

THE PROFANE VS. THE SACRED IN MEDIEVAL THEATRE

Çaęrı ŐARLAR

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Danışman: Doç. Dr. Tatiana GOLBAN

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TEKİRDAĞ NAMIK KEMAL ÜNİVERSİTESİ
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YÜKSEK LİSANS

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Çağrı ŞARLAR tarafından hazırlanan **The Profane vs. The Sacred in Medieval Theatre** konulu YÜKSEK LİSANS Tezinin Sınavı, Namık Kemal Üniversitesi Lisansüstü Eğitim Öğretim Yönetmeliği uyarınca 10.06.2019 günü saat 10.30'da yapılmış olup, tezin OYBİRLİĞİ / OYÇOKLUĞU ile karar verilmiştir.

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ÖZET

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Bu çalışma, Ortaçağ oyunlarındaki Şeytan karakterine odaklanarak, Ortaçağ dramasındaki kutsal ve temsillerini tartışmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmada; Şeytan karakterinin bir profan imgesi ve Ortaçağ dramasının sekülerleşmesinin ilk örneği olduğu fikrine aykırı olarak; Şeytan kutsalın temsili bir örneği olarak ele alınmıştır. Çalışma iki bölümden oluşmaktadır. Araştırmacı birinci bölümde, Ortaçağ toplumunun bilişsel ve sosyal durumu ile ilgilenmiştir. İlk olarak, Ortaçağ toplumunu oluşturan dinamikler tartışılmıştır. Daha sonra Tiyatro ile Kilise arasındaki karşılıklı ilişki ele alınmıştır. İkinci bölümde oyunlardaki Şeytan karakterine odaklanılmıştır. Ortaçağ Şeytan kavramı ikili düşünce sistemi yoluyla ele alınmıştır. Dönem oyunlarındaki; The Creation and The Fall of Angels, The Fall of Man, The Deliverance of Souls; Şeytan karakteri tezin argümanını desteklemek adına incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: kutsal, profane, Ortaçağ tiyatrosu, Şeytan, sekülerleşme, dönem oyunları, ikili düşünce sistemi, Wakefield oyunları

ABSTRACT

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This work aims to discuss the sacred and its representations in medieval drama by focusing on the character of the Devil in medieval plays. In this work; contrary to the notion that the Devil is a figure of profane and the first example of the secularization of the medieval drama; the Devil is taken as an example of representation of the sacred. This work consists two chapters. In section one, the researcher dealt with the the cognitive and social situation of medieval society. First, the dynamics that constitute the medieval society are discussed. Afterwards, the correlation between theatre and church is handled. In chapter two, the focus is on the character of the Devil. The concept of the Devil in Medieval period is dealt with via oppositional thinking. In addition, The Devil in cycle plays; *The Creation and The Fall of Angels*, *The Fall of Man*, *The Deliverance of Souls*; is analysed to support the argument of this thesis.

Key words: sacred, profane, medieval drama, the devil, secularization, cycle plays, binary thinking, Wakefield cycle

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INTRODUCTION

The first thing that a researcher encounters while researching Medieval Drama are the oppositions. Sacred and profane oppositions are vital since this opposition determines the perception of medieval drama in modern man's mind and the Devil is in the centre of this opposition. This study deals with the duality of sacred and profane in the character of the Devil.

In contrast to the notion that the Medieval Period was a dark age, we face vividness in terms of culture. Ever-developing correlations of cultures, religions and supernatural elements constitute a great chance for peerless theatrical experience in Medieval Period. Medieval Christians created a hybrid belief system to give meaning to their existence and metaphysical world. We observe explicit examples of this system in representations of the Devil in Medieval drama.

The audience was the core of the theatre in medieval period as it has been in other periods. Therefore it is important to comprehend the social, political and financial condition of the medieval man. Chapter I deals with the Medieval Society by mentioning dynamics that created community.

The Roman world is important in understanding the medieval society since "The Medieval West was born on the ruins of the Roman world" (Le Goff, 1992: 3). Following the crisis in Roman civilization, there was a disorder in the whole Europe society and this resulted in the collapse of the Empire. The power gap led to the political system change entirely. Feudal system emerged as the new ruling system in which agriculture holds great importance. The community became the serfs of the feudal lords.

Chapter I also discusses the attitude of Church towards drama. It is one of the most complex-relation to explore due to the insufficient documents, however, thanks to the REED Project, new findings are added to litterateur now and then. The ritual processions are discussed in terms of their resemblance with dramatic forms. Besides, the usage of the Church as theatrical space is scrutinised.

Chapter II starts with the problem of traditional devil and stage devils in medieval period. An analogy between the Devil of clergy and the Devil on stage is done via focusing on the processions, liturgical drama, ars moriendi, and the play “The Creation and the Fall of Angels”. “The Devil and Binary Thinking” introduces the oppositions that define medieval society and the manifestations of these oppositions in the character of stage devils. The oppositions in the plays and what they represent for medieval man are explored. In “The Devil and the Judgement” subtitle, Stage devils’ relation to death is discussed to put forward the similarities between stage devils and the Traditional Devil in the plays; “The Creation and the Fall of the Angels”, “Dream of Pilate’s wife”, “Satan and Pilate’s wife”, “N Town Passion Play I”. “The Comic Devil” focuses on the faculty of laughter” in medieval society and the themes of “mirth”, “joy” and laughter are analysed in the plays “The Creation” and “The Delivarence of Souls”. In “The Devil in Harrowing of Hell” and “The Fall of Man”, the Devil and its function for didactic purpose of the plays is explored.

CHAPTER I

MEDIEVAL PERIOD AND THEATRE

1.1 Pre-Medieval Period

Roman Empire had residual crises between 2 AD - 5 AD and “The Medieval West was born on the ruins of the Roman world” (Le Goff, 1992: 3). The crises were both internal and external which had economical, social and cultural aspects. Meanwhile, Roman Empire was under the Barbarian threat which reached up to the borders of the Empire and following the death of Constantin the Great, the tendency for division between East and West became apparent. The Empire’s economical, political and religious power was located in the east part of the Empire which was also the womb for the ancient Greek empire. West took Latin as its official language whereas East took Greek as its own and based its written culture on Greek. Therefore, it can be stated that the discrepancy on cultural and intellectual level between the East and the West was explicit.

The disorder in West created devolution of culture, art and medieval life and it had velocity effects. The term “Citizenship” had no longer meaning on the community. Moreover, there was a rising hate towards the officers of the Empire. Bad condition in economy and taxes which were results of deficient political ruling put medieval man into resistance psychology towards the Empire. We observe increase in the number of military deserters and also mercenary became an institution.

In the West, especially in Gaul, trade and city economy started to prevail and trade became dependent on East. Economy became a closed economy which has the principle of goods exchange. With agriculture based economy and public finance, a need to leave the expanses of the officers and military to landowners arose. All these factors resulted in a community which was being divided into pieces.

To draw a picture of the medieval period, it has to be stated that there was a decrease in the number of cities and they became poorer day by day. In addition, the landowners were ready to accept the tutelage of a protector even though they were free. There were fugitive slaves across the empire and poor villager who lost their properties due to high taxes. East was unharmed from the barbarian waves, however, in Western provinces Roman ruling collapsed in a century.

1.2 Feudal Society

The political and social disorder laid the foundation of feudal economy which dominated medieval social structure. Essentially, feudal economy was agricultural economy. Farmers who were cultivating the land and as a result could not leave their settlement hired mercenaries for protection in order to survive the turmoil in the society. Since money was not a legit economical power, farmers gave the mercenaries land in return of their service. Afterwards, farmers started to cultivate the land that they had given to the mercenaries; in addition; they began to give share to them from the land they cultivated for themselves. All they asked in return was the protection.

Man with armed forces built castles which were in total control of the lands and sustained hegemony on the farmers. The farmers who had given the mercenary the economical power became the serfs of him and the mercenary got “Feudal Lord” title. Feudal economical structure was shaped in this frame. “From the moment when

the ruling class established itself in the countryside and became a class of great landowners, the landed aristocracy encouraged progress in agricultural production, especially when the status of the vassus changed from inferior to privileged person” (Le Goff, 1992: 57).

In the first periods of Middle Age, when the church had not its power on the community, there were two social classes: villagers and nobles who derived from the feudal lords. When the church had its full power on religious and earthly affairs; medieval social structure was completed; “Prayers, Fighters, Workers” (Huberman, 1937: 22).

In the middle and western parts of Europe, high majority of the lands for agriculture were divided into sections called “Mansions”. A mansion was in a circular shape which consisted of feudal lords’s castle at its centre, a village surrounding the castle, lands for cultivation surrounding the village and uncultivated lands surrounding the lands for cultivation. Each mansion had its feudal lord. Feudal lord had a castle as his settlement and he stayed in the castle with family members, servants and his men who were ruling the lands. Uncultivated land was a common property and lands for cultivation were in two types. One third of the land was given to the feudal lord while the rest was given to the serfs.

Living conditions of the serfs were not in humane criterion. They were dependent on the land they had been cultivating and were not allowed to desert the settlement even if the owner of the mansion changed since each serf meant human power. Serf population was vital in war time as well as agriculture. None of the feudal lords wanted to lose their man power. Therefore, marriages and prerogative situations were under the audit of the feudal lord. In addition, serfs were not allowed to gain education which would have enlightened them. The only point which distinguishes serfs from slaves was that they were not to be sold apart from the lands.

There was not a powerful government system. Traditions had the power of laws. Since the land for property was the key factor for wealth, there were ever lasting fights over the lands. Feudal period was a time of war. Therefore, a feudal lord had to be a good warrior. This constitutes the source for chivalry which was one of the dominating elements of medieval social life. The other element was “Crusades”. Feudal system and church supported each other for the common interest for a long time. Church’s falling out with feudal system took part in the emergence and evolution of Renaissance culture.

In feudal economical system, money was not at the core since there was no place to spend it. A closed economy was in the control and trade activities were not sufficient. Noone was in need of producing more than enough to earn money. Trade started to develop in 11th century and Crusades in the 12th century accelerated this development. Trades maintained logistic support for Crusade army during the war by joining them. The ones who were able to come back from the crusades had met the luxury and high living. Therefore, the demand increased and trading with Eastern goods became a profitable business. Poulation increased and this created more demand. When the insufficiency of the lands for cultivation did not maintain the income to buy goods at the market, joining Crusades became an inviting business.

The religious outcome of the Crusades was ephemeron. Jerusalem was re conquered by the Muslims; however financial outcomes of the Crusades had profound results. With the trade’s becoming popular, noble class which did not gain its finance from lands cultivated and city life developed. Opportunities that city had to offer accelerated the immigration from rustic areas to the cities and this resulted as the end of Feudal system.

At the end of 14th century, one of the incidents that shaped the social strata was black plague which was named as “Black Death”. The population decreased in massive measures which resulted in the value increasement of labor. Demand

increased while labor power decreased. When feudal lords preferred old labor system rather than the new one and did not pay enough, massive rebellions emerged. Thousands of villagers were hanged and rebellions were suppressed. Meanwhile villagers who had left their settlement to live in cities regained their freedom and started to sell their land as if they were metas which brought the end of feudal system.

1.3 Crusade Spirit

“Crusades” were the other element that has to be scrutinized since it was second element which defined the order of medieval society. The idea that left its mark on medieval spiritual life was Christianity. Christianity based its principle on the poverty which helped Jesus to gather many followers since Christianity reveals that the true joy and virtue can only be found in poverty.

As to Christianity, all men are children of God and therefore are siblings. The connection among them can only be sustained with love. To be able to love, equality is a necessity and equality can only be derived from poverty. This life is transient and full of evil. It is a place for a sacred test. The agony and the pain that righteous man had to feel was only a part of this test. Soon the agony and injustice would cease to exist. In the dooms day, God would avenge the righteous man and ask for his rights.

However, Church which had based its foundation on poverty contradicted in its deeds. Church was one of the figuration of authority gap in the middle ages. Church filled this authority gap by opening hospitals, schools and dispensaries and it was able to do that with the charity income. However, in church schools “Inadequate fathers and preachers were the main factors on the education of the people. These clerics were highly underqualified in terms of intellectually and morally when they

are scrutinized utterly” (Bloch, 2004: 58). Interpretation which would help people to understand the deeper meanings of bible hardly ever found a place in Christian theology. It was seen as a right which merely belonged to the higher clergy.

In the world in which Money had no legitimacy, people donated huge lands or tax incomes and this resulted in a Church whose financial power was beyond imagination. Church with all this power started to act as a feudal lord with its serfs.

Like feudal lords, Church seized the land incomes. With continuing the donation system, church became the owner of one fourth of the lands in several European countries. Kings suffered economically since the majority of the lands that they owned became church land and they were meant to remain so. Therefore with all these prerogatives and financial power, Church was now a state on its own and it resulted in a way that Church involved in the social matters of the community besides moral life.

Church’s new position of course created a conflict with the feudal states. As to feudal states, Church’s focus should have been on spiritual life. Interfering the communal life habitat, collecting taxes and not sharing the tax income with the feudal lord was not included in Church’s doctrine. It is no surprise that Church rejected all these limiting thoughts.

The conflict between the kings and Church involved nearly a century in Medieval period and Church had always been the winner due to the effective weapons such as anathema and approval/disapproval of the king’s dynasties. Pope Gregorius VII prohibited marriage to priests and this ban created alienation between the clergy and the mob in 11th century. The alienation evolved into disputes in time and Church’s solution was inquisitions. Thus, Church transformed into an oppressor institution.

When serfs disposed of the burden of heavy labor and moved to the cities, they confronted the Church as the last feudal lord that they had to overcome and finally did so. By this way, serf movement ended the Crusade spirit which had been one of the ingredients of Medieval Period along with feudal system.

1.4 The Medieval Mind and Theatre

Miracle and Morality plays constitute a bridge between the liturgical plays, which Catholic Church as an institution had a supreme control on, and the peak plays of Renaissance. Therefore it is vital to scrutinize what they offered to the authorship, actorship and theatricality of the plays.

The Catholic Church was the supreme power in Europe which shaped European art and culture in medieval times. It will be easier to comprehend the importance of Middle Age when we consider that Europe has become what it is today in terms of life standards, culture and art in 600 years.

Medieval age has a vital importance when we think of cultural history. Cultural history can not be framed chronologically which is possible in political history. Owing to its' having no certain boundaries, we depict interrelations between the cultures which follows one another. Medieval culture is affected mainly from the ancient culture despite the efforts of suppressing it and become one of the two sources for Renaissance. With the scrutinization getting deeper, the argument that Medieval Period was a time of dark ages has lost its legitimacy. The term Middle Age was first used in the pre-Renaissance Italian litterateur. The scholars of that time who were thrilled by re-discovering human nature had a notion that their culture had derived directly from ancient culture. Therefore, the time which comprises the period between Renaissance culture and Ancient culture was named as the cultural downfall

and *Mediem Aerum*. With this point of view; Medieval Period was seen as the time of darkness.

We depict that the same prejudice was common among the theatre historians. The prohibitions on the vernacular drama were the main reason for the expansion of this prejudice. Parallel to this notion, the Medieval Period was regarded as a dark and silent time for theatre. However, medieval texts were written for stage not for mere reading, “so it is not surprising that very few of them have come down to us from the time in which they were performed” (Tydeman, 1994: 1).

The new records showed us that the case was different. Theatre and actors survived all the attacks and humiliations and the plays with theatricality maintained their existence. “Further in some locations the dramas virtually overwhelmed the procession themselves, - especially the Corpus Christi processions – so that it was suggested that the dramas be staged on one day and the procession the next” (James, 1983: 6). Especially in the rustic parts of England, the plays maintained their existence with the help of professional players who earned their lives from acting in the plays and in time these plays evolved into festivals.

1.4.1 Theatre and Church

One of the problematic issues when studying medieval drama is the relation between the Church and drama. It is known that there was a condemnation towards theatrical acts however it is not an accurate argument to generalise this damnation as a general church policy. There were bishops who prohibited the acts however it is known from the data collected by the REED project that not only liturgical processions had dramatic features but also vernacular plays were acted inside the church walls. Therefore an absolute rejection and condemnation is out of the issue.

Before getting into the usage of church as a theatrical space, we should focus on the Roman church and Roman community and their attitude towards drama and dramatical forms because Roman civilization was the core ingredient of medieval culture.

In contrast to Greek civilization, the Roman Empire, especially noble Romans were not in favour of the theatrical acts, plays and actors during the Republic era of the Roman Empire. They see it “as a disgraceful mark of decadence” (Rossiter, 1950: 29). Romans’ attitude towards the players can be described as humiliation. Though ritual games were allowed, it was vice versa with histrionic rendition. The attitude was not the same and it showed change during the Imperial Era and the Spectacula transpired into the key body in sustaining the social order. However, the artistic level of the examples of Spectacula couldn’t catch the level of the Greek examples. However, it is also important to comprehend that this negative attitude was coming from the upper strata of the community, not merely coming from Roman Church. This is important to understand the complaints of church bishops. For sure, there were objections concerning the plays acted inside the churches coming from the bishops, yet, the findings demonstrate that these objections could not stop the plays performed within the walls of the Church. As to the REED findings, “more than 2000 plays were acted in churches before 1642” (Wasson, 2010: 26).

The first examples of entertainments were farce and suggestive and the dialogue was spontaneous and cross talks were the thrusting elements. These dialogues and cross talks were not at the level of Greek examples and can be defined as inferior compared to them. There was a transition from the Greek drama to buffoonery which lasted long with regard to the Greek effect. This process of falling in terms of quality contrasts with the notion of Chambers which shows the Christianity as the sole villain who was responsible for demolish of classical world and its dramatic forms, however, the decay started before the arrival of Christianity.

One of the Spectacula used to support the condemnation of the Church against the idea of theatrical acts is the 'Pantomime'. It was the retrogression of the dramatic arts. Though the satire was sensed in the acts, the sexual and lustful movements underlied the pantomime. Christians condemned this act and regarded it as pagans' insults against their Gods. "The name *histrion* commonly applied to the *Pantomimus* (though not always distinct from meaning the *Mimus* or *planipes*: i.e. devoid of 'buskin' or 'learned sock') passed into Christian history as a term of infamy" (Rossiter, 1950: 31). However, Should we name 'Pantomime' as a dramatic art? It has for sure dramatic features but we cannot call it drama since it does not sustain one of the basic necessities to be able to call an act dramatic or drama and it is impersonation. "According to Young, a play is a story presented in action" (Reynolds, 2010: 129).

The 'fall of the theatres' didn't become a reality in the cultural level since the Church preferred to christianise the pagan elements in society and also in pagan culture rather than wiping them off. The Church based this policy on the doctrine of St. Augustine. It was mainly embracing the good parts in pagan culture not rejecting them just because they are heathen. All the good things come from God therefore they maintained the good pagan traditions. An example for this cunning assimilation policy was a letter from Gregory the Great to the missionary Mellitus recommending him not to destroy pagan structures. "As quoted by Bede, it was trenchantly observes that it is 'impossible to efface everything at one from obdurate minds; therefore the temples should be de-idolized, purified with holy water, and converted from worship of devils to the service of the true God'" (Rossiter, 1950: 36).

The conversion of the most of the heathen minds were done by the hand of the kings and the emperors. Christianity became the policy of the empires and faced a resistance in the society and the shrewd policy of the Church mentioned below was practiced and it resulted in a hybrid culture in which we see both pagan and Christian

elements. Thus, it is true that in a way “The conversion of a savage to Christianity is the conversion of Christianity to savagery” (Rossiter, 1950: 37). The influence was bilateral.

“The religion of the folk did not so much start outside the walls of the Church within” (Rossiter, 1950: 37). The fire ceremonies of Easter were not related to Christianity but to pagan religions. However, Christian elements can be seen in them such as the scapegoat cult which resulted in burning Judas. Therefore, it is clear that there was an inter-penetration between pagan rituals and Christian ones. Thus it is not odd to see that the Church was used as a tool for dramatic acts.

However, one of the arguments used to support the idea of the Church’s mere opposition towards the plays is that the vernacular plays were never performed in the church. That is to say the English Church was never used as a theatrical space apart from liturgical plays. E. K. Chambers and the scholars who followed his footsteps believed that while liturgical plays were performed inside the church walls, the vernacular plays were removed from the church to the marketplaces, pageant wagons and etc. With the help of the REED (the Records of Early English Drama) Project, the notion that the vernacular plays were acted merely outside the walls of the church is disproved. As to the findings of the Reed Project, “It is arguable that far more than half of all vernacular plays of the English Middle Ages and Renaissance were in fact performed in the churches” (Wasson, 2010: 25). The recent findings support this argument. “Judging only by currently printed sources and other records waiting to be printed, we already know of 143 parish churches and other religious houses that performed plays in the church, plus twenty-three other performances that moved no farther than the church yard” (Wasson, 2010: 26). The earliest example of English Church play was *Quem Quaeritis*. The two most known versions of the mentioned plays are “Benedictine” and “Winchester” examples. There are some discrepancies between these two versions, the plot and the actors were virtually identical. They were mostly performed in parish Churches which

indicates that “they were commonplace in England as well, not merely at monasteries” (Wasson, 2010: 29).

Adam which was a twelfth-century play is another example for church plays however it was staged outside the church walls. It was designed to be staged at a cathedral or monastery. “It was performed not in the church but at the west front, for stage directions indicate that whenever God exists, he goes into the church” (Wasson, 2010: 28). There are stage directions for heaven and also for hell.

The plays which acted within the wall of the Church are as follows:

- a) Quem Quaritis
- b) Adam
- c) Daniel
- d) The Play of the Sacrement
- e) Abrahaam and Isaac
- f) Wisdom
- g) Killing of the Children
- h) The Pardoner and the Friar
- i) The Processus Satanae

The argument about the Church was used as a theatrical space can also be derived from the manuscripts and stage directions of the mentioned plays.

E. K. Chambers stated that “The drama which had already migrated from the church to the market place, was to migrate still further, to the banqueting-hall. And having passed from the hands of the clergy to those of the folk, it was now to pass, after an interval of a thousand years, not immediately but ultimately, into those of a Professional class of actors” (Chambers, 1951 2: 180-81). However, the recent findings reveal that there was not a transition of drama from church to market place. “It did not develop in any chronological order from clergy to folk to professional

actors; and that clerical folk, and Professional actors existed together throughout the time period under consideration” (Wasson, 2010: 35). It is now known that the professionals acted in the plays in the church walls as well. The welcoming attitude and also the payment to the actors from the church is another sign for that the church’s condemnation was not absolute.

1.4.2 Liturgical Drama

To study the origins of the medieval drama is problematic due to the lack of information which resulted from the from the lack of explicit findings and the notions that were put forward by important scholars are being challenged these days via the finding coming from the REED Project. However, it is stil important to mention the arguments of some prominent scholars of medieval period.

E.K. Chambers was the foremost medievalist of his time and his arguments and notions were followed by many other scholars in years. His work “The Medieval Stage” which was published in 1903 was the first collection of medieval dramatic productions in that size. He started his work with the end of classical world and its drama. As to him, Christianity was the sole reason for this end. As to him, after Christianity demolished its predessor, it created its own drama and there was a slow process of dramatic action from the play called *Quem Queritis* towards the more complex drama of cycles. “As he proceeded, Chambers attempted to show that simple drama developed into the complex, but in so doing he often skewed the evidence chronologically and could not explain the great unexpected leaps in what was thought to be a slow evolution” (Reynolds, 2000: 129). It is clear that Chambers’ arguments depended on his enmity to the Christianity and religion in general terms. He lived in the time when Darwinist perception was so popular therefore this perception affected his position against Christianity. The Church was the villian against the nature of human and its attacks were stopped with the help of secular laity, especially the secular bards.

At a certain degree, he admitted that the liturgical processions had dramatic features thus they can be called liturgical drama but also as to him, in time the cleric effect ceased to exist and features allegedly related to pagan religion like spectacles of mirth, wonder and delight broke into dramatic productions. He also underlined the popularity of the scenes of devils and comic scenes and connected this popularity with the secularization of the plays. This connection is challenged in this study in the following chapters. Chambers' definition of drama depends upon the "mimetic act" and according to him, the core features of drama are dialogue, action and impersonation.

John Manly was another important medieval scholar who disagreed with the gradual process of the drama from basic to complex. He put forward the theory of mutation to explain the development of drama. He accepts Chambers' definition of drama yet he ranked the basic features of drama as to their importance. While action and impersonation are vital, dialogue is not important. To be able to call literary forms drama, their employing action and impersonation is a must.

While Karl Young agreed on some of Chambers' and Manly's notions, he had divergency when it comes to liturgy. "According to Young, a play is a story presented in action" (Reynolds, 2000: 129). Impersonation is also vital for his definition of drama as it differentiates drama from religious rites. The Mass can be given as an example for not being drama since it has no impersonation in its form. As to Young, the Mass did not consist of an impersonation. It was a true recreation. They were reliving in the moment because of the sacred realm of the events. The deeds in the Mass ritual were real for people, therefore, for him, liturgical drama was not a predecessor of secular drama.

O. B. Hardison criticized Youngs arguments on many levels. As to him, Young's argument missed the aesthetic feature of drama. He put forward the

popularity of drama in Medieval Period as a proof for the importance of the aesthetic feature. He believed that the artistic value of the plays was one of the reasons of this popularity. He also had different ideas on the definition of Drama. In contrast to Young, he did not give importance to the necessity of dialogue in the drama. The existence of dialogue in the plays is not important because a drama may contain monologues or non-dialogue forms.

In the following years of the publication of Chamber's, there have been many studies which contradict and reject the idea of anti-papal and anti-religious views. The Church and laity were already using dramatic forms in the liturgical processions. "The Church in its liturgy was involved in a drama, sacred or ritual drama, but drama nonetheless." (Reynolds, 2000: 130).

The Church was the most potent power during medieval times therefore it is apprehensible that most medieval drama was related to Christianity and the nature of the plays is religious. Even the cycles produced by civic guilds were played in the churches or on religious festivals with the support of the clergy. In the beginning, there were prohibitions and conservative complaints towards the *spectacula* of roman traditions. "Decisive action came finally in the fifth century as the result of an incident in which a monk named Telemachus attempted to stop a gladiatorial contest and was stoned to death by outraged spectators" (Bevington, 1975: 3). This incident resulted in the prohibition of public acting.

Despite the bans, the liturgy of the church played an important role in forming medieval drama. The services in the processions were performed by clerics and they show great resemblance with dramatic forms. Church was used as a theatrical space which was enclosed. The symbolism could be sensed in the colorful robes of clerics. Processions and chantings were other dramatic features that can be attributed to church liturgy.

To widen Church's sphere of influence in the community, some clerics advised to add more dramatic elements to liturgy. The purpose was to create intimacy with the common people and draw more people to liturgical processions. The usage of dramatic elements resulted in the rising popularity of liturgy in the community.

We must try in the first place to realize clearly the conditions under which the church service, the mass, was conducted during Middle age. We should picture the congregations of people, for the most part, as grossly ignorant, of unquestioning though very superficial faith, and of emotions easily aroused. This ignorance rooted in the archaic societies' tendency to live in the sacred realm. "The tendency is perfectly understandable, because, for primitives as for the man of all premodern societies, the sacred is equivalent to a power, and, in the last analysis, to reality" (Eliade, 1968: 12).

Latin was not a commonly known language in the society and also medieval man was not fully familiar with the Bible story. Consequently; giving a spectacular and emotional character to the service was a necessity. The service itself was in great part musical, and the priests and ministrants were richly robed. In this type of service; the audience might gain some knowledge as the priests read the Bible stories on the displayed painted rolls which were used to demonstrate the main events of the day's lesson. In time, these services evolved into drama. The story of Christ's resurrection was the first to be treated. First, during the ceremonies on Good Friday; the day when Christ was crucified; the cross which stood above the altar all the year, bearing the Savior's figure, was taken down and laid beneath the altar, a dramatic symbol of the Death and Burial; and two days later, on 'the third day' of the Bible, that is on Easter Sunday, as the story of the Resurrection was chanted by the choir, the cross was uncovered and replaced, amid the rejoicings of the three Marys at the tomb of Christ came sometimes to be chanted by the choir in those responses which are called 'tropes':

Whom do you seek, [in the sepulchre, O
 Followers of Christ?]
 Jesus of Nazareth, [who was crucified, O heaven-dweller.]
 He is not here, he has risen as he had foretold;
 Go, announce that he has risen from dead.(Bevington,
 1975: 27-8).

Following this, we observe a little dramatic action. Priest in white robes representing the angel sat by one of the tombs near the junction of nave and three other priests who personated the Marys proceeded towards the priest in white robes and chanted their lines from the same dialog at the same time. Following the last words of the angel, “Te Deum” bursts from organ and choir. Probably, in time, this Easter scene was further enlarged, in part by additions from the closing incidents of the Christ’s life. Other Biblical scenes, as well, came to be enacted, and, further, there were added stories from Christian tradition, such as that of Antichrist, and, on their particular days, the lives of Christian saints. Thus these compositions are called Liturgical Plays. They formed a part of the church service (liturgy).

It is certain that in the evolution of medieval drama, plays began to be performed in town squares aside from liturgy. Debate continues concerning liturgical drama and the emergence of the Corpus Christi cycles. Majority of scholars disagree with the commonly accepted previous notion of liturgical drama growing so large that it became a necessity to perform these plays outside the church. They argue instead that each type of drama should be seen as its own entity, cyclical in nature, keeping in mind that while a new form may have begun, the older still continued to exist and effectively produce new material. The cycle plays were didactic and entertaining in nature and they were dramatizing the entire Bible from beginning to end, therefore, it is no surprising to see Satan in some plays.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVIL IN MEDIEVAL ENGLISH DRAMA

2.1 Traditional Devil in Medieval Period

The traditional Devil of Christianity was a figure who had been in an attempt to confiscate the power both on earth and heaven. In the early medieval period, he didn't possess a certain character. However, in 11th century, he became the extensive figure in the society and in many forms of art. As to the medieval doctrine, the Devil was not equal to God; besides his hubris to see himself as equal to God was the reason of his fall and his fellow angels. The struggle between God and the Devil was a key for medieval man to understand the events surrounding their lives.

“The great heresy of Medieval Period was Manichaeism” (Le goff, 1992: 160). Manichaeism was based on the dualism of God figure. As to its doctrine, there exists two Gods; one of which is the God of good and other one is God of evil. In Christian doctrine, Manichaeism's great failure was to consider the Devil as an equal character to God. “However, the whole of the thinking and behaviour of Medieval man was dominated by a fairly conscious, fairly concise Manichaeism” (Le goff, 1992: 160). For Medieval man, if God was present on one side, on the other

side the Devil was present. The schism was common in every aspect of society such as moral, social and political life. Medieval man was stuck between the two forces. “Good” deeds were related to God and as opposition “Bad” deeds were related to the Devil. When the judgement day arrives, the good will reside in heaven however the bad will be wellcomed by hell.

The devil was real for medieval man as well as the reality of God. They are not abstract figures, especially the Devil. The representations of the Devil outrun God’s representations. In the medieval drawings, the Devil is evaluated as the symbol of “sin”. He shares the scene with Adam and Eve, appearing between the two. However the most common scenes that we notice the Devil are the ones that he was depicted in more or less in human form.

He appears in two forms; as a temptress guiler and as a punisher in a fearsome form. Mostly he appears in the form of a damsel. The punisher devil does not disguise himself in facing his victims instead he displays himself in the most disgusting form.

In the medieval stories which feature the Devil; he is described in a human form, short height, skinny body and face, having a goatee, hairy, having pointy ears, having teeth of a wild animal and a hunch. The common physical features of the Devil in the stories indicate similarites with the costumes used for the stage devils in the plays. In both of the cases, the animalistic side of the costumes is lucid. Although the Devil is in the human form in the medieval stories, the picture that becomes appearent in the one’s mind following reading the description resemble much more an animal with his hairy body, pointy ears and teeth. It was reasonable to give the Devil the attitudes of animal in the stories and the plays since he was the arch enemy of the religion. Therefore, the animalistic features in the descriptions and on the costumes stand for the humiliation of the Devil.

Understanding the Devil of Christianity is important for apprehending the meaning that stage devils and the plays had for medieval community. As to Chambers; it was impossible for vernacular drama to appreciate the secular problems of the time since it was about sacred realm. “He therefore understood occasional moments of social satire in the mystery plays, often voiced through devils, as evidence of secularity and evolutionary progress” (Cox, 2004: 19). There exists an opposition in the plays, yet, Chambers was wrong about the content of the opposition. As to him; the opposition was about the sacred and secular, yet, the opposition was on sacred level. It was about God and the Devil. “The Devil’s opposition to what the community was not illustrates what the community was symbolically” (Cox, 2004: 19).

The devil in the liturgical celebrations is the same with the devil in the mystery cycles and these mystery plays are the preservation of traditional religious views until they ceased playing, for, they resemble the early forms of vernacular drama.

The Devil’s was banishment from the heaven which refers to his pertuber feature is the first act of the cycles. The opening scene of the creation and the fall of angels determines society in sacred terms.

Opposition between “mirth”, “joy”, or “bliss” in the heaven before the rebellion of the Devil against God and communal agony and division following this rebellion is depicted in each cycle though each of them demonstrate the banishment of the Devil in different perspectives. Therefore, the development of the cycles could be ordered as social, psychological, and moral. In Towneley cycle, in the scene in which the Devil is shown as an innocent creation before the rebellion creates a contrast. Other demons praise the God’s work in creating Lucifer as the brightest.

Bright ar we,
 Bot none of vs so bright as he:
 He may well hight Lucifere,
 Ffor lufly light that he doth bere;
 He is so lufly and so bright
 It is grete ioy to se that sight.
 We lofethe, Lord, with all oure thought,
 That sich thyng can make of nocht (Stevens, et al., 1994: 5).

Hearing these words, Lucifer denies the praise and acknowledges himself as harrier and devourer. In a way, he rejects angel's praising words for the Devil and fellow creatures. He relates felicity and gladness only with himself and with this bliss and mirth, he creates power on other.

For I am lord of blis,
 Ouer all this warld, i-wis,
 My myrth is most of all;
 Therfor my will is this:
 Master ye shall me call (Bevington, 1975: 261).

From this statement; a heaven divided into oppositions was born. We depict a heavenly community before the Devil's revolt and following this revolt, we observe a heaven of oppositios. One of the Demons states the Devil's cause for their fall in an overtly tone in his speech. Instead of bliss and joy, the words that define Lucifer and his followers are misery and woe. In the last part of the play; "Creation"; the Devil speaks of "Joy" again. Following the extinguishment of the peace in heaven, his aim is to demolish the one in the world.

Bot herkyns, felows, what I say:
 The ioj that we haue lost for ay,
 God has maide man with his hend,
 To haue that blis witoutten end,
 The ix ordre to fulfill
 That after vs left; sic is his will.
 And now ar thay in Paradise;
 Bot thens thay shall, if we be wise (Bevington, 1975: 266).

Lucifer's last words own great importance since these words lay the foundation for the plot of the plays.

The plot of "The Creation and Fall of the Angels" has similarities with the situation of the audience of the plays. In the play, a demon reminds the playgoers that they have the same condition:

"Alas, We may warrie wikkyd pride,
 Som may ye all that standys be side.
 We held with hym ther he saide leasse,
 And therfor have we all unpeasse" (Bevington, 1975: 263).

By addressing the audience directly, the demon takes them into the play. That is to say, they are part of the scene that they are watching. It was not just a play. It was also the truth for the audience of the time.

Now that the audience is in the scene, it presents oppositions such as greatfullness and arrogance, love and hate, dolicity and vanity. These oppositions became a part of the story of the creation of the finite and infinite worlds in which the spectators lived in physically and spiritually. Therefore, it can be stated that the story of the origins of their history was the same the story on which they depended their moral assertions.

As to Chambers, only the Liturgical drama had the purpose to create a Chrisitanity awareness on the people and separated it from mystery cycles and he put forward it as an evidence of secularization, yet, the aim of mystery cycles was not different from the one of Liturgical drama. They just served the same aim in a different way. What are done in Liturgical plays are not solely imitation. It reveals more than that. First events of the creation story are re-enacted in detail in those plays. On the other hand in mystery plays, the incidents in the salvation history were not repeated in the same way as in the liturgy; yet as to J. D. Cox (2004), if they had been re-enacted as they were in sacred processions, the sacrements or liturgy, they would have had less efect on the spectators. He supports his argument by stating that what the story meant for the society was present in it when they were addressed, pushed aside, pursued, or merely asked to confirm or disapprove what they saw. The Devil was the key element which sustains the tie between the spectators and the story in every aspect of the life.

“In addition, the Fall of the Devil was related to feudality in a political aspect in terms of the relation between God and angels” (Kroll, 1985: 33-50). However the Devil’s revolt has never been resembled to peasents’ rebellion against upper class. “Rather, fidelity to the sacred narrative in the mystery plays makes Lucifer’s rebellion a palace revolt” (Cox, 2004: 22). In all of the cycles, we depict the focus on the Devil’s favor with God, his power and his pride which was also seen as the primal sin in a society comprised in social and hierarchical order. In addition, in cycles and in all forms of literature which present the Devil, the followers of the

Devil are always from socially privileged class. You can not observe a peasant who is an adherent of the Devil.

In N-Town cycle we depict a revolt against a hierarchical superior as a class abuse. When Lucifer commends other angels to worship him, one angel refuses to do so in spite of the superiority of Lucifer on him and other fellow creatures.

In addition; the mystery plays' first pageant determines a political problem which would go on through other cycles. In this pattern, pride and revolt against the Creator is matched with people who had power on social and political level. "Affected by Chambers' arguments, Robert Weimann considers these identifications as the results of the class of the author who he claimed to be from low clergy" (Schwartz, 1978: 20-1). Due to the insufficient information about the identity of the author of the plays, Weimann's argument is a little fallacious. Even if the authors of the plays were clerical; the rank of the clerics could not be determined.

The fall of Lucifer also has comedy features. However, Hans Jürgen Diller states that what the stage devils have is different from comedy; instead it is Schadenfreude. The audiences' reaction could not be mere laughter. The feeling was mirth coming from the enjoyment driven from the silliness of the Devil. Comedy in a bawdy manner could only be seen in in the first play in N-Town's devils when the Devil says: "For fere of fyre a fart I crake!". This line should be considered as the interpretation of carnivalesque detail.

There exists resemblance between the devils of cycles and the Devil of traditional religion. Demons act with Lucifer in his siege against primordial society. However, they do not appear frequently in the plays. In Towneley cycle, stage devils appear only in three pageants. The cycle in which stage devils appear most is N-Town. Stage devils' the most definite feature is seriousness in N-Town plays. "It is

seldom in the carnival attitudes that are often described as their essential character” (Cox, 2004: 24).

2.2 The Devil and Binary Thinking

The Devil was one of the most common character on stage in early English drama. The devils are also common in the pre-Christianity era; the limited Old Testament references provide proof for this argument that the traditional Devil derived from the alternative sources, yet, with the rise of Christianity, we depict the strong emphasis placed on the Devil. In addition, the Devil evolved with the Christianity and this development had paganistic roots towards the Devil of traditional religion. “What history shows is the concept of the Devil, a coherent historical development growing from pre-biblical roots through Hebrew and Christian thought into the present” (Russel, 1984: 25). The Devil was constantly shaped by historical, societal, and cultural changes and the Devil derived from alternative resources.

Even in the later English drama, the Devil remains to be popular character and he is accompanied with the Vice. In time, the Vice replaced the Devil with his twitting, teasing, tormenting and thwarting features. The devil’s prominence remained same until the closure of the theatres in England long after the God and his angels left the stage. “For about three hundred years – from the late fifteenth century to the late seventeenth – playwrights regularly put devils on stage in every kind of English play for every kind of audience, whether aristocratic, popular or commercial” (Cox, 2004: 5). The costuming of the Devil on the stage did not change a lot during the years and this constitutes one reason for the Devil’s pre-vailing other sacred characters. The costuming needs for the Devil on stage did not change for almost two hundred years. “The earliest reference to devils’ costumes discovered so far is from York in 1433, where garments, face, and Vesernes for devils are listed;

the latest before the closing of the theatres is from Thomas Nabbes' masque, *Microcosmus in 1697*" (Johnston, et al., 1979: 59).

The medieval mind that created the stage devils is much more vital compared to the material base of costuming in persisting them. Stuart Clark portrays the frame of mind in which demonology emerged; reveals that demonology "was construed dialectically in terms of what it was not, what was significant about it was not its substance but the system of oppositions that it established and fulfilled"(Clark, 1997: 9). At that point; mentioning the hierarchical oppositions which the Devil established is a must. These hierarchical oppositions can be named as God and the Devil, mercy and merciless, order and chaos, truth and deceit and tolerance and hate. Examples can be increased since anything which has a tendency to the polarization can fit the hierarchical polar oppositions in this case.

Oppositional thinking faced a crisis in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. What Protestants did was reversing the place of traditional religion in the perspective of community, yet, the oppositional thinking remained to be used in the society though Protestants identified traditional religion as demonic.

Stage devils' being the last remnants of the sacred manifested on stage could not be recognized by the modern criticism. E. K. Chambers was responsible for this problem. He lived in the time of Darwinism and this made him evaluate the medieval drama from the perspective of secularization. Besides, Chambers lived in an age in which religion phenomenon (not merely Christianity) was a doubt, he looked for the evidence of secularization. As indicated by O. B. Hardison; Darwinism was the premise movement in Chambers' life time thus it affected his views on early English drama. He sees the secularization as progressive in accordance with Darwinism. In addition, the Devil was an example of secularization according to him and stage devils were a major component of his argument. The earlier he could find

evidence of secularization, the more credible was his claim that change was incremental, progressive, and aimed where he thought it was” (Cox, 2004: 7).

To Chambers; alienation between the nascent drama and religious worship is the secularization in medieval English drama and to prove the alienation, he exemplified his argument with extension of other biblical materials, plays acted outside the church walls, financing, the alteration of the plays’ language from Latin towards vernacular and lastly the appearance of folk-culture elements; devils in the first place; in the biblical stories told by vernacular drama. For the transition from Latin to vernacular, he mentions a fragmentary text found by Professor Skeat. The text was written in Yorkshire dialect and “The fragment shows clearly enough the way in which the Latin text was first sung by a group of performers together, and then expanded by them separately in the vernacular” (Chambers, 1925, 2:90). Chambers believed that it reveals the transition from the sung drama to the spoken drama of the cycles in addition to the language transition of the plays.

As stated before, stage devils hold great importance in his argument and he saw them as folkloric additions to the plays. In his work “Medieval Stage”; he states:

“For your horned and blackened devil is the same personage, with the same vague tradition of the ancient heathen festival about him, whether he riots it through the cathedral aisles in the Feast of Fools, or hales the Fathers to limbo and harries the forward spectators in the marketplace of Beverley or Wakefield” (Chambers, 1927, 2:148).

Chambers’ notion concerning stage devils’ being one of the first signs of secularization made him unable to see them as the last remnants of traditional sacred drama in the seventeenth century. Chambers’ hostility to Christianity represents the core of his construction of medieval drama. Chambers accepted that liturgical drama existed once. Chambers shared a romantic conception of pagan folk culture and seeing

stage devils as the vestiges of the ancient heathen festival; he believed that the reassertion of this culture against oppressive pre-Reformation Christianity as the first sign of laicization in drama.

As stated before, it is true that the Devil was walking on the earth long before the Christianity. The other forms of the Devil as the evil spirit are depicted in the pagan religions. Therefore it should be stated that the Devil showed a transformation in time. “The Christian idea of Satan in the middle ages would have been influenced mostly by folklore deriving from Mediterranean cultures as well as Celtic and Teutonic religions in northern regions” (Matos, 2011: 26). In addition, the relation was mutual, “Pagan religions would have also influenced Christianity, just as Christianity would also influence different pagan practices” (Matos, 2011: 26). As to Russell in ‘Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages’:

Folklore shades into popular religion, but the latter is more self-conscious deliberate, and coherent. Popular religion consists of the beliefs and practices of people of simple or no education, and it appears most clearly in homiletic literature, the sermons, exempla (or formulas for sermons) of such writers as Gregory the Great, Aelfric, and Caesarius of Heisterbach. Popular Christianity tended to present a vivid, frightening Devil...Folklore on the other hand tended to make the Devil ridiculous or impotent, probably in order to tame him or relieve the tension of fear...Because of the contradictory nature of these traditions, popular opinion about the Devil oscillated between seeing him as a terrible lord and seeing him as a fool (1984: 63).

It would be accurate to state that “the Devil was Paganism incarnate” (Summers, 1926: 277). With his bestial physical; also demonstrating that he had also Judeo-Christian features; crying in a high pitch, dancing on the stage and nudity, yet, the medieval playwrights used these paganistic features of the Devil to demonstrate him as the foe of Christianity. In a way the playwrights consolidated two foes;

Paganism and the Devil; of the Christianity in one body which was the Devil himself and the Devil in the plays was still the Devil of traditional religion. However, the mentioned correlation between the pagan religions and the Devil of traditional religion does not support the argument of Chambers which sees the Devil as the first evident of secularization in Medieval drama. It only reveals how the Devil evolved in time. The Devil in the plays was the same Devil of traditional religion. In addition, It is much more convenient to relate the Devil to the sacred in contrast to the argument of Chambers since “If the cycle plays were going to dramatize the entire Bible from beginning to end, it is no surprise that Satan would be making quite a few appearances” (Matos, 2011: 38).

“Chambers’ thinking is marked by a strong polarity” (Hardison, 1966: 15). Chambers’ binary terms are not God and the Devil, instead, are pagan and Christian “followed closely by a series of supporting terms: braved, won, sportive, and deep-rooted instinct on the positive side, opposing bishops, barbarians, gaolers, ban, triumphed and barred on the side of the church” (Hardison, 1966: 15).

The oppositional system was not something that was created by Chambers; “rather, Chambers inherited it as a derivative from the very system he failed to recognize in the early drama he studied” (Cox, 2004: 8). The oppositional thinking did not vanish in the eighteenth century. What happened really was that binary thinking altered to a new system in which the terms differed from the ones from the previous system. In this new system; the favored terms were reason, progressive, secular, gradual, contemporary and the like, in opposition to religious, medieval, obscurantism, and conservatism. “We can see these two incommensurate binary systems in transition and in collision with one another in the eighteenth century” (Bostridge, 1997: 2). Knowledge which had no bound with the sacredness and based on reason and experiment; that is secular knowledge; came to oppose sacred ignorance.

Chambers could not understand the traditional binary thinking owing to the alteration of a previous mental world into a new set of binary presuppositions. David Bevington and Bernard Spivack were the first scholars that challenge Chambers' arguments concerning early English drama. The Notion of the hybrid morality is vital for Bevington and Spivack as a phase in the progressive development of dramatic characterization, from the personified abstractions to the characters in flesh.

The most important defence of Chambers' arguments is in the neo-Marxist criticism of Robert Weimann. Weimann argued that a remnant pagan folk tradition revealed themselves in clowns, Vices, stage devils, and the gargantuan feasts of shepherd plays in the mystery cycles and he sees these manifestations as various expressions of peasant resistance to high culture. He believes that they made the medieval audience to make identification and had sympathy with ostensibly anti-social behavior, blasphemy, and heterodoxy. "The soliloquies, knowing asides, and down – stage comic antics of demonic figures were all means of taking auditors into the confidence of an anti – establishment viewpoint, engaging them on its side and creating distance from the more formal, correct, and socially elevated characters of the main action" (Cox, 2004: 10). Weimann connotes that stage devils had a social function in the plays and its aim was to provide a subversive expression for class frustration and protest. The similarity between Chambers' argument and Weimann's can be felt. Pagels has a similar argument on the social function of the the Devil. The traditional Devil is thought to have a social function long before the plays. The Devil was meant to represent the soci-political tension found between Jews and the ones who left Judaism and became Jewish Christians.

Those who asked, "How could God's own angel become his enemy?" were thus asking, in effect, "How could one of us become one of them?" Stories of Satan and other fallen angels proliferated in these troubled times, especially within those radical groups that had turned against the rest of the Jewish community and, consequently, concluded that others had turned against them-or (as they put it) against God. (Pagels,1994: 49)

The Devil's additional function in the plays is that he is used to reveal the fallibility of man. From the timeline point, we met the Devil to now, the Devil and man shared a similar faith. According to St. Augustine, Satan was a good and happy angel who had foreknowledge of his future. The Devil's fall from the heaven creates the paradigm for the fall of man. The Devil could only find comfort and could avenge himself by tempting the creatures that God created in his own image. In a way his fall triggered the fall of God's favourite creatures; man. There exists a similarity between the fall of the Devil and the fall of man for St. Augustine since in both cases the fallen ones fell due to their own wills. The Devil desired to be God as Adam and Eve desired the divine knowledge which only God possess. As stated before, the defiance of Adam and Eve reflects the fall of the Devil, "they also foreshadow the coming of Jesus to correct what they have made wrong" (Matos, 2011: 46). It would be idle to suggest that the secularization was out of the issue in the case of early English drama. Not to fall into "the polarization and tendentiousness of Enlightenment and Romantic assumptions", as John D. Cox (2004) suggests in his work; "The Devil and the Sacred in English Drama"; conceptualizing secularization which obtain sense of traditional binary thinking should be made. Sommerville's argument concerning the secularization would be useful. To his argument, there are two types of culture in the realm of "sacred" and "secular". Sommerville (1992) describes the sacred culture as people whose religious rituals are so woven into the fabric of their life that they could not separate religion from the rest of their activities, and the secular culture as a society in which religion is a matter of conscious beliefs, important primarily for the times of one's most philosophical and poetic solitude.

Chambers saw the devil as the part of the secularization of the English drama due to the fact that he considered the secularization from the glasses of a secularized protestant, yet, he missed the point that the Devil and God are elements of the same realm which is "the supernatural realm". If we divide the world into two

realms as “profane” and “sacred”, the devil definitely fits the latter realm and the elements that profane realm consists are everyday beings.

“In English moralities the Devil plays an important part, and, as in their French originals or analogues, he is consistently hampering and opposing the moral purpose or lesson which the action of these compositions is designed to enforce” (Summers, 1926: 279). The Devil opposed the moral teachings the plays proposes. Consequently, the Devil’s presence in the plays made the moral lessons lucid with his oppositional character.

“An inversion of religion in sacrilege, desecration, or sorcery is not evidence of secularization, however bad-mannered” (Sommerville, 1992: 10). As Sommerville (1992) points out in medieval England, hostility toward some aspects of religion was often expressed in religious terms. The evidence of through-going secularization, on the other hand, is to be found in indifference, even though it might be respectful to the Church. To support the idea that the Devil belongs to the realm of the sacred, it can be stated that in pre-Reformation England, he was ubiquitous since medieval people associated with everything that was wrong. This idea was common in Medieval era because his opposition to God accounted for everything that was wrong, not merely in obvious moral or religious terms but in sickness, death, accidents, crop failure, and social conflict. Man tries to reject and defeat the Devil through his life. “In the traditional society that produced early religious drama, encounters with the devil were deeply involved in the ritual life of the community” (Cox, 2004: 13). To exemplify the encounters with the Devil, “baptism” and “ars moriendi” should be mentioned. The aim of Baptism is to save the newborn’s soul from the Devil; God’s opposite. The idea of original sin reveals that the newborns belong to the Devil; as to Christian belief; and baptism is a kind of exorcism.

The images of the Devil can be depicted in illustrations of the deathbed accompanied “ars moriendi”. “These prints portrayed the deathbed as the centre of an

epic struggle for the soul of the Christian, in which the Devil bent all his strength to turn the soul from Christ and His cross to self-loathing or self-reliance". (Duffy, 1992: 317). In these illustrations; opposing the Devil, the priest had a crucifix in his hand which symbolizes the victory of the Christ over the Devil on behalf of the human kind.

We observe that the oppositional concern with making a choice between God and Devil precedes prints or manuscripts. "It is no exaggeration to say that much of what we think of as characteristically late medieval was shaped by this concern" (Cox, 2004: 13). Medieval man spent his new wealth on gifts for churches and private chapels to demonstrate his piety and also to prepare for being loosely attached to earthly goods at deathbed and Dooms Day.

To demonstrate their generosity was impossible for the poor and indeed, they did not have to since a preacher made it clear that the poor were at less danger at the end of their life and the judgement day. It was because they had fewer earthly goods to attach themselves compared to the wealthy ones. In mystery cycles, interpretations of the same parable are widely common. The Devil demands the soul of men who had not repent for their eagerness to attach themselves to the earthly goods.

The examples of the encounter with the Devil can be extended. Pre-Reformation Christians were aware of the malevolent opposition of the Devil aside from the encounters with him at birth and deathbed. Everyone faced the Devil during the processions and cycles.

The important part of the liturgical year included Ascension, Whitsunday and Corpus Christi. A sequence of feast days from this part of the liturgical year was to honour the life, ascension and passion of the Christ which were effective in the

defeat of the Devil. The community honouring of the Christ corresponded to the time between the winter and summer solstices as Cox mentions in his work. It means that these honourings were performed when suffering from coldness and lack of food supply came to an end. E.K. Chambers took these coincidences as an evidence for relating the liturgical celebrations to pagan fertility rites. “It is more accurate to say that the real meaning of assimilated fertility rites and the community’s survival of the passing seasons’ hardships had long since become Christian” (Gradon, 1980: 199). The Christian feasts symbolize the victory of the Christ in his struggle against the Devil. For instance, there are numerous Christian feasts which could be seen as the counterpart to a pagan festivity. “Rogation” is an example for it. This feast was meant to promote fertility. These festives were not merely “heathen” or “spiritual”. “On the contrary, the meaning of material life was derived from Christian ritual” (Cox, 2004: 16). As Sommerville (2004) points out in sacred societies, the religion can not be taken separately. Every aspect of the material world is so closely knitted to the divine.

As one can see in St. Mary Magdalen’s, St. Agnes’s and St. Margaret’s legends; Oppositional thinking can be depicted in saints’ legends. In all saints legends, the Devil is the arch enemy, the main reason behind all harm and threat to the sacred world. The arguments that were put here meant to show that in the eyes of the medieval man, pre-Reformation Christianity Devil had a very distinct perception when compared to the one that Chambers revealed in his work. Devils are so common in liturgical drama and this is understandable since the liturgy and feast were meant to oppose the Devil and Devils’ being so common in the liturgical drama makes Chambers’ distinction between liturgical and vernacular drama indefensible where devils are concerned. The liturgical plays in which the Devil was present can be stated as “Ordo Dedicacionis Ecclesia”, “Ordo Paschalis”, “ordinarium”, “Ludus de Nativitate” and “Ludus de Passione”. In these plays devils are additions to the stories, yet, they are far from being the first signs of the secularization. The role of the Devil in these plays is to; by creating the opposition to Christ and God; clarify

biblical story. Stage devils are coherent with structural and thematic patterns of the plays' informing theology.

V. A. Kolve's argument on the stage devils focuses on the laughter effect. He considers the devils in their social place and reveals that the comedy effect put them at the last line of the cosmic hierarchy. "God is in control, the evil and the demonic behave stupidly because that is their nature, and the proper reaction to this example of the rightness of things is laughter" (Kolve, 1966: 140). Therefore it can be stated that as to Kolve; the Devil reinforces the power structure of the plays. Laughter element of the Devil is analysed in "The Comic Devil" chapter in detail.

It can be stated that the Devil on stage and the Devil of traditional religion are closely related, yet, the Devil should not be limited to the Devil of Christianity. In drama, pebebian was not the demonic threat. In spite of the Peasents' revolt, the playwrights continued to relate the upper class and royalty to the Devil and show them as the demonic threat and this social function shows a diversity when the stage devils were related to the peasants. John D. Cox sees this diversity as a result of competition between commercial companies and of changing patterns of dramatic authorship.

This development, however, is a product of increasing competition between commercial acting companies and of changing patterns of dramatic authorship. Ironically, the association of stage devils with the lower class, attributed by Chambers and others to repressive Christianity, actually came about only after plays had become secularized and traditional oppositional thinking made less impact on their dramaturgy. (Cox, 2004: 18)

2.3 The Devil and Judgement

Stage Devils' relation to death demonstrates similarity of Stage Devils to the Devil of traditional religion. The individual death's effect on community is vital for mystery plays. The struggle that a person had while dying should not be considered in individualistic level. It was more like accepting or denying the general public. In "The Creation and Fall of the Angels", Lucifer revolt against the God and his heavenly community in a similar manner.

To win the the battle against the Devil at the deathbed, Preliminary preparations constituted vital importance in medieval society. Besides having convenient spiritual attitude, one had to perform charitable deeds in his life time. By this way, people were able to show the care that they have for the others and also their response to the didactic parable of "the sheep and the goats".

The plays sustain several patterns of the Devil's power at the end of one's life. In the Devil's succession, we depict the establishment of the pattern which identifies the socially privileged's relation to the demonic power in "Creation and fall of Angels". However, deathbed suffering is also present for religious ones. It was present even for Mary in "Death of Virgin". Mary asks Jesus if she could not face the temptation at the deathbed and Jesus replies that she could not.

In the Chester play, Herod first kills the innocents and afterwards the Devil shows up to collect his soul and he drags Herod's body out of the stage. It demonstrates that the soul of Herod belongs to the kingdom that the Devil established in his revolt. In deed, there exists a similarity between the self-punishing act of Lucifer in "The Creation and Fall of the Angels" and Herod's deeds. Herod boasts about his being God-like and he tries to destroy a rival God just like Lucifer. Herod also represents a parody of God and his power.

Associating the death with fiends who were the servants of death is more obvious in the N-Town play compared to its counterpart, Chester. In this play, the death is represented as the one who is there to fulfill God's orders like in "Everyman". We depict that Herod is more boastful about his deeds in the N-Town play than in Chester and he feasts his comrades following the slaughter of the innocents. In his feasts, he does not care about others' needs and he lists the luxury of his table. Mors enters the scene in the middle of the feast and says: "Ow! I herde a page make preysyng of pride." The word page strongly contrasts with Herod's claims as "wurthely servyd at my degre" and Mors accusation of pride creates a resemblance with the revolt of Lucifer.

Last Judgment when the deeds of man will be counted is also related to death and the Devil would collect the souls which belong to him. In this paegent all of the cycles, we depict devils. "The criteria for belonging to the devil invariably involve ailure to practice the seven corporal acts of mercy, and all four cycles stage the parable of the sheep and the goats, with the Devil avidly claiming those who did not repent their willful commitment to luxurious living at the expense of others" (Cox, 2004: 27). Therefore, we observe at the end of each cycle that The Devil is in the kingdom which assigns community oppositionally by default and the Devil was used to show the failure of community. "In the Chester Judgement, this purpose is achieved by animating a conventional iconographical motif, the Dance of Death, whose origins lie in homiletic reflection on the transience of wealth and wordly success" (Duffy, 1992: 23-7). Social kinds are present in the plays hierarchically and they ask forgiveness for the deeds that violated charity and against the social cohesion. The confessions are about immorilitiy and social failure and "the thought of morality was endlessly harnessed by preachers and dramatists, not to call people away from social involvement but to promote virtue and sociability in this world" (Duffy, 1992: 33).

The devils in the plays try to ensure that their claim to the damned is honored. They collect the souls that belong to them as to the norms which mean that they accept the justice of God not only against the damned humans but also against themselves. “When Demon Primus (later addressed as “Sathan”), claims his right to one who violated those principles, yet, the prime violator, ironically, is Satan himself, without whom there would be no kingdom of the damned” (Cox, 2004: 27). This part in the play supports the argument of Christianity and all other celestial religions that the Devil is the ruthless enemy of humanity. If the Devil had not existed, humanity would not part from the path of God. To hinder the Devil’s effect was the primary purpose of both liturgical processions and mystery plays.

The devils roles were shortened in York, however, the function of them as prosecutors demanding the souls of the ones who violated the community continues. In Towneley plays, the role of the devils was expanded in contrary to the York plays. In the York plays, the Devil has twelve lines while he has almost 400 in the Towneley plays. The enlargement of the role of the Devil is not in vain. It neither contradicts the play’s serious theology nor is a proof of secularization. It more likely makes a relation between the biblical narrative and the society of the auditors making it obvious that the plays show their story at both individual and collective level.

2.4 The Devil in “The Passion”

The mystery plays’ focus on the struggle against the devil at the deathbed is obvious in their focus on deceive, beating, abuse, and execution of the main character of the play; a landless peasant. The Devil’s role on the suffering of the Christ was out of question and this demonic temptation constitutes the temptation that all Christians wanted to be protected from. We depict that in all of the cycles, there were several pageants devoted to these events. The violence of the passion plays represents the Satan’s triumph over the God, in addition, it also stands for the paradox of the Satan’s defeat in his apparent triumph and “thus vindicate the

ultimate effectiveness of sacred redemptive power, for the events depicted in the passion were uniquely efficacious in warding off the devil” (Cox, 2004: 30). Furthermore, we come across the manifestations of the power of Christ such as common symbol of the cross, celebration of the five wounds, crown of thorns and the holy lance to defeat the power of the Devil.

N-Twon and York cycles present the Devil’s paradoxical self defeat in “Dream of Pilate’s wife” and both of the mentioned cycles use this part to reveal the existence of the weakness of the Devil even in his prime of hypocrisy and cunning. We see the Devil only once in the York “Dream of Pilate’s Wife” also in the York “Judgement”. In the former play, the devil functions as the trigger for the motivation of Pilate’s ambivalence towards Jesus. Realizing that Jesus is God’s son, the Devil tries to hinder the holy plan of salvation via convincing Pilate’s wife in her dream concerning the innocence of Jesus so she will make her husband quit the path of Jesus. The Devil’s plan works to a degree; Percula persuades her husband about Jesus’ being innocent, yet, the Devil’s plan fails due to Anna’s and Cayphas’ determinance on the death sentence of Jesus. Therefore it could be stated that the plan does not come true owing to the political reality. The Devil’s plan is defeated by the cunning that he introduced to the human community. Therefore, it is obvious that he prepared his defeat with his own hands.

In “Dream of Pilate’s wife”, we sense the feudal system explicitly. Pilates is a king and Anna and Cayphas represent clergy. The Devil calls Jesus as “gentelman” and the enemies of Jesus call him “warlock” constantly and these aspersions of Anna and Cayphas creates an irony in the play.

The consequence of their unwittingly interfere to the plan does not save Jesus from the suffering, however, it makes clear that redemptive power of Jesus and defeat of what opposes it is inevitable.

In the N-Town “Satan and Pilate’s Wife”, the Devil himself, ironically, becomes the main focus of the Devil’s struggle against Jesus compared to Pilate. We depict him as having a more prominent role as the personal enemy of God. Although abuse of power emerges from the theological roots, “N-Town play casts Satan’s action in the form of a contemporary political abuse of power as well, so that the politics, doctrine, and story are inseparable, as in the cycle’s first play” (Fry, 1951,: 527-70). There exists a similarity between the courtly strife and the hate Satan possesses towards Jesus. Satan seeks his vengeance on the dishonour that he had when Jesus challenged him in the temptation. Also we depict an irony when Satan reminds himself the weapons that he has prepared to use against Jesus because the weapons that he mentions, such as the cross, the nails and the spear, were and are the symbols of the redemption for the medieval and contemporary audience. Being warned by one of his demons, the Devil makes a change on his strategy. Rather than a direct assault, he decides on cunningness and courtly competition constitutes the base for his plan and his class identity is aristocratic.

What is common concerning the Devil’s social place in all of the cycles is that he is related to the social oppression instead of social resistance. The kingdom of the Devil and the human characters performing demonic suffering on themselves and on others are identified with people who have power and are socially empowered such as lawyers, merchants, royals, clergymen and rich peasants. “The satire in both cases is directed not at commoners themselves but at their failure of responsibility to their neighbours – a trait they share with many others, particularly their social superiors” (Cox, 2004: 27). The mentioned satire does not have secular and irrelevant features. It is merely about the power of God who is redemptive and opposed by sordid and denial of social expectation.

In the N-Town Passion Play I, we observe the same rejection yet this time it is enriched. The prologue of Demon relates this play with The Creation and Fall of the Angels and sets the principles of the following story and its concern to the

audience. In the first part, he defines the Devil's state of mind, his desires and his plan to defeat his enemy. In the second part, the Devil acts like a courtier and starts "advocating every kind of social arrogance associated with the newe faccyon" (Cox, 2004: 32). The Devil also derives attention to his outfit though it is the same outfit from the beginning. This change reveals Satan's embodiment with luxury and social oppression and his direct addressing and the way he dressed made the play story of the audience.

The Devil puts in order his titles in his speech and the resemblance between these titles and the titles of an arrogant tyrant is obvious. He calls himself "Prince of this Werld and gret Duke of Helle" and in both Satan's and tyrants' case, they embody sin of pride. We sense it both in his boast and in his costume. Satan reveals himself as the one who rebelled against God but was defeated in his attempt and now seeking his revenge. "His determined "sotylte", akin to his craft in *Pission Play II*, relates to N-Toen's pervasive contrast between "wyt" and "wysdam", and points again to the specific nature of courtly power- its direction, dissimulation, and treachery" (Rossiter, 1950: 72). We depict the same character of the Devil in his inspiration of treason of Judas in the following scenes. Satan calls him as "derlyng myn" and the offer of a kiss of Judas in response to the complaints about the community disciples of Jesus. The deeds of Judas both impair the community of disciples.

In his later lines, Satan describes the features and principles of his regime which demonstrates a great resemblance with principles of contemporary tyrannies and abusive regimes. In addition, this resemblance could be sensed in his titles, diabolic advices and his costume. Furthermore, principles of Satan's kingdom create a total contrast with Jesus' kingship. There are some other contrasts between the deeds of Jesus and the Devil. For instance, Jesus exorcised demons from Mary Magdalen and it creates a contrast with the Satan's influence on Judas. In addition, the lines of Mary which reveal gratitude contrast with the cunningness and

vengeance of Satan which results in the destruction of Jesus. “Jesus’ humility, his power to heal and give life, and his preservation of human beings from the fiend with his death – all principles of ritually defined community that Satan violates, both in his fall and in everything he does in opposition to Christ” (Cox, 2004: 34).

In “Passion Play I”, we do not notice the crucifixion which is the most vital deed that Jesus had done for humanity, it ends just before it. However the crucifixion is implied in the play by staging the last supper and this scene makes the play closer to the liturgical drama.

As historians have noted, commemorating the broken body of Christ was, paradoxically, the foundation of liturgical community, the establishment of the social body by whom and for whom the mystery plays were performed, sometimes and in some places actually on the Feast of Corpus Christi. (Gibson, Theatre of Devotion, p.20)

As stated before, the Devil acts and dresses as a courtier since envy and hatred are the common features of the royalty to violate the community, since the Devil is full of pride, and because the Devil envies Jesus. These are both social and moral insights besides being theological and their being common in all the cycles demonstrates their acceptance in the communities which they were performed for.

2.5 The Comic Devil

Medieval era was the time of austere asceticism. “It was the ground color of medieval thought and institutions.” (Kolve, 1966: 5) and Medieval man was supposed to act in his life considering the result of his deeds since the life he was in was shaped with the religious dogmas whose certainties were unquestioned. In this world of unquestionable dogmas, death and eternal damnation that comes with it

were the main concerns. In the morality play *Everyman*, Death was used as an instrument to show people how to live and value the mirth, joy and laughter which are embodied in the alegorical character, Fellowship. The Fellowship is the first deserter on *Everyman*'s journey. "Christianity told men that they must learn the lesson of *Everyman* before dying" (Kolve, 1966: 126) and this lesson was not to value them. As to this notion, laughter and the mirth that comes with it make a man forget his God and himself also. Therefore medieval man felt that he had to act according to these concerns. It has to be stated that there existed a negative perception of laughter among clergy, however, this negative attitude had its boundiries. "As we may split the medieval views of laughter into two, there happens to be 'rigorous' and 'realistic' views" (Diller, 2002:3). The clergy with rigorous view of laughter sees it as an unacceptable and heretic feature of human nature for it creates oblivion towards Christian musts and eternal damnation and it displays paralelism to a Christian principle which is "man must suffer in this world to escape eternal damnation. "This view finds frequent expression in the topos of the never laughing Christ" (Diller, 2002: 3).

In addition, it would be wrong to take this rigorous view as the politics of the church and seeing the inversion of the comic elements in the plays as an secular guarilla technique of the author against it since the harshest critics of the plays and the laughter in it were the lollards and as it is known they were against all politics of the Church. In addition, there are medieval writings which reveal that there were attitude dissimilarites on the laughter.

"*Dives et Pauper*" is perfect example as Kolve takes our attention. Its form is dialogue between a rich layman and a Merchant friar and friar conveys the way of how layman can lead a life as to God's orders. In this writing, we depict words such as "honest mirth" and "right to enjoy" which contradict with the general assume that Church; as an institution; had a hostile politics against laughter. The argument of this writing is clear. "Mirth" and "Gladness" are the features that God wishes from man.

The writer of this writing states that mirth is a necessity for body and soul of man. Therefore, the medieval plays and the mirth that they create are to please God. In addition, he sees the laughter and the mirth that comes with it as a divine gift; a figure of eternal damnation which is some sort of a cure for man to his longing for eternal rest and joy.

Also, against the argument which sees the agony and despair the bread for spirit, there were medieval writers who argued that man's soul was created for mirth and joy and he could sense these emotions on earth as well as in heaven. The dedicaiton to longing in despair is the paving way to madness and with the figure of eternal joy, man is able to get in the realm of escapism.

In Kolve's work, "The play called Corpus Christi", he mentions of an incident which includes St. Brice. St. Martin of Tours saw him laughing and asked him the reason of it. St. Brice told him that he was laughing at the devil during the mass since he saw the devil trying to make a record of the laughter of the women during mass and he accidentally hit his head to the wall and seeing that St. Brice bursted into laughter. "And whan seint Martin herde him hym, he knewe that seint Brice was a holy man" (Kolve, 1966: 42). Laughing at the Devil is shown here as the sign of holiness. The incidents and the writng that mentioned above are the examples of realistic view on the laughter.

We notice another rigourious view on the subject in the York Memorandum Book. It reveals that the laughter was prevented in the paegent plays. The masons in the York city wanted to cease playing since the plays conceive more laughter and joy than devotion. Also there was another complaint concerning the emergence of joy during the plays and it is again in the memorandum book. A preacher saw that the mob participated in gossip, drunkness and other hedonistic deeds besides participating in the plays. Therefore, the fathers of the York city made a decision and

separated the plays from the procession and the plays started to be stage in a different zone away from the procession.

The faculty of laughter is problematic in Medieval plays just due to these notions. As to many scholars who were and are the followers of E.K. Chambers, the comic elements in the plays were the first steps of secularization of the plays. Chambers took concern of eternal damnation as a starting point for his argument concerning the comic devil in the medieval plays. He sees the comic devil as an element of profanity and secularity since he relates comicality of the devil's scenes and their effects on the playgoers, which were laughing at sacrality, to the secularization process of the plays. His argument centers on the religious notion that laughter was profane in the eyes of the Church since with the mirth it conceives, it would trigger the heathen and pre-Christian feelings of man such as joy and hedonism and they strengthen this argument with the Bakhtinian "culture of laughter".

This argument also suggests that the audience was expected to laugh at the comic scenes in the plays rather than the necessity of the laughter of the character which emerges owing to the scene and it naturally creates the mockery of the sacred personages as A.P. Rossiter suggests. His argument reveals that "veneration in pre-Christian fertility rituals took the form of mirth or mockery, and that in this drama, too, the audience was invited to show disrespect for the things it ordinarily most revered" (Kolve, 1966: 135).

However the records of the era demonstrate vice versa. I believe that the laughter in the plays is not for mere laughter and mockery of the sacred on the contrary is just for the scene and it has also didactic feature. It was not included in the plays to make a sympathy among the playgoers towards the characters. More than the sympathy, the scenes have a tendency to urge audience to schandenfreude. Since the jokes or the scorning of the evil characters; including the Devil himself; do not conceive the necessity of the audiences' joining them spiritually. Therefore, it

can be stated that the emotional response to an action stays in the world play and game rather than a response to the entire world of the play. In addition, it should not be forgotten that the incidents that the playgoers were witnessing in the plays are much more real than they are to us. Therefore, we can not expect them to show the same response as we do to the comic scenes. Modern man is able to laugh at these scenes and also see them as mockery of the sacred since we live at the time of scientific skepticism.

The recent studies focus on the notion that the laughter of the market place was not the aim of the plays and the *schadenfreude*. “That criticism adopts Bakhtin’s Notion of Carnival, which does away with the boundary between audience sphere and play sphere” (Diller, 2002: 6). With the help of the terms such as folk laughter and market place which are the center points of Bakhtin’s argument “culture of laughter”, laughter is taken as an example for layity and non-clericality. Carnival was a Christian tradition which shows historical diversities. It was a kind of pageant and was popular with mostly catholic communities. It is also possible to see examples of carnivals in the Protestant countries but the prevalence of carnivals was too less with regard to the catholic countries. The main theme of the carnivals was ‘farewell to meat’. The medieval etymology of the word ‘carnival’ is ‘carne vale’ which stands for ‘goodbye meat’ in modern English. During the forty days fasting period; which is called ‘Lent’; the main objective was to abstain from consuming meat, wine and having intercourse. However, Carnivals; which took place on the eve of Lent; indicates vice versa features. People were expected to have appetite and sexual satisfaction and corporeality was the main theme.

Carnivals were rooted back to pagan rituals as other Christian rituals. There also existed rituals that were constituted directly by the Church to create alternatives to the paganistic rituals. The aim was to draw people to the new religion. Bakhtin define these rituals as ‘official holidays’. While the ‘official holidays’ were under the control of religious and political authority, carnivals were on the streets with no

authority to limit the actions of people. They were legalised in the 15th century and with this legislation, we observe an enhancement in the effect of the carnivals.

It is certain that rustic features of agricultural community formed the carnivals however in time they enhanced into the cities and became a part of the city event. Cities were the centres of chaos in contrary to the monotony of rustic life and this feature led to the confrontation of the oppositions. In addition, the nature of cities which depict more organizing features helped carnivals to gain strength in centralizing feature.

In time, the carnivals emerged as the official culture and in the major cities of Europe, the carnivals took place in three months of a year and as Burke states, “they took much more large space in a year considering the preparation and the adaptation period following the carnivals” (Burke, 1996: 204). As to Bakhtin (1996), we observe two completely different lives between these two periods and these lives include oppositions. Bakhtin states that medieval man lived a binary life. One of which was sober, pessimistic, hierarchical, dogmatic, full of piety, formal while the other life was full of lust, limitlessness, laughter, swearing to sanctity, sincere to everything.

In the European carnivals, discourses and literary genres found a chance to interact with one another. Thanks to them, the oppositions were revealed and despite their contrasts, they defined each other. All the existentials went out of their stereotyped roles. In this temporary time, with the help of costumes, masks and unusual behaviours, people became a part of the carnival. Therefore we can state that the carnival receive its meaning in the oppositions.

The terms carnivals and feasts are similar in meaning. To Bakhtin (1984), the centralisation effect of carnival helped it take the centre stage among other

feasts and celebrations. Bakhtin (1984) states that there was a clear distinction between official holidays and carnivals. The rustic celebrations have genetic bound with the ancient agricultural pagan rituals which consist comic elements within their bodies. These celebrations were about an event which repeats in cosmic cycle, biological and historical time, breaking points crisis in social or personal life. As to Bakhtin (1996) the carnivals were not a mere leisure time on the contrary people proved and defined their existence in the oppositions and this cannot be achieved without unwordly and ideological dimension.

The official holidays were prepared within the control and support of the church and the state. Folk festivals celebrate the fertility and the unity of the community while official holidays, the main objective was to celebrate and approve hierarchy, ethical and religious bans and norms. All hierarchical relations, ranks and norms in the community were put aside during the carnivals while official holidays existed to approve them. Therefore in the official holidays, people were expected to act as to their positions in the mob, while in the carnivals they acted as oppositions to their roles outside the realm of carnival. Acting as oppositions was not limited to behaviour or attitudes. People in the carnivals wore costumes which stress the opposition. By this way rebirth phenomenon came into existence in naive human relations.

It can be stated that inverting the hierarchy and norms is a kind of acknowledging them. Bakhtin (1984) accepts this notion however he adds that in carnivals people acknowledged a greater truth. This truth is the commune struggle against the nature and it is the supreme social consciousness. As to Bakhtin, the comic element in the carnivals protected people from potency and sacred. Carnivals developed as a descendant of ancient city festivals and transformed into a tool of people in their struggle against the hereafter. The term 'Carnavalesque' is the hierophany or the relation of carnivals in cultural elements.

In carnivals, there was no a certain stage and they were exhibitions which resembles to rituals and at the end of the carnivals there were no literary work that came into existence. As to Bakhtin the whole carnival period is a literary work. There were rules which were intrinsic to carnivals and feed on the collective thoughts which were alive since the ancient periods. However, they show differences according to the communities and the location.

The major festivals which depict carnivalesque features are Corpus Christi, feasts, Christmast, fairs, funerals, vandage and St. Valentin. The common carnivalesque features were present in each celebration. Hierarchy was postponed in each feast and by this way, king and fool, slave and master, child and father came side by side. Oppositions such as sacred and profane, supreme and down, important and unimportant, wise and dumb were used intentionally on the field of carnivals and with this, immunity between the oppositions emerged. Disrespect to sacred was typical. Religious figures were reversed and profanity was practiced on them. Sacred narratives were changed into parodies. The realm of carnival seems absurd and inconvenient from the perspective of the realm of the real world. Absurdity and inconvenience alleged on purpose for the reasons mentioned before.

There is no crystal clear proof to take the laughter in the plays as universal rather than taking them as the “anathematizing” variety preffered by the church.

Followers of Chambers; such as Gash; grounds the argument of laughter’s being universal on three basic notions. They think that a play may have a different effect on the audiance compared to the aimed purpose of the play. Second one is that the actors may not stick to the play and play a part which is against the play. And the third one is that the script writer who does not share the politics of the church may have put the play into an orthodox frame but does it with ambiguity that he places in the plays so that he can gain the approval of the audiance on the evil characters’ statements. At first glance, for the first two notions, we depict the plausibility

problem of these notions. Since we are living in a different world in terms of the attitude towards dogmas, we cannot have and estimate the feelings of the medieval playgoers and there is no evidence which supports these notions. The pre-mentioned incidents in York could be specified to support the arguments however the Memorandum book precedes York plays.

For the third Notion, we have to look at the Wakefield plays since it corresponds with it in a way that it depends on the author's effect on the play. This argument, self evidently, is in need of a cleric who is not merely the author but also the director of the plays. Therefore, Wakefield plays make a perfect example to be scrutinized since there are stage directions in the Wakefield manuscript and the plays in it are the most convenient ones for producibility. The stage directions in the Wakefield plays consist of very clear directions for the actors on how they should move and also their positionings during an act. We do not see this kind of directions in other cycles therefore it makes Wakefield plays unique and also it strengthens the argument of Gash since it combines the author and the stage director. However, again we face the insufficiency with the knowledge concerning the staging of the plays. In addition, Wakefield author was the only writer who used the word laughter and mirth in the plays and these words usually spoken by the evil characters which may seem to support the argument that the comic features represent the secular views to be imposed on the playgoers.

In four plays selected from the collection attributed to Wakefield author which are "The Creation", "The Deliverence of Souls", "The Harrowing of Hell", "The Fall of Man"; so-called comic scenes will be the focus point to disprove the argument.

2.5.1 The Comic Devil in “The Creation and The Fall of Angels”

In the opening scene of the play, God is sitting in his throne and his angels are standing next to him. He gives a speech about his power and might and following this speech, he reveals how he creates the universe, heaven and earth in detail. Cherubim starts his speech following God and after complements towards God, he continues with Lucifer:

Lord, thou art full mych of might,
That has maide lucifer so bright.
We love the[e], lord, bright ar we,
Bot none of us so bright as he.
He may well hight Lucifere,
For lufly light that he doth bere.
He is so lufly and so bright
It is grete joy to se that sight.
We lofe the[e], Lord, with all oure thoght,
That sich thyng can make of noight (Bevington, 1975: 261).

His praising statements for Lucifer lead to Lucifer’s pride to see himself equal to God. Following Cherubim’s speech, God steps out the scene leaving his throne. God must exit the stage, leaving his throne, in order for the Devil to sit on it. God’s leaving his throne; according to literal view; would be seen as God is absent, negligently by abandoning his throne, which could be conveyed as weakness, placing the Devil in a position where he has outsmarted God. By removing God from the scene, the playwright would have given audiences the opportunity to imagine the world without his rule and order.

Lucifer begins his monologue and he reveals himself as capable of rule and dwells on his brightness.

I am so fare and bright,
 Of me commys all this light,
 This gam and all this gle;
 Agas my grete myght
 May [no]thyng stand [ne] be.

.....

For I am lord of blis,
 Ouer all this warld,, I-wis,
 My myrth is most of all;
 The[r] form y will is this,
 Master ye shall me call.

.....

I am so semely, blode& bone,
 My sete shall be ther as was his. (Bevington, 1975: 261-2).

This is the first scene that we see the Devil as a character and contrary to the Chamberian notion which sees the Devil as a comic character whose purpose of existence is for mere laughter. Here we depict the Devil as a serious character which I think shows resemblance to the Devil of theology and his seriousness stays pretty much the same throughout the entire play. “The Devil is essentially a theological

mythological figure: he is the antithesis of divinity and sanctity, the fiend of hell, as a dramatic figure he has remained throughout almost unchanged” (Cushman, 1970:16). Lucifer’s arrogantly sitting on God’s throne and mimicing God in voice and action must have had a shocking effect on the playgoers. They must be terrified with his challenge against God.

Two of the four angels who are present in this scene are fascinated by Lucifer’s sight on the throne and urge him to stay so.

Angelus Malus 1	Thou art so fayre vnto my sight, Thou semys well to sytt on hight; So thinke me that thou doyse (Bevington, 1975: 262).
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Other two Angelus Malus try to dissuade Lucifer from his pride and other angels from considering Lucifer as worthy to be worshipped. Their efforts are in vain since Lucifer sees nothing but his might and he tries to fly upwards above God’s throne but with the other bad angels is thrust down to hell. They all shout and wail as they are driven downwards. Immediately after the fall the Devils emerge a howling from hell-mouth.

We see the devils in great despair and agony following their fall. In addition they start to blame Lucifer and takes Lucifer’s pride and vain as the reason for the situation that they are in:

Thou has us doyn a vile dispite, And brought thyself to sorow and sitt (Bevington, 1975: 263).
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In this scene, it is possible that the playgoers laugh at the wriggings the devils however it is clear that if they do so, the laughter stays at the schadenfreude level. The scene has also didactic purpose. It teaches man that if he is to follow the way of the Devil, they will suffer the same agonies with the the devils that have fallen with Lucifer. Afterwards their fall, we do not see or hear Lucifer until the Garden of Eden scene in which he turns into a snake named Satan. I believe his silence following his fall has also a deductive purpose. It demonstrates the audience that if they desert the sacred path and join the Devil, the Devil will be the first deserter at the first sign of damnation. In addition, we see the words mirth and joy in the speech of the fallen devils.

We were in myrth and Ioy enoghe

When lucifer to pride drogh (Bevington, 1975: 263).

And second Devil harnesses these words to give them a sacred meaning. The mirth and joy are heavenly emotions and since they are lost they are longing for them. It contradicts with the argument that laughter and joy belongs to profanity. Besides the same words are used in God's speeches which are mostly directed to Adam which supports my argument. After the Devils disappearance into hell-mouth, God creates Adam. He warns him that if he be wise, he will have mirth and joy in heaven.

Mirth and joy to have at will,

All thy liking to fulfill,

And dwell in paradise (Bevington, 1975: 264).

Also after Adam falls into sleeping, God says;

This I make thy winning playce,
 Full of mirth and of solace,
 And I seasse the[e] therin *A.g.e.*, p. 264

Which also show that mirth is a heavenly emotion. Afterwards God creates Eve from the rib of Adam and warns them not to eat from the tree of life if they do not want to lose this sacred solidarity. After the creation of Adam and Eve, they have a short dialogue.

Adam leaves the stage again to create the dramatic effect for the entrance of Lucifer who is now in a shape of a snake. Eve has to be alone to be fooled by Lucifer. This is the first scene that Lucifer appears after the fall of the angels and his appearance is a must since the play is incomplete in the last scene.

As he has witnessed the creation of man and sees the interaction between Adam and Eve, he says, “God has maide man with his hend, to have that blis withoutten end, the neyn ordre to fulfill that after us left-sich is His will. And now art hay in paradise. Bot thens thay shall, if we be wise” (Bevington, 1975: 266). Bevington’s translation of this line is as follows “But Adam and Eve will soon be expelled from paradise, if we devils proceed craftily” (*A.g.e.*, p.266).

Many scholars argue that medieval drama was conceived by medieval playgoers on a basic level. The ability of modern audience to read and watch the plays in terms of parabolic connections was deprived with the medieval laity. R.W. Hanning’s arguments in “You Have Begun a Parlous Pleye”: The Nature and Limits of Dramatic Mimesis as a Theme in Four Middle English ‘Fall of Lucifer’ Cycle

Plays regarding dramatic mimesis in medieval drama can be applied specifically to the Wakefield's Creation, allowing one to understand the audience's interpretation of the dramatic action better. He brings clarity to many issues that we, as contemporary readers, might find problematic. Hanning begins with a discussion on the nature of drama, which he refers to as a "peculiar feature of the fallen universe" (Hanning, 1982: 147).

The playwrights of the plays were aware of their limits. Therefore, in the plays' construction, God's glory and superiority is inevitable. Therefore the Devils in this play are in the play not to break the divine hierarchy by challenging God but to sustain it.

In this cycle play, the Devil is comical rather than fearsome. His fate would have most likely been known. Audiences knew that you do not act against God, yet, they liked to see the Devil's failure and maybe that was the reason why the Devil was popular as a character. At the end of the play the Devil's last line creates a sense of curiosity. His last line is "if we devils proceed craftily." The Devil's last line reveals that the story is not over and he will be in the following plays. He will indeed return and the playgoers know that he will be successful in achieving his promise.

2.5.2 The Comic Devil in "The Deliverance of the Souls"

In this play we have Jesus, Adam, Eve, Symeon, John the Baptist, Moses, Ribald, Beelzebub, David, Isaiah and Satan as the characters. The opening scene is clearly after the resurrection of Jesus and starts with his speech in which he; after revealing the death of himself; mentions that he is on a quest to save the holy damned souls such as Adam and Eve who dwell in hell.

I dwellyd ther thyrty yeres and two,
 And somdele more, the sothe to say;
 In anger, pyne, and mekyll wo,
 I dyde on cros this day.
 Therfor till hell now Will I go,
 To chalange that is myne;
 Adam, eue, and other mo,
 Thay shall no longer dwell in pyne (Bevington, 1975: 595).

We cannot mention any deductive purpose of the scene, however, his speech sets the plot of the play and conducts the audience ready for the story. It must have excited the audience since they know that they are going to watch Jesus conquering the hell and save the damned souls.

Afterwards we see all the damned characters making their speeches in which they state they feel that the salvation is close. Following Moses, the first devil; Ribald; takes his turn to talk and he states:

Sen fyrst that hell was mayde / And I was put therin,
 Sich sorow neuer ere I had, / nor hard I sich a dyn;
 My hart begynnys to brade / my wytt waxys thyn,
 I drede we can not be glad / these saules mon fro vs twyn.
 How, belsabub! Bynde these boys, / sich harow was neuer hard in
 hell! (Bevington, 1975: 597).

With Jesus's approaching to hell, the devils start to loose their powers which is related to the hierarchical realm of the plays. Since Jesus is the true power holder, his approaching breaks the hierarchy in hell. Even in hell, the damned one can feel mirth and joy. And the devils were in a true shock and panic. Their deeds in panic could have create; if it did; laughter on the playgoers; however; again it must have stayed at the schadenfreude level. We cannot mention a symphaty towards the devils' panic and the agony that they will feel.

Their panic increases when Jesus arrives at the gate of hell. At first the devils could not recognize him and wonders what devil he is to call himself king over them all. His overthrow is comical and completely absurd. Bevington remarks: "Satan's followers are comic in much the same ludicrous vein as their master: they raise the alarm in noisy panic, shore up useless defenses against Christ's entry, and turn on one another in an orgy of mutual recriminations" (1975: 594). The terror quickly escalates, and several demons gather together to inform Satan of Christ's arrival. Satan threatens for disturbing him. Following Beelzebub's speech, Satan enters the stage and states;

The devils refuse to open the gate, as Christ exclaims, "Lift up your gates, youprinces, and be lifted up, you everlasting doors, and the king of glory will come in" (Bevington, 1975, p.598). The Devilrises from the pit of hell, and Christ tells him that he has come to claim the souls of those that belong to him, and that he has been sent by his Father.

The Devil answers, "Thy fader knew I well by sight," (Bevington, 1975: 602) while reasoning with Christ on the injustice of releasing those already damned. Once, The Devil realizes his argument is failing, he entreats Christ to take him out of hell as well. Jesus responds by saying that he will leave the following people in hell to keep him company: Cain, Judas, Achitophel (counselor to Absalom who joined him in rebellion against David), Cato, and others who had also destroyed themselves.

Jesus continues on by saying that those who do not follow the laws that he has set before them will end up in hell. This causes the Devil to rejoice, as he congratulates himself, for hell will soon be fuller than ever before.

The battle of wits between the Devil and Jesus in *The Delivarence of Souls* is legendary and despite the Devil's threats, Jesus ultimately wins the battle. The Devil's threats cannot be considered empty, though. He tells Jesus that he intends to walk east and west in order to seduce mankind away from obedience and righteousness. This threat resonates in the medieval mind for the Devil is always there waiting to trip up mankind. He lurks behind every corner, and although he may be comical and sin might appear fun for a season, it will catch up with you in the end and there will be hell to pay.

As the Devil's role in Christianity is ingrained into the medieval psyche through the Corpus Christi cycles, eventually his character is released from the restraints of pure biblical based narrative. As the reigns of creative freedom and interpretation shift into the hands of the medieval laity, the Devil transcends biblical history and enters into the realm of the individual's reality reshaping the view of temptation, sin, and evil into something much more relevant and personal.

The portrayal of the Devil is unique in *The Delivarence of Souls*. *The Delivarence of Souls* composes a vital part in Corpus Christi cycles. *The Delivarence of Souls* is no different and many scholars have found similarities between Jesus's descent into hell and other mythological heroes who have descended into the under world to save souls who have been trapped there.

In *The Delivarence of Souls* from the Wakefield Cycle, Christ stands outside of Hell and hears the patriarchs of the past prophetically proclaiming his soon-to-come entrance. Obviously, Jesus is the victor in this scenario and the Devil has been

defeated. His overthrow is comical and completely absurd. Bevington remarks: “Satan’s followers are comic in much the same ludicrous vein as their master: they raise the alarm in noisy panic, shore up useless defenses against Christ’s entry, and turn on one another in an orgy of mutual recriminations” (Bevington, 1975, p.594).

With Jesus’s forthcoming, Ribald warns Belzabub to work on the resistance:

Sen first that hell was mayde and I was put therein,
 Sich sorrow never ere I had, nor hard I sich a din!
 My hart beginnys to brade, my witt waxys thin;
 Idrede we cannot be glad—thise saules mon fro us twin!
 How, Belzabub! Binde thise boys! Sich harrow was never hard
 in hell (Bevington, 1975: 597).

The terror quickly escalates, and several demons gather together to inform Satan and Lucifer of Christ’s arrival. Satan threatens to beat out Belzabub’s brains for disturbing him. The devils refuse to open the gate, as Christ exclaims, “Lift up your gates, you princes, and be lifted up, you everlasting doors, and the king of glory will come in” (Bevington, 1975: 598).

Ribald responds to Christ’s proclamation in the following lines, “Out harro, out! What devil is he that callys him king over us all?” (Bevington, 1975: 598). The Devil ascends from the pit of hell, and Christ tells him that he has come to claim the souls of those that belong to him, and that he has been sent by his Father. The Devil answers, “Thy fader knew I well by sight,” (Bevington, 1975: 602) while reasoning with Christ on the injustice of releasing those already damned. Once The Devil realizes his argument is failing, he entreats Christ to take him out of hell as well. Jesus responds by saying that he will leave the following people in hell to keep him company: Cain, Judas, Achitophel (counselor to Absalom who joined him in

rebellion against David), Cato, and others who had also destroyed themselves. Jesus continues on by saying that those who do not follow the laws that he has set before them will end up in hell. This causes the Devil to rejoice, as he congratulates himself, for hell will soon be fuller than ever before.

2.5.3 The Devil in The Fall of Man

York's *The Fall of Man*, which was produced as early as 1373, but was adapted constantly throughout its performance life. According to Bevington, "The ultimate source for the story of Adam's and Eve's temptation is, of course the Book of Genesis. Yet the presence of Satan within the wily serpent can only be inferred from that biblical account. Satan's role is based on an exegetical tradition of the Church Fathers" (Bevington, 1975:267).

The Devil's and his demons' fall creates a premise for the following events. Bevington states that Satan's fall would prepare the fall of man from heaven: "Satan, having been cast out of heaven for his presumption, resolves to avenge himself by tempting into disobedience those earthly creatures whom God has created in his own image" (Bevington, 1975: 267). The York manuscript of *The Fall of Man* is based on the Genesis narrative, and similarly to Hildegard's tempter Devil, the Devil gives a little push to Eve into the first sin.

The Devil enters the garden in the form of the serpent and promises Eve that if they eat the forbidden fruit, they will have knowledge and be like god. His crafty manipulation is highly effective.

The Devil, tells Eve that she has also right to have the divine knowledge and that God has fooled her about it. Here the disobedience of the Devil and Eve have a resemblance. The Devil's arrogance and audacity make him to see himself as the ruling god in heaven, just the disobedience of Adam and Eve.

Foreshadowing is a key detail about the Corpus Christi Cycle. The plays are rich in allegorical content, symbolism, and foreshadowing that will unfold and resurface in plays that come later in the cycle. "*The Fall of Man*" foreshadows many major themes found in the plays. Adam and Eve's incompiancy, which reveals the fall of Satan, also foreshadows the arrival of Christ as a savior. Christ's resistance of Satan's temptation and his death on the cross can be seen symbolically in the staging of action around the "tree of knowledge." Bevington observes, "Iconographical tradition sometimes represented the tree in such a way as to suggest the cross of the Crucifixion" (1975: 267).

In the following passage the Devil actually reveals that he is jealous of God's plan to take on the form of man, foreshadowing God's plan for redemption through Jesus. Bevington summarizes Satan's lines 1-11:

My spirit is in turmoil because of woe! What particularly disturbs my mind is that I saw the Godhead so clearly, and perceived that he would take upon him the nature of one of the orders he had created; and I thought it impossible he would accept any being other than that of the angels. Since we were so fair and bright, I supposed he would have taken our nature, and [I, meaning Satan] was angry (that he did not). (Bevington, 1975: 268)

This passage from *The Fall of Man* reveals the Devil's annoyance on the coming of Christ and shows the psychology of the fallen angels, which foreshadows *The Passion Play* from N-Town and Wakefield's *The Delivarence of Souls*.

Conclusion

For years, Chambers's notion that the Church was against all the dramatic forms and the Devil was the most explicit sign of the secularization of the plays has been followed by many medieval scholars. It can be stated that Darwinism affected his argument since it was the dominant movement in his life-time and Christianity was the villain with all its aspects.

The earlier he found a proof for the secularization the more powerful his argument would be. Therefore, the stage devils have to be the last remnants of pagan religions. However, the situation in the Devil's case is vice versa. He is the last remnant of sacred not profane. The stage devils and the Devil of Christianity are the same personas. It is accurate that the costuming of the Devil has features from the pagan religion. He is depicted like a pagan god, though being in a human form, with animalistic features such as goatee and pointy ears yet he also has the same features in medieval stories as well. Therefore the resemblance of the Devil with the pagan gods was not merely in the drama. Pagan religions and the Devil are both the enemies of Christianity. The Devil was a real persona for medieval mind and his identification with paganism does not mean that he was a part of profanity but sacred realm. Therefore his costuming is the expected result.

Also, the oppositions in the plays support the argument of this thesis. Chambers states that there exists oppositions in the plays and the opposition is between the sacred and profane. However, he missed that the opposition is about the sacred realm. It is about two opposites, God and the Devil. Because of his misevaluation "He therefore understood occasional moments of social satire in mystery plays, often voiced through devils, as evidence of secularity and evolutionary progress" (Cox, 2004: 19).

The comicality of the Devil in the plays is another argument used by Chambers to prove the Devil's being a profane element in the plays. He sees the comic scenes in the plays as an insult to the clergy and Christianity. However "mirth" and "joy" which are the results of laughter to the comic deeds of the Devil belong to the sacred and can only be described with the term "Schadenfreude" which is basically the feeling of "mirth" and "joy" from the predicament of the wicked. In the last section of this study, the laughter in the Devil's scene is explored step by step.

Chambers and his followers were also wrong about the Church's policy towards drama. As to him, there was a process of transition from liturgical drama to vernacular drama. However, the last findings of the REED Project revealed that both of the drama types existed together and Church, despite some complaints, supported these dramas by accepting them into their Church yards. Also the Church was used as theatrical stages for both vernacular and liturgical dramas. The Church even used drama as a tool for spreading Christianity.

With all these findings, it is obvious that the stage devils belong to the sacred realm and are the same with the traditional devil and there was not a complete rejection coming from the Church to Medieval drama.

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