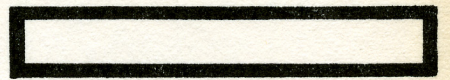
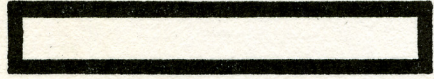


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Easter Matins Trope in the Divine
Office at Poitiers,
Annorum circiter 800?

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**Evidence for a *Quem Quaeritis*
Easter Matins Trope in the Divine
Office at Poitiers, *Annorum circiter 800?***

by

Carey Wilds Kaltenbach*

The two primary forms of early worship were, of course, the Mass (a reënactment of the Last Supper and the Crucifixion) and the Divine or Canonical Office (eight periods of prayer consisting of choral readings of psalms, responsories, and *lectiones* derived from the ancient writings of the Church Fathers).¹ In its early church related history, the *Quem quaeritis* theme or, more specifically, the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, was never appropriate to the ceremony of the Mass; rather, as a terminus to certain liturgical rites associated with the Divine Office, it supplied a much needed narrative continuity. In the ceremony of the Mass, it produced an apparent incongruity; however, in the Divine Office, it completed narrative chronology and was given an opportunity in which to expand its innate dramatic features. A comprehension of the magnitude of this feat depends upon a knowledge of medieval liturgy — its symbolism, mystical significance, spiritual integrity, form and substance — all immediately discernible in the first body of English dramatic composition.²

The *Quem quaeritis* theme occurs in the text of the Easter liturgy in two places; namely, in the Gospel of the Easter Mass and in the first *lectio* prescribed for Easter Matins. Although scholars have carefully studied the gestures, movements, and impersonations native to the enactment of this part of the liturgy, as well as the "dialogue" in the antiphons, responsories, and choral services,³ they have, in general, ignored the presence of an important narrative continuity surrounding the Easter services of the *Adoratio Crucis*, *Depositio Crucis*, and *Elevatio Crucis*, three liturgical offices of quasi-dramatic transitional natures mid-

*Mr. Kaltenbach is an Instructor in English at Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia.

¹*The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XV, 65-66; Sir E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, 3; Rudolph Peil, *A Handbook of the Liturgy* pp. 283-287; Lancelot C. Sheppard "The Liturgical Books," *The Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, CIX, 27-28; Adolphus W. Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, I, 14-16; Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, I, 17.

²Hardin Craig, *English Religious Drama*, p. 3. Also, N. Müller, "Pre-History of the Mediaeval Drama: the Antecedents of the Tropes and the Conditions of Their Appearance," *Zeitschrift für romanisch Philologie*, XLIV (1925-25), 544-575; A. P. Rossiter, *English Drama from Early Times to the Elizabethans*, pp. 42-43.

³Craig, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

way between church liturgy and the earliest forms of the *Quem quaeritis* trope.⁴

Formerly, many scholars believed that the St. Martial trope from Limoges (923-34 A. D.) was the earliest example of this form, but, recently, they have altered their opinions, noting that it reveals much later stylistic qualities than does a tenth-century trope from the St. Gall monastery in Switzerland, one that is known to have been sung within a procession immediately preceding the introit to the Mass.⁵ There is difficulty, however, in justifying a so-called "introit" trope within the ceremony of the Mass, since, to do so, one must ignore the incremental dramatic potentialities of the more ancient *Adoratio*, *Depositio*, and *Elevatio*.⁶ Because there is little historical evidence with which to support a trope in this introit position in the Mass, it is possible to think that, at one time in church history, it may have been misplaced in the liturgy, but for what reason only the Church Fathers may have known. For example, some manuscripts of early *Quem quaeritis* tropes invariably conclude with the Latin tag, *Resurrexi*, which is, also, the opening tag for the introit to the Mass, possibly an indicator of the sequential text. In translation, the introit that follows the trope reads as follows:

I arose [*Resurrexi*], and am still with You, alleluia; You rest Your hand upon Me, alleluia; Your knowledge is too wonderful, alleluia, alleluia. *Ps.* O Lord, You have probed Me and You know Me; You know when I sit and when I stand. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit. As it was in the beginning, and ever shall be, world without end, Amen. —I arose, and am still with You, alleluia; You rest Your hand upon Me, alleluia; Your knowledge is too wonderful, alleluia, alleluia.⁷

Only the first statement ("I arose and am still with You") has pertinence, here. In its liturgical context, it is, of course, Christ's utterance. However, in the previous *Quem quaeritis* narrative, prior to this remark, the Marys in the trope have been told by Angels at the sepulchre that Christ is not present ("*Non est hic*") and have been assured, moreover, that He has departed. Thus informed, the Marys announce this fact to the choir and to the faithful. It is clear, therefore, that a *Quem quaeritis* trope in an introductory position to this introit, solemnly revealing that Christ has arisen and departed from the tomb, results in an incongruous sequence of narrative event, since, at the beginning of the introit, it is a *non sequitur* to have Christ present and talking to the Marys, even to His making a point of saying, "I am still with You." Strangely enough, little attention has been given to this obvious narrative inconsistency.⁸ However, were the trope placed before or after the Gospel of the Easter Mass, it would not intrude into the narrative. The Easter Gospel, a recounting of the visit of the three Marys to the tomb on Easter

⁴Young, *op. cit.*, I, 47; also Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 6.

⁵Allardyce Nicoll, *Masks, Mimes, and Miracles*, p. 176; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XV, 65-66; Chambers *op. cit.*, I, 6-8; Young, *op. cit.*, I, 546. Also John M. Manly, "Literary Forms and the Origin of the Species," *MP*, IV (1907), 576-595.

⁶Young, *op. cit.*, I, 232.

⁷*Saint Joseph Continuous Sunday Missal*, p. 517.

⁸Manly, *op. cit.*, p. 8; also Young, *op. cit.*, I, 231.

morning and, moreover, one of the probable sources for the *Quem quaeritis* trope, reads as follows in translation:

At that time Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome, brought spices, that they might go and anoint Jesus. And very early on the first day of the week, they came to the tomb, when the sun had just risen. And they were saying to one another, "Who will roll the stone back from the entrance of the tomb for us? And looking up they saw the stone had been rolled back, for it was very large. But on entering the tomb, they saw a young man sitting at the right side, clothed in a white robe, and they were amazed. He said to them, "Do not be terrified. You are looking for Jesus of Nazareth, Who was crucified. He has risen, He is not here. Behold the place where they laid Him. But go, tell his disciples and Peter that he goes before you into Galilee; there you shall see him as He told you."⁹

A position for the *Quem quaeritis* trope close to this Gospel in the Easter Mass is logical, allowing it to reënforce the instruction contained in the Gospel without encumbering scriptural narrative. The trope, here, is free to realize its own dramatic potentialities and to complement the sermon that generally follows the singing of this Easter Gospel. Granting the church a knowledge of its own liturgy, one finds it impossible to determine what prevented this trope from being placed initially in this logical position in the Easter service.¹⁰ Had it originally occupied such a flexible position in the liturgy, wherein it might have had an opportunity to expand—for example, in the Divine Office—the question would never have been raised, because the Divine Office was less static and formal (although not informal) than the Mass and contained a greater amount of narrative substance that was either an extension or counterpart of Scripture.¹¹

Since tropes that were written expressly for use in the Divine Office were, in one way or another, always closely associated with the responsories, it is not surprising to find, in liturgical history, a *Quem quaeritis* trope eventually appearing as the last responsory in the Easter Matins service in the Divine Office.¹² It was well adapted to this ceremony and related, moreover, to other devotional forms within the Divine Office, terminating the events in the aforementioned *Adoratio*, *Depositio*, and *Elevatio*. In association with this trope, these three services depict two major events of the Easter Feast—the Crucifixion and Resurrection. Clerics responsible for the conduct of Easter Matins, familiar as they must have been with the attributes of the rituals in the Divine Office and with the *lectiones* and responsories in the Breviary, may have selected the material to be enacted in this service.¹³

Extra-liturgical as they were (*i.e.*, not formally authorized by Rome, yet widely and popularly observed), the *Adoratio*, *Depositio*, and

⁹*Saint Joseph Continuous Sunday Missal*, p. 517.

¹⁰Young, *op. cit.*, I, 231.

¹¹Craig, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹²Young, *op. cit.*, I, 232.

¹³*Ibid.*, I, 233; also Craig, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

Elevatio were precedents for the *Quem quaeritis* trope, enabling it to divest itself of novelty and to function naturally within the framework of Easter Matins without intruding. The ritualistic significance of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* emerged from the nature of their themes, from their choral texts rooted in ancient liturgical song, and from their long association with the important *Adoratio*.¹⁴ Their supplemental position in the liturgy, their similarities to older liturgical forms, and their obvious progression toward a recognizable state of drama distinguish them as forerunners of the poignant rite, the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, the theme of which is contained in the *Quem quaeritis* trope.¹⁵ Significant, also, was their presence as an "organizing element" in the narrative of the Easter Feast—from the events of the Crucifixion, to the Burial of Christ, to the Resurrection, climaxed in the *Visitatio Sepulchri*. However, the *Adoratio*, *Depositio*, and *Elevatio* were not liturgical dramas, but "dramatic liturgy."¹⁶ Since all of the elements of drama lay within these early rites, scholars have long since noted their inherent grace, mystery, symbolism, but, perhaps, out of fear of supporting an evolutionary approach to medieval drama, many have overlooked or deemphasized the dramatic qualities of these rituals in the Divine Office.¹⁷

Of the three, the *Adoratio* does not occur during the enactment of any service in the Divine Office, but during the communion service on Good Friday, an event erroneously termed the Mass of the Presanctified, and is clearly the basis of the sequential *Depositio and Elevatio*.¹⁸ Hence, it is closely related to the Divine Office. For example, during the Good Friday service, the use of a Host sanctified on and reserved or "laid away" from the previous day gave rise to the custom of "laying away" the Cross on Good Friday (the theme of the *Depositio*).¹⁹ Eventually, another fixed part of this service became the practice of venerating a Cross (the theme of the *Adoratio*).²⁰ An account of an enactment of the *Adoratio* is preserved in St. Ethelwold's tenth-century *Regularis Concordia*.²¹ Carrying a shrouded Cross, two clerics approach the High Altar singing Christ's pronouncements (*Popule meus*) to which two other clerics respond in Greek, and the Chorus in Latin. During this dialogue, the veiled Cross is placed upon a cushion and gradually uncovered and revealed to the faithful. To the accompaniment of choral singing (two antiphons and a hymn), an Abbot lying prone sings the seven penitential psalms, after which the company kisses the Cross. Young argues that this Cross is the device that infers a logical historical

¹⁴Young, *op. cit.*, 115-117.

¹⁵Craig, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 21; also Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 32-33.

¹⁷Craig, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹⁸Young, *op. cit.*, I, 114: "This reservation was necessary through the fact that from about the fifth century to the present time the Roman rite has not permitted the consecration of the sacred elements on Good Friday itself. The result of this prohibition is the supplying of the Mass of Good Friday with Host consecrated upon the previous day—a presanctified Host. Hence, the term *Missa Praesanctificatorum*." Also, N. C. Brooks, "Some Texts of Liturgical Easter Plays," *JEGP*, VII (1909), 468; and "The *Sepulchrum Christi* and Its Ceremonies in Late Mediaeval and Modern Times," *JEGP*, XXVII (1928), 147-161.

¹⁹Young, *op. cit.*, I, 118.

²⁰Grace Frank, *The Medieval French Drama*, pp. 22-23.

²¹The full text is quoted in Young, *op. cit.*, I, 118-120.

relationship between the ancient *Adoratio* and the later *Depositio*, inasmuch as it symbolizes the "vivid commemoration of the Crucifixion" and suggests the sequel that commemorates the Burial of Christ in the *Depositio*.²² He is convinced, therefore, that these two offices partake of a common liturgical source.²³ Obviously, in narrative chronology, the *Adoratio* merges with the *Depositio*.

Although performed in connection with the Good Friday communion service, the *Depositio* was not associated with the Mass itself, since, technically, there was no Mass on Good Friday; nor was it an integral part of the communion service, but an extension of the *Adoratio* and more clearly associated with Vespers in the Divine Office.²⁴ A date as early as the seventh century has been cited for the initial appearance of the *Depositio* in religious services, although with little convincing proof.²⁵ By the tenth century, however, it had become an established liturgical office of Holy Week, clearly complementing the *Adoratio*, as revealed in an account preserved in the *Regularis Concordia*. One relies, here, upon Young's description of the enactment of a *Depositio* at Winchester:

In a vacant part of the altar is prepared a likeness of the sepulchre, with a veil stretched upon a ring. The deacons who have carried the cross for the *Adoratio* wrap it in a cloth in the place of the adoration, and carry it to the *sepulchrum* singing antiphons. They then deposit it in the sepulchre as if it were the buried body of Christ, meanwhile singing the antiphon *Sepulto Domino*. Here the cross is guarded until the night of the Resurrection. Two, three, or more brothers are appointed to keep faithful watch by night, singing psalms.²⁶

Over the next few centuries, this office, which in the beginning was only quasi-dramatic, gradually expanded, becoming visually more elaborate in its use of funerary tapers, cordons of guards, and vigils of sundry kinds, especially in its movements in or around the important area of the sepulchre.²⁷ Moreover, the dramatic tendencies of this office were exploited, as demonstrated in the following account of a fifteenth-century *Depositio* enacted at Durham:

Within the Abbye Church of Durham, upon Good Friday, thiere was marvelous, solemne service, in the which service time, after the Passion was sung, two of the eldest Monkes did take a goodly large CRUCIFIX, all of gold, of the picture of our Saviour Christ nailed upon the crosse, lying upon a velvett cushion, havinge St. Cuthbert's armes upon it all imbroydered with gold, bringinge that betwixt them upon the said cushion to the lowest greeces in the Quire; and there betwixt them did hold the said picture of our Saviour, sittinge of every side, on their knees, of that, and then one of the said Monkes did rise and went a pretty way from it, sittinge downe upon his knees, with his shoes put off, and verye reverently

²²*Ibid.*, I, 114. Also, William Hone, *Ancient Mysteries Described*, p. 83.

²³Young, *op. cit.*, I, 121.

²⁴*Ibid.*, I, 117-118.

²⁵Arthur Brown "The Study of English Medieval Drama," *Franciplegius*, p. 268; also Young, *op. cit.*, I, 117-121.

²⁶*Ibid.*, I, 133.

²⁷A. N. Feasy, "The Easter Sepulchre," *Ecclesiastical Review*, CXXII (1905), 337-355.

did creepe away uppon his knees unto the said Crosse, and most reverently did kisse it. And after him the other Monke did so likewise; and then they did sitt them downe on every side of the Crosse, holdinge it betwixt them; and after that the Prior came forth of his stall, and did sitt him downe of his knees, with his shooes off, and in like sort did creepe also unto the said Crosse; and all the Monkes after him, one after another, in the same order; and in the mean time all the whole quire singinge an himne. The service beinge ended, the two Monkes did carrye it to the SEPULCHRE with great reverence, which sepulchre was sett upp in the morninge on the north side of the Quire, nigh to the High Altar, before the service time; and there lay it within the said SEPULCHRE with great devotion, with another picture of our Saviour Christ, in whose breast they did enclose, with great reverence, the most holy and blessed Sacrament of the Altar, senceinge it, and prayinge unto it upon their knees, a great space, settinge two tapers lighted before it, which tapers did burne unto Easter day in the morninge, that it was taken forth.²⁸

This record clearly illustrates the amount of expansion that has occurred in (1) the presence of impersonators (the two Monks and the Prior); (2) the use of properties (the sepulchre) in a specific movement in the ceremony; (3) the prescribed mannerisms or actions in the removal of shoes, the displaying of a picture of Christ, and the use of a second (?) picture of Christ especially equipped with a compartment in the region of the breast; (4) the acts of "senceinge" and blessing as important dramatic gestures; and (5) the placing of two lighted tapers upon the High Altar. Although this Durham record makes no reference to the use of dialogue, the choir, nevertheless, sings "an himne" during one of the most significant portions of the ceremony.

The service that completes the action initiated in the *Adoratio* and *Depositio* is the *Elevatio*, alluded to briefly in the *Regularis Concordia* and described, as follows, by Young: ". . . the sacristans of the church are charged with taking the cross from the *sepulchrum* and putting it in an appropriate place—this to be done before Matins on Easter morning."²⁹ A fifteenth-century Durham account of an enactment of this rite indicates that the *Elevatio*, like the two preceding services, underwent considerable expansion:

There was in the Abbye Church of Duresme [Durham] verye solemne service uppon Easter Day, betweenc three and four of the cloke in the morninge, in honour of the RESURRECTION, where two of the oldest Monkes of the Quire came to the Sepulchre, being sett upp uppon Good Friday, after the passion, all covered with red velvett and embrodered with gold, and then did sence it, either Monke with a paire of silver sencers sittinge on their knees before the Sepulchre. Then they both rising came to the Sepulchre, out of which, with great devotion and reverence, they tooke a marvelous beautifull IMAGE OF OUR SAVIOUR, representing the resurrection, with a crosse in his hand, in the breast whereof was enclosed

²⁸Quoted in Adams, *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas*, p. 4. Rossiter, *op. cit.*, p. 43, refers to it as ". . . an elaborately dismal rite at Durham, known as Creeping to the Cross."

²⁹Young, *op. cit.*, I, 134.

in bright christall the holy Sacrament of the Altar, throughe the which christall the Blessed Host was conspicuous to the behoulders. Then, after the elevation of the said picture, carryed by the said two Monkes uppon a faire velvett cushion, all embrodered, singinge the anthem of *Christus resurgens*, they brought it to the High Altar, settinge that on the midst thereof, whereon it stood, the two Monkes kneelinge on their knees before the Altar, and senceinge it all the time that the rest of the whole quire was in singinge the foresaid anthem of *Christus resurgens*. The which anthem beinge ended, the two Monkes tooke up the cuchiaons and the picture from the Altar, supportinge it betwixt them, preceeding, in procession, from the High Altar to the south Quire dore, where there was four antient Gentlemen, belonginge to the Prior, appointed to attend their cominge, holdinge upp a most rich CANNOPYE of purple velvett, tached round about with redd silke and gold fringe; and at everye corner did stand one of these ancient Gentlemen, to beare it over the said image, with the Holy Sacrament, carried by two Monkes round about the church, the whole quire waitinge uppon it with goodly torches and great store of other lights, all singinge, rejoycinge, and praising God most devoutly, till they came to the High Altar againe, whereon they did place the said image, there to remaine untill the Ascension day.³⁰

At Durham, by the fifteenth century, at least, the *Elevatio* had been expanded to include (1) impersonators, in this case (as in the Durham *Depositio*), two "Monkes" identified as the "oldest Monkes of the Quire," indicating, perhaps, that privilege was now associated with performance in this service; (2) detailed descriptions of robes and properties in an elaborate kind of pageantry with much visual beauty, as ". . . a most rich CANNOPYE of purple velvett, tached round about with redd silke and golde fringe" to protect the "beautifull IMAGE OF OUR SAVIOUR" during the time in which the two "Monkes" carried the Holy Sacrament "round about the church;" (3) the use of important musical backgrounds to reënforce the enactment at the significant moment of elevation, an enhancement of the underlying emotion; (4) the use of a "great store of lights," or "goodly torches," showing an awareness of the advantages to be derived from a careful illumination of the scene. If dialogue were employed, this Durham record takes no note of it.

The *Quem quaeritis* theme of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* logically occurs in the Easter Matins only at the close of the pre-dawn service reserved for the moment of Resurrection. In the text of the Easter Gospel, the Marys are said to have set out upon their journey to the tomb at dawn, the time between Easter Matins and Lauds that designates the Resurrection.³¹ Furthermore, in the Easter Matins the responsory that announces their pre-dawn departure was often incorporated into a processional leading to the enactment of the *Visitatio*, occurring only at the close of Easter Matins immediately before the singing of the *Te Deum*.³² Thus, the terminal effect of the *Visitatio* upon the three previous rituals

³⁰Quoted in Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

³¹Young, *op. cit.*, 231-233.

³²*Loc. cit.*

was possible in the Divine Office and in no other area of the Easter liturgy. Every important event leading to the High Feast of Easter is now culminated: the Crucifixion in the *Adoratio*, the Burial in the *Depositio*, the Resurrection in the *Elevatio*, and the fulfillment of the Messianic prophecy in the person of the risen Christ in the *Visitatio*. Thus, the incongruous effect produced in the ceremony of the Mass has been remedied by shifting the *Quem quaeritis* motif to a new location in the Easter Matins service of the Divine Office.

With much interest, therefore, one turns to Martene's account of a ninth-century Matins service at Poitiers, apparently involving a *Quem quaeritis* trope. In Tomus III, Martene cites evidence for the use of a trope in the *Pontificale Vertustissimum*, assigning it to "annorum circiter 800."³³ In Chapter XXV, *De Paschatis festo*, he describes the enactment, now referred to as coming from the *Vertustissimum Rituale*,³⁴ and alludes to two other Poitiers documents (three *Missales* and a work entitled *Liber Sacramentorem*), presumably as his sources for the Poitiers service.³⁵ Chambers, however, was quick to point out that Martene probably did not find evidence for such a Matins service in the *Liber Sacramentorem*, since Matins is not a sacrament.³⁶ Nor does one think it likely that an account of the Poitiers service was included in any of the three *Missales*, since the missal contains the texts of the Mass and has no connection with the Divine Office. Martene's term, *Vertustissimum Rituale*, is probably a synonym for *Pontificale Vertustissimum* and, therefore, evidence for the location of a *Quem quaeritis* trope in an Easter Matins service as early as 800. Indeed, the crude nature of the service which Martene describes suggests that the trope, here, was in a formative stage of its development, as shown in the following translation of Martene's account of the Poitiers Matins ritual:

At the end of Matins, go to the sepulchre, carrying torches. Mary then begins, "Where is my Christ?" The angel answers, "He is not here." Then Mary uncovers the opening to the sepulchre and speaks in a public [loud] voice, "Christ is risen." And all answer, "Thanks be to God."³⁷

The level of language is simple ("*Ubi est Christus meus?*") in contrast to that employed in the tenth-century St. Gall trope ("*Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, o christicolae?*"). In addition, the *dramatis personae* lists Mary and one angel, with a possible reference to others implied in the plural *luminaria* (torches). Locale is specified as the region of the *sepulchrum*. There are hints at directions in "go to the sepulchre," "carrying torches," "uncovers the opening to the sepulchre," and "speaks in a public voice." Its rudimentary nature, however, is even more pronounced when compared with a *Regularis Concordia*

³³Edmund Martene, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, I, xxii.

³⁴*Ibid.*, III, xii-xv.

³⁵*Ibid.*, III, xiv.

³⁶Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 15, fn. 3.

³⁷Martene *op. cit.*, I, xxiii: "Finitis matutinis accedunt ad sepulchrum, portantes luminaria. Tunc incipit Maria: *Ubi est Christus meus?* Respondet angelus *Non est hic*. Tunc Maria aperit os sepulchri, & dicit publica voce: *Surrexit Christus*. Et omnes respondent *Deo Gratias*."

description of a tenth-century Matins trope, revealing the degree of expansion that has occurred within the span of a century once the trope has been given its freedom in the Divine Office:

While the third lesson is being chanted, let four brethern vest themselves. Let one of these, vested in an alb, enter as though to take part in the service, and let him approach the sepulchre without attracting attention and sit there quietly with a palm in his hand. While the third respond is chanted, let the remaining three follow, and let them all, vested in copes, bearing in their hands thuribles with incense, and stepping delicately as those who seek something, approach the sepulchre. These things are done in imitation of the angel sitting in the monument, and the women with spices coming to anoint the body of Jesus. When therefore, he who sits there beholds the three approach him like folk lost and seeking something, let him begin in a dulcet voice of medium pitch to sing *Quem quaeritis*. And when he has sung it to the end, let the three reply in unison *Ihesu Nazarenum*. So he, *Non est hic, surrexit sicut praedixerat. Ite, nuntiate quia surrexit a mortuis*. At the word of this bidding let those three turn to the choir and say *Alleluia! resurrexit Dominus!* This said, let the one, still sitting there and as if recalling them, say the anthem *Venite et videte locum*. And saying this, let him rise, and lift the veil, and show them the place bare of the cross, but only the cloths laid there in which the cross was wrapped. And when they have seen this, let them set down the thuribles which they bare in that same sepulchre, and take the cloth, and hold it up in the face of the clergy, and as if to demonstrate that the Lord has risen and is no longer wrapped therein, let them sing the anthem *Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro*, and lay the cloth upon the altar. When the anthem is done, let the prior, sharing in their gladness at the triumph of our King, in that, having vanquished death, He rose again, begin the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*. And this begun, all the bells chime out together.³⁸

The four lines of dialogue comprising the tenth-century St. Gall "introit" trope have now been expanded into six in the Easter Matins trope, to which have been added numerous questions, responsories, and anthems, the enactment concluding with the *Te Deum*. Moreover, implied directions ("let four brethern vest themselves, . . . let one of these . . . enter as though to take part in the service") that closely resemble rubrics are detailed and literary. Locale is clearly delineated in the instruction requiring impersonators to arrange themselves around the sepulchre. The effect of the conventional journey motif is heightened when the impersonators search for the tomb. Finally, there is a marked increase in the use of properties, such as a palm leaf, censers, a sepulchral veil, cerements, and a cross.

In this location in the Easter Matins service, the trope was in proximity to a wealth of narrative material established in the text of the Matins ceremony. Here, it could terminate the series of narrative events initiated in the *Adoratio* and continued throughout the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. As the last responsory in Easter Matins, the trope was a logical conclusion to the events depicted in these three rituals. Hence, over the years, the increased resemblance of the *Quem quaeritis* theme to

³⁸Quoted in Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 15-16.

the important Easter ceremony of the *Visitatio*. Martene's evidence of a Poitiers *Visitatio* in the Divine Office reveals that the appropriateness of this theme to Easter Matins had been recognized as early as the ninth century.

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