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**Development of the Iconography of the
Holy Women at the Empty Tomb
(*Visitatio Sepulchri*) in Light of the
Medieval Church Music-Drama**

Bachelor's thesis

Thesis advisor: prof. PhDr. Ing. Jan Royt, Ph.D., DSc.

Prague 2019

Declaration

1. I declare that I have written this work independently and I have used only the cited sources and literature.
2. I declare that this work has not been used for acquiring of any other degree.
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Bibliografic citation

Development of the Iconography of the Holy Women at the Empty Tomb (*Visitatio Sepulchri*) in Light of the Medieval Church Music-Drama: Bachelor's thesis / Indrė Kuliešiūtė ; thesis advisor: prof. PhDr. Ing. Jan Royt, Ph.D., DSc.. - Prague, 2019. - 97 pp.

Abstract

The work connects the iconography of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* theme in the visual art with the same motive in the medieval Church music-drama, also known as *Quem quaeritis*, which is the cradle of the Western theatre. As a result, the work puts to light several schemes in the visual art which can be understood only with reference to the drama, as scenes from a play. Additionally, several typical space arrangements are identified. The work also looks deeper into the participation of women in those plays as authors, singers and actors, which is still much less known than it should be by the general public. Case studies are given, such as how it must have looked at the cathedral of Essen.

Geography-wise, since the *Visitatio Sepulchri* belongs to the Latin liturgy, naturally the focus is there, while the Greek, Coptic and Armenian worlds are observed in passing with the fascinated eyes of a foreigner, the exception being the plays brought to the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the 12th century by the Augustine canons.

Time-wise, material is more than abundant up to the present day, but iconographic innovations seem to stop at the end of the Late Middle Ages — interestingly, this creative period in visual art coincides with the time of *Visitatio Sepulchri* plays being performed, which is up to around 1600. Therefore, the presence of innovations defines the time limits of the research. Finally, with reference to an ivory from Northern France, a *terminus ante quem* is proposed for the creation of the *Quem quaeritis* dialogue.

Keywords

Visitatio Sepulchri, Holy Women, Three Marys, *Quem quaeritis*, Church drama, liturgical drama, medieval theatre, iconography, monastic life

Character count (including spaces): 100052

Název práce v českém jazyce

Vývoj ikonografie Třech Marií u prázdného hrobu (*Visitatio Sepulchri*) ve světle středověkého liturgického hudebního dramatu

Anotace

Tato práce spojuje ikonografii motivu *Visitatio Sepulchri* (Tři Marie u prázdného hrobu) ve výtvarném umění se stejným motivem ve středověkém liturgickém hudebním dramatu. V divadelní vědě je tento motiv známý také jako *Quem quaeritis* a právě z něho se zrodilo celé západní divadlo. Tato práce objasňuje několik schémat ve výtvarném umění, které je možné plně pochopit pouze v kontextu dramatu. Dále jsou identifikována některá typická prostorová schémata. Tato práce taky sleduje účast žen v těchto hrách: jako například autorky, zpěvačky a herečky. Tento aspekt až dodnes není dosti známý veřejnosti. Jsou uvedeny vybrané příklady, jako např., jak to nejspíše vypadalo v katedrále v Essenu.

Z hlediska geografického se práce soustředí na prostor latinské liturgie, neboť *Visitatio Sepulchri* patří do této tradice. Cizí a fascinující „řecké“, koptské a arménské světy jsou jenom letmo zmíněny. Výjimkou toho je Svatá země, kde v období katolického království ve 12. století kanovníci Svatého Augustýna hrávali *Visitatio Sepulchri*.

Z hlediska časového, umělecká díla jsou zastoupena až do současnosti, ale vypadá to, že období inovací skončí víceméně v období pozdního středověku. Je zajímavé, že inovativní období v umění se shoduje s obdobím, kdy byly hrány hry *Visitatio Sepulchri*, což je víceméně do roku 1600. Z toho vyplývá časová hranice rešerše. Konečně, slonovina pocházející ze severní Francie poskytuje možný *terminus ante quem* ohledně napsání *Quem quaeritis* dialogu.

Klíčová slova

Visitatio Sepulchri, Tři Marie, *Quem quaeritis*, Církevní drama, liturgické drama, středověké divadlo, ikonografie, zasvěcený život.

Acknowledgements

The most pleasant part of the work has arrived.

First of all, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor prof. PhDr. Ing. Jan Royt, Ph.D., DSc. for the patient and insightful guidance and above all for the kind encouragement.

I am deeply grateful to the entire Catholic Theological Faculty of Charles University for being an intellectual and spiritual home.

All the little I know about liturgy I learned from ThLic. Jan Kotas. I thank PhDr. Markéta Koronthályová and PhDr. Josef Šimandl, Ph.D. for instilling the love for Latin. I do want to thank PhDr. Magdaléna Nespěšná Hamsíková, Ph.D., PhDr. Markéta Jarošová, Ph.D., PhDr. Viktor Kubík, Ph.D., prof. PhDr. Jiří Kuthan, DrSc., Dr.h.c. and many others for being inspiring.

I thank Dr. Christophe Balagna from Toulouse Catholic University for letting me learn from him, and Dr. Andrea Bellantone and his colleagues for creating a welcoming atmosphere and teaching about certitude and friendship.

Significant parts of this work were researched and written on campuses of the University of Texas at Austin and Toulouse Catholic University (and Toulouse II Jean Jaurés, for that matter). I am deeply grateful for the opportunities of these adventures. The Fine Arts Library at UT Austin remains to me a model closest to the prefect library, and I hope it never gets closed.

I thank the Dominican sisters of the Immaculate Conception in Toulouse for their hospitality.

I also thank Mgr. František Batysta for constantly correcting my written Czech and laughing only in moderation in the process.

Most importantly, I wholeheartedly thank my husband Roman and all my family, without which none of this would have been possible.

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Introduction

*Quem queritis in sepulchro o christicole?
Ihesum nazarenum crucifixum o celicole.
Non est hic surrexit sicut ipse dixit:
ite nunciate quia surrexit.*

Quem queritis from St. Martial at Limoges,
923-934 AD, for the Easter Mass Introit

The theme of this work is the motive known as the Three Marys at the Empty Tomb or *Visitatio Sepulchri* in the visual art and its connections to the *Visitatio Sepulchri* play and its precursor - the *Quem quaeritis* dialogue. It will be explored how the iconography of this motive changed over time and, where possible, with respect to geographic regions.

We will try to answer, do the images correspond to the scenes in the texts? Did the emergence of *Quem quaeritis* dialogue “sometime in the ninth century” change the way the scene was depicted in the art? Could the identification of groups with similar iconographic schemes with the help of these texts be possible? Finally, could the visual material assist us in establishing a more precise date of the possible creation of the *Quem quaeritis* dialogue?

The method chosen is interdisciplinary. We will juxtapose the texts and the images, while listening in the meantime to what the musicologists have to say. Before embarking on that, we will take a deep look into the texts themselves and how they were put to life, then in a similar manner we will look into the images.

Several years ago, while researching a Czech manuscript from the early 14th century, I stumbled upon an image which struck me as surprising and involved several women and an angel. It seemed extremely original and very strange.

Now, several years into the research of this strange and captivating image, I know it to be neither strange nor original, in fact, it might be one of the most common - even to our present day, and some examples from the 20th century are of impressive creativity and interest.

Several years into the research, I am also under a strong impression that this theme might be by a large part ignored by the historiography. Given the scope, the popularity, the variety, the importance and the sheer volume of cases, this theme more than deserves to be showered in scholarly attention.

1. The drama of the Church

1.1. The (re)birth

1.1.1. The world as a giant poem

Condition for a birth of drama in the Christian world were more than excellent: Christians saw the world as if it were a giant poem, full of metaphors and analogies¹. As St Irenaeus put it: "In God nothing is empty of sense".

This typical medieval way of thinking, seeing the world which might possess an inner symbolic meaning far more important than just the simple outward appearance, had its origins already in the Jewish view of life as the unfolding of God's divine plan of the world.²

A vivid and perfect example Harris gives us is people looking at white and red roses amongst the thorns, and seeing the symbols of blood and purity in the midst of pain and menace. Therefore an image of virgin martyrs, "shining with glory in the midst of their persecution" would spring up in their minds³.

This attitude was excellent for drama, because it included poetic notions of images, which are very physical, but at the same time full of emotional and intellectual associations - such are exactly the images that drama works with. It combines three things: the theatrical need for display in sheer physicality; dramatic tension in the emotional content; and thematic unity through the allusive reference to the author's larger vision⁴. According to Fichte, it was the antiphonal singing of the choir "that contained the dramatic "seed from which the first liturgical play sprang".⁵

On why it was precisely *Visitatio Sepulchri* and not some other trope from which the whole liturgical drama as a genre evolved, Fichte points out its highest dramatic potential, for the line "Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat" is the extreme turning point, around which the change from sorrow to joy revolves.⁶

¹ Harris 1992, 8

² Harris 1992, 7

³ Harris 1992, 8

⁴ Harris 1992, 8

⁵ Fichte 1975, 8

⁶ Fichte 1975, 9

The drama of the Easter liturgy was the answer to the Middle Ages greatest challenge: to find the visible and outward expression of the forms of union between the human and the divine.⁷

According to Ogden, the liturgical Church-drama developed over the period of seven centuries - “reflected and gave expression to the mind and spirit of the Middle Ages and which provided a major heritage of the Renaissance”.⁸

1.1.2. The resurrection

Ceremonies of the Holy Week

The Mass for Easter day has been instituted in Rome in the 5th or 6th century, while before that the Vigil was the main celebration: first celebrated at dawn to coincide with the Resurrection, then gradually moved to an earlier hour of the preceding day.⁹

Among the central ceremonies of the Holy Week were the Depositio, Elevatio and, later, Visitatio¹⁰. However, neither from the practice of Depositio nor Elevatio did the liturgical drama develop, though they were later associated with the drama¹¹.

According to Ogden, the high point of the whole Church year was the Resurrection, discovered and witnessed by the women at the tomb. The emphasis of the church ritual was in the glorious conquest of death. And only toward the late the Middle Ages did the emphasis shift from that to the agony of the death itself.¹²

The tradition of the tropes

A trope was originally a musical term, but during the Middle Ages began to be used in a literary (textual) sense, i.e. was applied to the words themselves which accompanied the music, and became to mean a literary embellishment.¹³

Or, as Ogden puts it, a trope is an addition to the regular liturgy: one or more extra-liturgical lines inserted in and sung during a regular church rite.¹⁴

⁷ Fichte 1975, 10

⁸ Ogden 2002, 18

⁹ Bjork 1980, 49

¹⁰ Donovan 1958, 8

¹¹ Donovan 1958, 10

¹² Ogden 2002, 20

¹³ Donovan 1958, 10

¹⁴ Ogden 2002, 20

Donovan gives us a history of the development and the possible origins of the tropes tradition¹⁵. From the ninth century on, they became very numerous. Ordinarily this term is associated with Notker Balbulus (ca. 840–912), a monk of a Benedictine abbey of St Gall, therefore Switzerland, but it is very probable that it was invented before in some French monastery. According to Notker himself, in 860, a monk fled from Jumieges (Normandy, close to Rouen) to St Gall, bringing with him a service book which contained some very simple tropes. Notker, inspired by them, started writing tropes of his own¹⁶. St Gall, therefore, soon became the center of this new custom. Later a very important role in the dissemination of tropes and liturgical plays belonged to the monasteries of Saint-Martial in Limoges (Benedictine abbey, France) and Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire (also called Fleury, situated close to Orléans). Perhaps this leads Young to hypothesise that the first tropes were written in one of those two places¹⁷.

The Quem Queritis trope

Of all these tropes the most important one was the Quem queritis. It's place in the liturgy, contrary to the later Visitatio play (as we will see later) was not in the Office of the Hours, but before the Mass - before the introit of the Easter Sunday conventual Mass¹⁸. The version from Saint-Martial de Limoges, written between 923 and 934, is generally regarded as the oldest extant example.¹⁹ There is an opinion, held by Young and H. M. Bannister²⁰, that the original version of the trope was composed by Tutilo at St. Gall around the year 912²¹.

There exists another opinion, put forth by Ogden, that Quem quaeritis had two beginning points: one version preceded the Introit to the Easter Mass and concluded with "'Alleluia resurrexit Dominus"; it first occurred in southern French, northern Italian, Catalan and several East Frankish monasteries, such as St. Gall (today's Switzerland), Rheinau, Heidenheim and Minden.²² The first surviving example is from St Martial of Limoges, dated 923-934 A.D.

¹⁵ Donovan 1958, 10

¹⁶ Donovan 1958, 10

¹⁷ Young 1933, I, 184

¹⁸ Donovan 1958, 11

¹⁹ Donovan 1958, 11

²⁰ in *Journal of Theological Studies*, II (1990), 420 sqq.

²¹ Young 1933, I, 205

²² Bjork 1980, 60

The second version was sung at Easter Matins, just before the final hymn, the *Te Deum*. It concluded not with the Alleluia, but with the “*Surrexit dominus de sepulchro*” (The Lord is risen from the Sepulchre) antiphon. It first occurs in Northern French, English, Rhineland (Lotharingia) and German monasteries. Ogden gives an example with the musical notation from Prum monastery, tenth century.²³ There also seems to be a third usage: that for a procession.²⁴

According to Ogden, it is impossible to tell which version and which placement of the *Quem quaeritis* trope came first.²⁵ Bjork,²⁶ after examining the usual circulation of tropes has formed another theory: he notices that in the South there was a sharp division between East and West Frankish realms: the pieces written in the St Gall orbit were not known elsewhere; same holds true for pieces from St Martial, seldom found outside Aquitania, and for those originating in North Italy. Generally, in the South the pieces did not cross the Rhine and, if coming from Italy, the Alps.²⁷

Therefore, *Quem quaeritis* is a strange anomaly among all the other pieces of a narrow geographical circulation.

The contrary holds true in the North: there, the cultural exchange between the East and the West did exist. Bjork therefore draws the typical pathways of movement or routes of transmission for new musical and textual works: across the North of Europe; from the North of France to the South and to England; from the Rhineland into Germany and Switzerland; from the South of France to Spain; and to Italy from the nearest quarter.²⁸

Therefore, this analysis lets Bjork to conclude that *Quem quaeritis* must have originated in the North: either North of France or the Rhineland, like all the pieces which became to be more widely known.²⁹

"As time went, the pre-Introit version (i.e. from southern France and Italian) tended to remain ceremonial in form and performance, whereas the Easter Matins version (i.e. from northern France, England and Germany) tended to be dramatised, with numerous variations in the tenth and eleventh century".³⁰

²³ Ogden 2002, 20-21

²⁴ Bjork 1980, 63-64

²⁵ Ogden 2002, 20

²⁶ Bjork 1980

²⁷ Bjork 1980, 59

²⁸ Bjork 1980, 59

²⁹ Bjork 1980, 59

³⁰ Ogden 2002, 20

Two contrasting examples that Ogden gives us are a pre-Introit version from Novalesa and a Matins version from Melk, both eleventh century.

The trope *Quem queritis in sepulchro*, not yet in the play form though, is abundant in written texts since 923³¹. By the year 1000, the Easter dialogue *Quem quaeritis* was sung all over Europe, either as a trope or as a little play.³²

The Visitatio Sepulchri play

The only difference between the trope and the play is that the play was dramatised. So, there is a difficulty to surely state from the written sources alone, which one was dramatised, and which one was not.

However, Fichte argues that for medieval drama and medieval mind such a division is pointless.³³ According to Fichte, impersonation does not change the trope into a drama, while according to Young, Chambers and Harris, it does.³⁴

The resurrection theme was a central concern of all the medieval arts³⁵. Three medieval plays deal with the resurrection: *Lazarus*, *The Pilgrim* and the *Visitatio*, which treated the theme the fullest and was by far the most popular. Extant versions of the *Visitatio* (play) outnumber any other play at least ten to one³⁶.

Other extant medieval church music-dramas are: *The Lament of Mary* (*Planctus Mariae*), *The Pilgrim* (*Peregrinus*), *The Shepherds* (*Officium Pastorum*), *The Play of Herod, with The Slaughter of the Innocents* (*Ordo ad Representandum Herodem, with Ad Interfectionem Puerorum*), *The Procession of the Prophets* (*Ordo Prophetarum*), *The Raising of Lazarus* (*Resuscitatio Lazari*), *The Conversion of St Paul* (*Conversio Beati Pauli*), *The Wise and Foolish Maidens* (*Sponsus*), *The Three Daughters* (*Tres Filiae*), *The Three Clerks* (in other sources: *Three Students*) (*Tres Clerici*), *The Image of St. Nicolas* (*Iconia Sancti Nicolai*), *The Son of Getron* (*Filius Getronis*), *The Play of Daniel* (*Danielis Ludus*), *The Play of the Annunciation* (*In Annunciatione Beatae Mariae Virginis Representatio*) and *The Purification* (*Purificatio*)³⁷.

³¹ Donovan 1958, 14

³² Ogden 2002, 20

³³ Fichte 1975, 10

³⁴ Fichte 1975, 10

³⁵ Collins 1972, 57

³⁶ Collins 1972, 57

³⁷ Collins 1972, v

Visual arts have depicted this moment up to today — i.e. for a much longer period than the dramatic ones. The reason for this might be that the liturgy, with its sung antiphons, psalms and hymns was dramatic enough and did not need a theatrical expression in the form of music-drama³⁸. In fact, Collins values many versions of the *Visitatio* as "not much more than a patchwork of antiphons"³⁹. The twelfth century apparently was the top period for those plays⁴⁰.

Historical development

The first known written instance of this play is in an English manuscript "*Regularis Concordia*", composed between 965 and 975⁴¹. The author was Saint Ethelwold, an English Benedictine, bishop of Winchester. The manuscript was to serve as an appendix to the Rule of St Benedict, expanding widely considering the liturgical rites. It included text and stage directions, but not music. Another tenth century document contains the music: the Winchester Troper.⁴²

However, most probably such a play, and liturgical drama in itself (in this case it is one and the same) was not invented in England, but most likely in Fleury or Ghent. Cohen⁴³ thinks that liturgical drama was invented in Fleury. Young states that the general probability is that the ceremonies of *Regularis Concordia* was invented in the continent, but there is no certain proof of it available to us⁴⁴, except St Ethelwold's statement in the beginning of his text expressing his intention to adopt certain usages practiced at the continental monasteries of Fleury and Ghent⁴⁵.

By the year 1000 the new Easter play was flourishing in France, England and Germany. Other scenes were soon added to it: buying the spices, Peter and John racing to the tomb and *Noli me tangere*. On Easter Monday a special play was staged, depicting Christ on the way to Emmaus, which came to be known as the *Peregrinus*⁴⁶.

Plays for Christmas, about the birth in Bethlehem and the visit of the Magi, followed, on Christmas night and January 6th.

³⁸ Collins 1972, 57

³⁹ Collins 1972, 57

⁴⁰ Collins 1972, 57

⁴¹ Donovan 1958, 12

⁴² Ogden 2002, 20

⁴³ *Le Theatre en France au Moyen Age*, p. 9

⁴⁴ Young 1933, I, 583

⁴⁵ Donovan 1958, 13

⁴⁶ Donovan 1958, 13

The trope for Christmas day was very clearly modeled on the Quem queritis Easter trope: it starts by “Quem queritis in presepe, pastores, dicite?”⁴⁷ The trope for Christmas first appears in written texts in the eleventh century⁴⁸. The musical tune of this phrase was usually the same as that of the question of the angel to the women at Easter.⁴⁹

While developing greatly in some places, however, in many churches the liturgical plays remained the same for centuries.⁵⁰

1.2. The play

1.2.1. Purposes and structure

Fichte argues that neither the trope nor the play served any didactical purposes and insists on absolutely no attempt made at religious instruction:⁵¹ “rather, the Quem quaeritis trope as well as the Visitatio Sepulchri were expressions of unrestrained joy, a joy which can be understood only if one considers the extreme desolation of the Lenten season and Good Friday”.⁵²

Therefore, Fichte argues, this play was not a play for the audience, for the public, but for the actors themselves.⁵³

To stress the lack in didactic interests, Fichte points out that the Marys announce the resurrection to the clergy or to the liturgical choir, but not to the people. Also, they display the grave-cloths as a visible proof of Christs Resurrection to the clergy, but not to the people.⁵⁴

Visitatio play is generally separated into three types: Type I and II are simpler, Type III is more complex.⁵⁵ Type I is the main, simplest one. Type II adds the race of Peter and

⁴⁷ Text of the Christmas trope: Donovan 1958, 14

⁴⁸ Donovan 1958, 14

⁴⁹ Ogden 2002, 203

⁵⁰ Donovan 1958, 54

⁵¹ Fichte 1975, 11

⁵² Fichte 1975, 11

⁵³ Fichte 1975, 11

⁵⁴ Fichte 1975, 11

⁵⁵ Ogden 2001, 27

John to the Tomb.⁵⁶ Type III adds the hortulanus scene, also known as *Noli me tangere* — the meeting of Mary Magdalene with the risen Jesus Christ as a gardener.⁵⁷

According to Collins, there is not, however, a complete correlation between the visual and dramatic choice of scenes. The final scene of the play, when Mary Magdalene places the graveclothes on the altar and the three Marys sing “*Resurrexit hodie*”, followed by the appearance of the glorified Christ, singing “*Nolite timere vos*”, is never known to be depicted in the visual art, according to Collins⁵⁸. We might ask, what about the *Chairete* motive in art then?

1.2.2. The geography

Undoubtedly, it is France that is considered as a leader in dissemination of the liturgical drama from its beginning to the year 1100. It appears quite likely that the plays were written in Benedictine monasteries, but spread very quickly to the cathedral and collegiate churches. Two monasteries that particularly stand out are St Martial and Fleury.⁵⁹

However, the earliest text to be preserved, that from the *Regularis Concordia*, is from England.⁶⁰ It is noted that a play has been put up in Santiago de Compostela, a pilgrim location, during the Holy Week, because likely pilgrims from England and France would have expected it.⁶¹

In Spain, the oldest known liturgical play is a none other than a *Visitatio Sepulchri* in two late 11th century manuscripts (breviaries) from Silos, near Burgos, a Benedictine monastery.⁶²

Known plays from Spain are from Silos, Santiago de Compostella, two *Quam queritis* tropes from Huesta, Aragon (dating after 1096)⁶³ and from 15th century Zaragoza⁶⁴.

⁵⁶ Ogden 1999, 30

⁵⁷ Ogden 1999, 31

⁵⁸ Collins 1972, 60

⁵⁹ Donovan 1958, 18

⁶⁰ Davidson 1990, 1

⁶¹ Donovan 1958, 53

⁶² Donovan 1958, 51

⁶³ Donovan 1958, 56

⁶⁴ Donovan 1958, 57

In the beginning of the 16th century Easter dramas which combined the Elevatio and Visitatio (a rather unique combination) were still played in Spain (in Granada, Quadix and Segovia).⁶⁵

In Sweden, three Visitationes from Linköping are known, one from the Stockholm area, one from Vadstena and one of unknown location.⁶⁶ However, the earliest example from Sweden dates from 13th century.⁶⁷ In Sweden, as elsewhere, the dramatisation of the Visitatio followed the Matins.⁶⁸

Considering what was happening in Jerusalem in the 12th century, Shagrir⁶⁹ calls it the “new Latin liturgy” - except, originating in the 9th century and having reached immense popularity around the year 1000, it was not new, nor is it likely that, as Shagrir tries to suggest, possible Byzantine origins might be traced. Rather, it is likely that the Jerusalem case was analogous to the Santjago of Compostella - the plays put up there in response to the expectations of the pilgrims, who were used to seeing them at home.

Moreover, as Shagrir notices, the image of the Holy women was constantly used of the seals of the patriarchs of the Levantine Jerusalem; as a contrast to that, from a thousand seals of Byzantine patriarchs known, only one uses this iconography.

Quem queritis in the earliest examples always has the same melody, starting with a descending fourth⁷⁰. Beginning with this interval was predominant in France, Germany and Spain.

Considering music, Smoldon differentiates (and gives evidence) a Limoges version (from 933 to 12 c.), French independent-of-Limoges version (12–15th c.), German version from St Gall and allied centres (950–16th c.), Italian (12–13th c.) and Spanish (11–13th c.) versions.⁷¹

Considering this presence of St Gall and Limoges versions, it is not so easy to agree with Bjork⁷² that they were not important musical centres and owe their notoriety only to a large number of manuscripts, surviving by chance.

⁶⁵ Donovan 1958, 59

⁶⁶ Davidson 1990, iii

⁶⁷ Davidson 1990, 1

⁶⁸ Davidson 1990, 12

⁶⁹ Shagrir 2017, 464-465

⁷⁰ Davidson 1990, 19

⁷¹ Smoldon 1980, charts 430sq.

⁷² Bjork 1980

Ogden gives the vocabulary of the stage directions concerning quality of voice, with translations to English and references to manuscripts where they are found.⁷³ Interestingly, in the Swedish examples, the parts sung by angels and the women do not differ musically and, according to Davidson, it was a deliberate choice.⁷⁴ According to Ogden, the *Visitatio* from the thirteenth century from Prague is a unique one and contains its own newly composed melodies.⁷⁵

1.2.3. The stage remarks

According to Ogden, scenes in the visual arts mostly cannot be identified as reflecting an actual staging of a play.⁷⁶ That said, opposing opinions are equally as prevalent and this question might merit a further study.

Props

In Fleury manuscript, the angel is told to hold a palm in his left hand and a candelabrum of many candles in his right.⁷⁷ In almost all the texts the stage directions indicate that the women should carry thuribles (censers). Ogden notes (as has also been noticed in the course of this work) that this has been conventional in Ottonian manuscript illuminations (and in the *Benedictional* of St Ethelwold). Sometimes (e.g. in the *Regularis Concordia*) the play specifically requires “*turribula cum incensu*”. Occasionally gold or silver vases, pyxes, candles or tapers are proposed. In Metz the women are to hold a censer in one hand and a palm branch in the other. In Wolfenbuttel two of them need to hold censers, the third - a golden pyxis.⁷⁸

Dress

Generally both the women and the angels wore liturgical clothing — ecclesiastical vestments. The earliest extant stage directions (in *Regularis Concordia*) instructs the

⁷³ Ogden 2002, 156—158

⁷⁴ Davidson 1990, 19

⁷⁵ Ogden 2002, 144

⁷⁶ Ogden 1999, 17

⁷⁷ Smoldon 1964, 9

⁷⁸ Ogden 1999, 29

brother who played the angel to sit at the sepulchre, dressed in an alb and holding a palm branch, while the Marys should wear copes and carry thuribles.⁷⁹

The directions differed greatly by location, and while the alb for the angel was the most common, nearly all liturgical vestments can be found as his apparel.⁸⁰ However, the word "alba" could also refer to a camisa or a dalmatic. Furthermore, in later years alb was not always white.⁸¹

The second most mentioned clothing for the angels is the dalmatic.⁸² Angels also might wear a stole. Also there are references to a surplice and a cope,⁸³ but usually the cope was reserved strictly for the Marys and the risen Christ.⁸⁴

There are several references to the angels wearing a headdress, similar to that of Marys. Since the thirteenth century, some angels were equipped with wings.⁸⁵

Except of the veil, the dress of the twelfth century did not differ for men and women.⁸⁶ One important difference was shoes — women always wore them, the men, at least in the theatre productions and illustrations, consistently did not. Even Christ and the pilgrims were barefooted. There are stage directions pointing this out, for example, the Dublin version of the *Visitatio*⁸⁷.

The color of Mary Magdalene's dress is of interest. There is disagreement among scholars. According to Collins, stage directions say she had to wear red⁸⁸. But, according to Ogden, all the three Marys often wore white.⁸⁹ More than 80 *Visitatio* texts edited by Karl Young and Walther Lipphardt mention the apparel of the Marys; several identify the color of their clothes. Eveillon text of Angers required them to wear albs, white dalmatics and amices trimmed with purple bands. Fecamp: required one of them to wear a red cope and carry a thurible, and the other two to wear white dalmatics.

Red or "purple" is mentioned in the manuscripts from Eveillon of Angers, Fecamp 14th c, Trier 13th c., Meissen 16th c., Moosburg and 15th c. Urgel.

⁷⁹ Ogden 1999, 17

⁸⁰ Ogden 1999, 18

⁸¹ Ogden 1999, 19

⁸² Ogden 1999, 20

⁸³ Ogden 1999, 22

⁸⁴ Ogden 1999, 22-23

⁸⁵ Ogden 1999, 23

⁸⁶ Collins 1972, 285

⁸⁷ Collins 1972, 285

⁸⁸ Collins 1972, 62

⁸⁹ Ogden 1999, 27

So Ogden forms a conclusion, that "considered against the number of times that we have a note on the costume of the women, these examples of red costuming form only a small percentage of the evidence".⁹⁰

Currently University of Friburg, Switzerland, is trying to reconstruct and explore medieval convent drama and its efforts include videos on the youtube platform explaining the costumes of the women and the angels.

Postures

In one of the earliest known stage directions, four men playing angels need to sit by the altar. At Fleury angel is to be seated outside at the head of the sepulchre.⁹¹ According to Collins in his volume "The Production of Medieval Church Music-Drama", which is normally outside the scope of interest or art historians, the gestures of the angel depends on which moment of the play exactly is depicted. If the angel is pointing to the empty sarcophagus, the moment is of his declaration "Non est hic!". If the Angel is pointing upwards, a slightly later moment is depicted, when the Angel is telling Marys that Christ is risen - "Ressurexit est"⁹². There are stage directions, telling the angels to "demonstrer au doit" (point with their fingers) at the St Quentin version⁹³.

Candelabra hanging

In some cases, a giant candelabra, reminding us of the one in Aachen, is seen hanging. In the plays, beside decorative and symbolic (meaning the New Jerusalem) it also had a practical function of lighting the stage. Usually the Angel would light it in the beginning, after stunning the two guards⁹⁴.

1.3. The women

In the original Greek plays both types of the performers: the choir and the actors were male, always masked.⁹⁵ The same was valid for Roman theatre as well,⁹⁶ except for the

⁹⁰ Ogden 1999, 29

⁹¹ Smoldon 1964, 9

⁹² Collins 1972, 58

⁹³ Collins 1972, 58

⁹⁴ Collins 1972, 291

⁹⁵ Harris 1992, 10

⁹⁶ Harris 1992, 11-12

troupes of travelling street mimes (meaning full spoken acting, not miming in our modern sense).⁹⁷ Those mimes originally wore masks, but in Rome there are often records that they rejected them and played bare-faced.⁹⁸ However, nobody could claim that kind of acting to be anything too positive for those women, as it was more about physical display than the “touching of the heart” and the public claimed more rights to them than they did themselves.⁹⁹

Leaving that to be as it may, we read with attention the stage notes by Smoldon: “The inclusion of women in the revivals of such Easter dramas has sometimes been criticised as an anachronism. This is not so, for there are a number of instances to be found in the manuscripts of mixed casts, at nunneries and collegiate churches”.¹⁰⁰

This fact, little known to the general public and even theatre historians, however, can be considered as a consensus among the specialists of medieval Church drama.

1.3.1. The sources

Young in 1933 includes five versions of the *Visitatio* in which women take the roles of the Marys: from Barking¹⁰¹, Troyes¹⁰², Essen¹⁰³, Bresci¹⁰⁴ and Origny-Sainte-Benoite (St Quentin)¹⁰⁵. All these date from the end of 13th century to the 15th.

Ogden 2002, in one of the newest researches published on the history of medieval church drama, is knowledgeable of twenty-three texts where women played women¹⁰⁶, providing us with a full list of these manuscripts.¹⁰⁷ Their datation ranges from 12th to the 17th century, with one manuscript copied in the 18th c. from a 12th-13th c. one. Although Ogden makes a note that the respective play often dates to a period earlier than

⁹⁷ Harris 1992, 13

⁹⁸ Harris 1992, 13

⁹⁹ Harris 1992, 14

¹⁰⁰ Smoldon 1964, iv

¹⁰¹ Young 1933, I, 381

¹⁰² Young 1933, I, 603

¹⁰³ Young 1933, I, 333

¹⁰⁴ Young 1933, I, 221

¹⁰⁵ Young 1933, I, 685

¹⁰⁶ Ogden 2002, 151

¹⁰⁷ Ogden 2002, 153

the extant manuscript.¹⁰⁸ This would explain the discrepancies between the visual arts and the staging of the drama¹⁰⁹.

Extremely interestingly, the manuscript from Prague (Convent of St George, dating 12th-14th century) might be the oldest in Ogden's list, were it from the 12th century. A more precise dating of this particular manuscript would be of extreme value.

Although even in the light of Ogden's research from the year 2002, the women in the roles of women are indeed rare. They occur only in convents or churches, usually cathedrals, with a chapter of canonesses.¹¹⁰

It is interesting that in all of the extant texts coming from convents the female parts are played by women.¹¹¹ There is not a single case of men playing the Marys in a convent setting. It is surprising, in that case, that only 23 plays from the convents are extant, when around 680 from the monasteries are. Interestingly, according to Ogden, no other liturgical dramas were performed in convents.¹¹²

Thus, the roles of the three Marys "provided the first, the oldest and the longest performance practice for women in the drama of the western world"¹¹³ — from the twelfth century to around the year 1600. If we take into account Fichte's idea that the performances of those plays were not intended for the public, but for the actors themselves¹¹⁴, this play gains an unexpected significance in the spirituality of women.

However, Ogden refuses any direct possibility of connections to be drawn from the acting nuns to the professional actresses on the stages of Spain and Italy in the sixteenth century. Neither, according to Ogden, can direct influence be found of liturgical drama upon the Renaissance drama.¹¹⁵

1.3.2. The enrichment

According to Ogden, this one change of including women brought about many changes in the play and its performance.

¹⁰⁸ Ogden 2002, 153

¹⁰⁹ E.g. the thuribles appearing in the visual art much earlier than they do in the stage directions.

¹¹⁰ Ogden 2002, 143

¹¹¹ Ogden 2002, 143

¹¹² Ogden 2002, 143

¹¹³ Ogden 2002, 143

¹¹⁴ Fichte 1975, 11

¹¹⁵ Ogden 2002, 143

The enrichment of sound

First of all, the sound of their music was different — one always heard the conjoining and alternating of male and female pitch, timbre and resonance. The male roles in the convents were always taken by men — the angel(s), Jesus, and, in some dramas, the disciples Peter and John. Thus in the dialogues one heard a singular mixture of male and female voices.¹¹⁶

Before that, sometimes boys' voices were used, but not as a replacement for female ones. Once in a while, the roles of the angels were sung by boys; more often, the choirs of boys' and men were simply joined together to form a chorus.¹¹⁷

In a convent usually the nuns alone, without a priest, celebrated the liturgical hours. Interestingly, in all of the twenty-three texts of women's *Visitatio*, one or more members of the clergy did participate in the Matins service and male clergy sang the male roles, including the angels.¹¹⁸ Therefore, the women did not cross-dress to play the male roles, but to play the female roles in the monasteries the men did.

At Mass and other special services the nuns always formed the house choir. Often the manuscript rubrics directed the women to leave their chorus area and move into the nave of the church to sing the *Visitatio*. (This fact casts a bit of doubt on Fichte's theory that the audience was of no importance in these plays).

In convents which were directly linked to monasteries, such as at Gernrode, Munster, Marienberg bei Helmstadt, or in a cathedral with a chapter of canonesses as well as canons, such as at Essen, male and female choruses sang the chant together.¹¹⁹ In Ogden's opinion, those performances must have been even more striking.

¹¹⁶ Ogden 2002, 151

¹¹⁷ Ogden 2002, 151

¹¹⁸ Ogden 2002, 152

¹¹⁹ Ogden 2002, 152

The emergence of Mary Magdalene as a character

It was precisely in the convents where the character Mary Magdalene gradually emerged.¹²⁰ Ogden points out, that her role is emphasised in sixty-five percent of the texts originating from women's orders (15 out of 23) and in only three percent of the texts deriving from men's orders and from secular churches (21 out of about 680).¹²¹

The earliest texts with Mary Magdalene as a character date from the twelfth century. Ogden notices something unusual in each of the plays involving her as a character: every one of them, without any difference whether she is played by a man or a woman, has innovations: a new musical composition, or a new gestural pattern, or a new ceremonial moment.¹²²

Considering that some of the plays did not change at all during many years, and how similar some of them were to each other (Smoldon's analysis of the *Quem quaeritis* music), the plays discussed above possess a uniqueness that is very interesting.

Interestingly, the cult of Mary Magdalene also arose in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹²³ Sometimes these plays made use of the chapel (Barking and Marienberg) or altar (Origny) of Mary Magdalene.

Emotional expression

Other inventions that sprang up when the women began playing the Marys were: the appearance of unusual acting instructions, evolving of the details of emotional expression, composition of new phrases and whole pieces of music, creation of original poetry, the act of changing of the costumes from black to white at the miraculous moment.

Ogden points to the *Visitatio* from Origny as a example of such innovations. According to Ogden, that *Visitatio* combined the elements of two traditions — the French and the Anglo-Norman, and also includes original textual and musical compositions. Such a fusion, however, results not in a collage, but in "a new and artistic entity".¹²⁴

The most characteristic element, stressed throughout by Ogden, is the expression of human feeling. The inner world of the characters is revealed more frequently and more insistently than in the men's texts.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ Ogden 2002, 150

¹²¹ Ogden 2002, 150

¹²² Ogden 2002, 150

¹²³ Ogden 2002, 150

¹²⁴ Ogden 2002, 153

¹²⁵ Ogden 2002, 151

Ogden mentions two Visitatioes from Prague: one of the thirteenth century,¹²⁶ and one of the twelfth.¹²⁷ The twelfth one contains a unique gesture: after Peter and John took the sacred grave-cloth and held it up for everybody to see (which was a common final gesture, performed either by Peter and John, either by the Marys), the Abbess, very originally, went over and kissed the grave-cloth, followed by the nuns (sorores) and then the townspeople (populus circumstans) standing nearby.¹²⁸

Coming from the twelfth century, the Prague play might be the earliest one extant with Marys played by women.

The mention of townspeople is also a demonstration of the presence of a lay audience for the nun actresses.

Inclusion of the vernacular

According to the findings of Ogden, manuscripts from convents of Gernrode (Germany), Regensburg (Germany), Origny (France) and Troyes (France) contain descriptive rubrics (stage directions) in vernacular. All other manuscripts of the known 700 do not. Rubrics from Gernrode and Regensburg are in German, those from Origny and Troyes are in French.

Moreover, Origny play (1315–1317)¹²⁹ includes some new passages to be sung in French.¹³⁰ It is the oldest known bilingual Church drama.

We have to note here in comparison, that the "Jeu d'Adam", a play, very likely used for Christmas Eve, was written in the vernacular (Anglo-Norman dialect of Old French) already in the 12th century, while we see here that the oldest bilingual Church drama comes only from the 14th.

In light of these findings by Ogden, the Czech-Latin play of the three Marys¹³¹ gains a special uniqueness, as it might be only the second play out of 700 to include passages in the vernacular.

¹²⁶ Ogden 2002, 144

¹²⁷ Ogden 2002, 145

¹²⁸ Ogden 2002, 145

¹²⁹ <https://is.muni.cz/el/1421/jaro2011/DVHs154/Hrytrimarii-puv.pdf>, s. 2

¹³⁰ Ogden 2002, 150

¹³¹ Svejkský 1966

All these five texts with vernacular come from the women's orders.¹³² However, more manuscripts of the play from cloisters are only in Latin, than in the vernacular. This conforms to the findings of the newest research (for example, Hamburger et al.), that the medieval women possessed exceedingly greater knowledge of Latin than was considered before. Also, several later, i.e. 14th and 15th c. Latin-German plays are known, coming apparently from Austria and Switzerland: Wien, Innsbruck, Jager, Tyrol and Cheb.¹³³

1.3.3. Several case studies

Two examples will be given: that of a performance at Essen and that of a likely authorship of the abbess of Origny.

The performance at Essen

At Essen, three canonesses sang the roles of the Marys, the rest of them sang in a chorus. During the performance, the chorus of canonesses would descend from their own choir loft and join the chorus of canons and the boys' schola on the main floor of the cathedral in front of the East choir.

When the time came, the women sang the antiphon "Maria Magdalena", while up above the Marys passed along the second-story southern gallery toward the sepulchre in the westwork. At a later point, the men sang "Currebant duo simul" (Two ran together) while Peter and John in a like fashion passed along the second-story northern gallery to the westwork where the sepulchre was. At the end, one of the disciples sang out the announcement of the Resurrection from the third story of the westwork, and the canonesses' chorus responded with "Deo gratias". Then the Cantrix (women's choir leader) led off the singing of the Te Deum, whereupon everybody joined in: women, men, boys and the townspeople.¹³⁴

We notice that it was immersive theatre — it took place around, above, in the middle, etc. of the audience¹³⁵.

¹³² Ogden 2002, 150

¹³³ <https://is.muni.cz/el/1421/jaro2011/DVHs154/Hrytrimarii-puv.pdf>, s. 2

¹³⁴ Ogden 2002, 152

¹³⁵ Such solutions will again become fashionable and, moreover, will be considered innovative in the 20th century.

The Abbess of Origny as an author

According to Ogden, most likely, the composer of the play from Origny was the Abbess. She must have been the one who might have compiled anew or written a distinctive version of the *Visitatio* for her convent and composed the music for it. The moment when she was doing that was precisely the moment when, around the year 1200, a momentous breakthrough happened in the history of music and development of the liturgical drama.

According to Ogden, “with the *Visitatio* the Abbess made manifest the female religious experience: in the act of cleansing, in emotional expression, and in identification with the figure of Mary Magdalene”.¹³⁶ Also characteristic to the work of the Abbess was the element of collaboration (and one might say, complementarity): men and women performing the *Visitatio* together.

¹³⁶ Ogden 2002, 153

2. The iconography

2.1. Points of departure

2.1.1. The textual basis

This theme, with slight variations, is described in all four Gospels:

Mt (28, 1–7)

1. In the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre. 2. And, behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it. 3. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow: 4. And for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men. 5. And the angel answered and said unto the women, "Fear not ye: for I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified. 6. He is not here: for he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay. 7. And go quickly and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead; and, behold, he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him: lo, I have told you."

Mk (16, 1–7)

1. And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, had brought sweet spices, that they might come and anoint Him. 2. And very early in the morning the first day of the week, they came unto the sepulchre at the rising of the sun. 3. And they said among themselves, "Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?" 4. And when they looked, they saw that the stone was rolled away: for it was very great. 5. And entering into the sepulchre, they saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment; and they were affrighted. 6. And he saith unto them, "Be not affrighted: Ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, which was crucified: He is risen; He is not here; behold the place where they laid Him." 7. "But go your way, tell His disciples and Peter that He goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see Him, and He said unto you."

Lk (23, 56; 24, 1–12)

1. Now upon the first day of the week, very early in the morning, they came to the sepulcher, bringing the spices which they had prepared, and certain others with them. 2. And they found the stone rolled away from the sepulcher. 3. And they entered in, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus. 4. And it came to pass, as they were much perplexed thereabout, behold, two men stood by them in shining garments: 5. And as they were afraid, and bowed down their faces to the earth, they said to them, Why seek you the living among the dead? 6. He is not here, but is risen: remember how he spoke to you when he was yet in Galilee, 7. Saying, The Son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again. 8. And they remembered his words, 9. And returned from the se sepulcher, and told all these things to the eleven, and to all the rest. 10. It was Mary Magdalene, and Joanna; and Mary the mother of James, and other women that were with them, which told these things to the apostles. 11. And their words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not. 12. Then arose Peter, and ran to the sepulcher; and stooping down, he beheld the linen clothes laid by themselves, and departed, wondering in himself at that which was come to pass.

Jn (20, 1–13)

1. The first day of the week comes Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, to the sepulcher, and sees the stone taken away from the sepulcher. 2. Then she runs, and comes to Simon Peter, and to the other disciple, whom Jesus loved, and says to them, They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulcher, and we know not where they have laid him. 3. Peter therefore went forth, and that other disciple, and came to the sepulcher. 4. So they ran both together: and the other disciple did outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulcher. 5. And he stooping down, and looking in, saw the linen clothes lying: yet went he not in. 6. Then comes Simon Peter following him, and went into the sepulcher, and seeing the linen clothes lie, 7. And the napkin, that was about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself: 8. Then went in also that other disciple, which came first to the sepulcher, and he saw, and believed. 9. For as yet they knew not the Scripture, that he must rise again from the dead. 10. Then the disciples went away again to their own home. 11. But Mary stood without at the sepulcher weeping: and as she wept, she stooped down, and looked into the sepulcher, 12. And sees two angels in white sitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had

lain. 13. And they say to her, Woman, why weep you? She says to them, Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.

2.1.2. Names of the theme

This theme, probably like no other, can boast of a multitude of names given to it. In Latin and also in the scholarly research the *Visitatio Sepulchris* is the most common. Such a title was especially prevalent regarding the Easter plays. *Quem queritis* also means this motive.

In the English speaking world it is either Holy Women, Three Holy Women, Three Maries (or Marys) at the Tomb, Marys/Maries at the Sepulchre or Visitation of the Tomb/Sepulchre (a calque from Latin).

— In Lithuanian it is *Šventosios moterys prie Kristaus kapo* (“The Holy Women at the Sepulchre of Christ”), *Moterys prie kapo* (“Women at the Sepulchre”) or *Trys Marijos prie Kristaus kapo* (“Three Marys at the Sepulchre of Christ”);

— In Czech — *Tři Marie* or *Tři Marie u prázdného hrobu*. (“Three Marys at the empty Sepulchre”);

— In French — simply *Saintes femmes* (meaning "holy women"), or *Saintes femmes au Tombeau* is the most usual. Grabar¹³⁷ called this motive *les Saintes Maries au Tombeau du Christ*. *Les trois Marie au tombeau de Jésus* (“three Marys at the Jesus’ grave”) is also possible.

— In German it is *Frauen am Grabe*.

— In Italian — either *Tre Marie al sepolcro* or *Pie donne* (“pious women”) *al sepolcro*.

— In Spanish it is *Tres Marías* or *Santas Marías*, *Tres Santas Marías* or *Santas Mujeres* (“Three Marys”, “Holy Marys” or “Holy Women”).

The Eastern Church and its fans call them *Myrrhophores*, or (a calque from Greek) the Myrrh-bearers / the Myrrh-bearing women.

¹³⁷ Grabar 1956

2.1.3. Connection with other themes

Themes related to and/or alternative to ours are Chi Rho (the symbolic Resurrection), sleeping / stunned guards, Chairete¹³⁸, Incredulity of St. Thomas, Apparition to the disciples by the lake of Genesareth, Hortularum / Noli me tangere, Road to Emmaus, Descent into the Limbo (Anastasis / Harrowing of Hell) and the Resurrection proper (Christ rising from the grave or standing in it, often accompanied by ministering angels). It is hard to agree with the theory of Augustyn¹³⁹ that the motive of the Holy Women were supposedly just a substitute for the Resurrection proper until the 12th century, and then “became a background for the Resurrection scene, if they were depicted at all”¹⁴⁰.

Other Resurrection themes, depicted since the beginning of the first millennium and almost as abundant as our theme scream in protest against this: the Incredulity of St. Thomas (since at least the 4th century, the sarcophagus in S. Celsa in Milan), Chairete (“Rejoice”, since at least the 4th century, the now lost Sarcophagus of the Apostles), Christ at Emmaus, Hortularum/Noli me tangere (since the 9th century), Christ appearing to the disciples (since at least the 5th century, door of S. Sabina) in the West and Anastasis (Harrowing of Hell) in the East.

It seems that the difference between what was and was not pictured was the presence or the absence of a human regard: the logic being that somebody had to be looking at the Lord for the scene to enter the art repertoire.

It might also be contemplated (in an aristotelian sense) that from all the Resurrection scenes the Women at the Empty Tomb were closest to the human experience and the situation that most of Christians were able to identify themselves with: we come to church, we are shown an empty horizontal surface and perhaps a linen, told that something amazing has happened and asked to believe it.

Might we also note that the description of how the Resurrection itself happened in nowhere in the text of the Bible — therefore, the artists of the first millennium might have seen little point in depicting it.

¹³⁸ Chairete, meaning "Rejoice" in Greek, was the salutation of the Risen Christ to the two women, who instantly recognised Him (Matthew 28:9).

¹³⁹ Augustyn 2009 et 2010, 556-641

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*

Also, the Holy Women did not start to lose popularity in or after the 12th century: the images are as abundant as ever, if not more, with vibrant and innovative iconography. Augustyn notes¹⁴¹ justly, that since the second half of the 12th century (and, the author would like to add, mostly until the 16th) the Holy Women scene was sometimes depicted together with the Resurrection proper.

We could add to this that it is no less interesting that before the 12th century the Holy Women motive are often depicted together with:

— the Incredulity of St. Thomas in:

San Celso sarcophagus. Milan workshop (?), 350-380, marble; Milan, Santa Maria dei Miracoli presso San Celso;

— the Ascension in:

Reidersche Tafel, origin: Milano or Rome, ivory, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich;
Ivory, origin: Germany, 11th c., British Museum;

— the Crucifixion in:

Ivory, origin: Rome or Constantinople, ca. 515-530, Victoria and Albert Museum, London;

Ampulla, origin: Holy Land, 6th c., Museo di San Colombano, Bobbio (Italy);

Monza Ampulla # 6, origin: Holy Land, 6th c., Museo e Tesoro del Duomo di Monza, Monza, Italy;

Ivory relief, origin: North France or Germany, 2nd Q 9th c., Museum, Liverpool;

Ivory, origin: Toul (Lorraine), 9th—10th c., Tresor du Cathedrale, Nancy, France

Ivory, ca. 870, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich;

Ivory, origin: St. Gallen or Northern Italy, 10th c., Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest;

— the Crucifixion and Chairete in:

Rabbula Gospels, origin: Syria, ca. 586, manuscript, Biblioteca Mediceo Laurenziana, Florence, sign. Plut. I, 56.

¹⁴¹ Augustyn 2009 et 2010, 556-641

These practices did not stop in or after the 12th century, as we see Holy Women at the Tomb depicted together with:

— the Crucifixion in:

Ivory, England, ca. 1200-1250, British Museum, London;

Soest Retable of the Crucifixion, origin: Germany (Wesphalia), ca. 1230, Staatliche Museen, Berlin;

Psalter, origin: Belgium (Brabant), 4th Q of 13th c., gilded manuscript, British Library, London, sign. Harley 2930;

Seal of the patriarch of Jerusalem and bishop of Durham, 1310, Chapter of Durham Cathedral, Durham, Ireland;

— the Deposition in:

Ivory comb, origin: England (St. Albans), ca. 1120, Verdun, Archeological Museum;

Codex de Pray, origin: Hungary, ca. 1192-1195, drawing, National Széchényi Library, Budapest;

Ingeborg Psalter, ca. 1195, Musée Condé, Chantilly;

Ivory, origin: France, ca. 1350-1400, British Museum, London;

— the Pieta and Deposition in:

Retable (?), Toulouse, 15th c., sandstone, Museum of Augustins, Toulouse (Occitanie), France;

— Anastasis in:

Duccio di Buoninsegna, 1308–1311, oil on wood, scéna 23., Museo dell'Opera dell Duomo, Siena;

Manuscript, origin: Armenia, 1386, manuscript, black ink and aquarelle on paper, Getty Center, Los Angeles, sign. MS. LUDWIG II 6;

— Chairete in:

Frenco, 14th c., church of St. George, Staro Nagoričane, Northern Macedonia;

— Hortularum / Noli me tangere in:

Stained glass window, ca. 1280–1290, Saint-Samson cathedral, Dol-de-Bretagne, France;

Wood painting, origin: Austria, ca. 1350, tempera on wood, Klosterneuburg Stift, Klosterneuburg, Austria;

— Chairete (“Rejoice”) or hortularum / Noli me tangere in:

Manuscript, origin: Northern Iraq, ca. 1216–1220, British Library, London, sign. BL Add. MS 7170, fol. 160;

— Maiestas Domini in:

Antiphonarium Sancti Dionysii, origin: France, ca. 1140—1160, BNF, Paris, France, sign. Latin 17296, fol. 136v;

— the Eucharistic symbolics: birds eating from a tree in:

Ampulla, origin: Holy Land, pewter, 11th—13th c., British Museum, London (with Incredulity of St Thomas on the other side).

Therefore, we can see that the practice of depicting the Holy women with the Resurrection of the Lord (and in this case, naturally, being in the background) was not the only one even after the 12th century. Various other Passion and Resurrection scenes accompanied it, with the most frequent being the Crucifixion and Deposition.

Also, however, the most common way after the 16th century that this scene was depicted was that of it being independent, without any other scene joined to it, as in works by Antonio Campi¹⁴², Adam Elsheimer¹⁴³, Peter Paul Rubens¹⁴⁴, Bartolomeo Schedoni¹⁴⁵ and others.

Therefore, it might probably be time to abandon the theory of Augustyn.

¹⁴² Antonio Campi, 1583–1587, oil on wood, Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin

¹⁴³ Adam Elsheimer, ca. 1603, oil on copper (?), Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn

¹⁴⁴ Peter Paul Rubens, 1611–1614, oil on wood, Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, California

¹⁴⁵ Bartolomeo Schedoni, 1613, oil on canvas, Gallerie nazionale di Parma, Parma

2.2. The movement and space

Several aspects of the space arrangement will be discussed, which have appeared meaningful or interesting to the author. Needless to say, those few are chosen from a variety of interesting aspects that these images possess and which equally deserve examination.

2.2.1. “Floating cover” type

There is a very specific disposition with low level of realism regarding space and furniture available to our protagonists.

Let us name it a “floating diagonal cover” or more simply “floating cover” type, which the author thinks best describes the thing which the angel is sitting on¹⁴⁶. It might help us find the language to name what we are seeing and to search out the similarities and possible influences.

First observed in the 10th century in Evangelium of Poussay in Germany around the year 980, it gains immense popularity in the following centuries. It repeats in the Ottonian Sacramentary now in Paul Getty Museum, in the Tiberius Psalter and in Augsburg Sacramentary, among others.

We can gradually observe, which is extremely interesting, how in Vyšehradský kodex, Sacramentary of Saint-Étienne de Limoges, in a gilded manuscript from Germany and in Shaftesbury Psalter the floating diagonal cover gradually loses its significance and the angel gradually moves down to sit on the brink of the sarcophagus itself.

This continuity that can be seen though places so distant from each other as are Limoges (Nouvelle-Aquitaine), England and Germany, is awe inspiring.

A model example of this idea is one of the last examples of this trend: in the walrus ivory from Cologne, where the angel is seen sitting really on the sarcophagus, but the “floating diagonal cover” is still present, and actually is remarkably conforming to the rules of gravity, therefore not even meriting to be called “floating” anymore.

The Bamberg Apocalypse, 1000–1020, where the angel has been put directly on the sarcophagus (diagonal in this case) is a precursor to this, as maybe is the carving from 9th century Nancy and the 10th century ivory from St. Gallen or Northern Italy, now in

¹⁴⁶ Although the author did have to resist the temptation to name it “the surfboard type”.

Budapest, where the sarcophagi, if it be that (the artists seem undecided), are side-facing us.

It seems that others took a different path, explored it to the full, found it wanting and returned to the solution already proposed in Bamberg and later established in St Albans (ivory comb, 1120) and the windows of Chartres (1150).

For a while, though, the new model (angel on the brink of the sarcophagus) does not push out the old one, and some angels of the floating cover can still be seen: for example, in *The Ottobeuren Collectar*, Hungarian Codex de Pray and Asnières-sur-Vègre fresco in France.

After the descent of the angel from the floating cover to the brink of the sarcophagus, a new trend emerges for a short while in the Low Countries and England: the cover gets a new usage as a foot-rest for the angel, as seen in a gilded manuscripts from Bruges¹⁴⁷ and Oxford¹⁴⁸.

Italy seems to be old-fashioned here and still uses the “floating diagonal cover” for the angel to sit on in the 13th and 14th century, as seen in Maestro della croce’s Crucifix de Tereglio and the work of Duccio in Sienna.

Otherwise the cover, as not needed anymore, gets stuck into the sarcophagus, probably to re-emphasise its emptiness¹⁴⁹ or behind the sarcophagus, as in a mosaic in the baptisterium of St. John in Florence and Bohun Psalter.

We can also notice that in Egypt the rock that the angel is sitting on is always round (“always” in this case means two depictions from the 12th century, both manuscript illuminations and in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris). In Armenia, Serbia and those cases when the Italians probably fall under the Eastern charm - the rock tends to be immense and cubical, as we observe in the Italian so-called Crucifix 434 in *Galleria degli Uffizi* in Florence, in the Serbian fresco in Mileseva and in the Armenian Lectionary of Het’um II.

¹⁴⁷ Gilded manuscript, origin: the Netherlands (Bruges), 1st Q of 13th c., British Library, London, sign. Royal 2 B III

¹⁴⁸ Gilded manuscript, origin: England (Oxford), before 1220, British Library, London, sign. Royal 1 D X

¹⁴⁹ We can see that in an Italian antiphonary now in Yale and in a work by Pacino di Bonaguida now in Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

The Italian examples being likely earlier than their eastern counterparts, would it be completely unreasonable to envision the influence in the opposite direction., e.g. from Italy to Serbia and Armenia?

2.2.2. Crossed and open body positions of the angel

Since the beginning of this iconography, the angel is without exception shown in a body position which we could call crossed (a term borrowed from ballet terminology¹⁵⁰ with certain licence, but in a way which should be sufficiently good for our purposes) — using the arm closer to the viewer for pointing, therefore crossing his chest with his arm in the picture.

Something changes with the ivory from the 10th century from Narbonne¹⁵¹ in Southern France: there the angel is stretching the arm which is further from the viewer, therefore, his chest remains open and the palm of the hand is visible (contrary to the back of the hand, as was before). In the same ivory, the direction of the movement changes: the women are coming from left, contrary to most of the ivories, but similar to San Celso sarcophagus. If we also consider the similarity of the tomb in the Narbonne ivory to the San Celso, the influence is clear. We need to note that this is not a mirror image, because in that case the position of the angel would not change, i.e. remain crossed.

This way of depiction catches on immediately, as we see in Poussay Evangelium¹⁵², Evangelistar for Archbishop Egbert¹⁵³, Gradual for the Abbey of Prum¹⁵⁴, door of the cathedral of Hildesheim¹⁵⁵, Missal of Robert of Jumieges¹⁵⁶, Bamberg Apocalypse¹⁵⁷,

¹⁵⁰ *croisé / effacé*, normally used for the positions of legs.

¹⁵¹ Ivory, origin: Narbonne, 10th c., Treasury of the cathedral of Saint-Just, Narbonne (Occitanie), France

¹⁵² *Évangélaire de Poussay*, origin: Germany, ca. 980, BNF, Paris, France

¹⁵³ Evangelistar for Archbishop Egbert, origin: Reichenau, between 980 and 993, city library, Trier, sign. Ms. 24, fol. 86v

¹⁵⁴ Gradual for the Abbey of Prum, origin: German, ca. 986–1001, BNF, Paris, France, sign. ms. lat. 9448, fol. 33r

¹⁵⁵ Bernward Doors, c. 1015, bronze relief, Hildesheim cathedral, Hildesheim, Germany

¹⁵⁶ Missal of Robert of Jumieges, origin: England, c. 1020, manuscript, city library, Rouen, France

¹⁵⁷ Bamberg Apocalypse, 1000-1020, National library, Bamberg, Germany, sign. Msc. Bibl.140 (MS A. II. 42)

Codex Aureus from Echternacht¹⁵⁸, Sacramentarium from Switzerland¹⁵⁹, Sacramentarium leodiense from Belgium¹⁶⁰ and others - all from the 11th century.

In fact, the crossed body position of the angel, which has been a rule until the 10th century, becomes more an exception after that, in the 11th century.

However, in the 12th century we observe the return of a crossed body position, and we observe both possibilities side by side.

In the 13th century the crossed body position is much more prominent than the open, while the contrary seems to be true for the 14th and the 15th.

Therefore, we can conclude that if the angel is in a crossed body position, the work is likely to come either from the first millennium (except the very end of the 10th century), or from the 13th century. If he is in an open position, then the 11th, 14th and 15th centuries are likely. In the 12th century both angel positions seem to be equally common.

We could also propose on these grounds that the Narbonne ivory, if it be not an anomaly, might be dated closer to the end of the 10th century than to its beginning. A year around 980 seems reasonable, giving the same change in iconography appearing in this time in other works of art: Poussay Evangelium from around the year 980 and Evangelistar for Archbishop Egbert, dated between 980 and 993.

In a wood-painting from Austria, 1350, from Klosterneuburg house of secular canonesses (=Stift) we observe a unique arrangement, never seen before, where angel sitting with his back to us, in a *mise-en-scène* similar to the ones by Giotto.

2.2.3. The mirror

Regarding the mirror image, as the first known case of this image, at Doura, has women coming from the right, we will consider, on these grounds, such an image to be “normal”, and the opposite, with the women coming from the left, to be “mirrored”.

First time we encounter a mirror image, where women are coming from the left, is in the San Celso sarcophagus, in the early 4th century.

It further continues an ivory originating either in Rome or Constantinople in the year 515–530, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, in the so-called Rabbula Gospels,

¹⁵⁸ Codex Aureus, origin: Echternacht, ca. 1030-1050, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Germany

¹⁵⁹ Sacramentarium, origin: Switzerland, 3rd or 4th Q of 11th c., BNF, Paris, France

¹⁶⁰ Sacramentarium leodiense, origin: Belgium, ca. 1075, BNF, Paris, France

originating from Syria, year 586, and in a multitude of depictions in the 11th and 12th century, mostly German and English (Missal of Robert of Jumieges, Bamberg Apocalypse, Tiberius Psalter, St Albans Psalter, Shaftesbury Psalter, a reliquary from Cologne now in Berlin).

Interestingly, a mirror image seldom appears in the ivory plaques, with an exception, for example, a walrus ivory plaque from the year 1135, Germany, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, or a 1150-1160 ivory plaque from Cologne.

It seems that in the 13th century the mirror image gains popularity in Italy and the Low Countries, and rises to exceptional prominence in Italy in the 14th century (works by Nerio da Bologna, Duccio, Pacino di Buonaguida, Jacopo di Cione, Simone Camaldolese, Lorenzo Monaco).

In the 14th century it also, probably due to Italian influence, appears in Spain (fresco of Ferrer Bassa in Barselona), Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Ławryszewski Gospel), Kingdom of Bohemia (Passional of the Abbess Kunhuta) and England (Bohun Psalter). Notably, in the 15th century Italy returns to the “normal” image, with women coming from the right (Fra Angelico, Pierro della Francesca).

Byzantine works also seem to be of the "mirrored" type” (Saint-Chapelle reliquary, 12th c.; workshop of Andrey Rublev, 3rd decade of the 15th c.).

2.3. The props

Three props that are chosen for discussion here are: the cloths, the thuribles (also called censers) and the shoes or their absence. No doubt, there are more of them in the images, and maybe more interesting than these, but for now, these three have caught the attention of the author.

2.3.1. The cloths

The addition of the cloth (according to St Luke) and two cloths (according to St John) happens in the first half of the 10th century.

Something resembling the cloth can be observed already in the second half of the 9th century, in an ivory from the so-called school of Charlemagne from the year 870, now in Bavarian national museum in Munich. Something like a curtain, but not quite a curtain, can be observed there in the opening of the grave. (It seems that the artist left this

ambiguity on purpose). It is not accented, and almost looks as a part of the angel's clothing.

First time we clearly observe a cloth, as described by St John and St Luke, is probably in the very beginning of the 10th century, in an north Italian ivory, now held in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

The depiction of two cloths, closely following the rendering in the Gospels, soon follow in the first half of the 10th century. This is first witnessed in the ivory from the first half of the 10th century, now in Victoria and Alberts Museum, London, and can further be observed in the 10th century ivory now in Budapest (with a beautifully rendered cloths!) and a manuscript in the library of St Gallen, and the beginning of 11th century manuscripts: Missal of Robert of Jumieges (one cloth) and Bamberg Apocalypse.

2.3.2. The thuribles

In the 6th century, women start carrying both censers and pots of myrrh. For the first time we observe this in the Victoria and Albert museum ivory, made between the years 515-530 in Rome or in Constantinople.

It repeats in the Met Pyx (6th c.), a 10th century V&A ivory, a 10th century ivory now in Budapest, Codex St Gallen, Bamberg Apocalypse, Tiberius Psalter, Augsburg Sacramentary - a censer and a pot of myrrh have become standard accessories in the depictions of these women since the 10th century onwards.

In Harrach Dyptich (9th c.), and Drogo Sacramentary (9th c. Germany) women seem to be carrying only censers, without the pots.

It is impossible to tell whether the women are holding anything in the St Chapelle byzantine reliquary plaque of the 12th century and in a 14th century fresco in Northern Macedonia, church of St George in Staro Nagoricane.

In the 12th century, however, we see the censers disappear around the year 1100, and it seems to happen everywhere at once — in a historiated capital from the church of St Peter in Mozac in France the women are seen carrying only the pots. This repeats in the Codex de Pray from 12th c. Hungary, Ingeborg Psalter, reliquary from 12th c. Cologne, and onwards.

Therefore, it is possible to state that in the 12th century a change takes place in the depiction of the women — the tradition that was at place for about 600 years, since the 6th century until the 11th, of depicting the women with both censers and pots of myrrh,

gives way to a new one - depicting the women without the censers. It happens quite abruptly and decisively, at the start of the 12th century.

A few isolated cases of "old-fashioned" depiction, with censers, are a panel, probably of a Byzantium origin from the year 1230, now in Berlin, and the Bohemian Sedlec Antiphonary, before 1250. In the Sedlec Antiphonary the censer is very stylized, and it is hard to tell whether the illuminator was conscious of what they were depicting iconographically, or they were just copying uncritically from an older model.

It can be hypothesised that the answer to these changes might be found either in changes in the liturgy itself, or in a woman's role in the liturgy, or in contemporary discussions regarding the liturgy and a woman's, especially a lay woman's, place in it.

It might also be, that if the 13th century saw a drop on popularity of the *Visitatio* theatre plays, so did the censers in the images.

2.3.3. The footwear

A detail so trivial as footwear can pose puzzling questions. We observe in the images that conforming to the custom already noticed, and pointed out by other scholars as well as explicitly ordered by stage directions in the plays, there seems to exist a rule: the women are constantly wearing shoes (usually dark and pointed ones), while the angels (and the men, for that matter, including the Risen Christ Himself¹⁶¹) are barefoot. All the cases of the images up until the year 1600 follow that rule, therefore, only the exceptions will be noted below.

The only case where the angel seems to be wearing something akin to shoes or socks is in Italy in the 14th and 15th centuries (work by Duccio di Buoninsegna¹⁶², Simone Camaldolese and Fra Angelico¹⁶³) and then, in the Kingdom of Bohemia: very interestingly, the angel in *Liber Viaticus Jana ze Středy*¹⁶⁴ does seem to be wearing the Italian-fashion shoes or socks as well.

¹⁶¹ Sometimes it is impossible to determine the situation in the case of the guards.

¹⁶² Duccio di Buoninsegna, 1308-1311, tempera on wood, scene No 23, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, Italy

¹⁶³ Giovanni of Fiesole called Fra Angelico, fresco, Dominican friary of S. Marco, Florence, 1440-1442

¹⁶⁴ *Liber Viaticus Jana ze Středy*, before 1364, Knihovna Národního muzea, Prague, fol. 145v

Then later in Russia the angel also seems to have some footwear more often than not: for example, as can be observed in a 17th century icon¹⁶⁵ and then again in an icon from either 16th or 18th century¹⁶⁶.

There are just three cases known to the author before the year 1600, and an abundance of cases after that where the women are depicted as barefoot:

— in a manuscript from Northern Iraq from the 13th century¹⁶⁷ the women are unshoed and the angel is wearing shoes - therefore, it is a reversal of the usual arrangement;

— in the 14th century manuscript from Armenia¹⁶⁸, in a stark contrast to anywhere else, the women are depicted as shoeless, while it is difficult to identify the state of the angel;

— and in an ivory from the 12th century from Asturias or Leon in Spain¹⁶⁹, in a single case known to the author in the Western world, the women, as well as the angel, are discalced.

In the 17th century, in a break of the one-and-a-half-millennium-old tradition, the depiction of discalced women catches on everywhere: in the works of Bartolomeo Schedoni¹⁷⁰, Jan van Lintelo¹⁷¹, Jacques Bellange¹⁷², Peter Paul Rubens¹⁷³, Luca Giordano¹⁷⁴ and Jean-Louis Roullet¹⁷⁵, among others.

It is not entirely impossible to speculate that this change was brought about by the ceasing to produce the Easter plays, which occurred around 1600 at the latest. Consequently, it might be presumed that the stage directions stopped influencing the imagery.

¹⁶⁵ Icon, origin: Russia, 17th c., tempera on wood, private collection (?)

¹⁶⁶ Icon, origin: Russia, 16th or 18th c., tempera on wood, private collection (?)

¹⁶⁷ Manuscript, origin: Northern Iraq, ca. 1216-1220, British Library, London, sign. BL Add. MS 7170, fol. 160

¹⁶⁸ Manuscript, origin: Armenia, 1386, black ink and aquarelle on paper, Getty Center, Los Angeles, sign. MS. LUDWIG II 6

¹⁶⁹ Ivory, origin: Léon or Asturias (Spain), 1st half of the 12th century, State Museum of Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, Russia

¹⁷⁰ Bartolomeo Schedoni, 1613, oil on canvas, Gallerie nazionale di Parma, Parma

¹⁷¹ Jan van Lintelo, 1st half of 17th c., drawing (?), private collection (?)

¹⁷² Jacques Bellange, 3rd decade of 17th c. engraving, British Museum, London (the depiction in this work is not entirely clear)

¹⁷³ Peter Paul Rubens, 1611-1614, oil on wood, Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, California

¹⁷⁴ Luca Giordano, ca. 1653, oil on wood, Arcibiskupství olomoucké – Arcidiecézní muzeum, Kroměříž, Czech Republic

¹⁷⁵ Jean-Louis Roullet (following Annibale Carracci), ca. 1680, engraving, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, Portugal

3. The iconography of the drama

3.1. Types from *Quem Quaeritis*

The author dares to give names to several types and schemes of this iconography, which, to the best of her knowledge, have not been named before. It is done in the hope that possessing the language might help us see something that would maybe escape us otherwise.

To see those connections, the certain knowledge of the Church drama, which saw the light and developed in the large part together and in parallel with the visual iconography, was indispensable.

3.1.1. The “*Non est hic*” type

We are giving a name to a type characterised by the angel pointing his finger to the empty tomb¹⁷⁶. We will call it the “*Non est hic*” type, in accordance to the observation by Collins, cited earlier.

Non est hic means “[the body of Jesus] is not here” in Latin. It is the first thing told to the women by the angel in the earliest extant *Quem quaeritis* dialogue from Limoges, after they exchange the initial question and answer. (“*Quem queritis? Ihesum nazarenum*”)

Since the start of the depiction of the angel by the tomb, the angel has been shown with two raised fingers - “talking” or “blessing” gesture, which has remained constant without any changes during most part of the first millenium, if we don’t consider just a little bit more drama and expression in the angel’s gesture in an ivory situla from Northern France¹⁷⁷ and Drogo Sacramentary¹⁷⁸, which is extremely interesting due to the fact that *Quem quaeritis* might have been already written then and in strong probability - written exactly in locales which are the provenance of those two works of art.

¹⁷⁶ It is not important here whether the tomb be a sarcophagus, some kind of architecture, a cave or anything else.

¹⁷⁷ Situla, origin: Northern France, ca. 860-880, ivory, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

¹⁷⁸ Drogo Sacramentary, origin: Metz (Grand Est, France), ca. 850, BNF, Paris, France, sign. Ms. lat. 9428

There is another precursor to this scene: in a 4th century sarcophagus in Santa Maria presso San Celso in Milan: there can be seen a tiny angel by the roof of a tower-like Sepulchre¹⁷⁹, which does seem to be pointing to the Sepulchre. Whether depicted there is really an angel, and whether what he is doing is really pointing, are questions which require work on the terrain. For now, it remains a strange exception.

The real change happens around the year 870 in an ivory from Northern France¹⁸⁰ — there, the angel, in an immense change compared to the past, is pointing to the Sepulchre with his finger. The author thinks that such a depart form tradition, which she considers quite radical, gives sufficient grounds to think that such change in iconography might have been brought about by the creation of the *Quem quaeritis* dialogue.

Cautiously, this ivory lets us place the origin of the dialogues geographically in the North of France from the two options offered by Bjork¹⁸¹: the North of France or Rhineland. A question of further precision remains to be answered: could it be “Mainz, Metz, Trier, Echternach, St. Vaast or Winchester”¹⁸²? More specifically, if we have established France to be more likely, could it be Metz or around it?

If that be so, could there be a more precise location of origin established for the ivory of the year 870? If we hold likely that its author must have heard the *Quem quaeritis* dialogue, could it point us to the possibility of its provenance being Metz or its close proximity?

Moreover, his angel points to the possibility that the dialogue might have been dramatised from the start.

If Metz is a likely place of origin, then its relative geographical closeness to places such as Gandersheim and Bingen makes this train of thought even more interesting — a distance not negligible, to be sure, but one that can without a doubt be travelled in a hundred years. In more words, what the author is trying to imply here is that both Hroswitha and Hildegard of Bingen must have had a familiarity with the *Quem quaeritis* dialogue when they were writing respectively a hundred and three hundred years later.

¹⁷⁹ A remark in passing can be made that this same arrangement of the angel positioned by the roof of the architectural tomb, will reappear in the 9th century Mount Athos (Chludov) Psalter.

¹⁸⁰ Ivory, origin: Northern France, ca. 870, Metropolitan Museum of Art (The Cloisters Collection), New York

¹⁸¹ Bjork 1980, 59

¹⁸² Bjork 1980, 60

In any case, after the year 870 those two depictions, the new one and the old one, exist side by side, and it does take time for this innovation to gain popularity. The author does not know of cases from the 10th century.

There is a shy, not-really-sure-which-gesture-to-choose depiction in the Augsburg Sacramentary from the 11th century¹⁸³. Then this gesture of pointing to the grave, therefore the “Non est hic” type appears in a capital of a belltower in Saintes¹⁸⁴, on a Sainte-Chapelle reliquary¹⁸⁵, in the stained glass window of Chartres cathedral¹⁸⁶, on a reliquary now in Berlin¹⁸⁷ — all from the 12th century, and on a chalice from Cologne¹⁸⁸, in a fresco in Serbia¹⁸⁹ and others from the 13th century, and so on. This type does become fashionable starting with the 12th and 13th centuries.

What is notable here, is that the iconographic innovation does not catch on immediately: for centuries the artists are as apt to choose the more old-fashioned “talking/blessing” gesture as the new “Non est hic” gesture, if not more.

We also note that it seems likely this type becomes popular at apparently the same time in both the Latin and Greek worlds - maybe due to the existence of the Kingdom of Jerusalem? Could this be a reception of Latin influence in the Byzantium?

3.1.2. “Resurrexit” type

The author dares to give a name for a type of a depiction characterised by the angel pointing upwards. This we will call the “Resurrexit” type due to its meaning coming from a moment in *Quem queritis* dialogue: after disappointing and saddening the women with “Non est hic”, the angel delivers wonderful News: “Resurrexit (sicut dixit)”.¹⁹⁰ Exactly

¹⁸³ Augsburg Sacramentary, origin: Germany, 2nd or 3rd Q of 11th c., gilded manuscript, British Library, London, sign. Harley 2908

¹⁸⁴ Capital, 12th c., Abbaye-aux-Dames, Saintes (Nouvelle-Aquitaine), France, belltower (which also belongs to the Pyrenees" type, viz. 3.3.2.).

¹⁸⁵ Reliquary cover in Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, origin: Byzantium, 12th c., gilded silver on wood, Louvre Museum, Paris

¹⁸⁶ Stained glass window, ca. 1150, Cathedral of Our Lady of Chartes, Chartres, France

¹⁸⁷ Reliquary, origin: Cologne, end of 12th c., ivory (?), Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, Germany

¹⁸⁸ 19th c. copy of a chalice from ca. 1230 from Cologne Germany; British Museum, London

¹⁸⁹ Fresco, ca. 1235-1340, Mileševa monastery, Serbia, South wall of the West bay (?)

¹⁹⁰ It is also noticeable that exactly this line will make it into the *Regina coeli* antiphon, probably originating in the 12th century (while *Quem quaeritis* comes from the 9th century).

in this radical turnaround we might see the huge dramatic potential of the *Quem quaeritis* piece.

The earliest case of this type known to the author is in the Gradual for the Abbey of Prum¹⁹¹, situated in Germany between Luxembourg and Cologne, created between 986 et 1001, currently in Bibliothèque Nationale de France. It continues in an Ottonian sacramentary¹⁹², then can be further observed in Norway in the painting of a today-demolished church¹⁹³.

A very intense case, with a lot of gesticulating on both the parts of the angel and the Marys, is from a manuscript from Brussels¹⁹⁴, which makes the author very keen to look deeper into the *Visitatio* plays put up in that area.

We can note that the “*Resurrexit*” type seems to be more prominent in Germany than anywhere else and that it will become by far the dominating type in the 19th century. We could not state that the “*Non est hic*” or the “*Ressurexit*” types pushed out / replaced the older “*talking/blessing*” type. This is yet another example how the different depictions existed in parallel.

3.1.3. “*Ite dixite*” type

A following type seems to emerge in England in the 12th century, which involves the angel pointing either to some seemingly random direction or directly to the women themselves. It is not clear, what is implied by the angel’s gesture, pointing into empty space in *Albans Psalter*¹⁹⁵. If it means that he is pointing to the direction where everybody else is (i.e. the apostles), then could this be “*Ite, dixite quia surrexit*” (“go and tell that He is risen”) — the next utterance of the angel in the *Quem quaeritis* dialogue?

¹⁹¹ Gradual for the Abbey of Prum, origin: German, ca. 986–1001, BNF, Paris, France, sign. ms. lat. 9448, fol. 33r

¹⁹² Ottonian sacramentary, origin: Fulda/Mainz, ca. 1025-1050, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Ms. Ludwig V 2 (83.MF.77), fol. 19v

¹⁹³ Doorway and ceiling painting of the Ål stave church, Hallingdal, Norway (demolished), 13th st., painting on wood, Museum of Cultural History, Oslo

¹⁹⁴ Gilded manuscript, origin: Belgium (Brussels), ca. 1276 - 1296, British Library, London, sign. Harley 2449

¹⁹⁵ *St. Albans Psalter*, origin: England, ca. 1130; Dombibliothek, Hildesheim, Germany

The same gesture is repeated in Shaftesbury Psalter¹⁹⁶ and then in a somewhat different manner in a tabernacle from Limoges¹⁹⁷, where the angel points directly to the women and it is met with vivid gesticulation of one of the Marys.

3.2. Other types from the drama

3.2.1. “Can this be true?” type

One aspect of extreme interest surfaces in the 9th century — the women interacting lively among themselves, discussing the angel’s News. Let us consider it to be a type of its own kind and name it “Can this be true?” type.

The earliest case of this known to the author is in the 9th century in Drogo Sacramentary¹⁹⁸, followed in a somewhat down-played way by Bamberg Apocalypse¹⁹⁹, then an adorable one in Turkey²⁰⁰, with women just radiating scepticism, as if saying to each other “I don’t think this is true at all, let’s just ignore him”.

It is then present in a 12th century fresco in the basilique of St. Sernin in Toulouse, then again downplayed a bit in a capital from Estella (Spain)²⁰¹, then in a fresco in Asnières-sur-Vègre, France²⁰². A marvellous example comes in the form of ivory from England²⁰³.

¹⁹⁶ Shaftesbury Psalter, origin: England, 2nd Q of 12th c., manuscript,, British Library, London, sign. Lansdowne 383

¹⁹⁷ Tabernacle, origin: Limoges, ca. 1200-1210, enamel, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,

¹⁹⁸ Drogo Sacramentary, origin: Metz, ca. 850, BNF, Paris, France, Ms. lat. 9428

¹⁹⁹ Bamberg Apocalypse, ca. 1000-1020, National library, Bamberg, Germany, sign. Msc. Bibl.140 (MS A. II. 42)

²⁰⁰ Illumination in Gregorius Naziazenus: Orationes, origin: Turkey, 11th—12th c., BNF, Paris, France

²⁰¹ Capital, end of 12th c., church of St. Michael the Archangel (San Miguel Arcángel), Estella (Navarre), Spain, North portal

²⁰² Fresco, beginning of 13th c. (?), church Saint-Hilaire, Asnières-sur-Vègre (Pays-de-la-Loire), France

²⁰³ Ivory, origin: England, ca. 1200-1250, British Museum, London

The further down-played examples include Sedlecký antifonář²⁰⁴, an illumination from Iviron monastery in Mount Athos in Greece²⁰⁵, and an even more subdued example in Lectionary of Het'um II from Armenia²⁰⁶.

These examples are followed by a very expressive one in Bohun Psalter. It continues in the work of Lorenzo Monaco²⁰⁷ and Piero della Francesca²⁰⁸, as well as in a stained glass window in Walbourg²⁰⁹.

3.2.2. Mixed types

As a sub-type of "Venite and videte" could be considered the depiction with women discussing lively with the angel with vivid gestures - for example, as in a very remarkable ivory book cover from Metz²¹⁰, where one of the women covers her mouth in astonishment, another points to the sky as if saying "Might it be?" and the third one eyes the angel with reproach, as if telling him to stop the nonsense (with all her posture expressing "Seriously?!").

As another sub-type of this could be considered the scheme with one of the women bending down into the sarcophagus to give it a better inspection: seen in Bohun Psalter, among others.

As a third sub-type could be considered the "hand of shoulder" gesture - one of the women putting her hand on the shoulder of another, as if offering support and encouragement in this stressful and unfamiliar situation. It is seen in, among others, in Passional of abbess Kunigunda.

²⁰⁴ Sedlecký antifonář, before 1250, National Library, Prague, sign. XIII A 6

²⁰⁵ Manuscript, origin: Mount Athos (Greece), 2nd half of 13th c., Iviron Monastery, sign. cod. Iviron 5, fol. 132v

²⁰⁶ T'oros Roslin (původ: armenský), 1286, Lectionary of Het'um II (Cilicia), MS 979, Matenadaran (Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts), Erevan

²⁰⁷ Deposizione dalla Croce altar, Piero di Giovanni called Lorenzo Monaco, before 1424, tempera on wood, Museo nazionale di San Marco, Florence

²⁰⁸ Predella, Piero di Benedetto called Piero della Francesca (also attributed to Giuliano Amidei), 1445-1462, tempera, oil and gold on wood, Museo Civico di Sansepolcro, Sansepolcro

²⁰⁹ Stained glass window, 1461, church of Sainte-Walburge, Walbourg (Grand Est), France

²¹⁰ Ivory Gospel cover, origin: Metz, 9th—10th c., BNF, Paris, France, cover to cod. Lat. 9390

3.2.3. “Venite et videte”

The text, which is not in *Quem quaeritis* from St. Martial at Limoges, but already present in *Regularis Concordia*, Winchester, therefore belonging to the very essence to the *Visitatio* play, is "Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat Dominus, alleluia". It is the final scene of the play — showing the linen into which the body was wrapped. The angel is to show it to the women, and the women — to the audience. Let us name this type “Venite et videte”.

The earliest case of this scene known to the author seems to be in a fresco from Asnières-sur-Vègre²¹¹, but it is likely that there should exist earlier depictions than that. It also appears in a breviary from the workshop of Jean Pucelle²¹², in a psalter from Bruges²¹³, the altar painting of Vyšší Brod²¹⁴, in a wood painting from Klosterneuburg Stift²¹⁵ and the Gospels of Johann of Opava²¹⁶.

The scene with the women holding the cloth seems to be quite rare. It can be observed in the fresco Pedralbes clarisse convent in Barselona²¹⁷, among others, which is probably a mix between “Non est hic” and “Venite et videte”.

3.3. Other mise-en-scenes

3.3.1. The “Scholastic” arrangement

Starting from the 12th century there exists a very specific three-layer-disposition, reproduced much: the angel seated on the sarcophagus, en face or three quarters towards the viewer, the sarcophagus in the second plane, taking up all the width of the image, and the three Marys tidily lined up behind it in the third plane.

²¹¹ Fresco, beginning of the 13th c. (?), church of Saint-Hilaire, Asnières-sur-Vègre (Pays-de-la-Loire), France

²¹² *Breviarium ad usum fratrum praedicatorum*, workshop of Jean Pucelle, ca. 1323-1326, BNF, Paris, France

²¹³ Psalter, origin: the Netherlands (Bruges), 2nd or 3rd Q of 13th c., British Library, London, sign. Royal 2 B VII, fol. 281

²¹⁴ Altar painting of Vyšší Brod, origin: Kingdom of Bohemia (Vyšší Brod), ca. 1345-1350, tempera on wood, National Gallery, Prague

²¹⁵ Wood painting, origin: Austria, ca. 1350, tempera on wood, Klosterneuburg house of secular canonesses (=Stift), Klosterneuburg, Austria

²¹⁶ Gospels of Johann of Opava, origin: Bohemia or Moravia, 1368, Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Austria

²¹⁷ Fresco, Ferrer Bassa, ca. 1346, Pedralbes clarisse convent, Barselona

Let us name this disposition “Scholastic”, because it is as tidy and logical as a Summa, with tripartite divisions horizontally and sometimes also vertically, and it was a favourite type in the 13th century.

Precursors of this can be seen in an ivory situla from Northern France from the year 860-880²¹⁸, where the reverse is true — the Marys are lined up in front, the angel is behind, the sarcophagus is yet much shorter, but in principle the scheme is already there (however, a sceptic can argue that the same thing can be said about Harrach Dyptich²¹⁹ or Shaftesbury Psalter²²⁰), and in Vyšehradský kodex, ca. 1085, with the Marys tidily lined up behind the sarcophagus, but the angel still quite uncomfortably suspended in the air, probably supposed to be sitting on the diagonally-placed cover, but otherwise it is undeniably a precursor to this arrangement.

The first known case of this arrangement carried out in full is in an ivory comb from St. Albans (England), ca. 1120²²¹, followed closely by a stained glass window at the cathedral of Chartres (around the year 1150).

The ivory comb possesses an added interest for its similarity with Limoges²²² — a second angel suspended head-down from the ceiling, which makes them only two known of the kind.

We must note that this disposition immediately gains popularity in France, but is also prevalent in Germany, the Low Countries and England.

²¹⁸ Situla, ivory, Northern France, 860-880, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

²¹⁹ Harrach Dyptich, ivory, beginning of 9th c., Schnütgen Museum, Cologne

²²⁰ Shaftesbury Psalter, 2nd Q of 12th c., origin: England, manuscript, British Library, London, sign. Lansdowne 383

²²¹ Liturgical ivory comb, origin: St. Albans (England), ca. 1120, Archeological Museum, Verdun

²²² Le Sacramentaire de Saint-Étienne de Limoges / Missel de Limoges, 1100, Limoges, BNF, Paris, sign. Latin 9438

Examples include 13th century manuscripts from Northern Netherlands (Bruges)²²³ and from Southern Netherlands: Brussels²²⁴ and Brabant²²⁵; a manuscript from England²²⁶ and another stained glass window²²⁷ from France.

In the case of the Bruges gilded manuscript the sarcophagus apparently is put on a table-like structure, behind which the dresses and feet of the Marys, with shoes as usual for women (viz. 2.3.3.), adorably standing on the frame of the image, are visible.

Variations of this arrangement can be seen in the Ingeborg Psalter²²⁸ and a 12th c. reliquary from Cologne²²⁹, with the angel and one Mary in front, and two Marys behind the sarcophagus, as well as in a tabernacle from Limoges²³⁰ — however, there, the angel, together with the Marys, is standing behind the sarcophagus, which takes up almost, but not all, the width.

In the Bohemian kingdom, the Liber Viaticus Jana ze Středy is of this arrangement. Added interest is given by the fact that the angel is of high correspondence with an angel from a French ivory, created around the same time.²³¹

3.3.2. The Pyrenees type

There is a motive with limited geographical occurrences, which involves the angel lifting the lid of the sarcophagus. This motive seems to be more prevalent in Spain, but, as is very often the case, what is valid for one slope for the Pyrenees, is equally valid for another. Therefore, if we are giving it a name, which might prove useful, then “The Pyrenees type” seems fitting. More specifically, all the examples seem to originate in either Navarra region in Spain or Nouvelle-Aquitaine and Occitanie regions on France.

²²³ Gilded manuscript, origin: the Netherlands (Bruges), 1st Q of 13th c., British Library, London, sign. Royal 2 B III and Psalter, origin: the Netherlands (Bruges), 2nd or 3rd Q of 13th c., British Library, London, sign. Royal 2 B VII, fol. 281

²²⁴ Gilded manuscript, origin: Belgium (Brussels), ca. 1276 - 1296, British Library, London, sign. Harley 2449

²²⁵ Gilded Psalter, origin: Belgium (Brabant), 4th Q of 13th c., British Library, London, sign. Harley 2930

²²⁶ Gilded manuscript, origin: England (Oxford), before 1220, British Library, London, sign. Royal 1 D X

²²⁷ Stained glass window, 13th c., church of Saint-Anne, Mantes-la-Jolie, France

²²⁸ Ingeborg Psalter, ca. 1195, Musée Condé, Chantilly

²²⁹ Reliquary, origin: Cologne, end of 12th c., Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin

²³⁰ Tabernacle, origin: Limoges, 1200-1210, enamel, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

²³¹ Ivory, 1350-1400, France; British Museum, London

Characteristic for this type is the angel(s) (and, in one case, one of the women) lifting the cover of the sarcophagus to demonstrate its emptiness.

It happens in a capital from Pamplona²³², from the year around 1130–1140, on a relief from the North portal of the church of St. Michael the Archangel in Estella²³³ (both in Navarre region of Spain), on a marble bas-relief from Dax²³⁴, on a capital of a bell-tower in Saintes²³⁵ and a relief on a portal of the church of Our Lady in Castelvieu²³⁶ (all three in Nouvelle-Aquitaine, France) - all from the 12th century.

Around the year 1300 the same scheme can be observed on the border of three regions of Spain: Castille and Leon, Asturias, Basque — on a capital of a portal of the church of Saints Cornelius and Ciprianus in a town of Revilla de Santullán²³⁷.

In the 15th century the type seems to revive in a retable from the Museum of Augustins²³⁸ in Toulouse.

Not all the works originating from this region belong to this type. But as the action of lifting up the lid seems never to appear anywhere else, it becomes very easy to identify the provenance of a work: if an angel is lifting the lid of the sarcophagus — we are either in Spain or in the Southwestern regions of France.

As a sub-type of this can be regarded cases of a sarcophagus with a closed lid with the heavily protruding linen: the famous Doura Europos is a bit far in time and space to be included in this type, but likely candidates seem the relief on the portal at Saint-Gilles-du-Gard abbey church²³⁹ in the middle of the 12th century, and church of St. Cecily in Vallespinoso²⁴⁰ around the year 1200 - in the same location on the border of three regions

²³² Capital, origin: Pamplona, ca. 1130-1140, "master of the crossroads of the Cathedral of Pamplona", From the series of capitals from the cloister of the Old Cathedral of Pamplona (Navarre); Pamplona, Museo de Navarra

²³³ Relief, end of 12th c., church of San Miguel Arcángel, Estella (Navarre), Spain, North portal

²³⁴ Bas-relief, 12th c. (?), marble, Saint-Paul-le-Dax church, Dax (Nouvelle-Aquitaine), France

²³⁵ Capital, 12th c., Abbaye-aux-Dames, Saintes (Nouvelle-Aquitaine), France, belltower

²³⁶ Relief, 12th c., church of Notre-Dame, Castelvieu (Nouvelle-Aquitaine), portal

²³⁷ Capital, end of 12th c.—beginning of 13th c., sandstone (?), church of San Cornelio y San Cipriano, Revilla de Santullán (Castille and León), Spain, portal

²³⁸ Retable (?), 15th c., sandstone, Museum of Augustins, Toulouse (Occitanie), France

²³⁹ Relief, portal, ca. 1150-1155, abbey of Saint-Gilles, Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (Occitanie), France

²⁴⁰ Capital, end of 12th c.—beginning of 13th c., Ermita de Santa Cecilia de Vallespinoso de Aguilar, Vallespinoso (Castille and Leon), Spain, portal

of Spain: Castille and Leon, Asturias, Basque, very close to Revilla de Santullán, where we observe the pure Pyrenees type at exactly the same time.

There we can observe the beautiful detail — linen hanging outside the sarcophagus, so the viewer understands it has been opened and then closed again.

Why is this type observed only here and nowhere else? Maybe in the Pyrenees region the scene of opening the lid of the sarcophagus to make sure of its emptiness was of particular prominence and effect in the *Visitatio Sepulchri* plays?

3.3.3. The Northern angel

In a round cross, originating either from England or Lower Saxony in the 12th century, now in the treasury of Benedictine Monastery in Kremsmunster, Austria²⁴¹, we observe a unique variation: the angel is neither sitting on the stone or the grave, neither standing close by — he is right inside the sarcophagus.

To this depiction no earlier analogue is known, at least to the author of this text. Due to its origin either in the Lower Saxony, being in Northern Germany, or in England, which is in the same part of the world, let us name this unique mise-en-scene the “Northern angel”.

Later analogues appear in the Kingdom of Bohemia in Passional of the Abbess Kunhuta²⁴², originating between the years 1313–1321 in the Benedictine convent or a house of secular canonesses (=Stift) of St. George in Prague (there is at present little agreement among scholars about which kind of institution it could have been), then after several decades in Gospels of Johann of Opava²⁴³ and in England, in Bohun Psalter²⁴⁴, 1356–1373, coming from south-east England, possibly London. In the 15th century it can be observed in a woodcut likely from Cologne²⁴⁵.

²⁴¹ Disc cross, origin: England or Lower Saxony, around 1170–1180 (disk), and Lower Saxony, late 12th century (foot), copper, gilded, mine enamel, dm. 28.5 cm, H. of the foot 12.5 cm., Benedictine monastery, treasury, Kremsmünster (Austria)

²⁴² Passional of the Abbess Kunhuta (lat. Kunigunda), origin: Prague, 1313-1321, Národní knihovna České republiky, Prague, Sign. XIV A 17

²⁴³ Gospels of Johann of Opava, origin: Bohemia or Moravia, 1368, Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Austria), sign. Codex 1182

²⁴⁴ Bohun Psalter, origin: Southeastern England (London ?), 1356-1373, gilded manuscript, British Library, London, sign. Egerton 3277

²⁴⁵ 1457, Woodcut with hand-colouring on vellum, Germany, Cologne (?); British Museum, London

An angel sitting on the side of the sarcophagus, with his legs lowered inside can be observed in the 15th century in Germany in Illustrated Gospels now in the University Library in Freiburg²⁴⁶ and Italy: an antiphony by Lorenzo Monaco from the year 1396 and a predella by Piero della Francesca from the years 1445–1462.

Such depictions, in general, are rare. It is very likely that the reasons for such an invention are connected with the Easter plays, while the exact nature of such connection requires further research.

²⁴⁶ Illustrated Gospels, origin: Upper Rhine, around 1410–1420, University Library, Freiburg, sign. Hs. 334, fol. 40r.

Conclusions

1. The author of this work has identified groups of images with similar mise-en-scenes as distinct types of this iconography and given them names. With reference to the Quem quaeritis dialogue, these names given are “Non est hic”, “Resurrexit” and “Ite dixite”, with reference to Visitatio Sepulchri play - “Can this be true?” and “Venite et videte (locum)”. According to their positions in time and space, three more types are found to exist: the “Scholastic”, the “Pyrenees” and the “Northern angel”. According to the best of the author’s knowledge, this has not been done before.
2. It can be stated with reasonable confidence that the emergence of the first five types is in direct connection with the emergence of Quem quaeritis dialogue and the Visitatio Sepulchri play, for which earliest extant sources are the famous St Martial at Limoges, France (the earliest extant dialogue written down) and Regularis Concordia at Winchester, England (the earliest extant dialogue with “detailed instructions for the representational aspects of the ceremony“, i.e., stage directions, which make it the earliest extant play). Having said that, the earliest “Non est hic” type in visual art known to the author of this work is an ivory from Northern France, dated approx. 870, now in the collection of The Met Cloisters in New York (except an anomaly in the San Celso sarcophagus). The author of this work dares to state that there is no reason for such a type to emerge in visual arts without the existence of Quem queritis dialogue. This lets us join other scholars in claiming that “the Quem quaeritis dialogue was written before the end of the 9th century”, as apparently there is a general consensus. The novelty here is that the author of this work has never seen an item of the visual art held up as an additional proof to this theory before. Therefore, let us cautiously declare the ivory dated y. 870 as a *terminus ante quem* for the creation of the Quem quaeritis dialogue.

This humble study, like an sketch in rough brushstrokes, leaves us with more questions than answers. Was there in reality more harmony or more differences between the depiction of this scene in the art and in the plays? Were Limoges and St. Gall really important musical centres or was their notoriety due to only a chance survival of a large number of manuscripts? Why do the thuribles dissappear from the images around the year 1100?

Current answers given by the scholars in reference to the differences between East and West and their mutual influences seem oversimplified at best, and the rules that they outline seem “more honoured by the breach than by observance” - could more refined explanations be found? If there is more Western influence in the East than previously thought, what could be its mediators? Could it be the Kingdom of Jerusalem and / or the Grand Duchy of Lithuania?

List of abbreviations

BNF = Bibliothèque Nationale de France

c. = century

ca. = circa

Q = quarter

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Appendix : Illustrations

A. "Non est hic" type

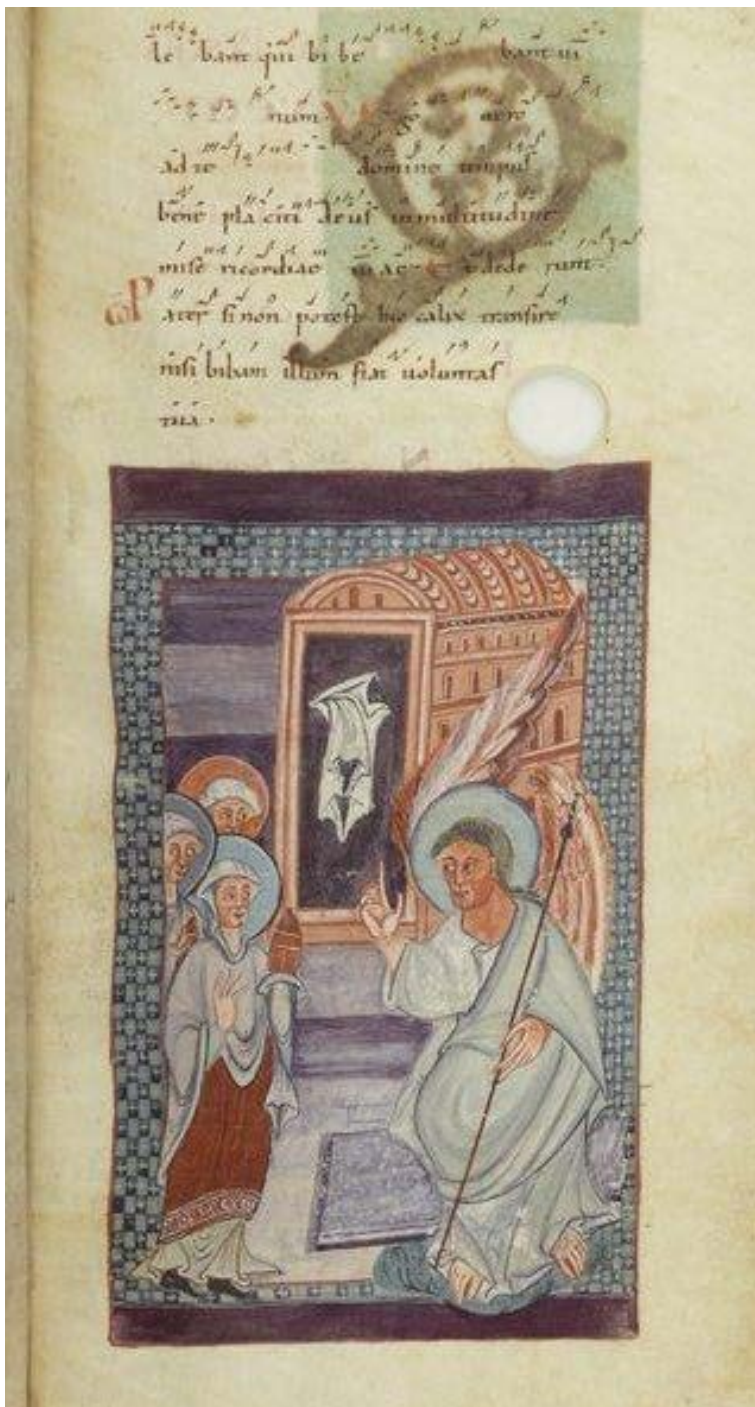


1. San Celso sarcophagus. Milan workshop (?), 350-380, marble; Milan, Santa Maria dei Miracoli presso San Celso (detail)



2. Northern France, ca. 870, Metropolitan Museum of Art (The Cloisters Collection), New York (detail)

B. "Resurrexit" type



3. Gradual for the Abbey of Prum, origin: German, ca. 986–1001, BNF, Paris, France, sign. ms. lat. 9448, fol. 33r

C. "Can this be true?" type



4. Drogo sacramentary (=Sacramentaire dit de Drogon), origin: Metz, ca. 850-855, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, sign. Ms. lat. 9428, fol. 58r (detail)



5. Oraciones de Gregorius Naziazenus, origin: Turkey, 11th - 12th c., BNF, Paris, France



6. Fresco, 12th c., church of St. Sernin, Toulouse (Occitanie), France

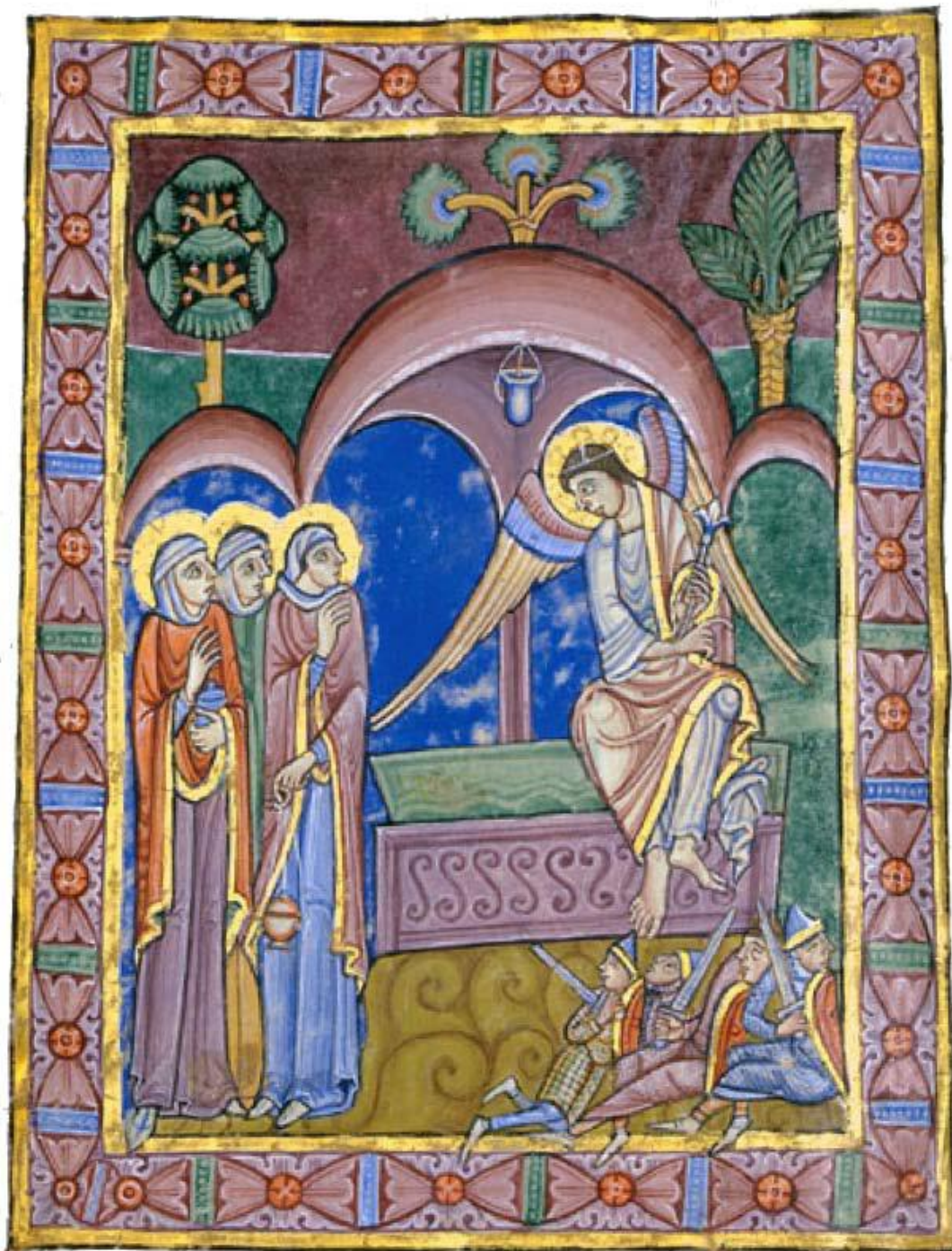


7. Fresco, beginning of 13th c., Asnières-sur-Vègre (Pays-de-la-Loire), France



8. Ivory, origin: England, ca. 1200-1250, British Museum, London

D. "Ite dixite" type



9. St. Albans Psalter, origin: England, ca. 1130; Dombibliothek, Hildesheim, Germany



10. Tabernacle, origin: Limoges, ca. 1200-1210, enamel, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

E. "Venite et videte" type

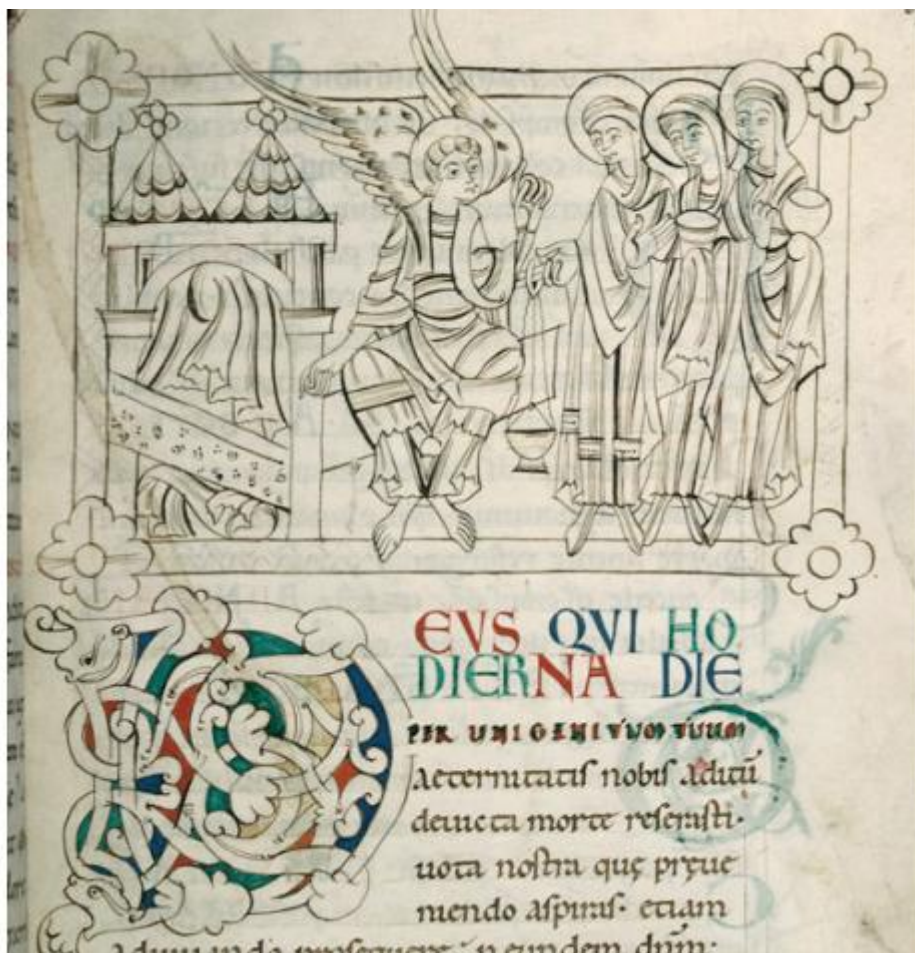


11. Ferrer Bassa, fresco, Pedralbes clarisse convent, Barselona, 1346



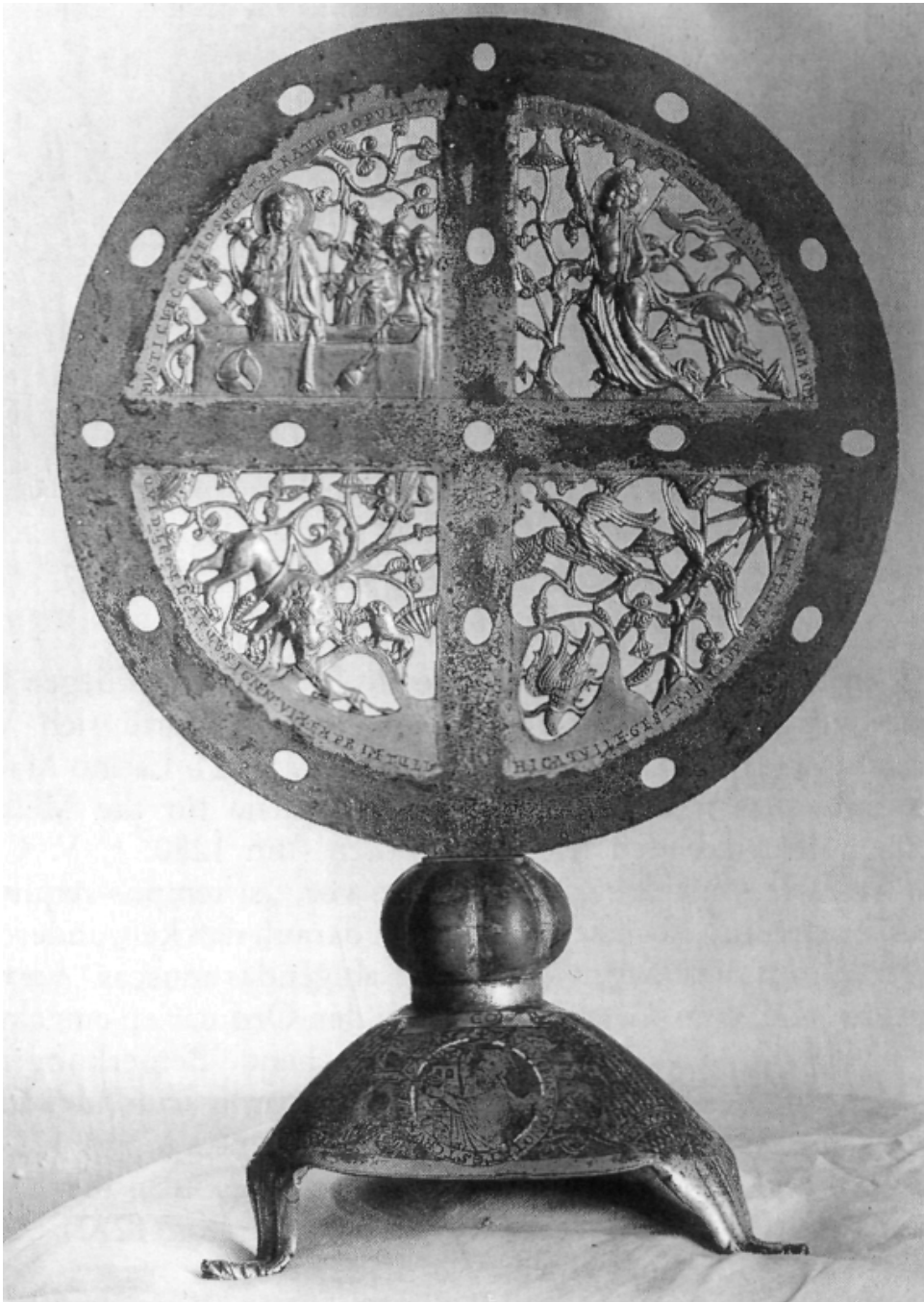
12. Austria, 1350, tempera on wood, Klosterneuburg house of secular canonesses (=Stift)

F. "Non est hic" + "Resurrexit" mixed type



13. Collectaire, Normandie (Rouen), abbaye Saint-Ouen, ca. 1090, fol. 067

G. The Northern angel type



14. Disc cross, origin: England or Lower Saxony, around 1170–1180 (disk), and Lower Saxony, late 12th century (foot), copper, gilded, mine enamel, dm. 28.5 cm, H. of the foot 12.5 cm., Benedictine monastery, treasury, Kremsmünster (Austria)



15. Disc cross, origin: England or Lower Saxony, around 1170–1180 (disk), and Lower Saxony, late 12th century (foot), copper, gilded, mine enamel, dm. 28.5 cm, H. of the foot 12.5 cm., Benedictine monastery, treasury, Kremsmünster, Austria (detail)



16. Bohun Psalter, origin: Southeastern England (London ?), 1356-1373, gilded manuscript, British Library, London, sign. Egerton 3277



17. Freiburg i. Br., Univ.bibl., Hs. 334 (Fragment of a Gospel Harmony in Pictures), fol. 40r. Upper Rhine, around 1410/1420

H. "Northern angel" + "Venite et videte" mixed type



18. Passional of abbess Kunigunda (Kunhuta), before 1320, National Library, Prague



19. Gospels of Johann of Opava, Origin: Bohemia / Moravia, 1368,
Nationalbibliothek, Wien (Austria), sign. Codex 1182



20. Woodcut with hand-colouring on vellum, origin: Germany, Cologne (?), ca. 1457, British Museum, London

J. The Pyrenees type



21. Capital, origin: Pamplona, ca. 1130-1140, "master of the crossroads of the Cathedral of Pamplona", From the series of capitals from the cloister of the Old Cathedral of Pamplona (Navarre); Pamplona, Museo de Navarra.



22. Bas-relief, marble, 12th c. (?), Saint-Paul-le-Dax church, Dax (Nouvelle-Aquitaine), France



23. Capital, 12th c., Abbaye-aux-Dames, Saintes (Nouvelle-Aquitaine), France, belltower



24. Relief, 12th c., church of Notre-Dame, Castelvieu (Nouvelle-Aquitaine), portal



25. Capital, origin: double chapter from St-Pons-de-Thomières (Occitanie, France), 2nd half of the 12th century, marble, Louvre Museum Paris



26. Capital, end of 12th c., church of St. Michael the Archangel (San Miguel Arcángel), Estella (Navarre), Spain, North portal



27. Capital, end of 12th c.—beginning of 13th c., sandstone (?), church of San Cornelio y San Cipriano, Revilla de Santullán (Castille and León), Spain, portal



28. Retable (?), 15th c., sandstone, Museum of Augustins, Toulouse (Occitanie), France



29. Capital, end of 12th c.—beginning of 13th c., Ermita de Santa Cecilia de Vallespinoso de Aguilar, Vallespinoso (Castille and Leon), Spain, portal



30. Relief, portal, ca. 1150-1155, abbey of Saint-Gilles, Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (Occitanie), France

K. "Scholastic" disposition



31. Liturgical ivory comb, origin: St. Albans (England), ca. 1120, Archeological Museum, Verdun



32. Stained glass window, ca. 1150, Chartres cathedral, Chartres



33. Liber Viaticus Jana ze Středy, before 1364, fol. 145v, Knihovna Národního muzea, Praha



34. Seal of the patriarch of Jerusalem and bishop of Durham, 1310, Chapter of Durham Cathedral, Durham, Ireland

L. Angel's closed body position



35. Ivory Gospel cover, origin: Metz, 9th—10th c., BNF, Paris, France, cover to cod. Lat. 9390

Angel's open body position



36. Ivory, origin: Narbonne, 10th c., Treasury of the cathedral of Saint-Just, Narbonne (Occitanie), France
M. "Floating cover" type



37. Évangélaire de Poussay, origin: Germany, ca. 980, BNF, Paris, France



38. Evangelistar for Archbishop Egbert, origin: Reichenau, between 980 and 993, city library, Trier, sign. Ms. 24, fol. 86v



39. Map of a part of Europe around the year 814