

VII *Danielis ludus* *The Play of Daniel, from Beauvais*

Style, meaning and structure

The most vivacious and many-sided of the surviving Latin plays on an Old Testament theme, the Beauvais *Play of Daniel*, is not confined to its Old Testament theme. Like the Freising *Play of the Star* (II), this play forms part of the joyous celebrations of a cathedral school between Christmas and Twelfth Night, and was presented in the context of a Feast of Fools. The theme of Christmas here suffuses the Old Testament narrative. Daniel is the Daniel of the Bible story, the sage who serves but also stands up to the monarchs Belshazzar and Darius; yet he is equally the prophet of Christ and the *figura* of Christ. It is especially by adding the dimension of *figura* that this playwright enriches and surpasses the work of his predecessor, Hilarius of Orléans, who had composed an impressive 'Story of Daniel for Performance' (*Historia de Daniel representanda*) perhaps only a decade earlier.¹ Just as, in the Freising *Play of the Star*, the boys who sing at the close belong both to Herod's court in the past and to the Feast of Fools celebration – of the true King – in the present (see above, p. 29), so here the scholars of Beauvais belong fictively to the Babylonian realm, in which they function as actors and chorus, but they too belong to a present, in which they recall that Old Testament realm and the New which it prefigured, and bring both into a realm of play, in the heady festivities of their Christmas season.

The brief prologue (1–2) may have been sung by a precentor, and thus have been set off against the first choral piece, which follows. The 'inventors' of the play, it tells, are 'the young', *inventus* – a term whose

¹ The plays are edited together in Baist 1989 and v II 276–306. It is possible that both pieces were written collaboratively; that of Hilarius, preserved among his collected *Verba et ludi*, has in the margins not only his own name but the names Jordanus, Simon and Hugo; the prologue of the Beauvais play alludes (2) to a collective effort by the *inventus* of the cathedral school. Yet it would be hard to doubt that one exceptionally eloquent and imaginative writer was the controlling intelligence behind the Beauvais text, and in what follows I shall speak of 'the dramatist', rather than of 'the Beauvais drama committee'. That this dramatist included some verses composed by colleagues is at least possible; that he worked in close conjunction with one or more composers, a director, and the actor-singers seems highly probable.

extension could vary, but in the twelfth century tended to begin at 21 and not end before 50. The play is presented as a tribute to Christ: by giving us a Daniel who is *figura Christi*, the playwright makes this true in a more than formal sense.

The Beauvais play, like that of Orléans, is in two parts, which correspond to the biblical demarcation of the narrative. The prophet's encounter with Nebuchadnezzar (Daniel 1–4) is recalled only by allusions; it is principally his dealings with Belshazzar (Daniel 5), and then with Belshazzar's conqueror Darius (Daniel 6), that shape the two 'acts' of the drama. Like his predecessor Hilarius, this dramatist uses a series of choral lyrics as acclamations and processional songs (*conductus*) to accompany the entrances and exits of the protagonists, thus lending ceremonious princely splendour to his scenes. Here the first of these lyrics is the sequence (*prosa*: see p. 116 below) sung by Belshazzar's nobles at his entry (3–20). These nobles, or satraps, of the Babylonian court are deliberately revealed also as scholars – men and boys – of Beauvais. They sing their strophes (in alternating half-choirs) from a vantage from which they already know all that happens: as they celebrate Daniel's victorious emergence from his various tests, they recall in detail the story that is about to be unfolded. The past/present tension which underlines this chorus results in one anomaly: as nobles acclaiming Belshazzar, the singers cannot yet 'know' of their King's murder by Darius; so the instigator of the lions' den ordeal (15 ff.) is left obscure: to one unfamiliar with the story, it would indeed sound as though Belshazzar, not Darius, was the culprit.

The satraps conclude with the acclamation 'King, live for ever!' (21), that runs as a refrain through both the biblical narrative and the play. A second sequence of lyrical acclamation follows, with the fetching of the Jewish Temple vessels, recalling the victory of the King's father, Nebuchadnezzar, over the Jews (26–45). This song, by contrasting Jerusalem and Babylon – the divinely chosen city and the profane one – in the way familiar from Augustine's *City of God*, brings out the blasphemy implicit in the use of these sacred vessels for revelling, and prepares for the nemesis (46/7), the mysterious hand's writing on the wall. (Sadly, there is no contemporary documentation of how this effect was staged.)

The summoning of the diverse mages, and their failure to interpret the words (47–54), closely follow the biblical narrative (5, 7–8). But the *conductus* acclaiming the Queen at her entry (55–67) is freely invented.²

² The 'dress of cloth of gold' that the Queen wears (58) will, like the Temple vessels, have been borrowed for the performance from the Beauvais cathedral treasure – just as Geoffrey of St Albans borrowed rich vestments from the abbey for his 'play of St Catherine' (see above, p. xix).

The Babylonian nobles again become momentarily a chorus in the present. The transformation occurs within the song itself: after heralding the Queen's arrival (55-8), which is happening at that moment, they tell what has not yet happened but lies in the imminent future – the calling of Daniel and his grim reading of the inscription (59-60). Then swiftly the singers step back into their rôle as jubilant Babylonian courtiers (61-2).

The Queen's advice to send for Daniel (66-73) is followed by a bilingual scene (75-95) between the satraps and the prophet. The precise connotation of the vernacular snatches (which have no counterpart in the earlier Daniel play) is not easy to gauge. Here Latin and vernacular diction interpenetrate more fully than they do for instance in the *Sponsus* (1) or the *Passion Play* (ix): here, that is, we have passages of truly macaronic verse. The content does not suggest a comic effect: rather, perhaps, the bridging of the high, Latinate world of the court and the everyday, colloquial world outside it, from which Daniel is fetched. That everyday world, unlike the palace, is lowly, and three times Daniel calls himself 'poor and exiled' (88, 92, 96). Where in the Bible he had already been highly honoured by Belshazzar's father, who had made him principal court sage (Daniel 5, 11), the dramatist ignores this and shapes the scene more as in a *Märchen*: the stranger who has nothing and who comes to the court is not only the wisest but the handsomest and noblest man there (89-90).

Daniel's speech to the King (104-18) – explaining the cause of the downfall and dementia of his father, Nebuchadnezzar, warning the King himself of the same hubris with regard to the vessels, and at last interpreting the writing as Belshazzar's impending doom – is essentially biblical. What is new and unexpected is Belshazzar's repentance and decision to restore the vessels to the Jews (or to Daniel as their spokesman), and the two *conductus* that lead to carrying this out. The first (122-35) is the processional song accompanying the Queen's departure. Hilarius, too, had given the Queen a second *conductus*, couching both songs in the effusive *courtisic* typical of his panegyric poems to young noblewomen and nuns:³ she is 'the glory of all women ... the only one that has no flaw!'; 'giving solace, you surpass all ranks of women ... such beauty, modesty and wisdom scarcely exist elsewhere'. The Beauvais dramatist wanted something more specific; for him this Queen fulfils Solomon's evocation of the brave and virtuous woman (Proverbs 31, 10-11). And from Solomon, who like Daniel is *figura*

Christi, the chorus moves back into the joyful present, the Christmastide of the 'true Solomon', to echo this praise of the Queen: the last verse of the *conductus* (135) may even contain an allusion to the physical mode of this echo, inviting 'those from afar' – perhaps a small choir set in a gallery in another part of the cathedral – to harmonise their melody.

At once (136 ff.) the young scholars of Beauvais slip back into their rôle as satraps, returning the vessels, the booty of long ago. Yet what they sing is an acclaim of Daniel that by its wording again shows how they reach beyond their part at this particular moment. They praise Daniel not only for deciphering the writing, but also for his deliverance of the wronged Susannah – an episode that will occur only near the close of the biblical narrative. As is fully revealed in Daniel's last *conductus* (194-206), in his saving of Susannah (cf. Daniel 13) and his destroying of the dragon (cf. Daniel 14),⁴ this prophet of Christ also foreshadows Christ, as saviour and as harrower of hell.

The second part of the play begins with the acclamation of King Darius advancing upon Babylon (153-68). The *conductus* mentions dancing (156, 165), the playing of drums or tambourines (167), the *cythariste* touching their stringed instruments, and the *organa* (perhaps portable organs, though possibly a more general word for harmonies) of other musicians (168). These are precious performance indications, which should clearly not be thought of as confined to this one *conductus* in the play. If the staging of the play in Beauvais at all matched the sophistication of its language, we can assume, for instance, that there was some riotous instrumental festive music, and a mimed feast, before the writing appeared on Belshazzar's wall (46/7), just as the instruments summoned to herald Darius in 167-9, at the close of his processional, will have continued to play during the mimed killing of Belshazzar and Darius' ascent of the Babylonian throne (169/70).

Once more Daniel is summoned to a King. The Bible simply tells (6, 2-4) that, after being one of Darius' three chief satraps, Daniel was given supreme command, and that this roused the other satraps to plot against him. Here this is elaborated with much by-play (170-210). Two men first secretly persuade Darius to have Daniel at court (170/1), then they do not send for him themselves, but instruct legates to seek him out (171-80). This time the embassy into the lower, non-royal world retains its pomp: the legates sing only in Latin (181-92). When Daniel answers them laconically in French (193) – his last vernacular words in

⁴ In the Latin Bible, both *Vetus Latina* and *Vulgate*, these stories form part of the Book of Daniel; they are not (as in the Authorised Version) separated and reckoned with the Apocrypha.

³ Cf. Bult 1989, nos. II, III, IV, V.

the play – it is as if to show that, with all his fame, he has retained his candid simplicity – his native way of speaking.

As they bring Daniel to Darius, these legates by their song (194–206) re-enter the Christmas celebrations of the present, or better, they blithely conflate past and present in the play's most ambitious omnitemporal vision. The biblical text which made Daniel appear a prophet of Christ was an obscure passage (9, 24–6) about the destruction of Jerusalem, which in the *Vetus Latina* said that 'anointing will be destroyed' (*exterminabitur unctio*) when the 'holy one of holy ones' (*sanctus sanctorum* – cf. 273 in our play) will be anointed. It was these phrases which, adapted in the fifth-century polemical sermon of pseudo-Augustine 'Against Jews, Pagans and Arians' (cf. v 1125 ff.), made their way from the eleventh century into versions of the 'Play of the Prophets' (*Ordo prophetarum*). Thus as the scholars – *alias* courtiers – exult in the Christmas festivities, they see Daniel as having proclaimed not only Christ but a new covenant, which supplants the *unctio* and sacral power of Judaism (196–200). From this they pass to the exploits by which Daniel prefigured Christ (201–5) – as saviour of the oppressed (Susannah), as slayer of the dragon, and as himself miraculously delivered from death. The parallels, which here remain implicit, began to be developed already in the oldest Christian commentary on Daniel, that of Hippolytus of Rome († 235).⁵

The intrigue of the envious courtiers must, as the rubric (210/1) suggests, begin with a mime of their plotting. Their mode of trapping the King into giving Daniel to the lions is as in the Bible, but with a change of emphasis: where the sacred text tells of a decree that for thirty days no one should 'address any petition to any God or man' other than Darius (Daniel 6,7), here the courtiers tempt Darius with the prospect of total idolatry (217): 'you shall be adored as God of all, oh King!' (*adoreris ut deum omnium, o Rex!*). Darius approves this proposed decree with a high-flown phrase – *Ego nando et remando* – that echoes Isaiah's caricature of false prophets (Isaiah 28, 10 and 13); yet his speech ends with an outright comic effect, as Darius utters the last vernacular expression in the play: *O hezl!* (225). In sound this echoes the courtiers' ostensibly reverent *o Rex!* (217, 223) of the preceding strophes, but in fact it is the exclamation used to urge animals forward. It is a 'low' usage (not unlike the 'gee-up!' shouted by children), and it was inserted for added mirth in various versions of the 'Prose of the Ass' (cf. v 1551), to drive the ass through the church during Feast of Fools ceremonies,

⁵ Hippolyte de Rome. *Commentaire sur Daniel* (Sources Chrétiennes 14, Paris 1947).

Darius' French exclamation thus provided a moment of farce. Perhaps its specific point lay in the linguistic contrast: the monarch from Persia, related at the prospect of being 'adored as God of all' in his freshly won kingdom Babylon, decides momentarily to condescend to his new court by addressing it in its vernacular – but gets his 'Babylonian' badly wrong. (Further stage-business involving a pantomime-ass at this point cannot be excluded, but the rubrics give no indications.)

The dénouement of the plot is fully biblical: the envious courtiers catch Daniel praying to his God and insist against 'the King, wanting to set Daniel free' (232/3), that his own ratified decree cannot be waived. What is freshly created is the *planctus*, free-ranging in its verse-form and melody (238–45), in which Daniel laments his fate and appeals, almost without hope, to the King's mercy.

At this point in the plot both Hilarius of Orléans and the Beauvais dramatist chose to enrich the pit scene with the help of the doublet of this scene near the close of the Book of Daniel (14), where a later monarch, Cyrus, condemns Daniel for a second time to the lion-pit. It is only there that an angel arranges the air-lift of Habakkuk from Judaea to Babylon, to help Daniel with food, gripping the reluctant older prophet by his hair during the voyage. It must have been feasible to present the illusion of their flight, in a larger cathedral, by means of pulleys and cables worked from the upper galleries. In both plays – unlike either of the biblical episodes – two angels are required: one to threaten the lions in the pit (247/8), a second (*alius angelus*, 251/2) to cope with Habakkuk.

The meeting of the two prophets (256–61), and Habakkuk's return flight, are based closely on the Cyrus episode (14, 36–8). It is only then that the two dramatists return to the Darius story proper. Young argued (II 288, 301–2) that the Beauvais playwright's characterisation of Darius was 'quite the opposite of the irate personage invented by Hilarius', whose consoling of Daniel in the pit was merely 'ironical'. It seems to me likelier that the King in Hilarius' play was annoyed (*iratus*) because of the slanderers who had ensnared him, and that both playwrights took their cues about Darius' character from the biblical text. There he is 'very much saddened' (*satis contristatus*) that he cannot save Daniel (6, 14), he is unable to eat or sleep (6, 18) while the prophet is in the pit, and he visits Daniel at earliest dawn, addressing him 'with tearful voice' (*voce lacrimabili*, 6, 19 – cf. *lacrimabiliter* at 261/2 in the Beauvais play). A certain humane freedom vis-à-vis the biblical text can be seen rather in an omission that is common to both dramatists: the slanderers themselves are at last thrown to the lions, but not, as in the

Bible (6, 24), their children or their wives. One touching addition is the Beauvais dramatist's own: as the slanderers go to their death, they are stripped and left at the pit-edge, where, before dying, they admit their guilt and repent (268-70). The lions who devour them (270/1) will have been actors in lion-costumes. They may have had the 'fearsome-comic' aspect of the demons at the close of the *Sponsus* (see above, p. 9) – though quite possibly, as with Pyramus and Thisbe's lion in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the comic element predominated.

In both the Orléans and the Beauvais play the delivered Daniel takes on his prophetic mantle. In his prophecy Daniel's God, whom Darius now acknowledges and proclaims (271-2), is no longer the God of Judaism but the Messiah, 'the holy one who is coming' (273). The prophecy is instantly fulfilled: in both plays an angel sings a strophe (from a renowned older lyric, by Fulbert of Chartres) announcing that Christ is born in Bethlehem. Darius and his court respond by singing the *Te deum*.⁶

In Hilarius' piece, nothing in the earlier parts of the play had prepared for such a close: the Beauvais dramatist's achievement was to endow his theme with figural perspectives from start to finish. The close of his piece thus becomes the resolution of all its past/present tensions: the cruel world of the Persian monarch and his lions finally reveals itself as play, the envious courtiers dissolve for the last time into scholars who bask in the joy of all that Daniel's ordeals and triumphs had prefigured. These scholars who span past and present, who are and are not the kings and nobles of Babylon, are the Beauvais dramatist's most imaginative invention.

Versification

The Beauvais dramatist likewise shows great formal inventiveness. He outdoes Hilarius in rhythmic and metrical variety, and in matching verses with music in unusual ways. This has been discussed in great detail by Avalle (1984, 1987), but at least some brief indications – drawing to some extent on his analyses – may be helpful here.

The first two of the play's eight acclamations⁷ and processions (3-20, 26-45) are entitled *prosa* ('sequence') in their rubrics. The structure of the first might seem to be purely strophic, and indeed the melody varies little from one strophe to the next. These strophes, however – each consisting of five 5p lines (the rhythmic equivalent of

classical 'adonics') – are structured and differentiated by their rhyme-scheme. Thus 1a-b (3-6) rhyme aabb; 2a-b (7-10) rhyme *a*a; 3a-b (11-14) rhyme **a*a. So far so good. More problematic is the scheme of the last three strophes: though 4a (15-16) has weak rhymes (aabb), I would see its counterpart (4b) in 19-20, where the rhymes (again aabb) are strong. Lines 17-18, rhyming *a*a,¹ repeat the scheme of 2a-b: such irregular repetition of an earlier strophe is typical of the variant of sequence known as *lai lyrique*, but rare among classical sequences.

I print the second *prosa* (26-45) as ten couplets, varying between two forms: 1 - 2 x 8p + 6p; II - 7pp + 6p, 8p + 6p. While the alternations give the rhythmic structure:

I I II I II II I I I

there are five melodies, and the melodic structure is:

AAB CB B DEB C

The poetic-musical form, that is, while not shunning repetition, moves far from the systematic parallelism of classical sequences (AA BB CC ...) to the freer patterns sanctioned in *lais lyriques*.

The first *conductus*, for the advent of the Queen (55-67), consists of eight verses of the form 4p + 4p + 7pp. These could also be printed as four couplets; Avalle, however, has signalled the subtle counterpoint between the verses, with their internal rhymes (aab, ccb, dde, ffe ...), and the melody, in which each 7pp element returns to the same music, giving the whole the musical structure of a fourfold ABCB (where A and C correspond to the pairs of 4p components, and the unvarying B to the 7pp ones).

Of the two *conductus* for Daniel, one (85-96) has four strophes with the relatively simple form 2 x 7pp + 7pp (with internal rhymes), and the refrain 8p, 6pp + 6. More unusual formally is the other (136-52), with alternation between three- and four-line strophes of 4p + 4p lines, followed by a refrain 4p, 7pp + 4p. But the most freely built lyric is the acclamation of Darius (153-69): a pair of strophes 6pp + 7pp, 7pp (153-6) is followed (157-66) by a series of rhythmic variations on 5p, 6p, 6pp and 7pp elements, and at last (167-9) by a strophe (twice 4p + 4p + 7pp, then 4 + 6pp) in the form of the late-antique hymn on the day of judgement, *Apparebit repentina* (see above, p. 10). Another unusually built piece is Daniel's *planctus* (238-45): it can be seen as two widely divergent strophes:

2 x 6p + 5p, 9p (238-41); 2 x 7p, 8p (242-5).

¹ Counting only the strong rhymes, not the assonance *illos/malignos*; for a slightly different picture of the overall form, see Avalle 1987, p. 29.

⁶ Hilarius suggests the *Magnificat* as an alternative, if his play is performed at Vespers and not at Matins.

The principal remaining rhythmic patterns found in the play are:

1-2, 233: 8p + 8p	122-35: 3 + 7p
22-5: 10p	171-80: 6pp + 6pp
47-8, 50-2,	194-9,
208-10,	201-6,
230,	273-6: 8p + 7pp
252-5,	200: 3 x 7pp
267: 8pp + 8pp	224-5: 4p + 4p
64-73,	226-9,
81-4,	231-2,
120-1,	234-5: 4p + 4p + 7pp
181-92,	236-7,
212-23,	246-7: 5p + 5pp
256-8,	248-51: 2 x 8p, 8p + 4pp
260-1: 4p + 6pp	268,
75-80: 3 x 6p + 5, 6pp + 4	272: 7pp + 6pp
98-103: 11pp	

Finally, the dramatist uses classical hexameters at 262-3 and 265-6, and cites a classically built Sapphic strophe at 277-80.

Even so swift a summary will indicate that the polymetry in this play was a virtuoso feat. The architects of Beauvais cathedral, trying to build more daringly than their predecessors, overreached themselves; the dramatist, outdoing Hilarius and his predecessors in formal inventiveness, created a linguistic edifice that – unlike the cathedral – did not subside.

The manuscript, and the date of *Danielis ludus*

The codex which today bears the signature Egerton 2615 in the British Library was compiled in the scriptorium of Beauvais cathedral in the early thirteenth century.¹ It is generally agreed that the whole of the monodic part of this manuscript is a copy of an older exemplar, of c. 1160 (for the evidence, see esp. Art 1970, I 30).

The manuscript as we have it consists of three distinct parts. The first (fols. 1r-78r) contains the complete texts and monodic music of the liturgical ceremonies at Beauvais for the feast of the Circumcision, together with a range of polyphonic additions; the second (fols. 79r-94v) is devoted entirely to polyphony; the third (fols. 95r-110r),

which has the same copyist and monodic musical notator as the first, contains the *Daniel* play (fols. 95r-108r), and two gospels with musical notation, for the Easter mass and the feast of Peter and Paul (fols. 108r-110r). The first and third parts of the manuscript were copied in the 1220s or 1230s, and were probably intended (like their lost exemplar) for use by the master of music, particularly for the cathedral's New Year celebrations.

It is not possible to assign a precise date of composition to the *Daniel* play preserved in this manuscript. It seems to me certain that the Beauvais play is directly related to the *Daniel* composed by Abelard's pupil, Hilarius of Orléans.² The question of priority is more delicate, and has divided medieval Latin specialists. While Meyer and most recently the Bulst argued that the Beauvais play preceded that of Hilarius, in my view the correct judgement was reached by Young (v II 304):

It seems unlikely that if Hilarius had had the Beauvais version before him, he and his collaborators would have so generally renounced its superior dramatic and literary qualities.

I believe we can date Hilarius' play with reasonable accuracy to c. 1130. Hilarius is mentioned seventeen times in the cartulary of Le Ronceray at Angers from c. 1105 to 1122,³ and the recipients of his lyrical poetry, insofar as they can still be identified, are likewise documented within those years. His famous lyric 'To Peter Abelard' (VI in the Bulst edition) was composed, as the text reveals, at the oratory of the Paraclete while Abelard was teaching there – that is, in the years 1123-7.⁴ There is only one later reference to Hilarius, 'already an old man',⁵ after 1145. It is likely that by 1127, when Abelard's school at the Paraclete closed, Hilarius had returned to Orléans to teach, and that he composed his plays for the cathedral school there soon afterwards; stylistically there are too many affinities between Hilarius' poems and his plays for a late dating of the plays to be plausible. If we assume a date c. 1130 for Hilarius' *Daniel*, then the relations of its forms and style to those of the Beauvais play strongly suggest that this will have been composed within a decade or so of its predecessor – probably c. 1140.

² This was shown, I think conclusively, by Wilhelm Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana* (Göttingen 1901), p. 57. It has not to my knowledge been disputed until very recently. In Fassler 1992, pp. 86f. Fassler asserts: 'Surely Young and others are wrong in claiming that the two plays must be directly related.' She does not attempt to substantiate this assertion; it is not even clear from her wording ('and others') whether she is aware of the evidence that Meyer offered.

³ Bulst 1989, pp. 1-2.

⁴ D. E. Laiscombe, 'From Paris to the Paraclete', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 74 (1988) 247-83, at p. 261.

⁵ Bulst 1989, p. 15.

¹ Art 1970, I 21-37, gives an excellent account of the MS; the brief notes below are much indebted to his discussion.

95r **Incipit Danielis ludus**

Ad honorem tui, Christe, Danielis ludus iste
in Belvaco est inventus, et invenit hunc iuventus.

Dum venerit Rex Balthasar, principes sui cantabunt ante eum hanc prosam:

Astra tenenti, cunctipotenti,
turba virilis et puerilis contio plaudit,

5 Nam Danielem multa fidelem
et subisise atque tulisse firmiter audit.

Convocat ad se Rex sapientes,
grammata dextre qui sibi dicant enucleantes;

10 Que quia scribe non potuere
solvere Regi, illico multi contiguere.

95v Sed Dani/eli scripta legenti mox patuere
que prius illis clausa fuere;

Quem quia vidit Balthasar illis prevaluisset,
fertur in aula preposuisse.

15 Causa reperta, non satis apta,
destinat illum ore leonum dilacerandum;

Sed, deus, illos ante malignos
in Danielem tunc voluisti esse benignos.

20 Huic quoque panis, ne sit inanis,
mittitur a te, prepete vate prandia dante.

Tunc ascendat Rex in solium, et Satrape ei applaudentes dicant:

Rex, in eternum vive!

Et Rex apperiet os suum dicens:

L: London, BL Egerton 2615, fols. 95r-108r

A: D'A.S. Avallie, *Helikon* xxii-xxvii (1982-7) 5-20

B: W. Bulst, M.L. Bulst-Thiele, *Hilarii Aurelianiensis Versus et Ludi, Epistolae, Ludus Danielis Belouacensis* (Leiden 1989), pp. 99-114

13 prevaluisset Balthasar illis *is* (em. A, to preserve rhyme-scheme)

Here begins the play of Daniel

In your honour, Christ, this play of Daniel
was composed in Beauvais — it was the young who composed it.

*While King Belshazzar is making his entry, his nobles shall sing this
sequence in his presence:*

For him who rules the stars, all-powerful,
the crowd of men and throng of boys are
dancing with joy.

5 Because they hear that Daniel the loyal
has endured many trials and borne them
with steadfastness.

The King summons the wise men to him,
that they should tell him the explanation
of the writing by a
hand;

10 Because the doctors were unable to
solve this for the King, they at once, dumbly, lapsed into silence.

But to Daniel, as he read the writing,
there in advance was soon revealed,
what had been hidden

And as Belshazzar saw him surpassing those sages,
he is said to have given him preferment in court.

15 A pretext that's found, a far from just one,
destines Daniel to be torn apart in the lion's jaws;

Yet you, God, wanted those who'd been hostile
before to Daniel then to become benign.

20 To him also bread (lest he be hungry)
was sent by you, the swift-flying prophet
bringing him meals.

*Then the King shall mount the throne, and his satraps, acclaiming him, shall
say:*

King, live for ever!

And the King shall open his mouth saying:

96r Vos qui pa/retis meis vocibus,
 Afferte vasa meis usibus
 Que templo pater meus abstulit
 25 Iudeam graviter cum percult.

Satrape, vasa deferentes, cantabunt hanc prosam ad laudem Regis:

Iubilemus Regi nostro magno ac potenti!
 Resonemus laude digna voce competent!
 Resonet iocunda turba sollempnibus odis!
 Cytharizent, plaudant manus, mille sonent modis!

30 Pater eius destruens Iudeorum templa
 Magna fecit, et hic regnat eius per exempla.

96v Pater eius spoliavit regnum lu/deorum;
 Hic exaltat sua festa decore vasorum.

Hec sunt vasa regia quibus spoliatur
 35 Iherusalem et regalis Babylon ditatur.

Presentem Balthasar ista Regi nostro,
 Qui sic suos perornavit purpura et ostro.

Iste potens, iste fortis, iste gloriosus!
 Iste probus, curialis, decens et formosus.

40 Iubilemus Regi tanto vocibus canoris;
 Resonemus omnes una laudibus sonoris!

Ridens plaudit Babylon, Iherusalem plorat;
 97r Hec orbatur, hec triumphans Balthasar ad/orat.

Omnes ergo exultemus tante potestati,
 45 Offerentes Regis vasa sue maiestati.

Tunc principes dicant:

Ecce sunt ante faciem tuam!

Interim apparebit dextra in conspectu Regis scribens in pariete: Mane,
 Thechel, Phares. *Quam videns Rex stupefactus clamabit:*

Vocate mathematicos, Caldeos et ariolos,
 46r auspices inquire et magos introduce!

46/7 Techel B

You who obey my words,
 bring for my use the vessels
 which my father snatched from the Temple
 45 when grievously he beat Judaea down.

The satraps, bringing the vessels, shall sing this sequence in praise of the King:

Let us jubilate for our King, the great and mighty one!
 Let us proclaim the praise he merits, with harmonious voice!

Let the joyous crowd proclaim it in ceremonial songs!
 Let their lutes play it, their hands clap it, making it sound in a
 thousand ways!

30 His father, destroying the temples of the Jews,
 did great deeds, and the son reigns following his example.

His father despoiled the kingdom of the Jews;
 the son adds lustre to his feasts with the splendour of their vessels.

These are the royal vessels of which Jerusalem
 35 has been despoiled and regal Babylon enriched.

Let us present them to our King, Belshazzar,
 who has so greatly graced his men with purple and with scarlet.

He is mighty, he is brave, he is glorious!
 He is gallant, courtly, seemly and handsome too.

40 Let us jubilate for so great a King with tuneful voice –
 let us make music all together with resounding praise!

Babylon leaps laughing, Jerusalem weeps:
 she is bereft; the other, triumphant, pays Belshazzar homage.

Let us all exult then at such mighty power,
 45 offering the royal vessels to his majesty.

Then the nobles shall say:

Behold, they are before your eyes!

Meanwhile, in full view of the King, a hand shall appear writing on the wall:
 Mane, Thechel, Phares. *On seeing it the King, aghast, shall cry out:*

Call the astrologers, Chaldeans and diviners,
 seek out the haruspices, and bring in the magicians!

Tunc adducentur magi, qui dicent Regi:

Rex, in eternum vive! Adsumus ecce tibi.

Et Rex:

50 Qui scripturam hanc legerit et sensum aperuerit,
97v sub illius potentia subdetur Baby/lonia,
et insignitus purpura torque fruetur aurea.

Illi vero, nescientes persolvere, dicent Regi:

Nescimus persolvere nec dare consilium
que sit superscriptio, nec manus inditium.

Conductus Regine venientis ad Regem:

55 Cum doctorum et magorum omnis adsit contio,
secum volvit neque solvit que sit manus visio.
Ecce prudens, styrpe cluens, dives cum potentia,
in vestitu deaurato coniunx adest regia.
Hec latentem promet vatem per cuius indicium

98r Rex describi suum ibi no/verit exitium.

61 Letis ergo hec virago comitetur plausibus,
cordis, oris- que sonoris personetur vocibus!

Tunc Regina veniens adorabit Regem dicens:

Rex, in eternum vive!
Ut scribentis noscas ingenium,
65 Rex Balthasar, audi consilium.

Rex audiens hec versus Reginam vertet faciem suam. Et Regina dicat:

Cum Iudae captivis populis,
prophete doctum oraculis,
Danielem, a sua patria
captivavit patris victoria.

70 Hic, sub tuo vivens imperio,
ut mandetur requirit racio.
98v Ergo / manda ne sit dilatio,
nam docebit quod celat visio.

Tunc dicat Rex principibus suis:

Then these magus shall be brought on and shall say to the King:

King, live for ever! Look, we are here before you.

And the King:

50 Whoever shall read this writing and make its meaning plain,
Babylon shall be made subject to his power,
and he, robed in purple, shall enjoy a golden torque.

But they, not knowing the solution, shall say to the King:

We don't know how to solve this or how to give advice
on what the writing might be or what the hand might mean.

The processional song of the Queen coming to the King:

55 Though a whole throng of sages and mages is present here,
they have pondered but not resolved the vision of the hand.
Look how the wise one, of renowned race, rich and mighty,
wearing a robe of cloth of gold, the royal spouse draws near.
She will bring out a prophet from hiding, through whose
unfolding

60 the King will know that his own death is written there.

So let this mighty Queen be accompanied by joyful dancing –
in the heart's and voice's vibrant music she shall be proclaimed!

Then the Queen as she enters shall pay the King homage, saying:

King, live for ever!
That you may know the writer's mind,
65 King Belshazzar, hear my advice.

Hearing this, the King shall turn to the Queen, and she shall say:

Among the captive people from Judaea
a man wise in oracles of prophecy,
Daniel, was taken away from his land,
a prisoner, by your father's victory.

70 He now lives under your authority –
reason demands that you should send for him.
Command it then – let there be no delay –
for he'll teach us what the vision conceals.

Then the King shall say to his nobles:

Vos Danielelem querite et inventum adducite.

Tunc principes invento Daniele dicant ei:

75 Vir propheta dei, Daniel, vien al Roi;
veni, desiderat parler a toi.
Pavet et turbatur – Daniel, vien al Roi –
vellet quod nos latet savoir par toi.
Te ditabit donis – Daniel, vien al Roi –
80 si scripta poterit savoir par toi.

Et Daniel eis:

Multum miror cuius consilio
me requirat regalis iussio.
99r Ibo tamen, et erit cogni/tum
per me gratis quod est absconditum.

Conductus Danielis venientis ad Regem:

<Principes>

85 Hic verus dei famulus, quem laudat omnis populus,
Cuius fama prudentie est nota regis curie.
Cestui manda li Rois par nos.

Daniel

Pauper et exulans en vois al Roi par vos.

Principes

In iuventutis gloria, plenus celesti gratia,
90 Satis excellit omnibus virtute, vita, moribus.
Cestui manda li Rois par nos.

Daniel

Pauper et exulans en vois al Roi par vos.

Principes

99v Hic est / cuius auxilio solvetur illa visio,
In qua scribente dextera mota sunt Regis viscera.
95 *Cestui manda li Rois par nos.*

Daniel

Pauper et exulans en vois al Roi par vos.

⁸⁵ <Principes>] om. 1B (suppl. A)
⁸⁸ (also 92, 96) enuois 1B

Go and search for Daniel, and when you've found him, bring him here.

Then the nobles, having found Daniel, shall say to him:

75 You who are God's prophet, Daniel, come to the King;
come, for he is longing to speak with you.
The King's afraid and troubled – Daniel, come to the King –
what's hidden from us he'd like to know through you.
With gifts he will enrich you – Daniel, come to the King –
80 if he can know the writing's meaning through you.

And Daniel to them:

I very much wonder at whose advice
the royal command is seeking me out.
Yet I shall go, and what is hidden
shall be revealed freely by me.

The processional song for Daniel as he comes to the King:

<Nobles>

85 This is God's true servant, whom each nation praises,
the fame of whose wisdom is known to the King's court.
The King has summoned this man through us.

Daniel

I, poor and exiled, am off to the King, through you.

Nobles

In the glory of his youth, full of heavenly grace,
90 he far surpasses everyone in excellence, life, refinement.
The King has summoned this man through us.

Daniel

I, poor and exiled, am off to the King, through you.

Nobles

He is the man with whose help that vision will be explained,
at which, as the hand was writing, the King's heart was moved.
95 *The King has summoned this man through us.*

Daniel

I, poor and exiled, am off to the King, through you.

Veniens Daniel ante Regem, dicat ei:

Rex, in eternum vive!

Et Rex Danieli:

Tunc Daniel nomine diceris,
huc adductus cum Iudee miseris?
100 Dicunt te habere dei spiritum
et prescire quodlibet absconditum.
Si ergo potes scripturam solvere,
immensis muneribus ditabere.

Et Daniel Regi:

100 Rex, tua nolo / munera: gratis solvetur litera;
105 est autem hec solutio: instat tibi confusio.
Pater tuus, pre omnibus potens olim potentibus,
turgens nimis superbia, delectus est a gloria.
Nam cum deo non ambulans, sed sese deum simulans,
110 vasa templo diripuit, que suo usu habuit.
Sed post multas insanias tandem perdens divitias,
forma nudatus hominis, pastum gustavit graminis.
Tu quoque, eius filius, non ipso minus impius,
100v dum patris / actus sequeris, vasis eisdem uteris!
Quod quia deo displicet, instat tempus quo vindicet,
115 nam scriptura indicium minatur iam supplicium.
Et 'Mane', dicit dominus, est tui regni terminus;
'Thechel' libram significat que te minorem indicat;
'Phares', hoc est divisio, regnum transportat alio.

Et Rex:

Qui sic solvit latentia ornetur veste regia.

Sedente Daniele iuxta Regem, induto ornamentis regalibus, exclamabit Rex ad principem militie:

120 Tolle vasa, princeps militie,
101r ne sint / michi causa miserie.

Tunc, relicto palatio, referent vasa satrape. Et Regina discedet. Conductus Regine:

115 supplicium B

As he comes before the King, Daniel shall say:

King, live for ever!

And the King to Daniel:

Are you the man named Daniel,
brought here with Judaea's wretched ones?
100 They say you have the spirit of God
and can foretell whatever's hidden.
So if you can unravel the writing,
you'll be enriched with boundless gifts.

And Daniel to the King:

King, I do not want your gifts: the writing will be unravelled free.
105 This, however, is the meaning: calamity looms over you.
Your father, who once was mighty beyond all mighty ones,
swelling over-much with pride, was cast down from glory.
For he, not walking with God but pretending to be God,
looted the vessels from the Temple and kept them for his use.
110 After many acts of madness, losing his wealth at last,
stripped of human form, his food became the grass.
But you too, his son, no less impious than he,
following your father's deeds, are using those same vessels!
Since this displeases God, the time of his vengeance looms.
115 for the warning in the writing threatens punishment now.
And 'Mane', says the Lord, is your kingdom's end;
'Thechel' means the balance on which you are found wanting;
'Phares', that is, division, brings your kingdom to another.

And the King:

Let him who has thus solved the riddle be graced with royal robes.

As Daniel sits beside the King, wearing royal ornaments, the King shall call out to the General:

120 General, take away the vessels,
lest they bring me to wretchedness.

Then, leaving the palace, the satraps shall take the vessels back, and the Queen shall depart. The Queen's processional song:

Solvitur in libro Salomonis
digna laus et congrua matronis.

Precium est eius, si quæ fortis,
125 procul et de finibus remotis.
Fidens est in ea cor mariti,
spoliis divitiibus potiti.

Mulier hec illi comparetur,
cuius Rex subsidium meretur.
130 Eius nam facundia verborum
arguit prudentiam doctorum.

Nos quibus occasio ludendi
101v hac die conce/ditur sollempni,
Demus huic preconia devoti,
135 veniant et concinent remoti!

Conductus referentium vasa ante Danielelem:

Regis vasa referentes
quem Iudee tremunt gentes,
Danieli applaudentes, *gaudeamus:*
laudes sibi debitas referamus!

140 Regis cladem prenotavit
cum scripturam reseravit;
testes reos comprobavit
et Susannam liberavit – *gaudeamus:*
laudes < sibi debitas referamus! >

145 Babylon hunc exulavit
cum Iudeos captivavit,
Balthasar quem honoravit; *gaudeamus:*
< laudes sibi debitas referamus! >

102r Est propheta sanctus dei:
150 hunc honorant et Caldei
et gentiles et Iudei.
Iubilantes ergo ei, *gaudeamus, et cetera.*

124 quam LA (em. B)

152 ergo iubilantes LAB I have reversed the words to restore formal symmetry.

In Solomon's book a fine and fitting
praise of married women is unlocked.

Her excellence, if a wife is at all brave,
travels far, and from far-off lands.
Her husband's heart sets trust in her –
the rich prize he has won.

Let this woman be likened to such a one:
the King rightly relies on her support,
for the persuasiveness of what she said
confuted the wisdom of his learned men.

Since we have been given the chance to play
on this ceremonial day,
let us herald her devotedly
and let those from afar come sing with us!

The processional song of the men bringing the vessels back to Daniel:

Bringing back the vessels of the King
at whom Judaea's people tremble,
applauding Daniel, *let us rejoice:*
let us proclaim the praises that are his due!

140 He warned of the King's disaster
when he unlocked the writing:
he proved Susannah's accusers guilty
and he set her free – *let us rejoice:*
let us proclaim the praises that are his due!

145 Babylon made him an exile
when she brought the Jews into captivity –
this man whom Belshazzar honoured; *let us rejoice:*
let us proclaim the praises that are his due!

He is the holy prophet of God:
the Chaldeans honour him,
and the Gentiles and the Jews.
So, making jubilation for him, *let us rejoice:*
let us proclaim the praises that are his due!

Statim apparebit Darius Rex cum principibus suis, venientque ante eum cythariste et musici sui, psallentes hec:

Ecce Rex Darius venit cum principibus,
nobilis nobilibus,
155 Eius et curia resonat leticia,
adsunt et tripudia!

Hic est mirandus, cunctis venerandus,
illi imperia sunt tributaria:

Regem honorant omnes et adorant,
160 illum Babylonia metuit et patria.

Cum armato agmine ruens / et cum turbine,
sternit cohortes, confregit et fortes.

Illum honestas colit et nobilitas,
Hic est babylonius nobilis Rex Darius!

165 Illi cum tripudio gaudeat hec contio,
laudet et cum gaudio eius facta fortia tam admirabilia!

Simul omnes gratulemur, resonent et tympana,
cythariste tangant cordas, musicorum organa
169 resonent ad eius preconial

Antequam perveniat Rex ad solium suum, duo precurrentes expellent Balthasar quasi interficientes eum. Tunc sedente Dario Rege in maiestate sua, Curia exclamabit:

103r Rex, in eternum vive!

Tunc duo, flexis genibus, secreto dicent Regi ut faciat accersiri Danielelem. Et Rex iubeat eum adduci. Illi autem, alius precipientes, dicent hec:

Audite, principes regalis curie,
qui leges regitis tocius patrie:
Est quidam sapiens in Babylonia
secreta reserans deorum gratia.
175 Eius consilium Regi complacuit,
nam prius Balthasar scriptum aperuit.

152³ principes LAB It is unlikely that this rubric should mention principes twice; my emendation musici is suggested by 168.

155 letitia B (similarly 172 totius B, 180 tertius B - as normalisations?)

162 confregit (? confugit) L

At once King Darius and his nobles shall appear, and his lutanists and musicians shall come before him, performing the following song:

Look! King Darius is coming with his lords,
noble among his nobles,
155 and his court resounds with joy,
and there is dancing too!

He is to be admired, revered by all,
to him empires must render tribute:

All honour him as King and pay him homage;
160 Babylon fears him, as does his native land.

Swooping with an armed force, with a whirlwind,
he lays cohorts low and has crushed the mighty.

Honour and nobility are his ornaments.
This is noble Darius, King of Babylon!

165 Let this gathering show its joy in him with dancing,
joyously let it praise his mighty deeds, so wonderful!

Let us all rejoice together, let the drums roll,
let the lutanists pluck their strings and the musicians' instruments
ring out to herald him!

Before the King reaches his throne, two men, running ahead, shall drive Belshazzar out, as if killing him. Then, as King Darius sits in majesty, the Court shall exclaim:

170 King, live for ever!

Then two men, kneeling, shall secretly tell the King to have Daniel summoned. And the King shall command that he be fetched. But those men, instructing others, shall say:

Listen, nobles of the royal court,
you who control the laws of the whole land:
there is a certain sage in Babylon
who unlocks secrets, through the grace of the gods,
175 It has pleased our King to have advice from him,
for he explained Belshazzar's writing before this.

Ite velociter, ne sit dilatio:
 nos uti volumus eius consilio,
 Fiat, si venerit, consiliarius
 180 Regis, et fuerit in regno tercius.

Legati, invento Daniele, dicent hec ex parte Regis: /

103v Ex regali venit imperio,
 serve dei, nostra legatio.
 Tua Regi laudatur probitas,
 te commendat mira calliditas,
 185 Per te solum cum nobis patuit
 signum dextre, quod omnes latuit.
 Te Rex vocat ad suam curiam,
 ut agnoscat tuam prudentiam.
 Eris supra, ut dicit Darius,
 190 principalis consiliarius.
 Ergo veni: iam omnis curia
 preparatur ad tua gaudia.

Et Daniel:

G'en vojs al Roi.

Conductus Danielis:

104r Congaudentes celebremus natalis sollemp/nia:
 195 iam de morte nos redemit dei Sapientia.
 Homo natus est in carne, qui creavit omnia,
 nasciturum quem predixit prophete facundia
 Danielis. Iam cessavit unctionis copia,
 cessat regni ludeorum contumax potentia.
 200 In hoc natalitio, Daniel, cum gaudio te laudat hec contio.
 Tu Susannam liberasti de mortali crimine
 cum te deus inspiravit suo sancto flamine:
 Testes falsos comprobasti reos accusamine,
 104v Bel draconem peremisti coram ple/bis agmine,
 205 Et te deus observavit leonum voragine –
 ergo sit laus dei Verbo genito de virgine!

189 Eris, supra (punct.) AB

193 Genuis LB

202 fla-flamine 1. (B reads ad flamine)

Go swiftly, let there be no delay:
 we ourselves want to use his advice.
 If he will come, let him be made adviser
 180 of the King, and he shall be third highest in the realm.

The legates, having found Daniel, shall say on the King's behalf:

Under royal authority,
 servant of God, our mission comes.
 Your uprightness is praised before the King,
 your wonderful subtlety commends you,
 185 since through you alone the portent of the hand,
 hidden from all, became clear to us.
 The King is bidding you to his court,
 to give recognition to your wisdom.
 Besides, as Darius says, you shall become
 190 the principal giver of advice.
 Come therefore: the whole court has now
 been prepared, so as to do your pleasure.

And Daniel:

I'll go to the King.

Daniel's processional song:

Joyously let us celebrate the Christmas feast:
 195 now God's Wisdom has redeemed us from death.
 He is man, born in flesh, he who created all,
 whom the eloquence of a prophet foretold would be born –
 prophet Daniel. The means of anointing have now ceased,
 ceased the contumacious power of the Jews.
 200 At this birth, Daniel, this throng praises you with joy.
 You rescued Susannah from a deadly charge
 when God inspired you with his holy breath:
 you proved the false witnesses guilty in their accusing,
 you destroyed Bel's dragon before a host of people,
 205 and God watched over you in the pit of lions –
 praise be to God's Word, born of a maiden!

Et Daniel Regi:

Rex, in eternum vive!

Cui Rex:

Quia novi te callidum, totius regni providum,
te, Daniel, constituo et summum locum tribuo.

Et Daniel Regi:

210 Rex, michi si credideris, per me nil mali feceris.

Tunc Rex faciet eum sedere iuxta se; et alii consiliarii, Danieli invidentes quia gratior erit Regi, aliis in consilium ductis ut Danielelem interficiant, dicent Regi:

Rex, in eternum vive!

Item:

105r Decreverunt in tua / curia
principandi quibus est gloria

Ut ad tui rigorem nominis,
215 omni spreto vigore numinis,

Per triginta dierum spatium
adoreris ut deus omnium, o Rex!

Si quis ausu tam temerario
reuerit tuo consilio.

220 Ut preter te colatur deitas,
iudicii sit talis firmitas:

In leonum tradatur foveam –
sic dicatur per totam regiam, o Rex!

Et Rex dicat:

Ego mando et remando

225 ne sit spretum hoc decretum. O hez!

105v *Daniel, hoc audiens, ibit in domum suam / et adorabit deum suum; quem emuli videntes, accurrent et dicent Regi:*

Nunquid, Dari, observari statuisti omnibus
qui orare vel rogare quicquam a numinibus

And Daniel to the King:

King, live for ever!

The King to him:

Since I know you are subtle, and care for all the realm,
I appoint you, Daniel, and give you highest place.

And Daniel to the King:

210 King, if you trust in me, through me you will do no ill.

Then the King shall make Daniel sit beside him; and other counsellors, envying Daniel because he is too much favoured by the King, having intrigued with others in order to kill Daniel, shall say to the King:

King, live for ever!

And then:

In your court those who have the honour
of governing have made the decree

that, for the authority of your name,
215 supplanting all divine validity,

for the space of thirty days
you shall be adored as God of all, oh King!

If anyone show such foolhardy daring
as to resist this scheme of yours,

220 so that a deity other than you is worshipped,
let this be the unswerving judgment:

he shall be put in the lions' den –
so be it declared throughout the capital, oh King!

And the King shall say:

I command it and command again

225 that this decree shall not be scorned. On with it!

Daniel, on hearing this, shall go into his house and adore his God; his enemies, seeing him, shall run up to the King and say:

Surely, Darius you ordered it to be noted by all
who want to pray or to request anything from a God

ni te deum, illum reum daremus leonibus?
 Hoc edictum sic indictum fuit a principibus.

Et Rex, nesciens quare hoc dicerent, respondet:

230 Vere iussi me omnibus adorari a gentibus,

Tunc illi, adducentes Danielem, dicent Regi:

Hunc Iudeum suum deum Danielem vidimus
 adorantem et precantem, tuis spreto legibus.

Rex, volens liberare Danielem, dicet:

106r Nunquam vobis con/cedatur quod vir sanctus sic perdatur.

Satrape, hoc audientes, ostendent ei legem, dicentes:

Lex Parthorum et Medorum iubet in annalibus
 235 ut qui sprevit que decrevit Rex, detur leonibus.

Rex, hoc audiens, velit nolit dicet:

Si sprevit legem quam statueram,
 det penas ipse quas decreveram.

Tunc satrape rapiunt Danielem, et ille, respiciens Regem, dicet:

Heu, heu, heu! quo casu sortis
 venit hec dampnatio mortis?

240 Heu, heu, heu! - scelus infandum! -
 cur me dabit ad lacerandum

hec fera turba feris?

Sic me, Rex, perdere queris?!

106v Heu, qua morte mori

245 me cogis? Parce furori!

Et Rex, non valens eum liberare, dicet ei:

Deus quem collis tam fideliter
 te liberabit mirabiliter.

Tunc proiciunt Danielem in lacum, statimque angelus, tenens gladium, comminabitur leonibus ne tangant eum. Et Daniel, intrans lacum, dicet:

Huius rei non sum reus:
 miserere mei, deus - eleyson!

other than you, that we would give such culprits to the lions?
 This was the edict, this the writ that the nobles announced.

And the King, not knowing why they were saying this, answers:

Indeed I ordered I should be adored by everyone.

Then, bringing Daniel before him, they shall say to the King:

This Jew, Daniel, we have seen adoring
 and praying to his own God, scorning your laws.

The King, wanting to set Daniel free, shall say:

You shall never be allowed thus to destroy a holy man.

The satraps, on hearing this, shall show him the Law, saying:

The Law of the Persians and the Medes, in its records, demands
 135 that whoever scorns what the King decrees be given to the
 lions.

The King, hearing this, shall - willy-nilly - say:

If he has scorned the law that I laid down,
 he shall pay the penalty that I decreed.

Then the satraps shall seize Daniel and he, looking at the King, shall say:

Alas, alas, alas! Through what mischance of fate
 has this death-sentence come about?

240 Alas, alas, alas! The monstrous crime!

Why will this savage crowd give me to be torn

by the savage beasts?

Is it thus, King, that you seek to destroy me?

245 Alas, what kind of death do you compel me
 to die? Relent your rage!

And the King, powerless to set him free, shall say to him:

The God whom you worship so loyally
 will set you free miraculously.

Then they shall throw Daniel into the pit, and at once an angel, holding a sword, shall threaten the lions in case they touch him. And Daniel, entering the pit, shall say:

I am not guilty in this case:
 have mercy on me, God - eleyson!

250 Mitte, deus, huc patronum
qui refrenet vim leonum — *eleyson!*

Interea alius angelus admonebit Abacuc prophetam ut deserat prandium quod portabat messoribus suis Danieli in lacum leonum, dicens:

Abacuc, tu senex pie, ad lacum Babylonie
Danieli fer prandium: mandat tibi Rex omnium.

Cui Abacuc:

Novit dei cognitio quod Babylonem nescio,
neque lacus est cognitus quo Daniel est positus.

Tunc angelus, apprehendens eum capillo capitis sui, ducet ad lacum. Et Abacuc, Danieli offerens prandium, dicit:

Surge, frater, ut cibum capias;
tuas deus vidit angustias;
deus misit — da deo gratias
qui te fecit.

Et Daniel, cibum accipiens, dicit:

260 Recordatus es mei, domine!
Accipiam in tuo nomine — *alleluia!*

His transactis, angelus reducet Abacuc in locum suum. Tunc Rex, descendens de solio suo, veniet ad lacum, dicens lacrimabiliter:

107r Tene, putas, Daniel, / salvabit ut eripiaris
a nece proposita, quem tu colis et veneraris?

Et Daniel Regi:

Rex, in eternum vive!

Item:

265 Angelicum solita misit pietate patronum,
quo deus ad tempus conpescuit ora leonum.

Tunc Rex gaudens exclamabit:

Danielem educite et emulos immittite!

250 God, send a protector here
who can curb the lions' strength — *eleyson!*

Meanwhile another angel shall bid the prophet Habakkuk to take the meal that he was bringing to his harvesters to Daniel in the lion-pit, saying:

Habakkuk, merciful old man, to the pit in Babylon
carry the meal to Daniel: you're bidden by the King of all.

To whom Habakkuk:

God in his knowledge knows I'm ignorant of Babylon
and I don't know the pit where Daniel has been set.

Then the angel, seizing him by the hair of his head, shall bring him to the pit. And Habakkuk, offering Daniel the meal, shall say:

Rise, brother, to take your food;
God has seen your anxiety;
God has sent this: give thanks to God
who made you.

And Daniel, accepting the food, shall say:

260 Lord, you have remembered me!
I shall accept it in your name — *alleluia!*

When this is over, the angel shall bring Habakkuk back to his own place. Then the King, descending from his throne, shall come to the pit, saying tearfully:

Do you think he'll save you, Daniel, snatching you
from the death decreed, he whom you worship and revere?

And Daniel to the King:

King, live for ever!

And then:

265 In his unfailing mercy God has sent an angelic protector,
through whom for the time he has quelled the jaws of the lions.

Then the King shall call out joyfully:

Take Daniel out and put his enemies in!

Cum expoliati fuerint et venerint ante lacum, clamabunt:

Merito hec patimur, quia peccavimus;
in sanctum dei iniuste egimus,
270 iniquitatem fecimus!

Illi, proiecti in lacum, statim consumentur a leonibus. Et Rex, videns hoc, dicit:

108 Deum Danielis qui regnat / in seculis
adorari iubeo a cunctis populis!

Daniel, in pristinum gradum receptus, prophetabit:

Ecce venit sanctus ille, sanctorum sanctissimus,
quem rex iste iubet coli potens et fortissimus.

275 Cessant phana, cesset regnum, cessabit et unctio;
instat regni ludeorum finis et oppressio.

Tunc angelus ex improviso exclamabit:

Nuntium vobis fero de supernis:
natus est Christus, dominator orbis,
in Bethleem Iude – sic enim propheta
280 dixerat ante.

His auditis, cantores incipient Te deum laudamus.

Finit Daniel.

When they have been stripped and have come to the pit-edge, they shall cry out:

We suffer this deservedly, for we have sinned:
we acted unjustly towards God's holy one,
270 we did a shameful deed!

Thrown into the pit, they shall at once be devoured by the lions. And the King, seeing this, shall say:

The God of Daniel, who reigns perpetually,
I command shall be adored by every nation!

Daniel, restored to his former rank, shall prophesy:

See, the holy one is coming, holiest of holy ones,
whom this King, most brave and mighty, commands to be adored.
275 Temples shall cease, the kingdom cease, anointing too shall cease:
the end and overthrow of the kingdom of the Jews is near.

Then, from an unexpected place, an angel shall call out:

I bring to you a message from on high:
Christ is born, the ruler of the world,
in Bethlehem of Judah – thus of old the
280 prophet predicted.

On hearing this, the singers shall begin Te deum laudamus.

Here Daniel ends.

Explanatory notes

- 4 plaudit] *Plaudere* can, according to context, suggest applause, clapping, stamping of feet, or dancing; the use of the specific term for dancing (*tripudia* 156, *tripudio* 165) during the entry of Darius suggests that Belshazzar's entry too will have been accompanied by dance as well as music.
- 17-18 The forward reference could be not only to Darius (cf. 267), but also to the change of heart in Daniel's slanderers (cf. 268-70).
- 20 prepete vate prandia dante] Habakkuk (Daniel 14, 32ff.) 'flies' to Babylon in the Angel's grip; the biblical text speaks of one 'meal' (*prandium*) only - the plural *prandia* may have been improvised on account of the six days that, in the version in Daniel 14, the prophet spent in the lions' pit.
- 20/1 Satrape] Used synonymously with *Principes* throughout the play.
- 21 Rex, in eternum, vive] Cf. Daniel 3, 9; 5, 10; 6, 6; 6, 21 (in *sempiternum* 2, 4).
- 22-5 Cf. Daniel 5, 2-3.
- 29 Cytharizent] Cf. Apocalypse 14, 2 (*vocem citharedorum citharizantium in citharis suis*). The *cithara* referred to here and later in the play is the stringed instrument often alluded to in Roman poetry, closer to the zither than to the Hispanoarabic or Renaissance European lute.
- 39 probus, curialis ...] In the acclamations, the protagonists are praised for their specifically courtly excellence. Thus Daniel (89f.) in *Iuventutis gloria ... satis excellit omnibus virtute, vita, moribus*, and Darius (163) is celebrated for *honestas* and *nobilitas*.
- 47 Caldeos et artoles] As the Chaldaeans were famed for astrology, *Caldeus* is often almost synonymous with 'astrologer'; *artoli* are mentioned at Daniel 2, 10.
- 52 Cf. Daniel 5, 7.
- 54/5 Here and several times below, directions are abrupt, and presuppose further stage-business which is not indicated. The *conductus* must have been preceded by a mime, for instance of a messenger coming to the Queen with the terrible news.
- 62 cordis] Possibly for *chordis*: 'with strings, and with the sonorous sounds of human lips'; but the pairing of heart and lips is also common, esp. in lyrical poetry.
- 87 (and 91, 95) *manila*] On the use of a past definite with the force of a perfect, to indicate a very recent action, cf. L. Foulet, *Petite syntaxe de l'ancien français*, sect. 333.
- 89-90 See note on 39 above.
- 98-100 Cf. Daniel 5, 13-14.
- 102-4 Cf. Daniel 5, 16-17.
- 112 Cf. Daniel 5, 22 (the remainder of Daniel's speech has fewer literal correspondences).
- 124-7 Cf. Proverbs 31, 10-11.
- 132 ff. Note the swift transition from Belshazzar's feast to the feast at Beauvais.
- 142-3 Cf. Daniel 13, and above p. 112.
- 152/3 cythariste] See note on 29 above.
- 163 See note on 39 above.
- 167-8 tympana ... organa] Where the context does not point to a particular rendering, such terms remain problematic: *tympana* could be drums or tambourines, *musicorum organa* could be portable organs or - less specifically - instruments, or songs.
- 180 in regno tercus] At Daniel 5, 16 Belshazzar promises this, and fulfils the promise at 5, 29 (presumably the meaning is, Daniel's power came next to that of the King and Queen). The phrase does not recur in the Darius episode.
- 194 ff. On the significance of this *conductus*, in which the legates return from Babylon to Beauvais, see above p. 113.
- 200 This verse may well have been repeated as a refrain after 206.
- 203 accusamine] *Accusamen* (for *accusatio*) would seem to be the playwright's coinage, for the sake of his rhyme-scheme.
- 210/11 Here the directions, less laconic than usual, indicate a mime for the conspirators before the next episode.
- 215 spreto] Variants of *spernere* recur at 225, 232, 235, 236; they epitomise the authoritarian nature of Darius and the counsellors. Here at its first occurrence the term could well be ambiguous or ironic: the counsellors, trying to suppress all divine power save that of the King, are 'spurning' the power of the true *numen*.
- 224 Cf. Isaiah 28, 10 and 13.
- 225 O hezl] In Old French the exclamation *hez!* is used to urge animals forward: see Tobler-Lommatsch iv 1095 f. It is addressed to an animal (thus also at Beauvais, in the *conductus* of the ass, Arlt 1970, 114); there is no instance where it represents the sound made by an animal. The assertions that Darius' words are 'the ass's bray' (Smoldon 1980, p. 225), and that 'King Darius brays like an ass at one highly dramatic moment' (Fassler 1992, pp. 81, 92), are based on a misunderstanding.
- 226-30 Cf. Daniel 6, 13.
- 246-7 Cf. Daniel 6, 16.
- 248 (and 251) *elejson!*] 'Have mercy!', as in the liturgical invocations *Kyrie, eleison!* ... *Christe, eleison!* that precede the *Gloria* in the Roman Mass.
- 251/2 Cf. Daniel 14, 32-38, and above pp. 114f. The wording in 252-60 remains close to the biblical text.
- 252 Abacuc, tu senex pie] This half-verse is one of the very rare rhythmic

mically anomalous ones in the play; a classicising pronunciation, stressing the long syllable (*senéx pie*) cannot be ruled out. Cf. also 261 (*Accipiam?*).

262-6 Cf. Daniel 6, 20-2.

271 Cf. Daniel 6, 26. The playwright has chosen the expression *qui regnat in seculis* with the recurrent *Rex, in eternum vive!* (last heard at 264) in mind. Through Daniel, Darius now perceives the King who in truth lives for ever.

273-6 On Daniel's prophecy, see above, p. 113.

275 Cessant phana] Cf. Ezekiel 6, 6. The sequence of tenses - *Cessant... cesset... cessabit* - is disconcerting, but the pres. indic. and subj. probably have future force here.

277-80 The angel sings 'from an unexpected place' - perhaps from one of the cathedral's upper galleries, to create an effect of surprise and awe - the opening strophe (or perhaps the whole) of the early eleventh-century hymn by Fulbert of Chartes, in classical Sapphic stanzas (cf. *y II* 433), which is also used in some twelfth-century plays of the Magi (cf. *y II* 62), as well as by Hilarius to conclude his play of Daniel (*y II* 286).