neutral stage as well.

Simultanbühne and Wirtshaus Setting

The irreducible difference between the Simultanbühne tradition and the ortlose techniques in Nürnberg is observable if we compare a Tirolean play, K 56, which has the "Wirtshaus" as its scene, with two Nürnberg Artzt plays which have obviously been influenced, either directly or indirectly, by the religious drama. In comparison with our other Tirolean examples, the prologue of K 56 is relatively brief and uncomplicated, beginning:

Nun hort und schweiget alle
Und merk, wie euch das spil gefalle
Von dreien bosen weiben...¹

The Vorläufer here is a neutral figure and is quite explicit about the fact that this is a "play". The drama then opens with an episode in which Pinkepank, "der Weinschenk vor der Helle," invites the shepherd of the devil's flock into the tavern for a drink. In return, the latter cries out the wine to the "audience" in a variation of Rubin's old speech:

¹ Keller, Vol. I, p. 483, *ll.* 5-8.

Mein herr Pinkenpank hat ain wein auf getan,
 Da sül't ir all zu gan.
 Er ist trüeb und pitter.
 Da h'üetet euch vor, ir grafen und ir ritter!
 Du edler und du paur,
 Tringstu vil, er wird dir saur.¹

The tavern as setting, the explicit reference to the peasants, and the ironic recommendation to buy the "master's" wares, are all familiar elements from the Nürnberg Artzt plays. In two of the more complex of these, K 6 and K 82, the Wirtshaus is also treated very much as a stage "set", insofar as both require two different "places" on stage and only one of these is the tavern. But in both Nürnberg examples, the invitation to the audience is placed right in the prologue, rather than "enclosed" in the play itself. That this is a feature of some importance is apparent from the fact that in both Nürnberg cases, the prologue invitation is somewhat repetitious. The second Auszschreier in K 82 calls for "any" patients from the audience, and the motif is repeated again within the play when the doctor's servant calls out the ointments. In K 6, Quenzelpelzsch is introduced at the end of the Praecursor's speech and calls for patients.

¹ Keller, Vol. I, p. 484, *ll.* 19-26.

Then, after a conversation with the Artzt, he goes out into the Wirtshaus "audience" to recruit them personally.¹ The main difference between the Nürnberg examples and the Tirolean K 56 is that the "tavern in hell" is purely and only a stage set; while the Nürnberg plays are most emphatically placed in the same Wirtshaus as that represented by the "set". In K 6 and 82, the characters who come forth are supposedly drawn from the actual audience, as in the "Tanaweschel", which seems to have used a "neutral" stage. Moreover, the dance at the end of K 56 is definitely a role dance involving only one--central--character; while the Nürnberg K 6 closes in a dance which combines characters with the audience.

If we compare the neutral prologue to the Nürnberg "Kleine Neidhart spiel", K 21, with the St. Paul play, we find a convincing proof of the theory that the new stage form exerted certain influences on the frame elements. The prologist in K 21 connects himself much more closely with the actual players than do any of the neutral prologists

¹ There, he converses with the characters who play the roles of the Wirtshaus guests, and they call the Wirt, asking for wine and bread.

in our non-Nürnberg examples. He is employed to emphasize the Wirtshaus setting and the "playful" nature of the occasion:

Nu hort, ir herrn all geleich,
Hie kumt der Neithart der ritter reich,
Der wil uns machen hie ein spil.
Ob das iemant verdriBen wil,
Der Schließ taschen und peutel sein.¹

Whoever does not like the play had best hold his tongue, the prologist continues; but those who do are invited to show their appreciation afterwards by treating the players to a drink. And, in fact, the last speech before the epilogue of K 21 is an invitation to Neidhart to forget his anger and come eat and drink.

The Nürnberg plays did have certain frame techniques not found at all in the secular Simultanbühne dramas--the most important of these is the epilogue. The dance closings in K 56 and 128 are a means of rounding off the play, as is the mercator episode at the close of K 57; but the two Neidhart plays and K 54 close very abruptly. By contrast, both of our Nürnberg adaptations have the characteristic Fastnachtspiel epilogue, delivered by one of the "players",

¹ Keller, Vol. I, p. 191, ll. 3-8.

who re-integrates the group into the general festival activity. As Christ-Kutter points out, the epilogue to K 68, "Des Entkrist vasnacht", is certainly one of the Nürnberg additions to that play.¹

Finally, the Nürnberg dramas had three closely related types of prologue not found on the Simultanbühne: the play opened by a "first" speaker--necessarily limited to the Reihenspiel; and the plays which were really "prologueless", either in the sense that the first speaker of a Nürnberg Revue might begin an "open" dialogue with the audience without any reference to his fictional role, or in the sense that the first speaker might be an important role character who begins a "closed" dialogue play by asserting that he has come to the Wirtshaus for some purpose belonging entirely to the fictional level of the drama. Accordingly as the "first" speaker was more or less closely related to the other characters of the play, the types of neutral or semi-neutral prologist could be substituted without changing the prologist's relation to the audience. The latter are superficially quite similar to the prologue types

¹ Christ-Kutter, p. 38: "...der Spruch des Ausschreiers bleibt ohne Zusammenhang mit dem Inhalt des Spiels." cf. also pp. 34, 35.

in the non-Nürnberg secular drama; but there, the audience relationship is controlled by the staging and generally (except for K 128 and 54) quite different from that in Nürnberg. The Nürnberg closed drama without a prologue depended, however, upon the conventions established by the ortlose Bühne itself. It could not be taken out of the Wirtshaus context with a conscious "re-creation" of that scene, as the Tirolean K 56 re-creates a Taverne, or as Hans Sachs sometimes re-created the Wirtshaus on stage.

CHAPTER VI

THE NÜRNBERG HANDLUNGSSPIEL

Performance Forms of the Complex Nürnberg Fastnacht Plays

Among the more complex Nürnberg plays we can discover three different forms on the basis of staging: those which begin to diverge somewhat from the ortlose Bühne by establishing the concept of "place"; those which continue to use the playing area as an indifferent physical space; and a third type which includes the Wirtsstube itself in the dramatic fiction. The first form is closest to and may have been influenced by the non-Nürnberg drama; while the third type, although purely a Nürnberg form, assumes some audience familiarity with the concept of "drama" in general. In both of these the frame elements reflect adjustments and changes of audience-play relationship.

The second group, by contrast, consists of plays which are rather ambitious in content but primarily rhetorical in nature--and thus "fit" the older Nürnberg model, as do Folz' K 1, 8 and 106, Rosenplüt's K 100 (and K 39) and

the Swiss "Entkrist vasnacht" (K 68). The tendency of this group to expand the frame confines itself largely to the re-introduction of traditional elements. Thus, in Folz' "Alt und Neu Ee" (K 1), the Hofmeister's introduction to the play's argument is preceded by the more archaic figures of the "first" and "second" peasants; while K 8, "von dreien Brudern", begins with a traditional Gericht episode before the appearance of the three brothers. Folz also uses this conservative form of combining more archaic elements with pro- and epilogue of complex plays in his Handlungsspiel, "Salomon und Markolf".

Although the bulk of the Nürnberg plays of the fifteenth century can be seen as variations on the Revue or the Gericht or similar "rhetorical" forms; there is a developing tendency, even in this period, to depart from present or past-tense narration of events and to present some of those events through action on the stage--the Handlungsspiel. Not surprisingly, it is in plays which attempt the latter that we find very slight departures from the strict form of the ortlose Bühne, for example, in K 6, 17, 19, 20, 22, 37, 46, 60, 82, and possibly in K 80 and 81. Nor is it surprising that most of Lenk's examples

of plays with literary sources fall either into this group of in the non-Nürnberg drama.¹

In contrast with the Tirolean and religious Volksdrama, however, these plays require only the slightest conception of stage "place": K 6, an Artzt play, has two "places", one of which is the Wirtshaus; K 17, "von Fursten und Herren", requires a separate place for Soldan's castle; K 19, "von Zweier Eleuten", uses the notion of "offstage"²; K 20, "Herzog von Burgund", has separate entrances for various characters and for the dragon and Wheel-of-Fortune props; K 22, "von einem Keiser und eim Apt", has separate places for the emperor's court, the miller's and the abbot's dwellings³; in K 37, "von eim Thumherrn und einer Kupplerin", there are several exits and entrances and a separate place

¹ Exceptions are: K 103 (Swiss?); K 8, a probable Folz play, which Lenk has traced to Steinhöwel's Aesop; K 63, again a Folz play, which dramatizes the Traugemundeslied, and the appearance of figures from Metzen Hochzeit in K 67, Folz' K 43, and the related play, K 36.

² The Ehemann leaves during the temptation scene with the Kupplerin.

³ Also, the puzzling direction for the peasants to draw a wegenlein carrying the miller-abbot to the court, cf. Keller, Vol. I, p. 207, 1.

where the Domherr changes his clothes in order to re-appear disguised as the husband, and one instance of teichoskopie¹; K 46, "Wie ein Peurin mit einem Edelman wettet", tacitly assumes that action is going on simultaneously in two places (one off-stage); K 60, "Konig Salomon und Markolfo", requires a separate place for Salomon's court, a neutral area for Markolf's plots with Fusita and the two women, and the concept of "off-stage" action when Markolf escapes during the time occupied by the four peasants' songs; K 62, "Perner und Wundrer", assumes three very vague "places"² and requires a (Wirtshaus?) door for a "prop"; and K 82, another Artzt play, requires separate places for the Artzt and for the sick man's dwelling.

Concomitant with these alterations in staging are two quite opposite trends in treatment of the dramatic frame of the complex Handlungsspiel: one--the more frequent --method is to elaborate on the various techniques of "open"

¹ Keller, Vol. I, p. 280, *ff.* 6.

² The separate "stations" of Etzel and his knights, with the maiden-in-distress going back and forth between them, seem to be a direct borrowing from the Simultanbühne.

frame which we found in the expanded frames of the Revue and Gericht plays at a slightly "earlier" phase of development; the other and infrequent technique is the closed frame speech addressed only or primarily to the fictive audience in the play.

Handlungsspiel and "Open" Frame Techniques

The two most frequent techniques of handling "open" frames in Revue and Gericht plays of Michels' types 2 to 3 can be seen again in the more complex plays: the gradated transition from play to audience spheres made through two or more frame speeches; and the secondary fictions of audience participation in the play, produced by invitations to "plaintifs" or "patients". K 22, "Herzog von Burgund", is an extreme example of the gradated transition.

The two figures who open K 22 address the audience directly; the fool gives a two-line introduction to the herold's speech:

Schweigt still und halt all die meuler zu!
Hort, was man euch verkunden thu!¹

¹ Keller, Vol. I, p. 169, ll. 4, 5.

The latter then announces the entrance of the Duke of Burgundy, ending with an explicit reference to the "ordinary" audience:

Schickt euch, iez wirt er treten ein.¹

Another herold accompanies the entrance of Sibilla and orders "everyone" out of her way; and the Jews make the same demand as they enter with the Messiah:

Ir Cristen, do tret an ein ort,
Weicht in die winkel da und dort
Und laßt uns auch herschen ein weil,...²

This last speech is addressed to the characters in the play, as the fool's objections indicate. The transition from audience to play reality involves four different frame speakers and is nearly imperceptible.

The audience invitation may appear in the Handlungsspiel in its old, traditional form, as in K 82, where the second Auszschreier performs Rubin's role by introducing the Artzt and calling for patients, or in K 6, where Quenzelpelsch occupies this prologue position and function. The extent to which this prologue motif has become merely

¹ Keller, Vol. I, p. 169, ll. 20.

² Ibid., p. 172, ll. 2-5.

a non-functional "survival" is apparent in two plays, K 22 and K 60, which include Gericht play openings as a means of evoking or suggesting the older "open" form but without integrating that motif into the Handlungsspiel scenes.

K 22, "von einem Keiser und eim Apt", uses the opening Gericht play episode to make a gradual transition from audience to the actual play involving the miller and abbot. The Praecursor begins by identifying himself as a functionary of the court, but ends with an address to the characters, asking them to make a wise judgment, rather than with any sort of audience invitation. In K 60, "Salomon und Markolfo", the herold is part of Salomon's court, and in this case he does end his address with an invitation to the audience to come before the "judge":

Ob iemant vor im zu schaffen hett,
Der wurd hie kurzlich außgericht.
Der des bedarf, der saum sich nicht.¹

The dialogue with Markolf which follows has, however, no relationship whatsoever to the Gericht motif. In fact, he first appears in the guise of another traditional "open" prologue figure:

¹ Keller, Vol. II, p. 522, pp. 9-12.

Lieber junkher, got geb euch hail!
 Hie han ich gar vil kramschaft fail.¹

Neither the audience invitation nor the Krämer has any function here; Salomon does not become the "judge" until much later in the play--by which time it is evident that the plaintiffs have no relationship to the audience--and Markolf's address has no semblance of being addressed to the audience, as is clear when he engages, a few lines later, in stichomythia with Salomon's speeches.

The closing of K 60 is the more complex of its frames: a Schluß Tanz combining players and audience is followed by Markolf's reappearance--this time in pilgrim's guise--and his comic monologue on subjects unrelated to the play's action. Finally, the Auszschreier appears in the character of Salomon's herold and delivers the Gesegen-reim in the king's name, rather than in the name of the actual players:

Unser herr der kunig gesegnet euch all
 Und fragt, wie euch der schimpf gefall.²

Catholy has considered this closing in some detail as particularly convincing evidence of the attempt, even in the

¹ Keller, Vol. II, p. 522, ll. 13, 14.

² Keller, Vol. II, p. 540, ll. 21, 22.

most complex Nürnberg Handlungsspiele, to preserve the "open" form through special frame devices. The Schluß Tanz he considers a relatively late development with quite different functions from the dances within various Revue plays.

Catholy makes a primary distinction between dances performed by characters only, whether in the middle of the play and as a central motif (as in K 53, "Große Neidhartspiel", or K 67, "Alt Hannentanz"), or as a close to the play's actions (in K 21, 28, 59, 64, 66, and 95), and those plays in which the dance involves some or all of the audience and serves to re-integrate the play into the context of the real Fastnacht festivities. He thus finds three types of closing techniques in Nürnberg, the earliest being the plays without dance:

Entwicklungsgeschichtlich liegen jene Spiele am Anfang, deren Text keinerlei Hinweis auf einen Schluß Tanz enthält, weil - wie bei den Reihenspielen - die Selbstständigkeit der Spielsphäre überhaupt so gering war, daß es gar keines Tanzes bedurfte, um die allgemeine Fastnachtswirklichkeit wieder voll aufleben zu lassen.¹

A second stage of development is represented by plays which end with a dance involving the players and

¹ Catholy, Hermea 8, p. 185.

the entire audience. Catholy includes in this group the Tirolean plays, K 56 and 128, Deb's Ludus Solatiosus (K 115), which is much later, and K 129, "Das Leben der Heyligen Frauen Susanna", which is much more complex in structure and staging. The fact that all four of these were performed on the Simultanbühne which separated the audience from the play much more clearly than did the Stubenspiel argues against their actually having involved the audience in a dance on the stage itself. Of the other two examples offered, K 5 and 8b, the text of the latter is so corrupt that it is impossible to tell what the performance form really was.

Catholy's third group represents the "youngest" stage of the closing frame:

Die dritte Stufe schließlich wurde verkörpert durch einen Tanz der Darsteller mit Frauen aus dem Publikum, dem die Abschiedsrede des Ausschreiers folgte. Die gesicherten Folz-Stücke 60, 112, 120 bei Keller gehören alle drei dieser Stufe an. Folz verwendet die zweite Form des Schlußtanzen nicht.¹

In any case, this leaves us with a very useful distinction between dance elements performed purely as part of the

¹ Catholy, Hermea 8, p. 185.

drama and the closing dance which drew some or all of the audience into the playing area of the Nürnberg Wirtshaus, whether as a final close to the play, as in K 5, or prior to the epilogue, as in Catholy's third group: K 2, 3, 4, 6, 20, 22, 37, 51, 55, 62, and 106, and numbers II through IV in Schnorr von Carolsfeld's Archiv.¹ With two exceptions--K 51 and 106, the complex Gericht play, "von der Vasnacht," and Folz' "Kaiser Constantinus",--Catholy's third group includes only plays which are either Handlungsspiele that involve modifications of the ortlose Bühne or dialogue plays of the "prologueless" type. The Schluß Tanz of this type can be seen as a special emphasis on the tendency of the epilogue to re-establish the identity of the plays' characters with actual actors, i.e., with the Fastnacht revelers. Occasionally, however, the play's fictional situation is carried on into the closing frame, as in Markolf's reappearance after the dance in K 60 and in the epilogist's assertion of Salomon's reality as fictional character in the closing speech of that play. In a few of

¹ Number I in Schnorr's Archiv is a Bauernspiel; while the other plays have "literary" motifs--II and IV the judgment of Paris; III Salomon's judgment.

the Nürnberg Handlungsspiele we find that the fictional sphere of the play has "absorbed" the prologue as well, producing a "closed" drama.

Handlungsspiele with "Closed" Frame Techniques

In contrast to the dozens of prologues involving semi-neutral figures or a combination of neutral prologist and role character, we find only one or two Fastnacht play prologues in which the frame seems to be merely a Theaterzettel with no relationship to the actions of the--closed--drama. This occurs in the Tirol play, K 57, where the prologist gives a summary of what will happen in the play, and again in K 19, "von Zweien Eleuten", where the prologist shows signs of becoming the "Theater-herold" postulated by Koischwitz. Here, the Praecursor introduces the characters and gives the background of their disagreement, then leaves the stage during the play proper:

Mit dem so scheid ich nie von dannen
Und laß sie mit einander zannen.¹

Before the epilogue, however, the wife who is a central character calls to the Wirt to bring wine, thus undercutting

¹ Keller, Vol. I, p. 161, *ll.* 2, 3.

the fictional level of the drama.

The opposite case--the prologue addressed only to the characters in the play--is also extremely rare in Nürnberg. We find it in its "pure", completely closed form only in K 80 and 81; although K 17 seems to be an intermediate step in this direction, in that the audience is only secondarily identified with the object of the frame address. A less extreme case in Rosenplüt's K 100 has been considered in this light; and the fact that all of these examples have "courtly" themes suggests that the source may be the Tirolean dramas which combine the real with a fictional audience in a way that favors the latter, as in K 53 and 54. On the other hand, Folz avoids this closed style precisely in the plays with "courtly" themes, K 60 and 106, just as he rarely (except in K 60) violates any of the assumptions of the ortlose Bühne.

K 80, "Das Vasnachtspil mit der Kron", and K 81, "Luneten Mantel", have a completely different approach to the ortlose Bühne than any of the Revue and Gericht play types. In both, the single scene created by the prologue is a totally fictive one--King Arthur's court--and neither prologue mentions the actual audience, the Wirtshaus, or the fact that the performance is a "play" in any way. In

K 81, which uses this technique less drastically in its prologue,¹ the herold-epilogist uses an elaborate fictional device for requesting alms and drink without stepping out of his role:

Nu dart, ir herrn, ir habt vernumen,
 Von wann die klünig all her sein kumen.
 Si haben verzert bürge und auch lant.
 Darümb so sein sie auß gesant,
 Mit irer kürzweil wunnesam...²

In the strictest sense, the staging of these two plays is no longer ortlos; a completely fictive setting must be imagined by the audience from the very beginning of the prologue through the end of the epilogue.

K 17, "von Fursten und Herren", begins in a similar manner when the prologist, who is a herold of Soldan's court, addresses himself only to the fictive members of that court:

Ir fursten herren hochgeporen,
 Die itzund hie sein auBerkorn
 Zu dinst dem edeln konig Soldan...³

But a knight who follows seems to make an identification

¹ i.e. by using only one herold, rather than the three herolds of the court in K 80, and by making less specific references to the characters' identities in the address.

² Keller, Vol. II, p. 678, *ll.* 19-24.

³ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 138, *ll.* 3-6.

of real and fictional audiences when he announces:

Wolt euch die weil nit wesen lank!
Der konig tut euch nit betoren,
Ir mocht noch abenteuer hie horen.¹

Further, in introducing Aristoteles, he calls for "anyone" to come forth and learn the master's arts in the same formula used in the Artzt and Gericht plays for audience invitations:

Wer solche kunst von im wolle leren,
Der findt sich bei dem meister drat.
Darumb euch mein herr geladen hat.²

This seems to be an intermediary stage between a direct address to the Wirtshaus audience and an address only to the characters in the play. The fact that the invitation comes late in the frame emphasizes the fictional setting, even while inviting the audience to identify with the characters. The technique here is very similar to that in K 53, the "Große Neidhartspiel".

One further play shows a slight tendency to the "closed" frame--K 62, "vom Perner und Wunderer". Here, the

¹ Keller, Vol. I, p. 138, ll. 25-28.

² Ibid., p. 139, ll. 18-21.

prologist identifies himself as a herold of Etzel's court and finishes his speech with a device that emphasizes the immediacy of the play's action:

Secht, do kumpt die junkfrau gelafen.¹

His epilogue extends the play's fiction into the real world of the Wirtshaus again, by commenting, with simulated naiveté, on the immediacy of the action:

Herr wirt, nu gebt uns urlaub drat!
Ich freu mich, das Wundrerer ist tat.
Meins lebens het ich mich verwegen.
Hett ir unser so wol nit pflegen
Mit edler speis und gutem wein,
Vor schrecken must wir all tot sein.²

In K 62, however, the balance of actual with fictional reality is only temporarily and partially tipped in favor of the play, and this only by contrast with the typical "open" forms of the pro- and epilogue.

The trick of asserting the reality of characters or plot in the context of the Wirtshaus activities depends for its effectiveness on the basic assumption of the ortlose Bühne, namely, that such "exotic" figures as the Turkish

¹ Keller, Vol. II, p. 547, ll. 12.

² Ibid., p. 552, ll. 9-15.

emperor or Etzel are present in the Wirtsstube itself. An extension of the play's fiction into the epilogue occurs as an alternative to the neutral, "player" epilogist with about the same frequency in the Reihenspiel as in the Handlungsspiel, but generally combined with the tendency to emphasize the reality of the actual audience, as, for example, in K 70, a simple Revue, where the Auszschreier invites everyone to the wedding of two of the "characters" in the play.

In considering the "closed" forms of prologue, however, we have found two diametrically opposed possibilities, both of which establish a definite boundary between audience and play. Neither the "Theater-herold" nor the prologue addressed wholly to the fictional characters in these few and rather "late" examples is really comparable with the earlier types of neutral or character prologists, but both are reasonably common types in the Simultanbühne dramas at various points. In fact, we may question whether the latter type is, strictly speaking, a "prologue" at all; since the function of mediation between play and audience has been abdicated and it is only the very obvious "echo" of the older audience address forms which in any way suggests an audience-character identification, in K 80 and 81, at least.

Another echo of older address forms--this time, the address to the Wirt--occurs in the third group of complex Nürnberg plays, which treat the Wirtshaus as a "setting" and convert the direct address formula into a part of the central character's role. This group, which consists of "closed" dialogue plays, usually with consistent use of Reimbrechung, is to all purposes "prologueless" and yet emphasizes the reality of the Wirtshaus audience by precisely the same technique which we observed in "older" Gericht, or even Einsalzen and Jahrmarkt plays--namely, by ostensibly including members of the audience in the dramatic fiction, generally in the role of a Wirtshaus guest who reacts to the entrance of Bauer, peddler, or Artzt into the Wirtshaus and enters into a dialogue with him.

Prologueless Handlungsspiele

This third type of Handlungsspiel is unique to Nürnberg and to the ortlose Bühne for quite obvious reasons --the actual setting of the play coincides in all details with the fictional setting, and the central character enters this "stage" with some quite plausible, although entirely fictional, reason for being there; he does not so much set the "scene" as simply assert his own role, as in K 2, 3, 4,

5, 31, 35, 55, 120. The audience is in the fictional setting of the play, which then requires very little introduction. In the Artzt play, K 6, we saw that the Wirtshaus had begun to take on a fictional dimension--i.e., as one of the two "places" required by the play. This is the logical extension of the whole tendency of the Nürnberg drama to emphasize the actual setting and audience. But the degree of fictional reality achieved by the players, while always in an intermediate state between audience and illusion, was generally very much subordinate to the former in the traditional forms of Fastnachtspiel. Thus, in Folz' K 38, the Einschreier is openly a "player", who begins by asking whether he and his friends are in the right house--they are not--and then announcing that they might as well give the play anyway, since they're there. In K 63, an adaptation of the Traugemundelied which has been attributed to Folz, the prologist pretends to be looking for a girl whom he had arranged to meet in the Wirtshaus, and he can hardly wait to finish the epilogue in order to go look for her. Again, the fiction introduced emphasizes the fact that the group is composed of "players", rather than of

characters.¹

The staging technique is very different in, for example, K 55. Here the figure who begins the play identifies himself as a Krämer and tries to sell his wares to the Wirt and his household, is accosted by an angry farmer who has ostensibly been sitting in the Wirtshaus, and manages to talk the farmer into trading his land for an apprenticeship to the peddling business. From the moment the Krämer steps forth, the fiction of the play is in full force:

Got grüß den wirt und was hinn ist!
Hie secht ir gar in kurzer frist
Mein kaufmanschafz und mein handel,
Mit dem ich in dem land umb wandel.²

That the Wirtshaus is in this case both actual and "stage" setting is indicated when the farmer's servant, who has supposedly also been in the Wirtshaus listening to the discussion, runs off to tell the farmer's wife of the impending bad bargain, and she comes in and makes short shrift of the two men. In other words, there are actually two

¹ It must be noted that these are more or less the extreme examples of this type, and that, generally, the prologist puts himself forth as a member of the group of characters, at the same time as he emphasizes the real setting.

² Keller, Vol. I, p. 477, ll. 4-8.

"places" on the stage--one of these is the Wirtshaus itself; the other the farmer's "house". The line between play and audience is often crossed in this play, for example, when the farmer undertakes to expose the Krämer's beggary to the Wirt, or another farmer comes forth from the guests and tries to smooth the wife's ruffled feelings by calling for a dance. (Catholy's type 3 SchuBtanz.) On the other hand, the essentially closed character of the dialogue is emphasized by a regularly reappearing Reimbrechung.

Nearly the same device is used in K 2, but without requiring a second "place" on stage. The Walbruder enters the Wirtshaus asking for alms from the guests, and a peasant objects to this chicanery and attempts to expose it to the audience, i.e., the guests with whom he is identified. In the resulting argument, both characters turn several times to the audience and assert the truth of their statements; but the dialogue is connected by Reimbrechung through at least two-thirds of the play. Here, again, the use of a closing dance followed by the epilogue suggests that the play was perceived as a "closed" form needing a gradual transition to the epilogue.

In K 5 and K 31 a husband comes into the Wirthaus, and is discovered there by his wife, who is not amused;

the battle that ensues is patched up by the supposed "guests". K 5 uses both Reimbrechung and Catholy's third type of dance closing. K 31 is a much less sophisticated version. The husband opens with a speech describing his pretensions to being "better" than the other guests and something of a pugelist.¹ After the domestic quarrel, he announces his departure for other places in the typical epilogue, humorous speech, adapted by substituting the first-person singular for the first-person plural, but does not actually step out of his role.

In K 35, which has been attributed to Folz, the peasant who enters the Wirtshaus has been sent out by his wife to search for meat; a "guest" offers to sell him a rabbit, and the result is an argument over the value of the coins offered in exchange. The speeches are connected by Stichreim for the most part. Possibly, the end of the play is missing; although a closed dialogue of this type need not have had an epilogue. Catholy suggests that,

¹ Despite the rubrics and the break in the text, this is clearly the same figure; the two self-descriptions agree in the central motif of pretensions to higher status.

because it has a closed form, it must have been performed with a re-integrating frame.¹

In all of the examples given above, the Wirtshaus setting has a fictional dimension--it would be impossible to present these dialogue plays on a modern Illusionsbühne without reproducing the Wirtshaus as the stage setting, or scenery. But the prologue can be omitted in these plays--i.e. the "fiction" begins with the appearance of the characters--since the fictional scene is exactly the same in all its physical dimensions (place, time, furniture) as the real scene--the ortlose Bühne in nuce! In this respect, Folz' play "von einem Artzt und einem Kranken" (K 120) is something of a tour de force, using all the possibilities of the Stubenspiel for a complex play.

The so-called "Einschreier" in K 120 is part of the group of characters who enter the Wirtshaus in search of a doctor for their sick friend. The Bauer who objects to the entrance is ostensibly one of the guests; in the dialogue

¹ cf. Catholy, Hermea 8, p. 188. But Catholy also believes that the play had a "missing" prologue, which is unlikely, considering the fact that it otherwise resembles very closely our examples of dialogue plays without prologues--a phenomenon which Catholy seems to ignore altogether.

that precedes the doctor's arrival, the sick man repeatedly asks to be carried to the bathroom, is refused because it's "too cold outside", and finally, in the free-for-all, is pushed off the bench on which he had been lying. Reimbrech-
ung is a regular feature of the dialogue involving several persons; and the later conversation with the doctor relies heavily on word plays and puns (most of them rather gross, but by no means a "primitive" form of dialogue-writing).

Unfortunately, the manuscript breaks off before the close; but K 3 and 4, which have very similar structures, end with a dance, and we might guess that K 120 had one too. Neither K 3 nor K 4 is as well motivated as K 120, and the difficulty of beginning a play with a large number of characters who have a fictive "purpose" in entering the Wirtshaus is illustrated by the fact that both fall back on the old device of coming to ask the Wirt and their neighbors for advice. In both plays, the predictable fight develops, and one of the "guests" tries to restore peace between the opposing parties--in K 4 with disastrous results, as the wife beats both the husband and the mediator, driving the latter under a bench, and preventing him from escaping out the Wirtshaus door.

We can conclude that the Nürnberg Fastnachtspiele actually developed in two diverging directions toward autonomy: in the Handlungsspiele which adapted literary sources or episodes from the non-Nürnberg drama, this often involved staging techniques foreign to the ortlose Bühne; while the "dialogue" plays developed just that stage to its fullest. The first route affected the pro- and epilogue only insofar as the variety of Revue and Gericht play frame techniques designed to make a gradual transition from audience to play reality were combined into increasingly complex patterns. The two quite different types of "closed" Handlungsspiel frame were isolated and unusual instances in the Nürnberg drama.

The second route to autonomy was implied in the ortlose Bühne itself but required the full development from public address through fictional monologue to genuine dialogue for its realization. This fact argues most cogently for placing our two forms of "prologueless" play--the open dialogue with the audience and the closed dialogue between two or more characters--at the very beginning and end of the "development" during the fifteenth century in Nürnberg. Both of these forms are specific to the stage and the playing conditions of Nürnberg; both demonstrate an organic

. relationship to the "first" speaker of the Nürnberg Reihen-
spiel, the other form not found in the religious or non-
Nürnberg secular dramas.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

We have considered the various functions of early Nürnberg Fastnachtspiel frame elements in the context of audience-play relationship and staging and compared these with the frames in other, contemporary forms of drama. In each instance we found the frame to be a "definition" of dramatic fiction--that is, of a slightly different level of reality from that occupied by the audience. The prologist creates this intermediate level, which is never quite what we would call "dramatic illusion", by establishing the fictional roles of the characters or the symbolic significance of the events in the play; the epilogist may reverse the process by revealing the characters as mere players, as in the majority of the Nürnberg plays, or he may raise it to another level of significance in the religious drama by delivering a short "sermon" or introducing a prayer or hymn.

In the simplest Nürnberg Fastnacht plays, the frame developed quite organically from the "first" and "last"

speakers of "prologueless" Revues in which each speaker entered into an open dialogue with the audience. In Michels' first type of Revue, where the characters' monologues were essentially short "narratives" on comic themes either in the present or past tense, the frame speeches were often undistinguished from those of the other characters (Lier's type 1) except by their direct engagement of the audience and some announcement of the fictional situation or theme. Thus, while representing a tiny step towards autonomy on the ortlose Bühne, the pro- and epilogue remained essentially "frozen" at the oldest phase of audience-play relationship.

In slightly more complex Revue plays of Michels' type 2, in which the frame speeches were distinguished (often by greater length) from those in the main body of the play, we can see the demands of heteronomy being met by referring the play's situation to the Wirt or audience, or by gradating the transition from audience to play spheres. Here, the "first" speaker began to develop into the alternate types of neutral or semi-neutral prologist; while the epilogist remained outside the dramatic fiction for the most part, and represented the actual players in his address to the audience.

The more complex Nürnberg Revue, Gericht and similar plays (usually Michels' types 2 to 3) often emphasized the "open" frame by including a fictional invitation to the audience to take a major role in the play. An "open" prologue form can be found, also, in one or two of the Tirolean plays which made very little or no use of the Simultanbühne techniques; while the same motif becomes part of the play's action in the "Große Neidhart Spiel", where the prologue has been "absorbed" into the drama.

On the whole, the Simultanbühne, both in the religious Volksdrama and in the non-Nürnberg secular drama, seems to have preferred the neutral prologue form with a straight-forward audience address; while the neutral epilogue developed much more slowly in the religious drama and made very little headway in the secular, Simultanbühne genre. In the religious drama, too, the prologue both signals the first step to autonomy, and is an attempt to preserve the older form and the liturgical context of the Latin dramatic offices. This may be one reason why the "Apostle" epilogue persisted long after the neutral prologist became the "standard" form.

An older model for the Volksdrama neutral prologist can be found in the angelus Silete. But the figure of the

angel, like the figure of Augustinus in the Frankfurt circle of plays, was either gradually assimilated to, or replaced by, the newer role in the mid-fifteenth century. Our earliest examples of the neutral prologue are much older, however, and suggest that the influence of the Vagantes may have been decisive in this development. Similarly, the neutral prologist appears to have been one of the Vagantes' contributions to our oldest Neidhart play in St. Paul. There, we can see quite clearly that functional, central elements of the frame were not drawn from the epic source but added in a very simple and succinct form of "definition" of the performance.

A second type of frame in the mercator scene of the religious drama appears to have influenced both the Tirolean and the Nürnberg Fastnacht plays; but the figures appeared in very different audience-play relationships which can be traced to differences in stage forms. In Nürnberg, Rubin's role emphasized the reality of the Wirtshaus setting and the actual audience; while the Taverne scene on the Simultanbühne was purely a stage "setting". The popularity of the mercator-scene motifs and figures in Nürnberg may have arisen partly from the fact that the scene was not "localized" in the symbolic geography of the religious

Volksdrama; while the localized Teufel scenes appeared more frequently in the secular dramas outside Nürnberg.

Secondary influence from the various Simultanbühne forms can be seen in some of the Nürnberg Handlungsspiele which departed slightly from ortlose staging conventions. Here, the variety of frame techniques is partly traceable to early tendencies in Nürnberg to expand the frame or introduce secondary fictions connecting audience and play. Most of these can be included in the tendency to preserve heteronomy. A few isolated instances of "closed" prologues addressed only to the characters in the play, or of the completely detached "theater" prologist, in Nürnberg seem to be traceable to non-Nürnberg dramatic sources. More frequently, however, the complex Handlungsspiele "re-introduced" such older frame techniques as the "first" speaker, the Gericht-play prologues or Vorspiele, or "invitations" to the audience. A late form of epilogue--the dance closing which combined players with audience--appears, again, to have been an attempt to preserve the "open" form of the genre.

A relatively late development in Nürnberg was the closed dialogue play--generally featuring extensive Reimbrechung--which had no prologue. Here, the "first" speaker

was a role figure and opened the play by announcing that he had come to the Wirtshaus for some purpose central to the play's fictional level. Although most of our examples of this type are restricted to two or three characters, Folz used it in a rather complex Handlungsspiel which foreshadowed the Fastnachtspiel techniques of Hans Sachs but was also the "end" phase inherent in the ortlose stage itself.

One question we have left for the last because it is largely unanswerable: how did the pro- and epilogues of the fourteenth and fifteenth-century dramas ultimately arise? In other words, how did actual "drama" in the intentional sense come into existence? If discussion of the frame elements has indicated anything, it is that the notions of "stage" and "play" were mutually interdependent throughout the late middle ages, that one defined the other on a strictly empirical basis. There are no "closet" plays from this period, and there were no areas which were called "stage" during the times when they were not occupied by a play in progress.

The pro- and epilogue were connected with a concept of "fiction" very different from the present one. It is not too great an exaggeration to say that medieval writers--

in drama and in courtly or "Spielmanns" epic--chose between two alternatives: "truth" and "falsehood", and that the tendency of the older forms of both was to attempt to place the work in the first of these categories. Yet such an announcement as that made in the Wiener Osterpiel:

Wir wellin haben eyn ostirspil
das ist frolich und kost nicht vil.¹

is an open recognition of the playfulness, the masquerade-like quality of the presentation. And it is significant that we find such announcements first in the wholly secular or in the secularized portions of the drama in the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, that is, in the centuries of the so-called Prag "Renaissance" and the first stirrings of Humanism.

Ultimately, we must decide, not for single "sources", but for a very general and diffuse change in the milieu--whether we describe it in historical, sociological or literary-historical terms is largely irrelevant--which is behind such diverse phenomena as the Vagantes, the purely secular Fastnacht-play genre, and the increasing legitimization and institutionalization of "play" in the widest sense

¹ Hartl, Drama des Ma's, Wiener Osterspiel, ll. 23, 24.

of the term. But, like the puzzling Danubian Minnesang of the early twelfth century, the Fastnacht drama in Germany is proof of the fact that certain forms may arise "spontaneously" in response to a general climate of thought and without direct, "literary" influences or transmission.

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