

P Q
9251
S53
K5
1921
MAIN

UC-NRLF



B 4 053 292





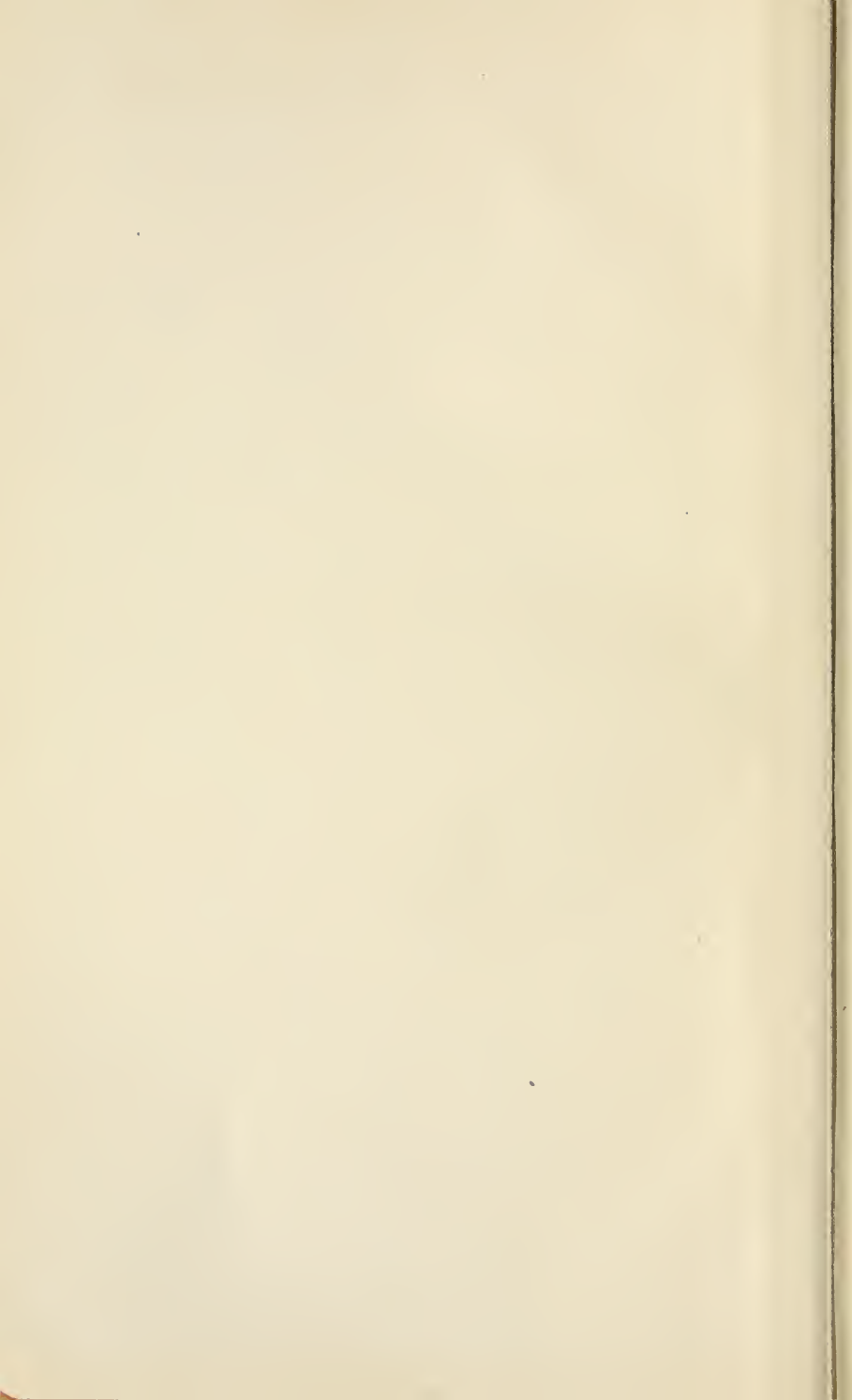
BRYN MAWR NOTES
AND MONOGRAPHS

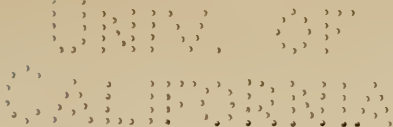
II

THE PLAY OF THE
SIBYL CASSANDRA

1870

XXIV. 27
CALIFORNIA





BRYN MAWR NOTES
AND MONOGRAPHS
II

THE PLAY OF THE SIBYL
CASSANDRA

100
1000
10000
100000



King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba
(From the Cathedral portal at Burgo de Osma)

THE PLAY OF THE SIBYL CASSANDRA

By

GEORGIANA GODDARD KING, M.A.

Professor of the History of Art in Bryn Mawr College
Member of the Hispanic Society of America



BRYN MAWR COLLEGE
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.
New York, Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras

1921

ANNOUNCED

PP 9251
S53 K5
1921
MAIN

COPYRIGHT, 1921, BY
BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

THE PLAY OF THE SIBYL
CASSANDRA

*Venho da coua Sebila
onde se esmera e estila
a sotileza . . .*

—Gil Vicente, 1513.

THE *Auto* of the Sibyl Cassandra, written by Gil Vicente¹ for performance on Christmas Eve in 1503, marks a moment of transition in the history of the Peninsular drama. Vestiges of the liturgical drama appear, for reasons which shall be considered; the new-fangled pastoral, first played just ten years before, by Juan del Encina, before the Duke of Alva, is here apparent and acclimated; a theme more or less humanistic and dear to the early Renaissance here mingles with a strain of pure folk-lore. The art is *quattrocento* in essence but serene and sure, and Cassandra the sibyl is own sister to Neroccio's sibyl on the pavement at Siena and Perugino's sibyls in the *Cambio* at Perugia.

Elements
mingled

Art
quattro-
cento

Gil Vicente
and Spenser

Scholars are used to speaking of Gil Vicente as though his *autos pastoriles* were like Spenser's eclogues in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, artificial and courtly essays, merely, in a new style. Spenser says that he imitated Clément Marot; and Gil Vicente, his contemporaries relate, imitated Juan del Encina; there is little likeness else. Unlike Spenser's the pieces are plays, conceived for representation and dependent on acting in form and substance both; they descend in the legitimate line, as I hope to show, from the mediaeval and religious drama.

Halls of
Kings

Gil Vicente, like Juan del Encina, wrote for courtly and noble personages. The earliest pastorals of the Salmantine musician were acted in the halls of the Duke of Alva; the Christmas Mysteries of the Portuguese poet were similarly intended, like his *Four Seasons* and *The Triumph of Winter*. It would seem that the Christmas play was habitually staged in a great hall; at the right moment a curtain withdrawn revealed a *crèche* with figures carved and coloured, in essence just such as Spanish

churches still bring out at the season. While, enhanced by all the resources of lighting and splendid costume, the Divine Persons were thus revealed, members of the household, disguised in appropriate dress of frieze and sheepskins, spoke and sang the poet's words and danced as well. In one of these *autos* the Three Kings pass by, as splendid in apparel and attendance, doubtless, as Royalty could make them, but they scarcely speak. So in the fourteenth century they had passed through the streets of Milan,² a superb cortège: with servants and horses, mules loaded with treasure, and strange creatures from the east, chained apes and hunting leopards, while the church towers rocked with the bells. So in Valencia³ the huge cars called there *roca* dragged through the streets figures of actors and professional *jongleurs* who enacted the Mysteries or assisted. In the courtly world of Castile and Portugal, however, the action was transferred not from the church to the street but from the chapel to the great hall.

It is this migration of the actors, ready

Streets of
cities

*!Sabes de
achaque de
igreja!*

dressed, so to speak, for the ancient liturgical mysteries, which must explain what has hitherto been a puzzle insoluble, Gil Vicente's *Auto de la Sibila Casandra*.

Persons

The persons are,⁴ a comely wayward shepherdess called Cassandra, who will not marry, no not she! a shepherd Solomon who sighs for her in vain, her three aunts called Persica, Erythraea, and Cimmeria, her three uncles Moses, Abraham, and Isaiah. Had ever shepherdess so strange a kin? Gil Vicente was a rare poet, with a lyrical gift matchless among his peers, comparable only to the best of our own Elizabethan wood-notes. The songs are delicious: a cradle song of the angels, a Praise of Our Lady, Cassandra's disavowal of matrimony, her uncles' madrigal on the theme of a wilful maid, fair as flowers, ungovernable as the sea.

Songs

One may be quoted:

To be married I must go;
So they say, but I say no.
I would rather safe abide
Single on this mountain side

Than at hazard change my state
 For a good or evil mate.
 To be married I must go;
 So say they, but I say no.⁵

There is just enough plot to last out a long hour on Christmas Eve: Cassandra has no encouragement to give the shepherd when he woos or her aunts when they reason. She is determined against marriage. The familiar arguments are rehearsed, but the tone is graver than in French pieces. Solomon, who has fetched her aunts from the village, returns and fetches her uncles, and they greet her with offerings, bracelets, rings and a chain, as though they had forgotten their rôle and were *Reyes Magos*. They argue the case; Moses relates the creation and Cassandra reminds him that the devil took a hand there: Abraham asks if a good husband would make no difference and thereat she declares herself frankly. There is no man whose temper may not change, God only is immutable, and knowing that God intends to be born of a virgin, she intends to

Plot

Christmas
GiftsFor the
Greeks
a god was
Cassandra's
lover

Prophecy

The proud
sibyl

be that Virgin. Erythraea confirms her prophecy: He will be laid in a manger and the mother will be virgin still; shepherds and wise kings from the east will come with gifts to adore. Cimmeria too has dreamed and forecast, she has seen a virgin giving suck, and afterwards has seen that same virgin brighter than the sun, crowned with stars and ringed around with a thousand damsels. Cassandra reiterates that from her He shall be born, for none can be worthier in virtue or lineage. Then says Solomon, "Cassandra raves!" and turns on his heel. Moses and Isaiah rebuke her, ending on a pretty turn: "God's matchless mother, look you, will be humbly born, will conceive in humbleness, and in humility bring forth." With this a curtain is withdrawn and four angels sing a lullaby. So all adore, in set speeches, and Cassandra, still proudly, apologizes:

Child, I adore thy potency
Steadfastly:
At thy feet I say my sin;
Since excuse I have none within
I am weak; then pity me.⁶

SIBYL CASSANDRA

7

The three sibyls praise the Virgin alternately; the adoration being ended, a song concludes:

Lovely is the damsel there,
Beauteous and very fair.

Praise of
Our Lady

Tell me, sunburnt mariner,
Living out in ships at sea,
If any ship or sail or star
Be fair as she?

Tell me, knight drawn from afar,
Clad in splendid armoury,
If any horse or arms or war
Be fair as she?

Tell me, gentle shepherd child,
Keeping sheep beneath a tree,
If flock or vale or mountain wild
Be fair as she?

What have all these prophets and sibyls to do with such an eclogue? Nowhere is there the least trace of allegory. The dialogue is pastoral, direct and unmistakable, the costumes are ritual, plain to be identified.

Pastoral yet
ritual

AND MONOGRAPHS

II

History

The history of the presentation of these early plays is, fortunately, known: in the early editions they are headed, and often interlarded, with so-called *rubrics*, which are half stage-direction and half information. Of Juan del Encina's we thus know that the First Eclogue was presented on Christmas Eve, "in which are represented two shepherds, one called John and the other Matthew, and the one called John entered first into the hall in which the Duke and Duchess of Alva were hearing matins, and went up to present, in the name of Juan del Encina, a hundred *coplas* on the same feast, addressed to the Duchess."

Juan del Encina

Another piece was played the same night by four shepherds, called by the name of the four evangelists: and here the text says that "the two shepherds above, John and Matthew, being in the hall where matins were said, to them entered two other shepherds, called Luke and Mark, and all four commenced to reason of the nativity of Christ":⁷ very dully, it must be confessed. In 1502 the poet was already in Rome, but he had left the Pastoral, rooted

SIBYL CASSANDRA

9

and flourishing, behind him. Lucas Fernández, in Salamanca, was to indite many an eclogue, many a "farse or quasi-comedy," and publish them all in 1514, couching his shepherds' talk, like Encina, in the neighboring dialect called *sayagüés*. Gil Vicente, in Portugal, was to write his in round Castilian.

Lucas Fernández

His debt to Juan del Encina was recognized in his own country: Garcia de Resende says explicitly that the one inaugurated the pastoral and the other improved it; the passage is famous.⁸ Famous too is the *Monologue* which was his first essay. On June 6th in 1502, two nights after the birth of the heir to the throne of Portugal, the poet disguised as a cowherd entered the chamber of the Queen Mother to congratulate her on the young prince who was to be John III. The bumpkin is strange at first, and startled, in the palace, but he delivers his lines and calls in shepherds after him who offer to the prince their rustic presents of eggs, fruits, curds, honey, and the like. These, says Theofilo Braga,⁹ were the noble gentle-

The first play

and its players

AND MONOGRAPHS

II

men of the court, the gracious poets of the *Cancioneiro*; and they were habited in sheepskins, I suppose, like shepherds from the hills. The little play so pleased the queen Doña Lianor, *because it was a novelty in Portugal*, says the rubric, that she asked for a repetition on Christmas Eve "directed to the birth of the Redeemer"; the poet did as bidden, but in addition he wrote a pretty play between six shepherds.

The second

He had a facile and nimble muse: for Twelfth Day thereafter (1503), he wrote the *Play of the Three Kings*.

When Christmas came in 1503 the court was keeping the holy feast at a convent, Enexobregas says the rubric, and another pastoral was wanted for Doña Lianor. Precisely as he had, with great success, made the *Wise Men of the East* pass across the stage the year before, so here again Gil Vicente selected figures out of the Christmas mysteries and used them for his pastoral, the prophets and sibyls who prophesied in the old liturgical drama and had never quitted the stage. Theofilo Braga, recognizing that they came

SIBYL CASSANDRA

11

straight out of the Middle Age, suggests that the pastoral was played in the convent chapel, in the midst of the midnight office. This seems hardly credible: Isaiah dancing down the aisle, Abraham and Moses jiggling with Cassandra, Solomon cutting a pigeon-wing before the altar, with the sibyls capering three by three in a wild round through the nave, would present a spectacle that sorts ill with the dignity alike of the Lord Abbot or of the royal guests. Convents in Spain and Portugal built palaces adjacent, and in some hall or chamber of suitable size the *crèche* was installed and curtained off, the court established, and the actors introduced. It is more than probable, however, that the rich and characteristic costumes of the actors, of prophets and sibyls, were the property of the monastery, laid up for use annually among copes and chasubles of many colours and devices; and that the presence of these determined for the ready-witted poet the precise form of his pastoral.

Braga, indeed, says casually that the uncles came in dancing, in sheepskin coats:

Not in church

Costumes

AND MONOGRAPHS

II

Dance

Isaiah; Moses and Abraham danced in the *auto* with Solomon, *in chacota*, all four singing *de folia a cantiga seguint*, as shepherds in mountain dress:¹⁰ but I cannot find this in any edition. The rubric does state, earlier, “entra Erutea, Peresica, y Cimeria em chacota, ellas a maneira de labradoras.” This means almost certainly that they bear some sign of their rustic occupations, like figures in the Calendars of *Books of Hours*, basket or hoe or milk-pail; but if they are not recognizable as sibyls by their dress, how is the audience to know them? Of Solomon and the prophets the same is true. The rubrics, in any case, are not by Gil Vicente nor yet contemporary. The earliest edition existing is of 1562: there is vague rumour of one put out by Vicente’s son in 1557, but the poet is believed to have died, very old, in 1537.

Rubrics

mistake the chamber and the presence where the first performance occurred: and A. Braamcamp Freire shows that the convent of Enexobregas was not founded till 1509, so that the *Play of the Sibyl* cannot have been acted there in 1503; and of the *Play of the Four Seasons*, that place and date are similarly irreconcilable. They must be taken with discretion. Given the text, the only way to identify prophets and sibyls seems to be their traditional dress.

These costumes, indeed, were both characteristic and important. When in the same decade (1499–1507), Perugino was decorating the *Cambio* at Perugia with symbolic figures of heroes and sages of antiquity, prophets and sibyls, he tricked them out, all, in fantastic costumes from a recent mumming. The Vergós family, working on the great retable of Granollers (1499–1502), set similar prophets in splendid courtly vesture on the *guardapolvo*, as the painters before them had done for more than a century, borrowing them always from the Christmas Office. M. Emile

sometimes
in error

Costumes
characteristic

Perugino

Vergós

Baccio
Baldini

Mâle¹¹ has traced the dress of prophets and sibyls alike in the set of engravings attributed to Baccio Baldini, to a Mystery of Feo Belcari's that was represented in Florence about 1490. The costumes were current coin.

As far back as the figure of Sibylla can be made out, in the cathedral play of Rouen, her dress is characteristic:¹² "coronata et muliebri habitu ornata." In the Mystery of Revello,¹³ the dress of the sibyls is prescribed elaborately as that of the prophets. The authoritative word on the subject is M. Mâle's:

Costumes
strange

"Les costumes extraordinaires dont les artistes du XV^{me} siècle revêtent les prophètes sont des costumes de théâtre. Jérémie, Ezéchiel, qui au XIV^{me} siècle ne portent encore qu'un simple tunique et le petit bonnet des Juifs, sont maintenant coiffés de hauts chapeaux aux bords retroussés, d'où pendent des chaînes de perles. Ils ont des riches fourrures, des ceintures d'orfèvrerie, des bourses à glands. Un si bizarre accoutrement, qui échappe en partie aux lois de la mode, n'a pu être

imaginé que pour un défilé solennel, pour une 'montre.' Ces vieillards magnifiques devaient éveiller l'idée d'une mystérieuse antiquité."¹⁴

Conversely, the costume thus known will identify the figures on the stage as readily as that of Harlequin and Columbine. Not now do we need to prove the reciprocal debt of the Mysteries and plastic art or pictorial.

A suggestive parallel, perhaps, to this invention of Gil Vicente's, in its retention of themes dear to the Middle Age, may be found in the inlaid marble pavement of the cathedral of Siena. The Renaissance is there, but the Middle Age is not abolished. Down the nave, in the inlay of black and white marble placed there by Sienese artists of the *Quattrocento*, you find not only parables, the Virtues and the Scripture heroes, as they were carved in the French cathedrals, but Fortune's Wheel, and the Seven Ages of Man, the Emperor on his throne, King David among his musicians, Hermes Trismegistus, the Isle of Fortune as Pinturicchio designed it in 1504,

Mysteries
and the
arts

A plastic
parallel

The
Pavement
of Siena

Ten sibyls

and the Ten Sibyls as they were placed under the rectorship of Alberto Aringhelli (1482) himself a knight of Rhodes and of S. John of Jerusalem.¹⁵ So Dante, pacing this pavement, would read all the book of it.

It is plain, then, when Gil Vicente wrote the Christmas Mystery in 1503 and used the costumes that were at hand, while he was devising, in the pastoral comedy of the opening Renaissance—

Mui novas invenções, d'estilo mui eloquente—

The rôle of Sibylla

yet he was employing matter consecrated by long use in the liturgical drama of the Middle Age. It is desirable to consider for a moment the rôle of Sibylla in the mediæval mysteries.

Toledo

The French Benedictines, when they revised the Office at Toledo in the eleventh century, introduced into it the scene or office of the shepherds, and the sibyl of Christmas Eve. These pieces were translated out of Latin into Spanish in the thirteenth. This statement rests on the authority of an eighteenth-century arch-

bishop of Santiago, Fernando Vallejo, and a historical memoir that he composed while still a Canon of Toledo, transcribing therein both the Latin and the Romance versions. The document is still unprinted, it has been mislaid, and I take the mention from Cañete¹⁶ who knew it. The business of the sibyl was to reason of judgement to come. Sepet has printed the Augustinian sermon which entered into the Christmas lessons, and included the twenty-seven lines of the sibylline verse.¹⁷ From that must be derived the Toledan version, like those of S. Martial de Limoges and Rouen. The Spanish compositions seem to have been real plays. It were a good work to print this MS., if it can be found by searching the archives.

A lost
treasure
in Toledo

Nor is this all known of Spanish use, little though we know of Spain. In the Valencian Breviary of 1464 Villanueva¹⁸ found that the sermon just referred to was read at Christmas matins, and sixty years later the prophecies were given in a semi-dramatic form, the sibyl "having to appear in the pulpit dressed as

Valencia

Tarragona

a woman." This is the hour—the Christmas midnight—when Gil Vicente's piece was played. Writing from Tarragona, the learned old Dominican notes that in the sixteenth century "on Christmas Eve they had the sibyl, as I said in Valencia, though perhaps here there was something more like a play or comedy. From that might arise the use of *villancicos* on that night, which still persists in many cathedrals."

Mallorca

A *villancico* is not precisely a carol, but it is the Spanish equivalent, and Gil Vicente's plays each wind up with one. In 1572 the Rite of the Sibyl on Christmas Eve was abolished in the diocese of Mallorca: two years later the Chapter was petitioned for its restoration, and Mila y Fontanals¹⁹ remarked, in 1880, that "it subsisted recently and I think still subsists." J. B. Trend confirms him under date of 1921: a choir boy still goes up into the pulpit in a strange garb. The sibyl's speech of the Fifteen Signs of Doomsday figures also in Ordinaries of Barcelona and Urgell, the former a MS. of 1400 or thereabouts, the latter printed in Leon in 1545. The figure

of Sibylla, then, with her stately beauty and rich and symbolic dress, was familiar and expected on Christmas Eve at the date which concerns us.

The earliest recorded texts, I think, are in the MS. at Toledo, that of S. Martial of Limoges,²⁰ and the Rouen play preserved by Du Cange:²¹ the first goes back to the eleventh century, the second perhaps also, the third to the fourteenth: one is Spanish, one from Southern France, one is Norman. The liturgical drama lived on, indeed, everywhere, and starting from the same point, seems to run parallel. Every detail recorded, for instance, in early plays published by Du Ménil corresponds so closely to Spanish use that it seems permissible to suppose a fairly complete likeness. The *Office of the Shepherds according to the use of Rouen* is taken from MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth century: the *Office of the Kings* at Limoges goes back at least as far.²² In the former the *crèche* is arranged behind the altar with an image of S. Mary therein; a boy climbs up on the rood-screen (or perhaps on what is called in

French and Spanish parallel

Played
in church

Processions
and stations

Ritual
uses

Spanish incorrectly the *trascoro*, the back of the sanctuary enclosure) to simulate the angel, and the shepherds come in through the choir: in the second, three of the choir come, suitably vested, through the great door of the choir, after the offertory, to make the offerings of the Kings.²³ A third, the *Office of the Star according to the use of Rouen*,²⁴ is still more interesting from the liturgical and ecclesiological point of view, with its processions and stations, in aisles and nave, by altars and chapels. Only those perhaps may figure it who know the splendours of the modern use at Toledo, however that be shorn of its elder glories. But, indeed to realize how inevitable, how reverent, how little removed from the ordinary course of festal ceremonies was the liturgical drama and the Mystery that grew out of it, one has only to recall the ritual at Seville or Burgos, Compostella or Cuenca, and before all, at the primate church of Toledo, with its incessant passings between the sanctuary and the *coro*, the priests and the chapter; all the missions and messages; the acolytes who go accom-

panied, to carry the Kiss of Peace, the canons who come up, yet more accompanied, to honour the moment of Consecration, or the interminable and impressive Offertory on great days when in due state and rank, their twenty or more copes stiffened with embroidery, their yard-long and two-yard trains trailing scarlet or violet, the entire Chapter come up before the pontiff enthroned in the very altar front, to kiss his gloved hand and throw into a silver dish or a golden salver tinkling silver tokens coined expressly for the cathedral centuries ago. Indeed the Office of Holy Week at Toledo still keeps the dramatic rendering of the daily Gospels, and probably other places in Spain as well.

Still in
Spain

I am not aware if anything is known of the early liturgical drama in Portugal, but in the days of the so-called Benedictine reformation of the Spanish church, which are the days of King Alfonso and Queen Constance and their monks fetched from Cluny, Portugal was still Spain. Prince Henry the husband of Teresa of Portugal was himself a Burgundian, and at Braga

Portugal
identical

*Processus
trophe-
torum*

and Toledo the reforms will have been alike and the innovations identical.

The Christmas play, at the outset, was exclusively concerned with prophecy: it rehearsed the promise, rejoicing in the fulfilment.

Plenty of texts are accessible in France. In a MS. of the eleventh century from Limoges, the *Mystery of the Wise and Foolish Virgins*,²⁵ which falls in Advent, is immediately followed by another which Du Méril calls the *Mystery of the Prophets*²⁶ and believes was played on Christmas Eve. He cites in evidence a curious passage from Durandus' *Rationale*: on the other hand, there was a procession of Prophets at Rouen in the fourteenth century—wherein marched Balaam's ass—on the Feast of the Circumcision.²⁷ It falls in any case within the Christmas season.

The
miniature
and the
theatre

Here at Limoges the Precentor, calling upon the Jews and the Gentiles, evokes the prophets in turn, and sets them, to prophesy, in such a chair as André Beauneveu and Jacquemart de Hesdin employed, painting prophets in the Psalters and

Books of Hours for the Duke of Berry three centuries and more thereafter. They advance in turn: Israel speaks, Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Habakkuk, David and Simeon, Elizabeth and the Baptist, Virgil and Nebuchadnezzar and then Sibylla. Her speech is all of Judgement to come:

Judicii signum: tellus sudore madescet;
Et coelo rex adveniet per saecula futurus,
Sicet in carne praesens ut judicet orbem.²³

A thirteenth-century *Mystery of the Nativity*, taken from a MS. at Munich, recognizes the debt to S. Augustine by enthroning him "in fronte ecclesiae," on his right stand Isaiah, Daniel and other prophets, on his left "Archisynagogum et suos Judeos." Isaiah has a four-line song with two antiphons to follow; Daniel two stanzas with pretensions to poetry and after another antiphon, "tertio loco Sibilla gesticulose procedat, quae inspiciendo stallam, cum gestu mobili canet": the four stanzas of her song deal chiefly with the Virgin mother, but the antiphon to it

Limoges

South
Germany

is, "Judicii signum: tellus . . ." This will be simply the opening triplet of the poem, as in the play foregoing. Aaron and Balaam follow her and the next incident is a long debate between S. Augustine and Archisynagogus, the prophets sustaining the former in a quotation from S. Bernard's *Laetabundus*:

Si non suis vatibus
credat vel gentilibus,
Sibyllinis versibus
Haec praedicta.²⁹

Northern
France

From the Play of the Prophets incorporated in the *Mystery of Adam*, which is attributed to the twelfth century,³⁰ Sibylla is omitted, the piece stopping with Nebuchadnezzar's recitation of the Fifteen Tokens of Doomsday. That was a familiar mediaeval substitute for the acrostic lines, and by the time it was finished the audience would have had enough.

Out of
God's grace

So much for the importance of the sibyl in the *Mystery* while it was played before the altar. She is there to testify. She is not however an invariable figure, and when

the drama comes out of God's grace into the warm sun, she is hardly seen. The pastorals of Lucas Fernández and his fellows know her not. In the ninety-five Mysteries of the Madrid codex, which include Scripture and dogma equally, she is not named. But she lives on in folk-lore, and the sibyls hold their place in art and even gain ground with the rising tide of humanism.

The MS. of the *Passion of Revello*,³¹ though copied as late as 1490, supplies an intermediate form between the earlier and the later mysteries. At the outset there is a prologue of prophecy: twelve sibyls speak and twelve prophets, and Balaam to boot "who is a false prophet." A long Latin rubric gives the names of the sibyls, their age, their bearing and action, and the colour of their garments and their ornaments: some such passage, it would seem, as Filippo Barbieri published in 1481.³² But in the scene of the Annunciation prophets and sibyls return and rehearse their parts again. Just about contemporary is the play of the Annunciation by Feo Bel-

le
into the
warm sun

Feo Belcari
and
Gil Vicente

Twenty
prophets
ten sibyls

cari,³³ which opens by the angel who acts as Prologue calling on the prophets to testify, and the list is this: "Noe, Jacob, Eritrea sibilla, Moise, Giosue, Sofonia sibilla, Samuel, David, Persica, Elia, Eliseo, Pontica sibilla, Malachia, Amos, Samia sibilla, Isaiah, Giona, Michea sibilla, Jeremia, Ezechiel, Osea sibilla, Daniello, Abachuch, Cumana sibilla, Egea, Abias, Tiburtina sibilla, Nau, Joel, Zaccheria"; after this the play of the Annunciation proceeds rapidly to a ritual conclusion. Here every third speaker seems to be a sibyl: and the sum of them is ten. D'Ancona adds that it seems desirable to subjoin a sample of another version of the same play from another codex, in which the part of the prophets is much reduced and only Isaiah, Daniel, David and eight sibyls speak. Therewith he begins his quotation at the *Procès du Paradis*, and the prologue is not in print. In the earlier version printed, by my count there are only six real sibyls, and they are addressed with some relevance to their nature and function: the prophets Zephaniah (Sofonia),

Michah, and Hosea (Zacharias probably also) are dressed in sibyl's costume, and Michah gets in addition a feminine adjective; and the other figures are arrayed in this mixed assembly for varied reasons, Joshua, for instance, being one of the Nine Worthies and a splendid figure easy to recognize. It would seem, in short, that this play afforded an exact parallel to Gil Vicente's.

In a Christmas play of the Nativity found in the same *quattrocento* Italian collection³⁴ the prophecies are introduced with more art: when Herod summons his wise men to council, they cite, the first Isaiah, the second the Tiburtine and the third the Erythraean sibyl. At the feast of S. Felice in 1547 they played in Florence an Annunciation with the sibyl who prophesied and showed to Octavian the humanity of the Son of God.³⁵ At Sessa, two years later, for Corpus Christi "at the nunciature were played the twelve sibyls that each spoke of the coming of Christ and of the incarnation, with many fair mysteries: certes it was a fair thing to see."³⁶ This

The Nine
Worthies

In
16th
century
Florence

Sibyl on the
ambo there,
13th cen-
tury

In the
Kingdom
of Naples

was in the kingdom of Naples and would seem nearer to a Spanish *auto*. In Florence in 1566 there was a fine play³⁷ "besides many prophets and sibyls that . . . singing in that simple and ancient mode predicted the coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and a Paradise appeared." So much must suffice for the Italian plays.

France
at the
Renaissance

In France the greatest piece, the *Mystère du Vieil Testament*,³⁸ ends with Octavian and the sibyl. "Cy commence le Mistère de Octavien et de sibille Tiburtine, touchant la conception, et autres sibilles." The play is long and dull, the author does not know what to do with the statue commanded of the Emperor, though the author of the Chester Mysteries could have told him; finally, when Tiburtina has withdrawn, the twelve sibyls appear without looking at each other, raising their eyes to heaven as though foretelling. This play was printed by Pierre Le Dru at some time before 1542: the *Dit des Douze Sibylles* thus introduced was as popular as the Fifteen Tokens of Doomsday had been: it figured about 1488 in the borders of the

great *Hours* of Vérard, in the *Hours* of Louis de Laval before 1489, and in the *Hours* of Simon Vostre in 1508.³⁹ The formula is fixed, by now: it is to be referred to Barbieri, with some direct reference to Lactantius.

The Story of the Emperor and the Sibyl was one of the marvels of the city of Rome:⁴⁰ John of Salisbury and Ralph Higden related it. It is surprising that the *Cursor Mundi* knew nothing about the Tiburtine sibyl or the founding of Ara-coeli. What he does know is inserted here and there into Old Testament chronology.⁴¹ The Persian sibyl was the first;

Than was a sibyl o'Lybie
And Apollo with his melodie.

The Delphic sibyl foretold the Trojan war: that of Babylon was the fourth. This is flotsam and jetsam of all the ages, with a faint half-consciousness of Cassandra and the Pythia and the struggle for supremacy at Delphi,⁴² rather astonishing, washing up there on the north of England. The fifth sibyl arrives in the history of

*Mirabilia
Urbis
Romae*

Apollo and
the sibyl in
conjunction

*Cursor
Mundi*

Maximilla, which is a part of the story of Holy Cross; the Cursor relates how the beam hewn from King Solomon's forests lay across the brook—

So Sibyl and Solomon in the frontispiece

Till after long and many a day
The sibyl came from far away
To see and speak with Solomon.
When to the city she had come,
By the beam laid in her way,—

The legend of the Three Rods

she pulled off her shoes and lifted her skirt and waded the brook with many prophecies of the Tree and also of Doomsday.

The Queen of Sheba

When the sibyl and the king
Had thus disputed of many a thing
The king gave her gifts full fair
And so homeward she did fare,
But the tree, as I heard say,
There it lay, many a day.

She is here, of course, neither more nor less than the Queen of Sheba. It remains to add that the sixth sibyl, according to the *Cursor*, occurs in the time of many prophets, Isaiah, Joel, Hosea, Jonah and others,

towards the close of the Fourth Age of the World.

It was convenient to consider the *Cursor Mundi* before the English Miracle plays: these are mostly undated, but none can be earlier than the institution of Corpus Christi in 1264. The earliest plausible suggestion for the Townley plays is 1410, and the Chester plays were copied and revised as late as 1591–1606. In the former the sibyl prophesies Doomsday among the prophets.⁴³ In the latter⁴⁴ occurs a long scene of Octavian, during which the Expositor refers to “three suns in the firmament that wonderly together went” with a faint gleam of the dream of the Hundred Suns. These plays illustrate remarkably the process of incorporating the old *Processus Prophetorum* of the liturgical drama, or such bits of it as survived: in the Townley plays it follows Jacob and precedes Pharaoh: in the Chester series the prophets are interpolated into *Balaam and Balaak*, and the sibyl and the Emperor into the *Nativity*. In the Limoges MS., by the way, of the

English
Corpus
Christi
Plays

*Processus
prophe-
torum*
broken up
and fitted in

Advent play of the *Foolish Virgins*, with the prophet play that followed, this process has begun: they are attached rather cleverly to an Easter play.⁴⁵ In all these cases we see the passing of the original drama, till it is adapted and transformed out of recognition.

Pageants
at
Coventry

The English plays afford also a parallel case of the costume determining the theme and identifying the figures. There is a record at Coventry of pageants performed for the reception of royalty during the fifteenth century.⁴⁶ These were very slight dramatic performances, hardly more than costumed speeches. When Queen Margaret came to Coventry in 1456 there were erected and placed, at different points, with set speeches, a Jesse with two prophets, S. Edward and S. John, the Nine Worthies, and S. Margaret. When Prince Edward came in 1474, the townsfolk had out King Richard, the three Patriarchs and Jacob's twelve sons, King Edward, Three Prophets, the Three Kings of Cologne, and S. George. For Prince Arthur they had only the Nine Worthies, the Queen of Fortune, and S.

Rich and
traditional
dress

George. Now the prophets and kings at least are recognizable chiefly by their traditional dress, and supply a fair plebeian parallel to Gil Vicente's use.

Now that prophets and sibyls are accounted for in the Play of the Sibyl Cassandra, what has Solomon to do there? If the others come direct in inheritance from the liturgical drama, yet though Abraham and Aaron, Balaam and the Baptist, Virgil and Nebuchadnezzar all figure in the procession and David is always there, still I know of no play which admits Solomon. I think he is drawn hither in the wake of Sibylla, who is the Queen of Sheba: Solomon and Saba stand together on church doorways.

In the story of Holy Cross the Queen of the South has the gift of prophecy, as appeared in *Cursor Mundi*. She prophesied the redemption, and there is a Spanish *auto* on this theme called *El Arbol del Mejor Fruto*: Calderon collaborated in the writing and recast his share later as *La Sibilla del Oriente*.⁴⁷ Saba here is a true Pythoness, she falls into trances, and she

Solomon

and Sheba

So Isidore
calls her

recognizes the Tree of our Salvation, she tests Solomon with the artificial flower, and she makes him fall in love with her: she is Queen of Ethiopia which lies somewhere in the East, and she is black but comely, like the Shunamite in *Canticles* and the Lybian sibyl of Guidoccio Cozzarelli in Siena cathedral. Here then in the Peninsula we touch another strain of popular lore again.

in Gothic
carving

The early Gothic carvers knew the sibyl, and they present her often with a consciousness of archaism, and sometimes it is impossible to know whether a figure be meant for Sibylla or for Saba. Belike they did not well know themselves. In Toulouse Museum she is preserved with the prophets, among the earliest sculptures from ruined doorways. At Laon she is carved in the archivolt of the north-western doorway, and the opening words of her prophecy are on the stone behind, and she is probably Erythraea. At Auxerre she figures within, on the choir-enclosure, and a crowned head may be seen beside, and I think she is Tiburtina.⁴⁸ In 1253 Thomas

at Toulouse

Laon

Auxerre

of Celano had written "Teste David cum Sibilla." Before the century was over Erwin of Steinbach had arrayed the ordinance for the western doors of the cathedral of Strasburg, much as the Limoges drama presented the same pageant. The northern side is devoted to the old Romanesque theme of the Psychomachy: the southern, to the Wise and Foolish Virgins, headed by the Spouse and the Tempter respectively. On the central portal stand the prophets with Solomon and Sibylla, precisely, except for number, as they return two and a quarter centuries later in Gil Vicente's *auto*. For his own purpose, the Portuguese poet has selected more sibyls. At Strasburg the presence of Solomon is not fortuitous: he is the Wise Man as she is the Wise Woman: with the same intention they had been selected for the doorway at Amiens.

At Orvieto, the second buttress is carved with a Tree of the Prophets, mounting in ascent from Abraham, as the third carries a Tree of Jesse: the motive, so far as I know, is unique, though it was copied once

The Sibyl
at Freiburg
also

Strasburg

Master
Benedetto
carved her
so at Parma
12th
century

Amiens

Orvieto

in the chapel of Pedralbes by the son of Ferrer Bassa.⁴⁹ Here on the cathedral the sibyl stands among the prophets: the work is Sienese and was executed at some time between 1310, when Lorenzo Maitani began the façade, and 1347, when Andrea Pisano took it over for two years. Those workmen who went from Siena to serve the Duke of Berry, could tell their mates of this, as of the great figures made by the Pisan for the outside of the cathedral and for the pulpit in Siena. There were sibyls on the Pisan pulpit, and I believe the exquisite figure at Siena called a Virtue, seated and crowned and prompted by an angel, and bearing a scroll long since illegible, was set to represent the Wise Woman like her sisters here and at Pistoja. The sculptor Peregrino had already set the sibyl with three prophets in the spandrels of the ambo at Sessa, in the early days of Bishop Pandolfo (1224-1259). Younger by two centuries, two sibyls, with David and Solomon, stand facing northward, and hidden by the cathedral flank, on the Campanile of Florence. Next Ghiberti modelled the heads

Pulpits

of prophets and sibyls for his earliest doors. Not unmindful of this a century and a half later, the great silversmiths of Cuenca, the Becerril family, set prophets and sibyls on the upper stage of the *custodia* they were making for the cathedral there.⁵⁰

So, far to the west, in Spain, at Leon, among the multitudinous figures that stand about the western doors, along with Church and Synagogue, Solomon and Saba, waits the sibyl, a little apart. She smiles at Solomon ambiguously, and shows her scroll, at Burgo de Osma. With Balaam and with Virgil she stands by the tree of Jesse in the window at Chartres, and at Soissons, in a Jesse window, there was a pair of sibyls: perhaps also in the archivolt of the north-western door at Notre Dame of Paris. In the Psalter of Queen Ingeborg, at Chantilly, she stands like a queen crowned, and testifies "omina cessabunt tellus contracta peribit," Daniel, Malachi, and Aaron keeping her company.⁵¹ In the church at Bethlehem Quaresimus saw the Erythraean sibyl, and her testimony was, "E coelo rex adveniet." M. Mâle suggests

Both of the doors of Ghiberti and the *Custodia* of Becerril

Portals of Spanish cathedrals

In the West

In the East

that the crusaders carried the theme to the Holy Land: it is not necessary to believe that they brought it back, but certainly they found it there installed.

Mount
Athos

The Wise Sibyl figures after the prophets, in the *Guide to Painting* that Didron found on Mount Athos, and in company with Balaam, at the end of a line of philosophers of Greece who have spoken of the Incarnation of Christ: these are, to wit, Apollonius, Solon, Thucydides, Plutarch, Plato, Aristotle, Philo, Sophocles, Thoulis king of Egypt, the divine Balaam, and the Wise Sibyl. Her scroll speaks of the Judge: "There will come from heaven an eternal king, who will judge all flesh and all the universe. From a virgin, a spotless bride, the only son of God should come: eternal, unfathomable, the only Word of God. It makes the heaven shake and the human soul tremble."⁵²

S. Angelo
in Formis

The earliest known appearance of the sibyl in painting is at S. Angelo in Formis, in late eleventh-century frescoes. She fills the farthest spandrel of the nave arcade on the north side. David and Solomon

follow, and other prophets. Her scroll bears the familiar *Judicii signo*. . . . In the twelfth her image was set by Solomon's, on the Baptistery at Parma.

This is no place for divagation on the sibyls in Renaissance art;⁵³ how Fra Angelico is said to have painted one in S. Marco, and Ghirlandajo has one in SS. Trinità: and Andrea del Castagno in his Cumæan Sibyl forestalled Michelangelo: how the last, with Raphael and Pinturichio, all evoked more or fewer on Roman ceilings in the sixteenth century, and at Spello, and at Tivoli, had set them—so they had been arrayed in the fifteenth in fresco at Amiens, and at Avignon in the fourteenth, and on panel by Herman tom Ring at Augsburg, and at Ulm by Jorg Syrlin. There, in what is perhaps the most beautiful plastic work of the German Renaissance, nine noble sibyls on the choir-stalls on one side correspond, not to prophets as in the windows at Auch, but to the great minds, figures of the antique genius, Ptolemy, Terence, Cicero and the rest. Attavante degli Attavanti set six

Including
the Borgia
apartments

Finer than
Simone
Fiorentino's at
Rimini in
the Tempio
Malatestino

The Sibyl
and the
Emperor

sibyls around the title-page of Matthias Corvinus' breviary.

The theme of the Tiburtine sibyl and the Emperor is as dear to northern painters as it was persistent in northern Mysteries: it served Roger van der Weyden, Dirck Bouts and Memling, as it served the illuminators of the *Very Rich Hours* and the Grimani Breviary. The finest treatment, however, is that of Baldassare Peruzzi in the church of Fontegiusta at Siena, whose long-necked prophetess, like a disguised princess, still reigns, through ruin and restoration, from the crumbling wall. Curiously enough, the church has a Spanish association: the dusty whale bones over the door are said to have been offered by Christopher Columbus. As for the little sibyls among the innumerable figures of the *Capilla Dorada*, in Salamanca New Cathedral, they testify to nothing but the insatiable learning and indifferent skill of some fifteenth-century sculptor.⁵⁴

So
Cavazzola's
mouldering
in a
Veronese
bye-street

Queens'
welcomes

The drama revives into a sort of after-glow, secular in all but name. A *Mystery of Sibyls* was played before Anne of Brit-

tany when she entered Tours in 1491;⁵⁵ there would be a satisfaction in comparing it with those played before Queen Margaret in Coventry and Queen Lianor in Portugal. So, the first figures who met Queen Elizabeth in the pageant at Kenilworth (1575) were the ten sibyls.

It is not possible to discuss the history of the sibyls in literature,⁵⁶ excepting to indicate the traditions that lay to hand when Gil Vicente sat down to write his *Mystery*. The Erythraean sibyl was the eldest, and she lived in a cave: wandering over the earth she came to Delphi, and there Apollo, apparently, disputed the seat with her and worsted her. A faint folk-lore memory of this conflict with Apollo, and of the old wrong, lives on in the occasional appearance of Cassandra as a sibyl.⁵⁷ "In the popular consciousness Sibylla remains a prophetess of sad truths, pregnant with ill, as she remained to the end of the Middle Age." One Lycophron of Chalkis, a witless poet of the end of the third century, composed a tragic scene in which Alexandra (that is, Cassandra) rehearses all the

The sibyl
in
literature

The struggle
with Apollo

Cassandra
a sibyl

misery that shall come to Troy and to Greeks after they have taken Ilium. The Christian sibyl had appeared in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, Lactantius and even Eusebius giving her a place. To the yearning mysticism of these centuries she is congenial, and the Erythraean sibyl is revived in a long epigram under the Antonine emperors. Plenty of sibylline material existed at Byzance, and Liutprand of Cremona stumbled over some of it.

The
Dream of the
Hundred
Suns

To a Greek original must be referred the Roumanian tale of the Dream of the Hundred Suns and the Slavonic version on which it rests.⁵⁸ The sibyl is the daughter of David, by rather a gross device of pure folk-tale, born without mother from an egg laid by a goose: this makes her, as in some Italian folk-lore, the sister of Solomon. She grew up mighty and wise and came to be ruler of Rome and she hoped that from her Christ should be born and kept her virginity for fifty years, till a hundred of her great Boyars saw a dream and then Sevilla knew that that would not come to pass, which she had hoped. She

explained the nine suns rising, as successive invasions of the land.

The reader will perceive that this is the figure of Gil Vicente, whom he called Cassandra for her sorrows, and that it corresponds at least in part with the legend of the Tiburtine sibyl in the west, for which Bede is held responsible. In truth the spurious treatise attributed to the Venerable Bede includes the Hundred Suns in its narrative and Cassandra in its enumeration. The three essential points in the familiar story of Cassandra are (1) she foresaw, (2) her love affair was with a god and not a mortal, (3) she prized her virginity above all. There is in the critical speech a direct suggestion, no more, that Gil Vicente was not unmindful of these: the shepherdess passes from the disinclination to take a mutable man for a husband to the proposition that God is not mutable: then rapidly to her determination to be the Virgin from whom Christ is to be born.

It is quite possible that Gil Vicente, being a humanist of European standing, and

Bede

Gil
Vicente
a humanist

In contact
with the
soil

known in Leyden and read by Erasmus (who learned Spanish for the purpose), should have come upon this legend in learned literature. He knew, of course, Lactantius, Isidore of Seville, and perhaps the venerable Bede; he probably knew the book of Filippo Barbieri from which the artists drew, for the prophecies of his sibyls correspond roughly to that text. It is also possible that he got it through the people. This Spanish drama is always in contact with homely earth. Du Méril pointed out long ago⁵⁹ that "quoique Jean de la Encina fût maître de chapelle de Leon X, et que ses pièces aient été représentées pour la première fois dans le palais du duc d'Alva, son *Egloga de la Noche de Navidad* appartenait certainement à la littérature populaire de son temps." The dialect employed by his shepherds and those of Lucas Fernández is regional and faithful. Gil Vicente, even if the dialogue against matrimony is to be referred to a French source, was emulating rather than imitating: the theme is common to human experience, and he need not

have lost touch with reality. One or two details suggest that this is the case.

The proud sibyl is a figure in Italian lore.⁶⁰ She lives on, immured for her pride in a mountain near Norcia, and there must stay until the Day of Doom. Various have visited her, and stayed for a year and a day, and come back to tell of the marvels of the hollow hill. The story becomes at times a variant of the Tannhäuser motive, and again of that of S. Patrick's Purgatory. Her pride is punished: Mary's humility is rewarded. In Sicilian folk-lore she is sometimes Solomon's sister and sometimes identified with the Queen of Sheba. "In the province of Girgenti she is a Cassandra," writes Ferdinando Neri, apparently unaware that she has ever borne that name: the devil wanted to prohibit the *maga* Sibylla from prophesying, and when God interfered he took away her beauty and allowed her only to prophesy ill. Now if Sicily looks on one hand, to Byzance, on the other hand it looks to Spain, and one of the villages where this tale is told is called Aragona. The cur-

The proud
sibyl

in Sicily

Conclusion

rent may well have set from the Peninsula eastward. The figure of the proud sibyl herself, "in the deception of her sterile and superb purity," is the last incarnation of a long sequence, but there is no solution of continuity.

It has been shown, then, that Gil Vicente was using recognized material, without fantasticality or anachronism, and that he stayed in contact with the soil, with the popular and living drama: and furthermore, that as the plastic and vivid images, so to speak, of the Mysteries, determined the art of three centuries at times, so here, by an inverse process, the rich and stately figures of prophets and sibyls, familiar in art and unmistakable, determined at a moment in its development the masque or courtly interlude.

NOTES

The *Auto de la Sibila Casandra* was published in *Teatro Español anterior a Lope de Vega*, by J. N. Böhl de Faber, at Hamburg in 1832: again at Hamburg in 1834 in *Obras de Gil Vicente correctas e emendadas pelo cuidado e diligencia de J. V. Barreto Feio, e J. G. Monteiro*. The three volumes of this edition contain only a part of the poet's work. A full bibliography will be found in Aubrey Bell, *Four Plays of Gil Vicente*, Cambridge, University Press, 1920.

Incomplete
account of
unsatisfac-
tory
editions

¹ Böhl de Faber, p. 56.

² January 6th, 1336: E. Mâle, *Le Renouveau de l'Art par les Mystères*, Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1907.

³ Merimée: *L'Art Dramatique à Valencia*, Bibliothèque Méridionale, XVI: pp. 9-33.

⁴ More precisely, "Casandra pastora, Salamon pastor: Erutea, Peresica, e Cimeria, tias de Casandra, e Esaias, Mosen, Abrahan, tios de Casandra."

⁵ Published in the *Quarterly Review*, December 1846, p. 179; *Ancient Portuguese Drama*.

⁶ For these two versions the writer is accountable: the text is in Böhl de Faber, pp. 64, 65.

⁷ Cañete, *Teatro Completo de Juan del Encina*, p. 3.

Garcia de
Resende

⁸ E vimos singularmente
Fazer representaçoens
D'estilo mui eloquente
De mui novas invençoens,
E feitas por Gil Vicente.
Elle foi que inventou
Isto cá, e o usou
Com mais graça e mais doutrina;
Posto que Joam del Enzina
O Pastoral começou.

⁹ *Historia do Theatro Portuguez*, 1870: vol. I, *Vida de Gil Vicente e su escuela, seculo XVI*: p. 63.

¹⁰ The dictionary of the Spanish Academy defines *chacota* as rude merrymaking or rustic mirth: it certainly seems here to stand for dancing of some sort, and is recognized by musicians as the name of a dance.

¹¹ *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1906, pp. 88-94. Cf. also Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, IV, ii, 808.

¹² Sepet, *Les Prophètes du Christ*, p. 44.

¹³ D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano*, I, 315.

¹⁴ *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1904, *Le Renouvellement de l'art par les Mystères*, p. 299.

¹⁵ The authority is R. Hobart Cust, *The Pavement Masters of Siena*: London, 1901.

¹⁶ Cañete: *Farsas y Eglogas al modo pastoril y castellano fechas por Lucas Fernandez, Salamantino*. Prologue, p. lxxviii, note.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.* pp. 3-8: also Migne, *Patr. Lat.* XLII, 1123.

¹⁸ *Viaje Literaria*, I, 134, XIX, 96, XXII, 131, 133, 183.

¹⁹ Romania, 1880, p. 355, *El Canto de la Sibylla*: *ibid*, p. 154, note 2; Trend, *The Dance of the Seises*, in Music and Letters, January, 1921, p. 37.

²⁰ *Les Origines Latines du Théâtre Moderne*, pp. 179 seqq.

²¹ Du Cange, *Glossarium* III, 255.

²² Du Ménil, *op. cit.* pp. 147, 151.

²³ At Rouen, on the Feast of the Ass the ceremony ended with everyone going up on the roodscreen while the Cantor gave out the introit. Du Cange, *op. et loc. cit.*

²⁴ Du Ménil, *op. cit.* pp. 153 seqq.

²⁵ Coussemaker (*La Drame Liturgique du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1861), published words and music. For the exact parallel with the sermon, v. Sepet, pp. 15-26.

²⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 180, note.

²⁷ Du Ménil, *op. cit.* p. 181, note.

²⁸ These are the opening lines of the famous acrostic poem, quoted in the Augustinian sermon. Du Ménil cites a Paris MS. of the ninth century (B.N.2832) in which the lines are accompanied by musical notes. *Op. cit.* p. 187. From the fifth century, he says, the verses attributed to the Erythraean sibyl were recited in the churches; and at Paris, at S. Martial de Limoges, at Narbonne, and in a good many other churches of France, they continued to be a part of the liturgy for a long while: p. 185, note.

10
The East
Coast and
the Isles

Play in
church

²⁹ Du Ménil, pp. 187 sqq. The piece does not however end here, but proceeds, after S. Augustine has intoned the opening lines of the sermon, to rehearse the Annunciation and Visitation, a complete play of the Three Kings, a Shepherds' play and Massacre of the Innocents, the Flight into Egypt, which seems to have taken the form of a procession around the church, and in the nave the Fall of the Idols in Egypt. The centuries are bringing their changes.

³⁰ Léon Palustre, *Adam, Mystère du XII^{me} siècle*, Paris, 1877.

³¹ D'Ancona, *op. cit.* I, 315. This is, I think, the MS. once in the Ashburnham collection and now in the Laurentian library: it has been printed (Turin, 1888) but is hard to get a sight of.

Early
tradition

³² *Discordantiae nonnullae inter sanctum Hieronymum et Augustinum*; Mâle, *L'Art Religieux à la fin du Moyen Age*, pp. 272-277. M. Mâle, who quotes the important passage in full, quotes also in a note the original editor's statement that it was very famous already (p. 273, note 1) and recognizes that bits of the stuff had long been floating about Italy, citing himself the text on a scroll of Giovanni Pisano's sibyl at Siena (p. 277, note 3). It might be added that the sibyls of the Pisani on the pulpit there correspond fairly in the attributes to Barbieri's text: the date of these being 1266-1268.

³³ D'Ancona, *Sacre Rappresentazioni dei secoli XVI, XV, e XVI*, I, 167-181.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

³⁵ D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano*, I, 334.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 348. For the ambo, v. Bertaux, *L'Art dans l'Italie Méridionale*, p. 602.

³⁷ D. Ancona, *op. cit.* I, 335.

³⁸ *Mystère du Vieil Testament*, VI, 181, 229: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1891, 3.

By the way, the two companions of the sibyl that M. Mâle postulated on the evidence of painting, actually figure here, and are named Tibulle Tiburtin and Evagius Tiburtin (pp. 196-206), as he has doubtless long since recalled.

³⁹ Mâle, *op. cit.* 215-6; Du Ménil, *op. cit.* 185-6; Mâle, *op. cit.* 280 seqq. especially p. 289.

⁴⁰ A. Graf, *Roma nella Memoria e nella immaginazione del medio evo*, chapter IX (pp. 243-261), p. 255. N.B., Graf has not apparently heard of the proud sibyl.

⁴¹ *Cursor Mundi*, Early English Text Society, original series, vols. LXII and CXV, 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, 101: lines 6999, 7019, 7030, 8889, 9169.

⁴² Cf. Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena, Themis, passim.*

⁴³ Early English Text Society, extra series, LXXI, 61-63.

⁴⁴ Early English Text Society, extra series, LXII and CXV, 129.

⁴⁵ Monmerqué and Francisque Michel, *Théâtre Français du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1839: p. 1. The women ask the angel for Christ, the angel

Italian
Mysteries

Two
companions

Easter
play

sends them into Galilee to look for him, and forth steps Christ—

“*Sponsus: Adest Sponsus qui est Christus, Vigilate virgines.*”

In Du Ménil's editing (*op. cit.* p. 233) this is not apparent. The Munich *Nativity* (Du Ménil, 187–213) illustrates this dovetailing of successive plays, but it shows at least that they were played in succession.

⁴⁶ Early English Text Society, extra series LXXXVII, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*: pp. 109–118: “Pageants on special occasions, extracts from the Coventry Leet Book.”

⁴⁷ Rivadeneyra, *Comedias de Calderón de la Barca*, IV, pp. 193–212. It may be apposite to quote an illuminating remark of J. B. Trend from the current number of *Music and Letters* (January, 1921):

Autos
Sacramen-
tals

“An *auto sacramental* was of course an opera, the essential thing about it being that it was an expression—a musical and plastic expression and after that a poetical one—of the mystery. . . . The reason why even the best autos are almost unreadable nowadays is that the words are only the libretto.” *The Dance of the Seises at Seville*, p. 20.

⁴⁸ Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIII^{me} siècle France*, p. 380. M. Mâle thinks this head will be David's. I take it for Augustus.

⁴⁹ The documents are in Sanpere y Miquel, *Los Trecentistas Catalanes*, p. 253.

⁵⁰ Bertaux, *op. et loc. cit.* Marcel Reymond, *La Sculpture Florentine*, I, 81, 96, 131 seqq. especially 141–3: Langton Douglas, *Siena*, 303–

309. For the Sienese workmen in France, see De Mély, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1896, XX, p. 375. On the campanile at Florence (1337-1360) with David and Solomon stand the Tiburtine and Erythraean sibyls: Reymond, *op. cit.* I, 128. For the *custodia* of Cuenca cf. Céan Bermúdez, *Diccionario*, I, 118, s. v. Becerril.

Sculpture

⁵¹ Mâle, *La Part de Suger dans la Création de l'Iconographie du Moyen Age*; *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, 1914, 256 seqq: *L'Art Religieux du XIII^{me} siècle*, 383 and note.

⁵² Didron, *Christian Iconography*, II, 298. Kraus, S. Angelo in Formis, *Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunsts.*, 1893, pp. 84, 86: plate p. 18. Benedetto, A Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, II, 231, plate 165.

⁵³ Fra Angelico I cannot verify, and I doubt: Ghirlandajo set the Tiburtine sibyl over the arch of the Sassetti chapel: Andrea del Castagno's is now in the room at S. Appollonia. Michelangelo's in the Sistine chapel possibly owe a debt hitherto unacknowledged to those of the pulpits of the Pisani at Pisa, Pistoja, and Siena: Raphael's are in S. Maria della Pace: Pinturicchio's in S. Maria del Popolo and the Collegiata at Spello: M. Mâle adds (*L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age*, 277) the church at Tivoli, which I have not seen, and S. Pietro in Montorio and S. Maria Maggiore, which I cannot recall. He is certainly in error in crediting Pollajuolo with any. He says also (p. 270) that there was an altar at Aracoeli of the XIIth century carved with the Sibyl and the Emperor, citing Muratori,

Situation

Antiq, ital. III, 880. For Amiens, Du Ménil, *op. cit.* 185, note 2; Avignon, Okey, *The Story of Avignon*, p. 315. The Augsburg sibyls are preserved on scattered panels in the Museum; those at Ulm have been beautifully photographed. The frontispiece of Attavante is reproduced in Müntz, *La Renaissance au Temps de Charles VIII*, p. 384.

Siena
and sibyls

Siena had in some way a special devotion to the sibyls: one Sixtus of Siena is quoted as an authority on the subject, and the list of monuments already cited here covers all the centuries and all the arts. Curiously, the frescoes in the sibyls' room at the Vatican are said to show traces of a Sienese hand, as the sculpture on the prophets' buttress at Orvieto certainly shows it.

⁵⁴ For the Sibyls in Northern France there is little to add to the admirable account of M. Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIII^{me} Siècle*, 380; *L'Art Religieux à la Fin du Moyen Age*, 280 sqq. The date of the windows at Auch is 1507-1513.

Chaumont

⁵⁵ Du Ménil, *op. cit.* 185: he says that the sibyls had a special theatre of their own at Chaumont, where their prophecies were represented; and that Simon Vostre's version of the *Dit des Douze Sibylles* was once at least arranged for representation for "Henriette princess d'Angoulême mère du rey François."

z

⁵⁶ Many sources are given in Mâle. The sermon attributed to S. Augustine is accessible in Sepet, *Les Prophètes du Christ*, pp. 3-8; Isidore of Seville does not name ten sibyls, but I think the pseudo-Bede does, and tells

of a dream of Nine Suns, which are the Ages of the World: moreover, he includes Cassandra explicitly. An admirable account, without bibliography, is Johannes Geffcken, in *Preussische J hrbucher*, 1901, pp. 193-214. To this I am indebted for a hint on the significance of the struggle between Apollo and Cassandra, and on it I have drawn freely in this paragraph.

⁵⁷ Balthasar Porre o wrote in Spain in 1621, "Besides these twelve already stated there are others mentioned, such as Mantho, Daphne daughter of Tiresias . . . Cassandra, Xenoclea, Melisa and Lampusa, and Strabo in his Geography mentions many others"; in the matter of false sibyls he cites Juan de Horosco and Covarrubias: *Oraculas de las doce Sibilas, profetisas de Christo*. Porre o I know, but not this book; it is not in Gayangos' *Ensayo de una Biblioteca*, and I take the citation from a work entertaining if uncritical, by Mariana Monteiro, *As David and the Sibyls Say*, pp. 82, 87, 88.

Porre o

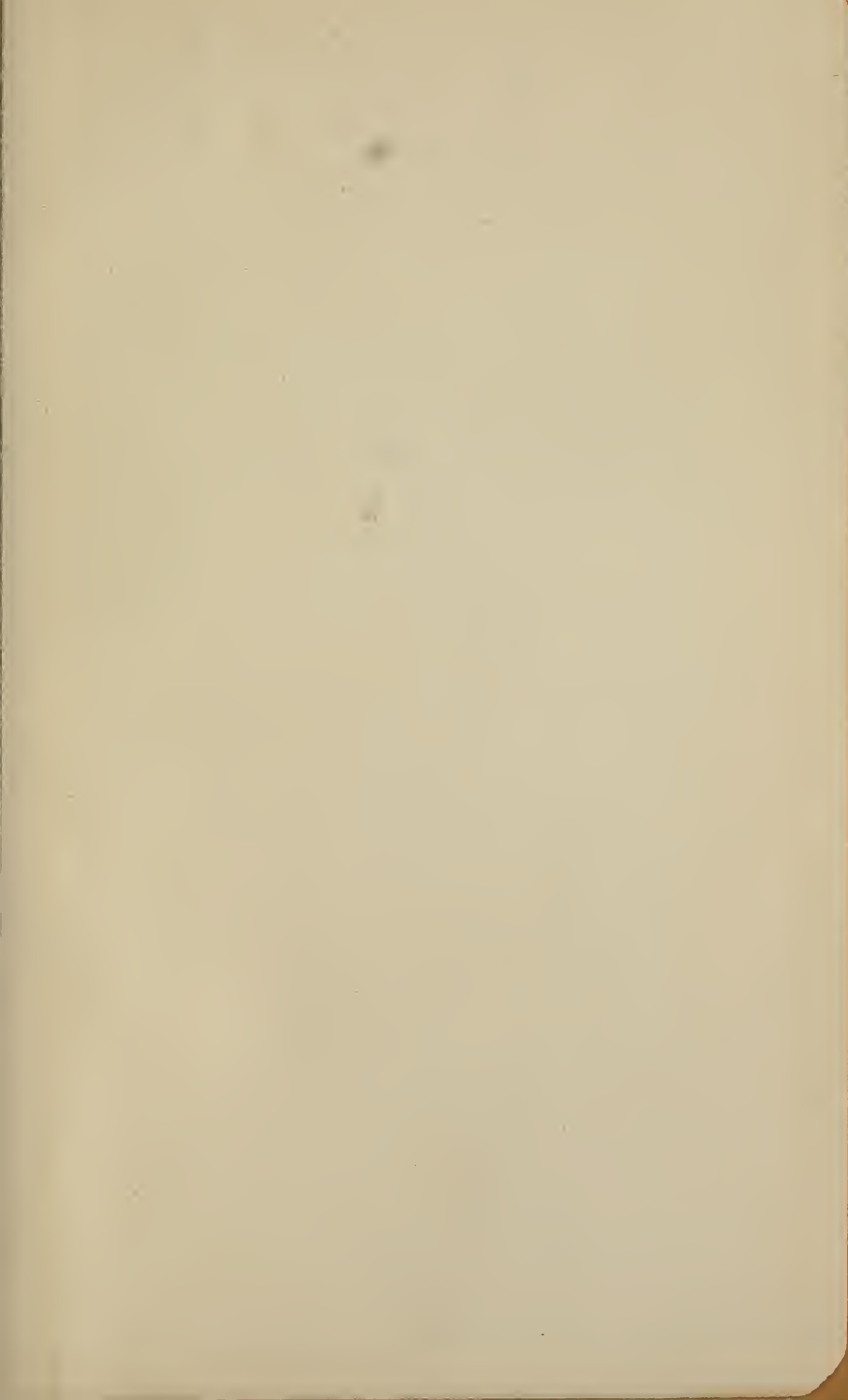
⁵⁸ M. Gaster, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1910, p. 614-8.

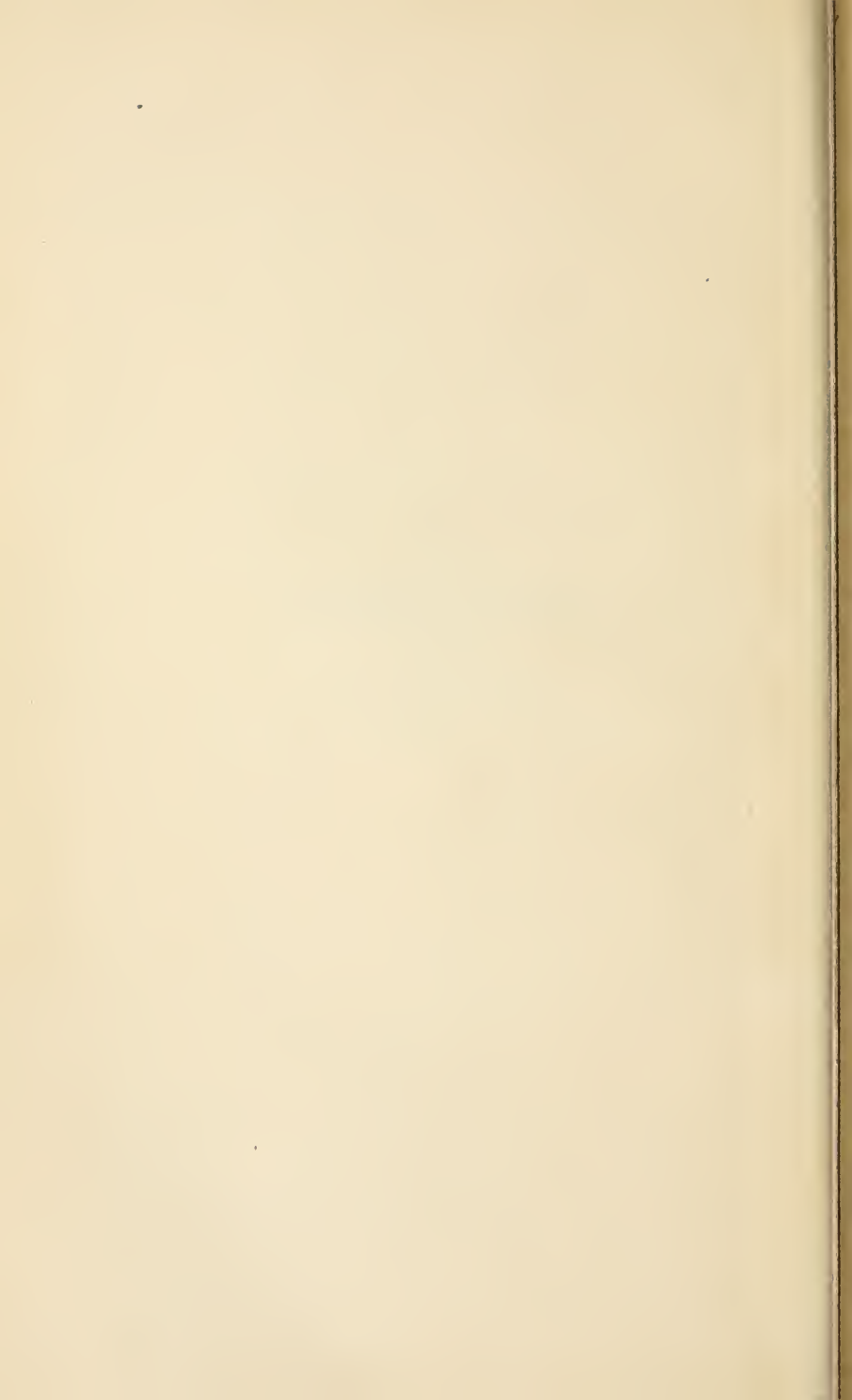
Cassandra

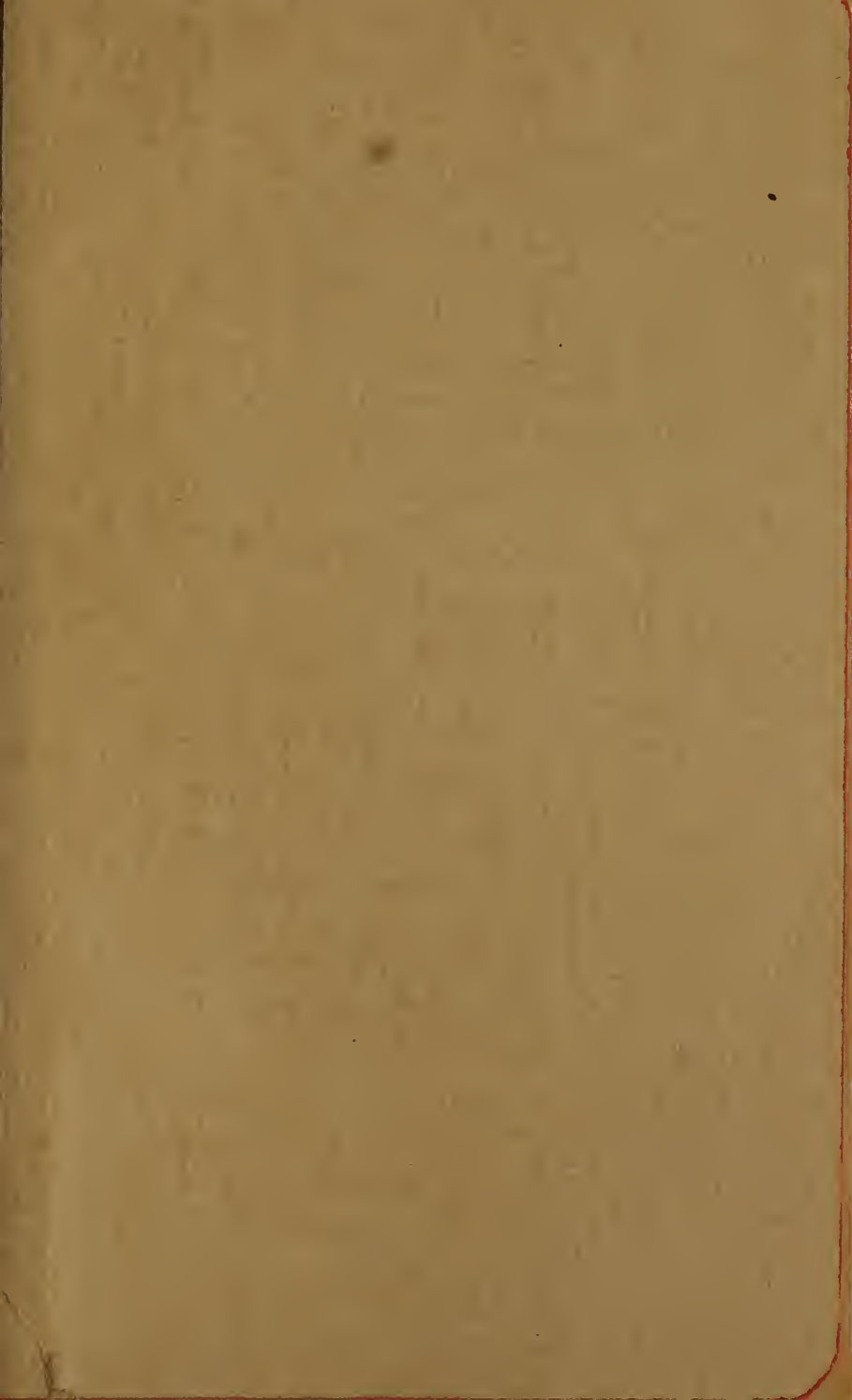
⁵⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 188 note.

⁶⁰ Gaston Paris, *L gendes du Moyen Age*, pp. 67-109, *Le Paradis de la Reine Sibylle*. Ferdinando Neri, *Le Tradizioni Italiani della Sibilla*, in *Studii Mediaevali*, IV, 213, seqq. Pitre is the ultimate source for Sicily.

PRINTED FOR
BRYN MAWR COLLEGE
BY THE
JOHN C. WINSTON CO.
PHILADELPHIA, PA.







14 DAY USE

RETURN TO DESK FROM WHICH BORROWED

LOAN DEPT.

This book is due on the last date stamped below, or
on the date to which renewed.

Renewed books are subject to immediate recall.

REC'D LD	22 Apr '64 LM
MAR 15 1960	STACKS
	APR 8 1964
1 APR '60 A E	REC'D LD
1 M	OCT 29 '64 - 5 PM
REC'D LD	
MAY 2 1960	
6 Dec '61 JM	
REC'D LD	
DEC 4 1961	

LD 21A-50m-4,'59
(A1724s10)476B

General Library
University of California
Berkeley



11-5-66

Richmond, CA 94804-4698

ALL BOOKS MAY BE RECALLED AFTER

- 2-month loans may be renewed by call (510) 642-6753
- 1-year loans may be recharged by bringing books to NRLF
- Renewals and recharges may be made 4 days prior to due date

DUE AS STAMPED BELOW
SEP 08 2004

JUN 24 2006

DD20 15M 4-02

CIRCULATION

IN STACKS

DEC 4 1978

LD 21A-45m-9,'67
(H5067s10)476B

General Lib
University of Calif
Berkeley

